



Sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions in protected areas: An evolutionary perspective

MELLON, Victoria Louise

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**Sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions in protected areas: An
evolutionary perspective.**

Victoria Louise Mellon

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
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Dedication and Acknowledgements

I would like to thank everyone involved in my doctoral inquiry, in particular to my Tourism colleagues at Sheffield Hallam University and especially to Professor Bill Bramwell and Dr Nicola Palmer.

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Thank you to my parents for your unquestioning love and support.

I dedicate this PhD to my family, who have grown during this PhD study. To Andrew, I couldn't have done this without you, and finally, to the two best distractions a student could have, Dorothy and Lenny.

Overview and Thesis Structure

In line with Sheffield Hallam University guidance for PhD Article study, this document provides a complimentary thesis to the three published articles for the programme of study. There are three main sections to this document; firstly there are the chapters which explain the context and position of my research (Introduction, Literature Review) and explanations of the research processes and journey (Methodology, and Key Reflections). Next the thesis moves on to present the three articles that are now published; they are presented as separate documents, in PDF format, therefore will have different pagination to the rest of the thesis. The final section of the thesis consists of a conclusion chapter which aims to draw together the findings and conclusions from the three articles, and illustrates the broader contribution of the doctoral study and a continuing research programme.

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1.0) Introduction chapter and candidate statement

This chapter introduces the key research questions for the doctoral inquiry. It outlines where the three papers presented in the thesis are located in the broader research community and suggests the intended contribution of the research. Research questions and objectives are identified here and provide some brief details on the case study context.

Abstract

Sustainable tourism has become a major paradigm for both tourism researchers and those charged with planning and managing tourism. Protected areas and National Parks are no exception. Governance and institutional structures within these domains are now required to incorporate a broader set of objectives relating to widening socio-economic opportunities and increasingly greater engagement in decision making processes. Sustainable development and subsequent forms of sustainable tourism have now been evident since the early 1990's, and the tourism research community has provided a wealth of academic studies on the manifestations of sustainable development in the context of protected areas. Here, my Article Based PhD study provides new contributions and insight into the evolution and temporality of sustainable tourism policies and institutional arrangements within the English National Park context, through three published papers and a doctoral thesis. The doctoral inquiry allows us to reflect upon historical trajectories of tourism policies and institutions through a range of evolutionary approaches and perspectives. Ultimately, the research demonstrates how through exploring historical paths and the application of such approaches in tourism research, we are in a better position to understand how a multitude of influences directly and indirectly impact tourism institutions and policies and how we can learn from previous actions and inactions.

1.1) Position of the research and its context

My PhD study and published articles are straddling four research fields. Firstly, the research draws from the context and academic fields of sustainable tourism in protected areas. Secondly, the research is also closely aligned to investigations into the development and the life of tourism partnerships, particularly in the domain of

protected areas. The study of these two fields led the doctoral inquiry towards the third and fourth research context of evolutionary approaches to understanding institutional arrangements; the research therefore draws upon frameworks and theories from Historical Institutionalism, Evolutionary Geography and social theory to understand the temporal character of sustainable tourism policies and institutions. While the literature review chapter provides greater insight into each of these fields and explores their relationship with my work in more detail, here I intend to outline how my research is positioned with these academic contexts.

- **Position 1 - Sustainable tourism and protected areas**

Tourism and its potential for more sustainable outcomes has become a significant feature of tourism research. The concept of Sustainable Development has received universal endorsement since its emergence in 1980 through the publication of the Brundtland report, presented at the World Commission on Environment Development (Weaver, 2005). Core goals include commitment to development that does not create negative impacts on the environment and includes greater equity in both decision making and the distribution of positive benefits which development may bring. Development that is offered as 'sustainable' provides an attractive proposition as *'sustainable development represents the attractive possibility of continuing economic development that does not unduly strain the earth's environmental, sociocultural or economic carrying capacities.'* (Weaver, 2005 p.10).

Simultaneously, the growing global tourism industry was also under scrutiny for the negative impacts it had created through mass tourism on local environments and communities. In turn, academia and literature responded by adopting and applying the principles of sustainable development to tourism (Hughes, 2004 in Lew, Hall and Williams 2004 p. 506). Sustainable tourism thus received a similar global endorsement to its originating concept of sustainable development (Roberts and Hall, 2001).

The overarching feature of the principles relating to sustainable tourism included a desire for a greater balance of policies and strategies that would satisfy the desires of the tourists, the tourism industry, and the host society (Hunter, 1997). This included a shift in the focus from predominantly economic growth strategies to ones that provide

greater consideration of their natural landscapes and their impacted societies within which tourism operates together with a greater appreciation of the linkages between the environment and local communities (Hunter, 1997).

However, where do these interpretations of sustainable tourism foci leave landscapes that are protected, conserved or preserved? Hunter's (1997 p.857) analysis of interpretations of sustainable tourism suggest that there is a 'rejection of extremes' and therefore if economic growth approaches are rejected then so must approaches that are predominantly concerned with ecological determinism. Hunter argues the dominant perception of sustainable tourism within destinations is one of attempting to achieve a balance between the competing desires and needs of different stakeholders. Therefore, in the context of areas that are protected and which may include objectives for conservation and preservation, the inclusion of sustainable tourism may require institutions with remits for planning to incorporate strategies which place greater emphasis on economic growth for their host communities as well as traditional objectives relating conservation and preservation. However, this does not intend to imply that tourism and its role in economic growth have not been apparent in protected areas prior to the advent of sustainable tourism. On the contrary, protected areas and tourism have a long interconnected history. Enjoyment and appreciation of natural landscapes as a means of escaping the industrialization of towns and cities became a trend of Western European society in the 19th century (Mose and Weixlbaumer, 2007; Boyd in Lewis, Hall and Williams 2004). Hence, protected areas and in particular, National Parks are often promoted as visitor attractions, they host a range of natural landscapes, wilderness, recreation opportunities and may be home to historical and cultural attractions (Eagles and McCool, 2002).

Tourism and protected areas have, in turn, received a significant amount of attention in tourism academia, within a range of topic areas from the impacts of tourism on the natural landscapes and how to minimise them the management of visitors and how core management functions such as marketing and financial instruments can benefit both tourism and the protected area (Eagles and McCool, 2002; Buckley, 2000). Sustainable tourism has also become a focus within the backdrop of protected area.

Boyd (2000), Barker and Stockdale (2008), and Sharpley (2003) all explore the role of sustainable tourism in protected areas and how it can be beneficial to creating a more acceptable approach and opportunities for economic development for local communities. However, one concern has been the tendency for sustainable tourism to be studied in isolation rather than providing detailed accounts of the interactions between sustainable tourism and other activities and the need for research to provide mechanisms to focus on these interactions (Collins 1999, Butler 1999, Moscardo 2007). Furthermore, there are relatively few studies which provide focus on the broader factors and influence that impact and encourage sustainable tourism in the protected area context.

It is within this research context that my articles are positioned. The three papers provide findings from the case studies of two protected areas located within Northern England. Both studies have a long tradition of visitation within the National park boundaries and have in recent years published and seemingly adopted the principles of sustainable tourism. My doctoral inquiry places a spotlight on these case studies and extends the current academic research through focusing on the sustainable tourism policies and related institutions. Moreover, my work gives consideration to exogenous and endogenous influences on sustainable tourism policies, and details the linkages to key policies and actions.

- **Position 2 - Partnership working arrangements**

My doctoral inquiry is also driven by the second significant theme in the research context of sustainable tourism and protected areas, partnership arrangements. Sustainable tourism also places importance on cooperative working amongst a broader set of stakeholders (Laing *et al.*, 2009). Partnership arrangements may be seen as the implementation of sustainable tourism activities through a more cooperative, inclusive and democratic process. This has led to increased consideration and application of partnership working within in these contexts. The benefits and pitfalls of collaborative efforts in tourism are highlighted by Bramwell and Lane (2000). Such arrangements may be advantageous for reasons such as greater knowledge and resources pooled from numerous stakeholders and improved coordination of activities. Importantly for

protected areas, tourism partnerships may be developed as a response to limited capabilities and reduced funding that protected area authorities may be facing (Laing *et al.*, 2009). This adds further weight to the notion that sustainable tourism does not operate in isolation away from external factors or other policy drivers. In fact, partnership arrangements may be key components of the governance of sustainable tourism activities and policies, making their study equally worthwhile in this doctoral inquiry.

Tourism partnership studies have also drawn upon previous research that focuses on the stages and the processes that such arrangements go through. This is where my initial focus for PhD study began; through inquiry into how tourism partnerships in protected areas evolved and moved. I explore frameworks adapted from organisational and management theories such as Gray's stage model (1985) in Paper 1. Gray proposes that partnerships broadly move through stages from a problem setting phase, to direction setting and finally, an implementation phase. In tourism academia, other studies had begun to adopt and adapt Gray's model and apply it to the study of tourism partnerships (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Bramwell and Araujo, 2002). They offered frameworks with further stages and conditions identified in the inducement of the development of partnership arrangements. Yet, while phase models are useful tools and provide an understanding of the internal processes of partnership working, they do not allow for full investigation of the broader contexts that they operate within.

Given the significance of the wider circumstances in which organisations such as protected areas are operating (Hanna, Clark and Slocombe 2008) and how partnerships themselves are potential reactions to such contextual factors, it is perhaps imperative that further attention is paid to these arrangements and how they evolve and interact with their surroundings and related policies over a period of time. Papers 1 and 3 presented in the thesis add to the existing body of research by providing an in-depth analysis and findings of the evolution of partnership and related institutions. They move away from a linear approach which embodies the understanding that partnerships move through stages in direct manner, to a more

holistic stance which attempts to address and account for the complexities that may exist rather than reduce to a series actions within certain categories.

- **Position 3 - Historical and Temporal perspectives in tourism**

The focus on the temporal nature of partnership arrangements led the doctoral inquiry towards a third underpinning theme of application and understanding of historical perspectives. This enabled the study to draw out the intricacies, interactions and relationships between contexts of sustainable tourism policies and partnership arrangements.

As discussed in the literature review chapter of the thesis, historical and temporal perspectives have long been present in tourism academia. In addition to the study of partnerships mentioned earlier, Butler's (1980) seminal work on the destination lifecycle model is a prominent example which offers insights into how destinations move through phases in a similar manner to a product lifecycle. However, more recently, there has been an increasing attentiveness to temporality to understand current and future paths more effectively (Amoore *et al.*, 2000). Tourism research, in particular, has begun to explore theories and frameworks from the field of Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG). Here, it is argued that economies, industries and technologies can be viewed through a temporal lens which applies notions related to 'Path Dependency'.

The trajectory of paths is explored and signs of 'Increasing Returns' are investigated. Consideration is paid to whether paths have become 'locked in' a particular direction due to the increasing benefits of that chosen path. In such cases, moving away from the path may be difficult even if new paths and processes would be beneficial (Boschma and Frenken, 2010; David, 1985; Authur, 1989). A key proponent of these studies is to give weight to the notion that 'history matters' and that past actions and decisions can impact and direct the trajectory of future paths (David, 1994, p208). Researchers have advocated the use of EEG for achieving greater explanations of destination paths and trajectories (Ma and Hassink, 2013) and have acknowledged the

potential of the EEG field for studying tourism entrepreneurship, knowledge and network transfers and regional linkages to other related industries (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013). A nuanced picture is depicted in Williams' (2013) study on sustainable tourism and mobilities which, through the application of a 'Path Dependence' lens, reveals that socio- and economic factors are viewed as potential reasons for why paths are locked into certain trajectories and how incremental changes can occur through technological shifts, rather than significant changes.

While EEG is increasingly gaining traction within tourism academia, there has been less focus and emphasis on the use of 'Historical Institutionalism' with tourism studies. 'Historical Institutionalism' offers explanatory methods to researchers who are interested in the study of evolution and trajectories of institutions. Institutions may include social structures which have embedded rules, norms and organised practices (Fioretos, Falleti and Sheingate, 2016). Political scientists from this field offer a range of tools and frameworks for observing institutional paths, such as 'critical junctures' (Mahoney, 2000; Cappocia and Keleman, 2007), 'layering and conversion' (Thelen, 2004; Boas, 2007), and 'redeployment' (Schneiberg, 2007). Paper 3 pays specific attention to Historical institutionalism and its related concepts and allows us to view the complexities of tourism institutions. Here, the nature of change to a trajectory can be detected through historical analysis and observation of discourses. External and internal forces interacting with an institution may be identified as whether those paths are subsequently 'path dependent' and or 'path creative' and whether change is incremental and gradual or more reactive to events. Path creation is where institutions may be significantly departing from a certain trajectory and halting the path dependent trend (Park and Lee, 2005). Path dependence in an institutional context can occur when values, norms and cultures become socialised and unchallenged by key actors and continue to operate in certain way or on the same policy path (Gains, Johns, & Stoker, 2005; Pierson, 2004).

Other notable tourism studies consider a co-evolutionary perspective to paths and trajectories; this may include the notion that rather than separate categories of path dependence and path creation, it may be useful to acknowledge non-binary entities

which may co-evolve (Brouder and Eriksson, 2013; Ma and Hassink, 2017; Gill and Williams, 2017; Sanz-Ibáñez and Anton Clavé, 2014). Co-evolution can also be viewed as relationships and sub-systems that are reciprocal and interrelated (Kemp, Loorbach & Rotmans, 2007). Such approaches may be particularly useful for research which aims to increase understanding of the interconnectedness of sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions with wider exogenous influences and more local endogenous influences. Paper 2 provides a focus on these factors through a co-evolutionary lens and reveals insights into sustainable tourism policy development within an English National Park.

While some of these tools from 'Historical Institutionalism' and EEG have been applied to tourism contexts and destination regions, there has been minimal application of these approaches to tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policies in protected areas. Here, the particular contribution to knowledge of this doctoral study is presented in the three published papers that form part of this Article Based PhD. Notably, they draw on the methodologies and techniques from the field of 'Historical Institutionalism' and apply them to tourism related partnership institutions and sustainable tourism policies in the protected area context.

Position 4 - Social and relational theory in tourism

A final focal point for the research has been to address some of the criticisms that have been levelled at 'Historical Institutionalism'. Correspondingly, this has led the doctoral inquiry and specifically paper 3, to incorporate and give serious thought to social and relational theories which can further accommodate the complexities of institutional evolution as well as the interactions of human agency. As discussed in the literature review, there has been some concern over the potential for 'Historical Institutionalism' to reduce the role of actors to merely inhabitants of institutions (Steinmo, 2008). Additionally, it has been argued that 'Historical Institutionalism' may only provide methods and tools that simply reveal patterns without giving thought to the underlying social processes (Peters, Pierre and King, 2005).

The doctoral enquiry has therefore been careful to consider the role of actors and human agency throughout the study. The three articles submitted as part of this PhD offer findings which attempt to understand partnerships, institutions, and change in natural areas through a perspective that fuses together evolutionary approaches and social theory. It should be noted that evolutionary approaches and social theories have begun to emerge within the tourism literature. The work of Bramwell and Meyer (2007) and Pastras and Bramwell (2013), for example, employ a strategic relational approach to tourism policies and destinations. Such studies have also applied a co-evolutionary lens to overcome the potential binary categorisation of path dependence and path creation, and a focus on the interactions and relationships between actors and the wider socio-economic and political context is included. However, to date, it is difficult to identify existing studies that engage evolutionary approaches and social theories in the study of tourism related institutions as presented in this thesis.

The third paper presented as part of this Article Based PhD thesis adopts the notion of 'Cultural Political Economy' (CPE) to underpin the applied 'Historical Institutionalism' methodology. CPE has multifaceted purposes and is closely linked to exploring historical courses (Castree, 2005). Its merits lie within its consideration of the broader economic and political contexts behind the institutions, its potential to observe dialectical relationships and their interdependences, their influences on historical circumstance and evolving character of institutions (Castree, 2005; Harvey, 1996; Jessop, 20010; Sum and Jessop, 2015). Furthermore, CPE gives weight to social practices, cultural/immaterial/ideational/cultural/semiotics as they too may be dialectically related to the evolution of institutions (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009).

1.2) Intended research contribution

As aforementioned, four key positions or foci of this doctoral inquiry may be identified: sustainable tourism and protected areas; partnership working arrangements; historical perspectives in tourism; and social and relational theory in tourism. In each of these positions, theoretical approaches have been identified from across differing fields of

study. This thesis draws together these academic fields with the aim of producing a coherent, original contribution to tourism research that provides a deeper understanding of both sustainable tourism policies in protected areas and their tourism related institutional arrangements.

There are three core contributions to research that the accompanying published papers have produced. Firstly, one key intended contribution has been increased understanding of the role and broader contexts, influences and relationships that shape trajectories of both sustainable tourism policies and tourism related institutional arrangements. Secondly, another key contribution has been to extend the field of study and address some of the limitations of previous research relating to sustainable tourism policies and tourism related institutions. This has been achieved through the adoption of historical perspectives and a more detailed application of these theoretical frameworks which have previously not been used or only applied minimally to tourism institutional contexts. Finally, the research has attempted to address concerns related to 'Historical Institutionalism' and the minimised role of actors and dialectical relationships by incorporating co-evolutionary and CPE theories.

The next section of this chapter outlines the overall research aims and objectives of this thesis - a thesis that is concerned with providing coherence to the three separately published papers submitted as part of this Article Based PhD.

1.3) Key research aims

Four broad research aims were identified:

- 1. To gain a greater understanding of how and why protected areas have encouraged sustainable tourism policies.*
- 2. To explore how and why sustainable tourism policies may have changed and evolved over time whilst operating in continually complex changing context.*
- 3. To examine the evolution of these tourism partnerships and tourism related institutions and policies over time through a historical approaches to assess the internal and external contextual factors.*
- 4. To explore and apply Historical Institutionalism and social theories to tourism evolutionary studies.*

The first three aims reflect the focus of each of the three published journal articles that form part of this Article Based PhD submission. The fourth aim may be identified as an overarching, coherent research aim for this thesis.

1.4) Brief explanation of the research case study context

While the methodology chapter will provide a more comprehensive explanation of the case studies used in the doctoral inquiry, it may be useful to outline the key elements here, before the specific research objectives are outlined.

So far this introduction chapter has referred to 'protected areas' without specification as to the definition of this type of place. In this study, there are two 'protected areas' which are under scrutiny: the Peak District National Park and the Lake District National Park, located in Central- and Northern England. Both parks were among the first to be established in 1951 under the National Parks Act for England and Wales and they have a long tradition of visitation and conservation. One important distinction to other 'protected areas' is that both parks are categorised as 'category V' parks under International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) criteria. Protected areas within this category are characterised by their interactions with people and nature, which 'over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value' (IUCN, 2018a). In these cases, both parks contain local communities and residents which may also be closely involved with the tourism sector. Hence, in addition to conservation objectives, these parks also have objectives relating to promoting enjoyment of the parks and there is a need to engage with socio-economic activities for their local communities. Therefore, in this context, the findings from this doctoral inquiry may be particularly useful for those who have an interest in the management of protected areas where human interactions are closely aligned to both socio-economic development and conservation objectives as in the case of Category V parks. The specific research objectives specify the context and case studies of the research as English National Parks.

1.5) Specific research objectives

The research questions are broad overarching aims of the doctoral inquiry. In order to fulfil these in the published papers, more specific research objectives were identified:

- a) To explore the broader contexts and influences affecting sustainable tourism policies and tourism partnership evolution in English National Parks.
- b) To understand the continually changing nature of tourism institutions in English National Parks through drawing on evolutionary theories relating to path dependence and path creation.
- c) To explore the growing trends related to sustainable tourism policies in English National Parks
- d) To incorporate 'Historical Institutionalism' tools and techniques into the methodology of the research.

Through the research design and execution, analysis and discussion underpinning the publication of three international peer reviewed journal articles, the research objectives have been addressed. However, it is important to note that the research aims of each part of the study represented through each paper are intrinsically linked together. Figure 1 illustrates how they are connected, and shows how by considering the first three research aims, the fourth aim is implicitly answered. Thus, the fourth research aim may be recognised to be an over-arching aim in this thesis.

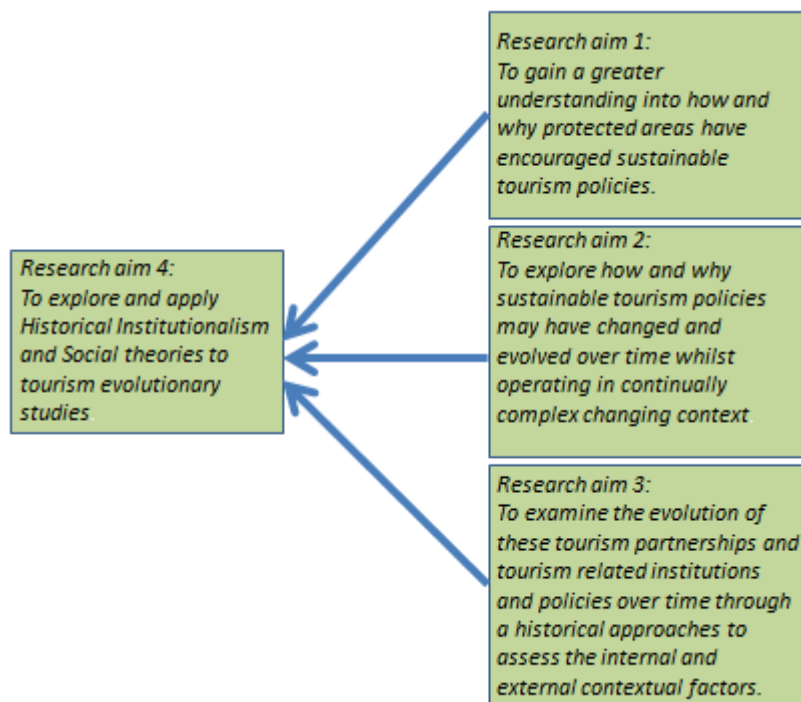


Figure 1: Interrelated research aims of the study.

Table 1 provides the publication details for the three published papers presented as part of this doctoral enquiry. The citation figures for each paper are provided, taken from SCIMAGO.

Paper 1.	Paper 2.	Paper 3.
Bramwell, B and Cox, V (2009) Stage and path dependence approaches to the evolution of a national park tourism partnership. <i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i> , Vol 17, No.2 pp191-206	Mellon, V and Bramwell, B (2016) Protected area policies and sustainable tourism: influences, relationships and co-evolution. <i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i> , Vol, 24, No. 10 p.1369-1386	Mellon, V and Bramwell, B (2018) The temporal evolution of tourism institutions. <i>Annals of Tourism Research</i> , Vol, 69, March, pp.42-52 (available online)
Views from journal homepage: 486 Google Scholar citations: 59	Views from journal homepage: 653 Google Scholar citations: 4	Views from journal homepage: 8 Google Scholar citations: 0

Table 1. Publication details for the 3 international peer reviewed articles that form part of this Article Based PhD submission Peer Reviewed Articles.

Copies of the articles are presented in PDF format here in the thesis after the key chapters, of literature review, conceptual thinking, methodology and the research journey chapter. They will then be discussed further in the conclusion presented after the papers.

This chapter has outlined the structure of the thesis and attempted to demonstrate both the position and intended contribution to the tourism research community. Furthermore, as an introduction chapter it has demonstrated the linkages between the academic fields and the cohesive nature of the doctoral study despite the research findings being presented in three separate academic publications. The thesis will now move on to the literature chapter which will explore the key academic studies relating to this doctoral inquiry in greater detail.

2.0) Literature Review

The introduction chapter highlighted the research aims and study objectives for the doctoral inquiry. Four key foci were identified and indicated where my study is placed in the context of broader tourism research. Here, the literature review provides the academic context for the three papers and the overall thesis submission. There are three key sections to this literature review, and they identify where there are gaps in the research and indicate how the three papers have contributed to these key areas.

First, it considers academic literature on sustainable tourism and its relationship with protected areas. This is relevant to the thesis as it allows the author to consider the existing research around what is perhaps advocating the development of sustainable tourism in protected areas, and also what aspects of sustainable tourism and protected areas have been analysed previously by the research community.

The second section moves on to discuss governance and partnership working. This exploration of literature underpins key topics covered in the PhD research and identifies relevant theories which assist in drawing the thesis together. This part of the literature review explores how partnership working has become a prominent feature of new governance in recent decades, and subsequently, how tourism partnerships are now a key facet of tourism governance research. This branch of the tourism literature also includes a focus on inter-organisational partnership processes and stages and their application in tourism research studies. Finally, this section concludes with a specific focus on the role of tourism partnerships in protected areas.

The final section considers research on evolution, path dependence and institutional change and how these have been applied and used in tourism studies. All three papers in the thesis include themes of evolution, so covering this in the literature review further enhances the coherence and logic of the thesis. Evolution in tourism has been a longstanding focus for tourism research, so this part of the review covers concepts such as the tourist area life-cycle (TALC - Butler, 1980). The review also considers how these evolutionary models have been applied to tourism partnerships. More recently,

tourism research has begun to adopt evolutionary perspectives from other social science fields, such as historical institutionalism. The review goes on to explore these developments, including the concepts of 'historical institutionalism', 'path dependence' and 'co-evolution', and it also examines other related theories and how these are now being applied in tourism research.

2.1) Sustainable Tourism and trends in Protected Areas

One key focus of the research study is sustainable tourism within the setting of protected areas. This was a primary interest for me within the doctoral inquiry and subsequently, one of the first areas of literature I tackled. As noted later on in this chapter, the scope of sustainable tourism in the academic literature is considerable and while I engaged in pre-reading around what is sustainable tourism, its established principles and its roots as an alternative approach to mass tourism (Hughes, Weaver and Pforr, 2015), here I have kept the review to focus on sustainable tourism and protected areas.

Protected areas are now required to dedicate attention to sustainable tourism, and related institutions are increasingly charged with developing policy which incorporates sustainable tourism initiatives and actions. The three published papers submitted for this PhD intransitively explore the evolution of both sustainable tourism policies and related institutions. Subsequently, the intention of this section of the thesis is to review the relevant key concepts which underpin the research in the three published papers. This first section of the literature therefore begins with discussion around the trends of sustainable tourism in protected areas.

The current field of sustainable tourism research has a broad and varied spectrum. Scholars have provided a diverse range of research which considers sustainable tourism and natural or protected areas (Becken and Job 2014). Examples of research relating to sustainable tourism and protected areas include emphasis on numerous topics such as the governance and planning of protected areas (Eagles, 2009; McCool,

2009; Plummer and Fennell, 2009; Laven, Wall-Reinius and Fredman 2015). Similarly, park management has also received attention (Buckley, 2003; Eagles, Coburn and Swartman, 2014; Cottrell and Cutumisu 2006). Planning for more sustainable and inclusive forms of tourism has likewise been covered through discussions on community involvement and community-based tourism (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Jamal and Stronza, 2009). The role of marketing and how it can assist with sustainable tourism goals within protected areas has been addressed (Sharpley and Pearce, 2007; Gilmore and Simmons 2007) as has the function of small businesses and sustainable tourism (Dewhurst and Thomas 2003). Tubb (2003) has also presented research on interpretation and sustainable tourism in a protected area context. The role of sustainable tourism principles, charters and guidelines are also considered (Foxlee, 2007; Boyd, 2000; Eagles, McCool, and Haynes 2001).

Such diversity of topics within sustainable tourism underlines its broad scope for potential study; however this thesis does not have the capacity to examine all of the above topics relating to sustainable tourism and protected areas. Focus is given to relevant growing trends in protected areas which may play a role in influencing the development of sustainable tourism.

Growing trends in Protected Areas

Protected areas, like many parts of the tourism industry, have been increasingly subject to shifting global trends (Becken and Job, 2014). It is important for researchers to understand how these shifts are affecting both protected areas and their subsequent tourism development.

This section of the literature review evaluates the current debates about the changing trends within protected areas. These debates are significant; firstly they allow the research to develop a greater understanding of the surrounding contexts and trends in which sustainable tourism policies are developed. Secondly, this importantly helps to offer explanations as to why sustainable tourism policies are being developed within protected areas and subsequently, English National Parks.

Paper 2 uniquely identifies these trends in one place then evaluates them against the case study of the Lake District National Park.

2.1.1) Increasing integration of community socio-economic well-being with environmental protection

Protected areas and their management processes have undergone some significant transformations over the last century. Changes include different approaches and techniques on how they are managed and who should be considered when making decisions about their management and future. Hanna, Clark and Slocombe (2008 p.1) note that globally '*how best to manage them (protected areas) have been completely transformed within the span of most contemporary parks managers' careers*'. Similarly Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007) acknowledge that there were some distinct alterations in park management towards the end of the last century.

It is notable that previous approaches tended to focus on the preservation of an area or species and did not give consideration to the societies living within or near to the boundaries of protected areas. This is a significant factor in terms of how policy is decided and implemented in protected areas.

Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007) explore this change in approach to the management of protected areas within Western Europe and in North America. They suggest that a paradigm shift has occurred in protected area policy within Europe and beyond. Prior to the 20th century they note that preservation and protection occurred with minimal understanding of integration and little attempts to think beyond the boundaries of the protected area. They explain how protection of an area was often 'sectorial' which only focussed on a species or specific area. Equally Becken and Job's (2014) analysis of the milestones and evolution of protected area paradigms also points towards previous management approaches in North America which concentrated on the protection of landscapes and species, then consideration of biospheres and specific ecosystems. However, humans were not a feature of these management concepts.

More recently research suggests a more integrated approach to protected area management has emerged which links environmental protection with development and socio-economic opportunities for the communities linked with the protected area, subsequently increasing the role of the bodies that administer and manage protected areas. Beresford and Philips (2000, p.21) point towards the International Union for Conservation and Nature (IUCN2018a), the global body that engages in categorising protected areas as acknowledging *'the need to give more attention to protected area models based upon people living alongside nature'*.

The literature goes on to argue that more recently isolated protection approaches began to be replaced with eco-system based management techniques (or similar approaches) which adopt a more integrative approach that considers their influence beyond the park boundaries and incorporates greater integration between humans and conservation (Mose and Weixlbaumer 2007, Becken and Job 2014). Michealidou *et al* (2002) explain that this integration of conservation and development needs emerged as an alternative to the 'fences and fines' approach that was perhaps viewed as ineffective, partly due to its top-down method to conservation which excluded humans from those areas. Furthermore, the rationale for integration between conservation and development is that increased human interaction fosters greater support for conservation and, potentially, results in benefits for both communities and the environment (Michaelidou, Decker, and Lassoie 2002).

Beresford and Philips (2000) advocate and explore this shift in the work 'Protected Landscapes: A conservation model for the 21st century' and underline the widening set of considerations for protected areas:

'Where once the emphasis was on setting places aside, we now look to develop linkages between strictly protected core areas and the areas around: economic links which bring benefits to local people, and physical links, via ecological corridors, to provide more space for species and natural processes' (Bereford and Philip, 2000 p.19).

They label this move in the protected area context as the 'New Paradigm for Protected Areas' (Beresford and Philips, 2000 p.17).

Similarly, Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007) describe this shift in park protection moving from being focussed protection of species and land to an integrative approach that adopts a 'policy mix' which combines societal tasks and 'acceptance of all relevant parties' and greater cooperative efforts. They define these distinct approaches as the 'static-preservation' approach and the 'dynamic-innovation approach.

Becken and Job (2014) reflect on the evolution of protected areas and consider their 'milestones' in management practice since the first creation of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872. They highlight that during their existence, parks and protected areas have endured a widening of roles and remits that includes greater consideration of development for communities of the protected areas and as well those beyond their traditional borders:

'Increasingly, other roles have been added (to protected areas), including safeguarding ecological services, providing living space for local/and or indigenous populations, supporting livelihoods at regional and national levels through the creation of commercial tourism products, and encompassing a range of culturally determined landscape values held at the local, regional and national scales'

(Becken and Job 2014 p.509).

Similarly, Hanna, Clark and Slocombe's (2008) work looks at the transformation of protected areas globally, the expanding role of protected areas and the increased participation of other stakeholders in the governance process is also explored. The authors acknowledge the emergence of a 'new paradigm for protected areas', labelled as such 8 years previously by Beresford and Philips (2000):

'Recent changes have also created awareness and opportunities for newly innovative and traditional concerns with ecological elements in protected areas and parks management have grown steadily more numerous in recent years (e.g. Hulme and Murphee, 1999; Western, 2000; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2005), and this approach has, broadly, been labelled the 'new paradigm' for protected areas (Beresford and Phillips, 2000). Businesses and civil society institutions are assuming a significantly larger role in the governance of protected areas.' (Hanna, Clark and Slocombe, 2008 p.1)

This emphasis on community socio-economic well-being and involvement is also formalised and aligned with the International Union for Conservation and Nature

(IUCN) goals of sustainable development and of Category V protected areas. The IUCN plays a key role in categorising and classifying protected areas according to their management objectives. Such categories have international and national recognition and are encouraged to be included in government legislation worldwide (IUCN 2018). Protected areas have a variety of goals and the extent to which socio-economic well-being and community involvement is included in the management plan will also determine their categorisation. After the World Park Congress in 1992, the IUCN developed new guidelines for protected area designation and 6 categories were introduced that considered the 'nature and intensity of permissible land uses' (Leroux et al 2010 p.610). This included Category V which is described as:

'A protected area where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values.' (IUCN 2012).

Locke and Dearden (2005, p.1) note that the new categories allowed for greater emphasis on benefits to communities and on the link between humans and conservation:

'The paradigm focuses on benefits to local people to alleviate poverty, reengineering protected areas professionals, and an emphasis on the interaction between humans and nature through a focus on the new IUCN protected area categories'

Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007) also acknowledge in the European context that Category V protected areas represent the advancement of a paradigm shift and that one 'key outcome' of this new approach is the orientation towards the sustainable development of protected areas. Indeed, objectives for Category V also include *'To act as models of sustainability so that lessons can be learnt for wider application'* (IUCN 2012). Francis (2008 p.31) suggests that approaches to integrate conservation and development were used in *'the more economically peripheral regions in the world and that is consistent with the sustainability theme recognized by the IUCN in their classification of protected area.'*

2.1.2) Protected areas are potentially placing greater emphasis on the social economic well-being of their communities which may encourage tourism development

Another interesting theme which emerged through the review of literature on protected area management was the role of tourism development and how this may be encouraged through a growing policy emphasis on social and economic wellbeing of communities, despite longstanding concerns over tourism's environmental impacts.

Tourism has often been a significant factor in the original designation of protected areas through its potential to foster awareness and support for protection as well as encourage healthy outdoor activity. The first parks were planned and managed in North America. Boyd and Butler (2000) note that tourism and recreation were present in their creation and the expectation of tourism has been extant in many subsequent protected areas. In a European context, the desire for recreation and retreat from industrial cities also helped to shape the establishment of protected areas (Mose and Weixlbaumer 2007). Therefore, the connection between tourism and protected areas is unsurprising. Furthermore, tourism and recreation has also provided the opportunity for increased awareness of conservation within protected areas. Bushell and McCool (2007, p.23) argue that visitation and nature-based tourism activities are a *'critical component of fostering support for parks and conservation when planned as a conservation tool'*.

Acceptance of tourism has sometimes been constrained by concerns that tourism can lead to excessive visitation, especially if it is combined with a strongly 'profit-seeking orientation' approach and poor planning (Whitelaw, King & Tolkach, 2014, p. 585). However, visitation and tourism development within protected areas has resulted in concerns over its impact on fragile environments, hence the requirement for considered planning. Bushell and McCool (2007, p.12) echo this argument by affirming that poorly planned tourism management can have ecological, social and cultural

consequences, including the deterioration of cultural landscapes, threatened biodiversity and diminishing resources:

'If poorly planned and managed, the ecological, social and cultural consequences of tourism can be considerable (McLaren, 1997; Mastney, 2001; Christ et al., 2003). Tourism can contribute to the deterioration of cultural landscapes, threaten biodiversity, contribute to pollution and degradation of ecosystems, displace agricultural land and open spaces, diminish water and energy and water sources drive local communities deeper into poverty.'

The increasing focus on the socio-economic development of communities living within or near protected areas, however, can encourage greater acceptance of tourism's importance for its economic benefits. Sharpley and Pearce (2007, p.558) highlight this argument and suggest that tourism development is increasingly being promoted as a socio-economic regeneration tool including for rural regeneration in contexts where environment and tourism are intimately linked:

'Moreover, within the rural context, where the relationship between tourism and its environment is, perhaps, most intimate and where tourism is increasingly considered an effective vehicle for socioeconomic regeneration and diversification (Roberts & Hall, 2001), sustainable tourism development has become a principal, though contested, feature of policy and practice (Butler et al., 1998).'

Similarly, Francis (2008, p.31) suggests that tourism development is a preferred option for protected areas in industrialised countries which may need to move away from dependency on declining agricultural and other resource extraction industries:

'There are similar needs to protect protected areas in industrialized countries, but the means to do so often entail easing out of dependencies on declining agricultural or other resource extraction industries and toward some other alternative, often sought by tourism development.'

Gilmore and Simmons (2007 p.192) note that in the UK context those in charge of managing protected areas have begun to think more strategically about tourism and how development for tourism can *'attempt to reconcile tourism marketing, local community needs, economic growth and the preservation of the environment'* .

Puhakka and Saarinen (2013) likewise revealed in their study of Finnish National Parks, that the role of tourism was increasingly justified through goals of regional and socio-economic development.

Additionally, some authors suggest that protected areas are also being encouraged to self-fund in light of reduction in government funding. Tourism has in turn, become an attractive option of self-funding in these circumstances (Whitelaw, King and Tolkach, 2014; Boyd 2000). As well as protected areas placing greater focus on socio-economic well-being of their communities, trends in the literature also point towards a stronger emphasis on widening actor engagement.

2.1.3) Protected areas are placing greater emphasis on widening actor engagement

A third trend noted by researchers is an increased endorsement of the principle of wider actor engagement in policymaking and management for protected areas. Greater actor engagement is intrinsic to the proposed overarching new paradigm to managing protected areas. Scherl and Edwards (2007) confer the need for a more integrated approach to managing protected areas as discussed earlier in section 1.1. Within this more integrated approach, they emphasise a need for a holistic perspective which seeks to include more actors in the management of protected areas. Correspondingly, Francis (2008) highlights how civil society is becoming encouraged to act in partnership with each other and ‘collectively achieve’ goals that cannot be fulfilled in isolation. Francis also comments about the increasing discourse of actor engagement how this is *‘necessary to put protection for protected areas on a sounder basis’* (Francis 2008 p.17). Philips (2003) is a key advocate for this new style of management to protected areas and strongly argues that wider actor engagement, is now a ‘standard way’ of working amongst professionals in this context. The inclusion of different tiers of partners, the private sector and local people are considered to be *‘main elements of modern paradigm for protected areas’* (Philips 2003 p.19).

Authors also suggest that in view of the complex and turbulent political, economic and social contexts in which protected areas operate, a more cooperative approach to

planning, in particular tourism planning, is required. When tourism is thrown into the protected area mix, further complications may be encountered due to differing goals and varying interests and, therefore, greater cooperation may be required to overcome differences and include interests. Lovelock (2010 p.6) notes that protected natural areas and the implementation of tourism *'pose a special problem for stakeholder relations'* and that collaboration may be significant for areas with tourism activity. Equally, McCool (2009 p.138) argues that tourism is often conducted in a scene of 'messiness' with conflicting goals and uncertain relationships, therefore planning of tourism in protected areas should seek to build on consensus *'about appropriate direction and emphasize learning to deal with uncertainty'*. He goes on to advocate the potential of tourism planning partnerships arrangements which seek to include multiple interests. Wider actor engagement in the protected area context and, in particular for tourism, in these settings is further endorsed by Bushell and McCool (2007 p.20) who suggest alternative approaches that include greater support from non-government bodies, local communities and private land owners is necessary to make up for *'short comings of government policies'* and to ensure effective conservation.

Such inclusive approaches may result from protected areas needing to respond to rising expectations that they consider community well-being and from rising attention to the goal of sustainable development. Plummer and Fennell (2009 p.149) contend the demand for tourism in protected areas has created opportunities for *'local communities to diversify livelihoods by capitalizing on a number of different economies in sustaining community as well as the tourism industry in more general'*. Becken and Job (2014) however suggest that more specifically, as management of protected areas becomes increasingly devolved to local communities, the protected area results in becoming increasingly used as an economic resource, including a means of tourism, making an integrated approach to management more complex.

2.1.4) Protected areas now place greater emphasis on sustainable development

The literature has revealed so far that protected areas have undergone and encompassed some shifting trends. Firstly, integration and linking of management objectives such as socio-economic well-being and environmental conservation appear to be a feature of protected area management. Secondly, socio-economic well-being of communities has perhaps received greater attention particularly through tourism development. Thirdly, interlinked with these trends of integration and community well-being is the increasing emphasis of widening actor involvement in policy making and management of parks, particularly in relation to tourism in protected areas. Another area which has received attention in the literature is the greater emphasis protected areas management and policy are now placing on the significance of sustainable development.

Some authors argue that sustainable development has become a primary development aim in some protected areas and has increased in popularity over the past 30 years. Hammer (2007 p.23) depicts the sustainable development concept in the context of protected areas as one which accepts *'human development that does not destroy natural resources'* and therefore attention is directed to reconciling more of the tensions between man and nature. Boyd (2000 p.161) similarly identifies sustainable development as a concept which has become popular due its recognition of the need for change between both *'societies and economies and the relationships that exist between economic growth and environment'*.

Often protected areas are viewed as representing contexts where it should be more possible to strive for the relatively effective delivery of sustainable development; especially as in these areas it should be possible to consider both socio-economic and environmental issues. Boyd (2000) for example proposes that protected areas provide *'great potential'* for embracing sustainable development and becoming settings for sustainable landscapes. Barker and Stockdale (2008) also point towards the tensions that can occur in protected area settings and that the desire to resolve these issues has meant greater emphasis on sustainable development. They go on to state that though

protected areas are still domains of conservation and protection, they are also increasingly *'evolving as mechanisms for the delivery of sustainable development objectives'* (Barker and Stockdale, 2008 p.182).

This support for sustainable development in protected areas is perhaps unsurprising given the degree of encouragement from the wider environmental community. Barker and Stockdale (2008 p.183) highlight WCED calls for governments to think about 'parks for development' and the "Fourth Congress on National Parks" held in Caracas in 1992 suggested that *'national park effectiveness would require a wider understanding of the socio-economic, political and cultural processes in operation within designated areas'*. These areas are increasingly seen as places where traditional remit to conserve the environment means that it ought to be possible to ensure that economic development does not occur at the expense of the environment (Hunter 1997, Boyd 2000 p.183) points out that areas of protection may have existing historical arrangements which include mechanisms for *'advanced policy that supports sustainable thinking in how they are both and managed'*.

Furthermore, some authors argue that sustainable development policies seek to protect and enhance natural, social and cultural resources, and that it is in the interests of tourism businesses in areas such as national parks to pursue protection of the environment. Sharpley (2003) argues that tourism businesses have a vested interest in following policies that are underpinned with the principles of sustainable development. This interest may stem from genuine concern of the environment and commitment to acting responsibly and ethically, or perhaps because it makes good business sense to do so. Boyd (2000 p.163) correspondingly offers a view that the tourism industry may see the chance to adopt sustainable development principles as an *'opportunity to market itself as taking responsibility for the changes it can exert on environments'* and therefore provide opportunities for the promotion of *'green programmes of better accountability'*.

2.1.5) Greater emphasis towards integration and widening participating may be encouraging sustainable tourism development in protected areas

Given these proposed trends identified so far in the literature of greater integration between socio-economic well-being and conservation, widening actor participation, the role of tourism development in achieving socio-economic goals and the additional trend of greater importance of sustainable development in protected areas, it is perhaps unsurprising that some authors have suggested that protected areas may be encouraging sustainable forms of tourism development. For example, Pegas and Castley (2014 p.604) argue that sustainable tourism, with its 'triple-bottom line ideology' has emerged as a popular strategy for tourism development that is required to consider both people and nature. Indeed, tourism development can increasingly be seen as a means to achieve multiple policy goals, including: encouraging economic growth; employment creation; economic diversification; the re-population of rural areas; and the promotion of awareness of the importance of landscape and environmental protection (Eagles, McCool & Haynes, 2002).

MacLellan (2007 p181) subsequently points out that protected areas are therefore likely to seek out '*sustainable solutions*' to tourism development and conservation requirements. Successively, the notion of sustainable tourism might be especially appealing for policy integration in protected areas, notably because it offers the prospect of '*balancing environmental and tourism needs with the sustainable socio-economic development of local communities*' (Sharpley 2007 p.557). MacLellan (2007 p.180) also notes that the concept of sustainable tourism proposes a '*great utility to how parks may be planned and managed for tourism*'. Neto (2003) provides an example of this by drawing attention to comments made at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 about measures to implement and promote sustainable tourism and increase:

"the benefits from tourism resources for the population in host communities while maintaining the cultural and environmental integrity of the host communities and enhancing the protection of ecologically sensitive areas and natural heritages" (UN, 2002b: chap. 1.2)."

In justifying and explaining approaches to sustainable tourism, many researchers point out that tourism should naturally be aligned to the principles of sustainable development if a protected area is to remain secure from environmental damage. Eagles, McCool and Haynes (2002) warn that a 'precautionary approach' to tourism development is required in protected areas given the concern over risk of damage to the natural environments. Sustainable tourism could be perceived as an opportunity to force all forms of tourism and leisure activities to '*comply with the principles of sustainability*' within fragile natural environments (Bushell, Staiff and Eagles 2007, p.4).

Here, the literature review has provided us with a useful context to the driving forces and shifts relating to protected areas. It has drawn together literature that relates to growing trends and allowed us view why protected area management has changed and how this may have been directed practitioners to include sustainable development in tourism policies. Tourism and protected areas has been heavily covered in tourism academia (Buckley 2012), as has attention to protected areas and their changing nature (Hanna *et al* 2008, Beresford and Philips 2000). However, there two key limitations of the current literature around sustainable tourism policies and protected. Firstly, sustainable tourism policies tend to be addressed in isolation, separate from their contextual features and other potentially related policy domains. Therefore, the second limitation is that there little research which draws out how and why sustainable tourism policies have emerged. This leaves us with questions about whether sustainable tourism policies are entirely new formulations or are they reformulations and relabelled, and how they may be encouraged or restrained through other important policies not related to tourism.

Current research does not explicitly seek out how and why some of the trends noted above, and other contextual factors not identifiable in the literature, are influencing and encouraging sustainable tourism policies into broader protected area policies. Collins (1999) and Butler (1999) both advise that researchers and emphasis on sustainable tourism needs to be much broader and go beyond single site observations that predominately focus on the environmental facets of sustainable tourism. While,

these calls may be somewhat dated, they are still relevant and current, particularly in the face of increasing complexity and the transformational nature of protected areas (Hanna et al. 2008). Moscardo (2007) draws on Collin's and Butler's arguments and advocates practitioners and researchers adopting new ways of thinking about sustainable tourism, including moving away from sustainable tourism as a singular approach to tourism development to one that considers tourism development more broadly and its links to other sectors. This includes taking a more serious approach to monitoring sustainable tourism related activities as this can provide significant knowledge for practitioners and researchers.

The effectiveness of sustainable tourism development as a concept has been further scrutinised by Butler (2018). Butler argues that while the desire for sustainable tourism may be a worthy one, particularly in protected areas contexts, its pursuit is redundant if only addressed in a singular non holistic fashion. Butler (2018 p.1789) points out that,

'Tourism does not take place separately from other activities, nor does it occur in a vacuum. It is part and parcel of human life and occurs in real world environments with links and relationships to many natural elements and processes. It is inconsistent to consider sustainable tourism or sustainable agriculture or sustainable fishing as distinct from each other and from the world as a whole. Thus, when we consider so-called sustainable tourism development in sensitive environments, we should in fact be considering tourism as one part of overall development, not as a separate element.'

Butler's (2018) point is pertinent in the context of an earlier argument proposed by Moscardo (2007 p.10) who suggests that,

'The dual challenge for tourism researchers is to find ways to effectively transfer existing knowledge about tourism and tourists directly to regional communities and to further develop an understanding of tourism as a social and economic phenomenon.'

Dredge and Jamal (2013) highlight the complexities that destinations face if they are to be managed in a sustainable manner. Their study of sustainable tourism and mobilities on the Gold Coast, outlines how populations of tourists, residents, recreationalists and second home owners all intersect to create physical, social, political and economic characteristics of a place. They explore the tensions that can occur between established sustainable tourism principles, governances and local communities, and

the impact on the destinations mobilities. While a different context to the study here, the issues of complex tensions are relatable to many tourism scenarios, including protected areas. Dredge and Jamal (2013) conclude that in order to equip practitioners for managing destinations in a sustainable fashion, **then** new approaches to data gathering and analysis are required.

The research and findings presented in the second paper of the thesis addresses the limitations noted here and produces new insights which may be beneficial for regional communities as suggested by Moscardo above. The paper purposefully draws out the role of contextual factors and observes how they interact and influence sustainable tourism policies. We see how sustainable tourism is formulated and its evolution in the protected area case study. This paper shows how far reaching tourism policy's and its integrative nature with other various policy domains and other everyday actions are. Similarly, the third paper (The temporal evolution of tourism institutions.) responds to calls for new approaches to analysing data within tourism in order to create a better understanding of the complex nature of tourism.

The next section of the review moves on to discuss a second key theme within the doctoral inquiry of partnership working.

2.2) Tourism Partnership Working

Partnership working and its role in sustainable tourism and protected areas is a key feature of the papers presented in this thesis. Therefore moving my review from the topic of sustainable tourism to tourism partnership working is natural one, **this** section begins with some exploration of their interconnected links. Here, I have attempted to start discussing partnership working in its broad context and how this has become an increasing feature of governance approaches. This provides a useful insight into why collaborations have been advocated and in turn assisted with my findings in both paper 1 (Stage and path dependence approaches to the evolution of a national park tourism partnership) and paper 2 (The temporal evolution of tourism institutions). This

section required me to go on beyond the tourism literature and to delve into both political and organisation literature. Next, the section focuses on research around specific tourism partnerships. This was useful as it led me to develop a sense of where the gaps in tourism partnership research might and how my study could fit within this academic field. This section included the temporal natural of tourism partnerships from an organisational perspective and how the internal organisational processes can affect the effectiveness of partnerships. Through this phase of reviewing the literature, I realised that a significant number of tourism partnership research had studied collaborative efforts within protected areas, therefore tourism partnerships within protected areas warranted its own section within the review as they are significant for the broader tourism academic field.

A key theme of sustainable development has been what institutional arrangements are most appropriate for fulfilling its core aims and advancing progressive change (Glasbergen 2007). Partnership working and collaborative efforts has in effect become a popular node for implementing sustainable development and have been viewed as the '*preferred vehicle of sustainable change*' (Glasbergen 2007 p.4). In particular, they have become a common feature of the tourism industry as it attempts to tackle the complex issues related to sustainable development (Vernon et al. 2005). Sustainable tourism has therefore become synonymous with partnership working. Sustainable development advocates greater equity for a wider set of key stakeholders, here partnership working can potentially increase the range of views and seek to include multiple stakeholders from a broader set of interests (Bramwell and Lane 2000). Partnership working and increased stakeholder involvement may also lead to more flexible policies that are more appropriate for local areas and the changing environment as well as, to deeper '*consideration of the diverse economic, environmental and social issues that affect sustainable development of resources*' (Bramwell and Lane 2000, p.15).

This connection between sustainable tourism and partnership working, has, as indicated above, become significant for protected areas. Moore and Weiler (2009) highlight that tourism partnerships in protected areas are opportunities to pay

attention to economic, cultural and ecological sustainability with the inclusion of the tourism industry and local communities. Therefore, focussing on the structures of institutional arrangements such as partnership working can provide greater understanding about the implementation of policies and actions related to sustainable tourism and how sustainable tourism policies are manifested through these collaborative efforts. With this in mind, the doctoral inquiry has sought to include focus on both sustainable tourism policies and partnership working arrangements within protected areas.

2.2.1) Partnership working as a feature of 'new governance'

In the past 50 years, there have been substantial changes in the manner that western societies are commonly governed. This has been described as the "third way", where traditional forms of government hierarchies and markets have given way to a new form of networked governance (Stoker, 1999, 2004). This entails adopting a regional approach to developing policy, and attempting to address regional economic problems by increasing community participation through networks of social capital (Sandford, 2005).

It requires the development of complex networks and a commitment to 'bottom up' methods of decision-making in the context of widening numbers of participants who are seen as 'legitimate' (Stoker, 2006). Consequently, there is now an expectation on governments to find new ways of growing collaborations as *'the interdependence of a range of individuals and organisations intensifies'* (Stoker 2006 p.41).

Within a UK context, new governance has evolved in part as a reaction to a number of barriers associated with traditional government. One issue that new governance has sought to address in the UK is the lack of coordination and the *'fragmentation of the public realm arising from privatisation'* (Mawson as cited in Sanford, 2005 p. 42). Consequently, the UK's Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were created and they absorbed several previous executive agency functions, including those of some of the regional tourist boards. One key role of the RDAs was to draw up a 'regional economic

development strategy, whilst working with regional partners and *'building on existing competitive partnerships'* (Sandford, 2005 p.47).

More recently, the trend towards localism, privatisation and moving further away from government-controlled state has increased through regime change in the UK. The coalition government elected in 2010 showed signs of continuities of the governance, through a commitment to the 'Big Society' and the "Localism Bill", which would aim to shift *'the focus from central government and agency-led monitoring to a stronger form of local accountability and responsiveness.'* (Lowndes & Pratchett 2012 p.27). However, the context during this period was one of austerity and cut backs, therefore a "Spending Review" in late 2010 confirmed several cuts in public spending (Lowndes and Pratchett, 2012) and a further commitment to remove the regional tier of government. This meant that regional bodies such as the RDAs were abolished with the expectation that local governments would then have the power to establish more local arrangements such as the "Local Enterprise Partnership" (Sandford 2013).

The importance of government collaborating with industry stakeholders was also highlighted in the "Brundtland Report" (1987). That report identified the need to raise the levels of understanding and commitment between individuals, voluntary organisations, businesses, and governments through cooperative measures (Mose, 2007). Glasbergen (2007) notes that governance for sustainable development has, essentially, often become an attempt to structure cooperatively the relationships of stakeholders around the sustainability issue. Subsequently, this emphasis on local relationships may have provided opportunities to put into practice Brundtland's (1987) ideals.

2.2.2) Partnerships and their wider environment

A wider contextual factor related to the emergence of new governance and sustainable development objectives is that partnership working is increasingly accepted to achieve goals previously unattainable through individual efforts (Gray, 1996; Huxham, 1996).

Organisations are motivated to engage in collaborations or partnerships for a variety of reasons; one such reason is that it is an opportunity for individuals to legitimise their interests where previously they were not viable (Huxham, 1996). Furthermore, partnership working is also considered to be a workable reaction to the turbulent and complex environments that organisations operate in (Selin and Chavez, 1995; Jamal and Getz 1995). In a turbulent field, there are competing organisations all acting independently and in differing directions, and these organisations can *'produce unanticipated and dissonant consequences in the overall environment which they share'* (Jamal & Getz 1995 p.188). This means that individual efforts are often viewed as ineffective ways to manage turbulent conditions (Gray 1989, Jamal & Getz 1995, p.188). Therefore, collaboration between numerous stakeholders may contribute to overcoming such complex environments (Gray 1989).

2.2.3) Partnerships in tourism research

Tourism-related organisations often operate in turbulent environments that are affected by complex economic, political and social pressures, all of which encourage organisations to work collaboratively in their policy making and management (Selin and Chavez 1995). Selin (1999) underlines that tourism partnerships and collaborations have become 'commonplace' within tourism policy and planning. Such partnerships may take many different forms from multinational alliances, joined up regional authority collaborations to community based tourism activities (Selin, 1999). Tourism academia has subsequently paid attention to the phenomena of tourism partnerships.

A strong theme which emerges from the tourism literature concerns the extent to which stakeholders reach consensus about the outcomes and decisions made in the partnership process. This raises questions regarding the democratic legitimacy of partnerships and whether they are sustainable entities (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Richardson and Connelly, 2001; Ritchie, 1999). Furthermore, the research also considers the legitimacy of the different stakeholders engaged in tourism partnerships as well as those stakeholders who struggle to gain legitimacy (Jamal and Eyre, 2003).

Trust is another key theme in tourism partnership research, as partnerships can be severely hampered or slow to reach outcomes if they are hampered by divergent positions or histories of previous conflicts (Gray, 1996; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Deakin and Wilkinson, 1995). The role of partnership facilitators is also considered in some of this research. This is particularly significant as the ability of partnerships to overcome barriers and reach consensus can be attributed to the personal and professional qualities of the facilitator (Gray, 1996; Schuman 1996).

2.2.4) Temporal perspectives in tourism partnerships; stages and lifecycle models

This section of the literature review dedicates attention to the temporal perspectives and lifecycle models that have been applied specifically to tourism partnerships.

Tourism literature has also evaluated the historical evolution of tourism partnerships. Many researchers have concentrated on developing models of the stages or phases that tourism partnerships go through. These models have been greatly influenced by the work on inter-organizational collaborations from McCann (1983) and Gray (1985, 1996). Gray's (1985) "Process model of collaboration" focuses on the internal processes and the broad stages that a collaborative arrangement may move through in sequential fashion. Firstly, three stages are identified. The 'problem setting phase' requires the assembling of all the relevant stakeholders and attempting to gain '*mutual acknowledgement of the issue that joins them together*' (Gray 1985 p.916) and aiming to negotiate on issues such as legitimacy and to develop understanding on the interdependence amongst the stakeholders. This concept stresses the importance of addressing critical issues in the early collaboration if the outcomes are to be successful. Gray and McCann suggest that the collaboration will then move towards the 'direction setting' phase which may include the establishment of ground rules and the opportunity for stakeholders to articulate their interests to create a shared vision or common goal. In turn this would 'direct' the actions of the collaboration (Gray 1985). The final phase suggested is the 'structuring' or 'implementation' stage which involves ensuring that agreements are reached and followed through in practice. This may include assigning roles to stakeholders and securing institutional arrangements for

implementation of proposed actions (Gray, 1996; Gray, 1985). In addition to this proposed sequence of phases, Gray does suggest that different conditions are required during the different phases to facilitate successful collaboration. Such conditions include identifying the right stakeholders in the first phase, and agreeing the legitimacy of the stakeholders or the 'characteristics of the convenor' during the direction setting phase (Gray, 1985).

Examples of tourism applications and adaptations of Gray's (1985) model include, Parker (2000) who examines tourism development and stakeholder strategy on the Caribbean island of Bonaire, and Selin and Chavez's (1995) "Evolutionary model of tourism partnerships". Paper 1 use's Gray's model as mode of analysis for a tourism partnership within the Peak District National Park. The stage model allowed for insight into the internal processes of the partnership.

Selin and Chavez (1995) build on Gray's model and analyse three U.S. Forest service tourism-related partnerships. Their framework acknowledges that the external environment plays a role in initiating a collaboration and therefore Selin and Chavez proposed a 'antecedents' phase, which highlights several factors that may act as 'catalysts' for collaboration, prior to the 'problem setting phase'. They also include an 'outcomes' phase which comes after the 'structuring phase'. Selin and Chavez (1995 p.850) also offer an evolutionary dynamic to this framework by proposing that partnerships *'undergo a cyclical re-evaluation of purpose which often leads to a broadening of focus if the partnership is to flourish.'*

Bramwell and Araujo (2002) also build on and adapt both Gray's (1985) and Selin and Chavez's (1995) models in their evaluation of tourism planning in Brazil's Costa Dourada. They provide a framework which considers processes and relationships of partnerships and identifies external influences and how these can induce change.

Another example of a tourism partnership 'stage' model life cycle suggests that partnerships move through several phases, including 'take off', 'growth', 'prime', 'deceleration' and then into an 'after life' phase (Caffyn, 2000). Caffyn adopts the Life-

cycle model, made popular in the tourism context by Butler (1980), and applies it to the context of the North Pennines Tourism Partnership, in the UK. This approach uncovers the influence of the organisational context on the partnership (changing to funding regimes here are significant), the significance of growth of the partnership, and provides a comparative analysis on the lifespan of other similar partnerships.

The literature review so far echoes the interest in the temporal nature of partnerships and, more broadly, how partnerships make up institutional arrangements in the tourism sector and how, from an internal perspective, move through various stages. The models often discuss external factors, perhaps as 'antecedents' or 'catalysts' for starting collaboration, but there is less attention about the exogenous environment and how this affects processes, policies, and actions of such arrangements. It should also be noted here how case studies in relation to this have often drawn on natural area contexts which require some conservation management, reflecting trends towards greater collaboration in such protected areas.

Some proposed advantages of these stage models is that they can be beneficial as they simplify complex situations and reduce the minutiae involved in order to offer clarity in understanding. These models offer general summations of the stages through which partnerships move and provide insights into the internal practices which organisations may adopt in response. They are useful tools for practitioners as they can provide information on how to structure a collaboration and offer expectations in terms of processes. Additionally, more critically, they indicate difficulties in partnership working and indicate how challenges might be avoided (Dredge and Lawrence, 2007). For researchers, they provide an 'ideal type' and allow for simplicity, clarity and further development of ideas (Weber, 1947).

While these models have their heuristic value, they have limitations. One criticism discussed in paper 1 is that they are too simplistic and focus primarily on the internal organisation of the partnership. For example, problems that are experienced within the partnership may well originate from complex external factors, such as: the approach from national and local government; the impact of major crises and events;

the impact of funding decisions; and the external cultures of varying stakeholder organisations (Araujo & Bramwell, 2002). In short, the models do not fully consider the external political and economic environments in which such collaborations operate.

Secondly, the simplicity of the models may potentially overemphasise the sequential nature of partnerships development. Both McCann (1983) and Gray (1985) do, indeed, acknowledge that collaborations may not move through all of the proposed stages, in turn, and note that the stages may overlap and intersect. Finally, while these models are valuable for the reasons aforementioned, they perhaps do not address the complexity of each individual partnership situation and the interplay, between the internal and external influences, contexts and environments around them.

Paper 1 presented in the thesis, explores and applies the stage models discussed, it further illustrates the strengths of the models and how they provide clarity for researchers thinking and offer a linear view which may be useful for those embarking on a partnership experience. The paper reveals how the partnership studied does follow key phases identified by Gray (1985). However, the critiques of these models are also apparent. Paper 1 goes beyond the models offered in the tourism partnership literature, and sought to address and understand the role of external, historical and past contexts and how these were impacting the trajectory of the partnership. In doing so, the findings offer potential for greater understanding around collaborative efforts and to deal with the complexity rather than reducing complexities to linear phases.

The stage model approaches to understanding partnerships were a crucial element to the earlier phases of the doctoral study. Their application to the case study was significant, as their critiques led the research to draw out other theoretical frameworks that better explain and make sense of their development and trajectories. In turn, as the research developed, the focus of the research moved away from these models to other the model that would potentially serve to draw out the complexities more efficiently.

2.2.5) Tourism partnerships in protected areas

In addition to research themes around tourism partnerships, the context of tourism partnership working in protected areas provides an interesting context and dynamic to collaborative activities, partly due to the turbulent environments in which they operate that require consideration of conflicting management aims. Some authors suggest that partnership working can provide a means of planning to overcome the challenges that are apparent in these complex settings (McCool, 2009; Plummer and Fennel, 2009). One such challenge that may be particularly relevant to the protected area setting is the requirement of managers to consider the interests of a wide range of stakeholders. McCool (2009 p.135) notes that such demands can be an intricate task:

‘constructing such interests in contentious, complex settings often require negotiation among multiple voices expressing goals that are partly shared and partly conflicting. Partnerships can be viewed as mechanisms that provide the venues needed to accomplish this task’.

Lovelock (2010 p.6) similarly highlights that protected areas have a *‘multiplicity of issues’* and, therefore, collaboration is particularly important in relation to tourism where numerous interests exist.

Tourism partnerships can be a response to limited capabilities and reduced funding that protected area authorities may be facing. Laing *et al* (2008) note that, economically, tourism partnerships can be a potential source of additional resources, including skills and expertise, knowledge and funding.

More significantly, it has been noted that tourism partnerships in protected areas can potentially contribute to the goals of sustainable development and help to encourage sustainable tourism (Laing *et al* 2009) which may be more relevant in the protected area domain than in other touristic areas. Laing (2009) also points out that it is therefore unsurprising that partnership working is a key feature of the ‘new paradigm’ discussed by Beresford and Philips (2000), as it supports the notion of a more inclusive approach to governance of protected areas. This is a key reason why the study has chosen both the evolution of sustainable tourism policies, and partnership working. In

protected areas where human actions are interdependent with the natural environment and pursuing conservation goals and economic development aims as required in sustainable forms of tourism, agreeing on how to move forward becomes complex. In turn, inclusive stakeholder approaches such as partnership become crucial implementation mechanisms for sustainable tourism.

The doctoral inquiry pays greater attention to these complexities that exist between partnerships working and protected areas. Both paper 1 and paper 3 explore tourism partnerships within the protected area context and attempt to understand the collaborative process and draw out the intricate relationships that partnership working has between contexts, other policies and human interactions.

This section has reviewed literature which highlights the reasons, issues and contexts in which partnership working and collaboration occur. It has considered how they have become features of 'new governance' in a range of sectors, including tourism. Partnerships may be recognised to have become legitimate tourism institutions that are tasked with delivering a range of activities which incorporate numerous stakeholders. The literature also underlines how collaborative working is essential for implementing sustainable development, making the presence of partnerships particularly relevant for the protected area context where multiple of interests of economy, community well-being and conservation are on the political agenda. It was also relevant to review here literature which discusses the processes and phases through which partnerships are conceived to move, illustrating how broader inter-organisational studies have been incorporated in to the tourism partnership literature.

The next section now moves on to discuss and review the third branch of literature applied and adopted in the research.

2.3) Evolution, path dependence and institutional change in tourism.

The section above provides discussion about tourism partnerships and how they have been evolved through the stage approaches. This section of the literature will continue

to explore evolutionary theoretical approaches and how these have been applied more broadly in tourism research. While both fields of sustainable tourism and partnership working in tourism have been well covered in tourism academia, the study aims to advance both fields through evolutionary perspectives. The literature review was therefore required to broaden its scope to looking at how tourism academia has previously studied the evolution of governance, destinations and institutions. This includes considering the increasing research on how institutions change over time and how both wider contexts and previous actions may impact on future paths.

At this point, I moved on to exploring a range of differing theoretical ideas and models from academic fields relevant to assessments of the evolution of tourism institutions, and then investigate their use in tourism research. Firstly, I began reading tourism studies and evolutionary perspectives, some of which focussed on partnership working as mentioned above, however there was also emerging studies that had begun to draw on the field of Evolutionary Economic Geography. Subsequently, the literature review then widened to gain an understanding of the underpinning original academic fields. This meant exploring both social sciences and economic geography fields. From here, I gained an insight into both Evolutionary Economic Geography and Historical Institutionalism and was able to view how academic fields have borrowed and shared concepts theoretically and in application. A key challenge of the literature review was how to separate these and acknowledge them appropriately in the original fields. As noted in paper 3, the concepts of Evolutionary Economic Geography and Historical Institutionalism had received some criticisms for a potentially over reductive approach to understanding trajectories. Once again I was required to expand the literature review to seek out theories which could account for these issues; this led to the inclusion of Cultural Political Economy and explorations of its application in tourism.

For clarification, it would be useful to have some characterisations of what institutions are. Institutions may be defined as '*arenas of shared rules, norms, typifications*' and are '*systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social relations*' and allow for problems to be solved in a collective manner (Hodgson, 2006. p3; Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate 2016, Steinmo 2014). Assessment on how and why

institutions change over time is important and useful for researchers. Studying institutions allow for examination of the contextual features that influence the decision making process that key actors arrive at (Diermeirer and Kehbeil, 2003). This includes the opportunity to view both the micro- and macro influences and the relationships between them (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002). Their study can also reveal strategic behaviours and reactions to broader events and we can consider how and why institutions follow certain trajectories (Steinmo, 2008).

2.3.1) New approaches to understanding evolution and institutions

In the social sciences, there has been a growing interest in historical circumstances and temporal processes and consideration of how a greater comprehension of these may provide a deeper understanding of past, current and future trajectories and events (Amoore *et al.*, 2000). Martin (2010 p.2) describes this move as an '*evolutionary turn*' across the social sciences in which there is exploration of how socioeconomic systems change over time and have widened to include and draw upon a range of ideas and models from modern evolutionary sciences. One sphere of this new research direction stems from 'Historical Institutionalism' which aims to explore the temporal nature of institutions and their evolutions. Similarly, a sub-branch of economic geography '*Evolutionary Economic Geography*' (EEG) pays attention to the sequential events and changes that occur in economies, industries and technologies and it applies them to geographical places. Essentially, EEG seeks to focus on and understand historical processes and how they impact economic patterns within economic regions, districts or other types of places (Boschma and Frenken, 2010). Both Historical Institutionalism and EEG have been increasingly applied to tourism academia, aiming to improve understanding of the sector and to broaden its research base.

Firstly, this section will review literature from Historical institutionalism and the related tools and concepts. It will then move on to discuss the field of Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG) and its related concepts. However, it should be noted that researchers from both areas use, apply and borrow tools and approaches from across these two academic fields. In an attempt to include as many directly relevant concepts

as possible and to give credit to each field appropriately, I have attempted to separate these fields in this section of the literature review, mindful of the inter-relationships between the conceptual thinking presented.

2.3.2) Historical Institutionalism – concepts and tools

It should be noted here, that the methodology section will also dedicate some focus to Historical Institutionalism and its broader approach in research and its application to this PhD study. However, in this literature review chapter, the author has decided give emphasis here on the key concepts and conceptual tools applied within studies associated with historical analysis.

Historical institutionalism emerged from the political sciences, which provided focus on how political and social behaviour is impacted by institutions and public policy (Cappocia, 2016). Fioretos, Falleti and Sheingate (2016) propose that historical institutionalism provides attention towards the evolution and consequences of institutions at varying levels. They highlight the unlikely circumstances of political events and legacies moving in a neat structured fashion. Instead, such sequences of political phenomena are far more complex, characterised by overlapping structures and incremental changes. Therefore, for historical institutionalists, attention to the temporal character of institutions is crucial as it may offer keys to answering questions such as why policies take their particular form, why institutions privilege certain outcomes, or why inequalities endure (Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, 2016) Similarly, Steimo (2008) asserts that studying the history of institutions (whether they are formal bodies or informal in rules or behaviour) means accepting that history is not a chain of independent events, rather the temporal dimension focuses on variables that shape one another.

Historical Institutionalism also populates a body of research that provides a methodological approach to understanding evolution and trajectories of institutions through a range of analytical tools and concepts (Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, 2016). Paper 3 draws on this body of research and uses many of its associated concepts. The

literature review will now address several of the analytical tools that have been applied in this research study.

One noteworthy concept that has emerged within this field is the notion of 'critical junctures'. Integral to Historical Institutionalism, Cappocia and Keleman (2007 p.341) describe these as '*the building blocks*'. The first concept, of 'critical junctures', was defined by Collier and Collier (1991) as a period of significant change that produces distinct historical legacies. They saw these critical junctures as generating legacies that reproduce themselves, without necessarily having the enduring presence or re-occurrence of the originating causes.

Mahoney (2000) characterises critical junctures as a point in time when an arrangement is selected over others. It becomes 'critical' as once the option is chosen, it becomes difficult to return to the initial point when other arrangements were still available. Critical junctures are therefore inextricably linked to the concept of 'path dependence' as critical junctures can establish the starting points for the path dependent process (Pierson 2004 as cited in Cappocia and Keleman, 2007 p.341). Teague (2009) explains path dependency as the 'functioning' of current institutions that are shaped by previous historical events and, subsequently, potentially influence choices of actors and organisations and affect how they respond to new events and developments. The path dependence concept is concerned with the narrowing down of the scope of alternative actions in and among organisations, so that it becomes difficult to reverse the central pattern of actions (Schreyögg & Sydow, 2011). With path dependence "history matters" because where the situation for institutions develops next depends not only on what the situation is now, but also upon how the situation has developed previously.

Pierson (2004) sees this occurring when the path for institutions involves increasing returns, which represent self-reinforcing feedback, so that deviations from that path are less likely (Boas, 2007). As per the views of Mahoney (2000) there can be sequences of tightly connected reaction and counter-reaction sequences resulting from a contingent event.

In addition to its application to the political and social sciences of Historical Institutionalism, path dependency has also been applied to the study of economics and technology, with such applications often discussed in the EEG literature (Thelen, 1994 p.384). In this context, a significant application of path dependence has been through the understanding of technological trajectories by David (1985) and Arthur (1989), such as the 'QWERTY keyboard' (Thelen 1994, p.384) whereby technologies and markets became 'locked in' to a path through increasing benefits making it difficult to shift to a new process, even though alternative and possibly more effective technologies may become more available. This became known as the 'increasing returns effect' (David, 1985; Thelen, 1994; Mahoney, 2000; Martin and Sunley, 2006; Martin, 2010). Martin (2010) argues that path dependence through 'lock-in' can result in the inability to redirect or change to another path and, subsequently, the path is often only disrupted by an 'external shock', such as the rise of a new major competitor in an existing market.

Like the notion of 'lock in', Mahoney (2000) highlights how self-reinforcing sequences are a key feature of path dependence. He suggests that such sequences may reduce chances of returning to alternative paths because they can easily reproduce an established process or repeat an action and this further reinforces a certain path. Martin (2010) draws the comparison that analysis of self-reinforcing and self-reproducing effects is akin to the increasing returns effect identified by David (1985) and Arthur (1989).

In an institutional context, path dependence may also occur through values, norms and ways of working in organisations. These become socialised and unquestioned among key actors, therefore actors learn to work within a system in a certain way and have invested in a particular policy path (Gains, Johns, & Stoker, 2005: Pierson 2004).

Institutional path dependence may also result from the institutions' influence on actors' resources and incentives, and from their accumulation of skills, knowledge and networks with other actors (Capoccia, 2016). The accumulated political authority and

legitimacy of institutions can also reinforce the policy path (Schreyögg & Sydow, 2011). Both concepts of 'path dependency' and 'critical junctures' have, in turn, perhaps encouraged the view that historical institutionalists observe history which contains a series of short periods of upheaval linked to exogenous shocks, followed by periods of stability. However, Historical Institutionalism also reveals numerous other conceptual tools which uncover and explore more gradual changes that derive from either or both endogenous or exogenous sources (Cappocia, 2016, Thelen 2004).

This focus on gradual and slow change is understandable given the criticisms directed at 'increasing returns' and 'lock-in' for their deterministic or reductionist nature. One criticism of the 'lock in' concept is that it can potentially reduce institutional change to a series of critical junctures (Shwartz 2004). In relation to this, Cappocia and Keleman (2007) point towards Mahoney's (2000 p.513) explanation of critical junctures as *'moments of relative structural indeterminism when wilful actors shape outcomes in a more voluntaristic fashion than normal circumstances permit'*. Additionally, another criticism of the 'increasing returns' notion of path dependence is that it is overly deterministic and mechanical (Thelen 1994) and that socioeconomic systems are distinctly different to technologies such as QWERTY keyboards (Martin 2010). Institutions are made up several micro-level institutions, varying structural arrangements, socio-cultural norms and individual rules and procedures unlike technological developments such as QWERTY keyboards that are singular entities (Martin 2010). Therefore the ideas of 'lock in' and 'increasing returns' may not sufficiently represent the changes that occur in these (sometimes micro level) elements and do not assist understanding of how such incremental changes can cumulate and impact on paths taken by institutions at a macro level. While the 'increasing returns' and 'lock in' concepts to path dependence allow researchers to focus on the 'critical junctures' and how institutions continually embark on one path through reinforcement of increasing returns, they do not necessarily permit analysis of smaller incremental changes (Boas 2007, Martin 2010).

Historical Institutionalism therefore has also been concerned with explaining slow processes of gradual change, and these are often seen as potentially deriving from

either, or both, endogenous and exogenous sources (Capoccia, 2016; Thelen, 2004). It is also suggested that gradual institutional change can be transformative rather than adaptive and bounded, with the latter sometimes implied by path dependency accounts of institutional development. Of course, whether change is considered transformative in creating substantially new paths, or else bounded within an existing path depends on the perspective adopted and the scale of analysis (Rast, 2012).

Historical institutionalist scholars describe several potential sources of gradual or incremental endogenous institutional change, with these potentially leading to substantially new paths. These may include, for example: frictions between institutions, actors, ideas and policies; discretion for actors around how they interpret and enforce rules; actors with differing resources who want to change the institutions; and shifts in the social coalitions underpinning institutional arrangements (Capoccia, 2016; Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, 2016; Mahony & Thelen, 2010). Gains, John and Stoker (2005) also point to shifts in the patterns of political power, and changes following an election (Mahoney, 2000). Another source of change is that institutional actors, who are often engaged in other related policy networks, may draw on *'solutions already used in adjacent fields'* (Crouch & Farrell, 2004, p. 24). This opens the way for endogenous actors to learn and draw ideas from exogenous situations. Schneiberg (2007) similarly notes the existence of 'cross path effects', where developments in one institutional path influence those in another institutional path. Here actors can borrow, adapt, learn from, experiment with, or recombine elements from other co-existing institutions, thereby potentially creating significantly new paths.

Researchers such as Mahoney and Thelen (2010) have identified different modes of gradual institutional change, leading eventually either to modest change or radical transformation (Van der Heijden, 2011). The first of these, 'displacement' or 'replacement', involves the removal of existing organisational logic, relations or rules, and the introduction of new alternative ones, with this often resulting from influential actors defecting from the formerly dominant rules. Second, there is 'layering', which concerns the introduction of new rules, such as policy goals and instruments, on top of, or alongside, existing ones, with this steering the system in a new direction (Boas,

2007). It is argued that a new layer represents a small change in the institution, however such changes may cumulate to cause an '*an eventual transformation of the institution's fundamental nature*' (Boas 2007, p.47). Rast (2012) suggests that typically layering occurs when actors are dissatisfied with an existing policy or institution but lack the power to dismantle it.

Third, 'conversion' entails the changed use of existing rules so that they serve new purposes (Thelen, 2004). For Rast (2012) conversion refers to the reinterpretation or redirection of policies or institutional arrangements or practices so that they support new purposes not envisaged by the original institutional designers. Such reorientation occurs either when a shift in external environment demands that an existing institution change to survive. This situation potentially arises when institutions '*reorient themselves to serve new purposes in response to external pressures*' (Martin 2010 p.15). Martin (2010) argues that the concepts of 'conversion' and 'layering' are distinct however they may both coexist and interact with each other, for example, Martin (2010) proposes that the layering can in fact lead to a form of conversion as new rules and new structures can result in institutions serving new purposes. Fourth, there is 'drift', which is associated with the changing impact of existing rules due to shifts in the environment. According to Rast (2012), drift can occur when policy makers deliberately fail to adjust rules to bring them in line with a changing socio-political situation, with the result that they gradually change their effects (Rayner & Howlett, 2009).

Fifth, Schneiberg (2007) indicates another mode of gradual institutional change, which could be called 'redployment'. He asserts that even the most established paths can contain elements or fragments of '*paths not taken*'. These are former partially successful, incomplete, or failed experiments and developments that can serve as resources of knowledge, experience, and competences that, under certain circumstances, can be redeployed or rejuvenated to support alternative developments. Crouch and Farrell (2004, p. 20) note that when adapting to new challenges institutions may make use of '*older, pre-existing institutional repertoires that [are]...re-discovered*' having '*been forgotten or hidden through disuse or failure to*

appreciate their possible relevance'. According to Schneiberg (2007, p. 48), *'where those legacies acquire sufficient weight, they can serve as resources for the subsequent elaboration of alternative forms or logics. They constitute resources or building blocks for institutional assembly, rehabilitation, or revival'*. Such redeployment might be considered to be related to the idea of 'layering', which was discussed earlier.

Sixth, some scholars add 'exhaustion' as another mode of incremental change for institutions (Busemeyer & Trampusch, 2013). Exhaustion occurs when institutions or policy regimes become self-undermining and wither away over time, which, as with the previous modes, creates the possibility of radical change generated endogenously (Streeck & Thelen, 2005). Institutional exhaustion can occur through over-extension, diminishing the capacity of institutions to do what they were originally invented to do (Capoccia, 2016).

Another consideration of Historical Institutionalism and the evolution of paths, is the observation that potential actions and events may cause the institution to depart significantly from its current path, meaning an event or action may not be 'path dependent'. Park and Lee (2005) describe this as an instance as where path dependency can be halted by a clearly new contingency, and a shift to 'path creation'. Path creation therefore may occur when an event is unexpected and cannot be explained by previous circumstances or by theoretical frameworks. Garud, Karnoe and Kumaraswamy (2010 p.770) argue that path creation can be a deliberate approach for *'actors who attempt to shape an unfolding process in real-time'* rather than reflecting on institutions self-reinforcing nature. Here, a path creation perspective provides *'relational ontology'* (Garud *et al*, 2010 p.770) that factors in agency as part of the unfolding actions, and acknowledges that actors may attempt to influence (but not necessarily determine) processes and paths.

Co-evolution is another perspective which has been adopted by political scientists, economists and evolutionary economic geographers to assist in understanding paths of development strategies, including that of institutions. In this study, co-evolution is applied and explored in paper 2 and gives insight into the complex nature of

sustainable tourism and its policy development. Paper 1 also introduces the notion of co-evolution and suggests co-evolution between the path dependent trends and path creative trends.

The concept of 'co-evolution' originates from a biological perspective which observes how populations of species may interact and cause reciprocal responses between each other (Norgard 1984, Hassik and Ma 2017). It is these reciprocal responses that Norgaard (1984 p.161) asserts can be *'broadened to encompass any ongoing feedback process between two evolving systems, including social and ecological systems'*. Therefore, co-evolutionary perspectives provide interesting grounds for exploring sustainable development and its governance (Kemp, Loorbach, & Rotmans, 2007) (Norgaard, 1984). Norgaard (1984 p.161) purports that *'socio-systems and ecosystems are maintained through numerous feedback mechanisms. Coevolution occurs when, at least one feedback is changed which then initiates a reciprocal process of change'*. Ma and Hassink (2017 p.68) observe that the co-evolution concept for economists has meant focus on different populations such as industries who *'adapt themselves to each other'*. Economic geographers view co-evolution as the *'embeddedness of firms and industries in an institutional environment, at several special scales'* (Ma and Hassink, 2017 p.68). This notion gives weight to the idea that entities and institutions from varying scales may co-evolve and impact each other in a mutual fashion (Essletzbichler 2012). Likewise, Kemp, Loorbach and Rotmans (2007) discuss co-evolution in their research which offers a model for managing co-evolution towards sustainable development. Here, they similarly suggest that co-evolution may be viewed as a series of relationships which involve different sub-systems which are reciprocally inter-related and mutually constituting (Kemp, Loorbach & Rotmans (2007). Such co-evolution processes have been noted by researchers between varying sub-systems and scales, such as between actors and structures by Giddens (1984), between technology and governance by Von Tunzelmann (2001), and between ecology, economy and society by Norgaard (1984). The co-evolutionary development of policy is also significant and may involve policy areas shaping each other but not to determine each other. The different sub-systems and scales associated with public policies have a relative autonomy, and are partially independent. Economic policies, for example, can

co-evolve with environmental policies, where they help to shape rather than determine the character of each other.

The co-evolutionary processes may also occur between specific policies and macro-scale societal events, changes and influences. In the context of changes in waste management policy, for example, Kemp et al (2007, p. 7) argue that this *'is best understood as a process of co-evolution of the waste management subsystem and societal values and beliefs (a society growing conscious of waste problems and hostile to landfill sites)'*. Co-evolutionary relationships may also occur between other sub-systems, such as between policies for sustainable development and the organisational arrangements established to apply the policies. Kemp et al (2007p.2) argue that a co-evolutionary view is *'important for thinking about governance for sustainable development'*, due to the complex interdependent relationships involved in this broad policy field (Kemp, et al., 2007, p. 2; Norgaard, 1984). Paper 2 uses the notion of co-evolution and sub-systems to understand the relationship of sustainable tourism alongside other key national park policies.

2.3.3) Evolutionary Economic Geography (EEG)

EEG is a sub-field of economic geography where interest has concentrated on the temporal and spatial development of economic activity, such as in industrial districts and in regional or urban economies (Ma & Hassink, 2013). Path dependency underpins this body of research along with 'Complexity Theory' and 'Generalized Darwinism'. (Boschma & Frenken 2006, Boschma & Martin 2007, 2010 p.7). Darwinism offers economic geographers a rich framework to analysing economic landscapes by considering some its core evolutionary principles, such as variety, selection, continuity and competition between agents in differing geographical locations and complexity theory provides researchers with the prospect that evolution is *'far-from-equilibrium'* and can be characterised by adaptive behaviour, emergence and self-organisation (Boshma and Martin 2010). Finally, Boschma and Martin (2010 p.6) argue that path dependence provides a *'prominent historical dimension'* to evolutionary economic geography as it considers evolution that is shaped by historical actions and past

development paths. As noted earlier, path dependence refers to the analysis of trajectories and seeks to capture the historically contingent events that can set off self-reinforcing mechanisms and process that 'lock in' structures and pathways development (Martin and Sunley 2010).

EEG has adopted a '*heterogeneous mix of different perspectives*' to study the economic evolution of geographical places (Schamp 2010 p.435) and to address the concerns raised by Boas and Martin above, that increasing returns model does not allow for investigation of micro-level analysis of institutions nor for does it account for the possibility that '*institutions often display greater change over time than is captured in existing path dependence models*' (Boas 2007 p.45). Subsequently, evolutionary economics has applied the concepts which allow for greater study of the micro scale incremental changes on and in geographical places and institutions such as 'layering' and 'conversion' (Boas 2007 and Martin, 2010).

2.3.4) Evolutionary perspectives and approaches in tourism

Evolutionary perspectives have long been present in tourism academia (Ma and Hassink, 2013; Brouder and Eriksson, 2013). Sanz-Ibanez and Clave (2014) argue that tourism creates 'productive spaces' which essentially evolve over time, subsequently many tourism scholars have analysed the evolution of destinations from an evolutionary perspective. Such evolutionary models include attempts to explain the changes that occur in destinations and the stages and processes that a destination may move through (Sanz-Ibanez and Clave 2014 p.568). One seminal contribution to this body of work is the Tourist Area Lifecycle by Butler (1980) which draws upon previous work by Christaller (1964). Butler (1980) explored the notion that destinations move through six stages: 'exploration'; 'involvement'; 'development'; 'consolidation'; 'stagnation'; and either 'rejuvenation' or 'decline', similar to the S-shape associated with the product lifecycle (Ma and Hassink 2013; Sanz-Ibanez and Clave 2014). Some researchers have proposed alternatives to the 'decline' phase, recognising agency and suggesting that actors may intervene before full decline occurs, allowing a destination to extend its maturity or effect rejuvenation (Ma and Hassink 2013).

Despite its popularity and extensive use, the TALC model has received criticism. Sanz-Ibanez and Clave (2014 p.568) acknowledge that much work has been done to both validate the model but also to refute the work as mainly '*a descriptive tool for analysing tourism development*'. Ma and Hassink (2013) similarly note that researchers have found the model to have weaknesses relating to its predictability and applicability. Such concerns offered by Ma and Hassink (2013) include the lack of distinction between life cycle and evolution. They point towards the work of Singh (2011) that proposes how within the evolution of the resort there may be several life cycles. Subsequently, this raises questions about the complexity of destinations and how differing institutions and their evolution or lifecycles may interact with each other, questioning whether TALC sufficiently deals with such issues. Another issue relating to the complexity of destination evolution is the existence of varying factors which influence the changes that occur within a destination. Ma and Hassink (2013) point out that the key factors impacting a destination can vary in different geographical locations. Butler (1980) does offer some associated factors such as government policy, competition and environmental issues (Ma and Hassink 2013), however these may differ significantly in different destination areas and the model does not explore factors at a multi-scale level to acknowledge the potential variety of influences.

Many of the advances in theoretical understanding of temporal continuity and change for tourism have been based on conceptual ideas developed in the research field of "Evolutionary Economic Geography" (EEG), with much less use of Historical Institutionalism literature. The work by geographers on the evolution of economic activity within spatial economies has encouraged new research on the evolution of tourist destinations, research often undertaken by tourism geographers (Brouder, Anton Clavé, Gill & Ioannides, 2017). Increasingly, EEG has been adopted within tourism research in part to address the criticisms of models such as TALC and for the cause of bringing evolutionary approaches to new audiences (Brouder and Eriksson 2013, Ma and Hassink 2013, Sanz-Inbanez and Clave 2014). Brouder and Eriksson (2013

p.383) claim that EEG can be a *'potentially powerful explanatory paradigm to examine developments in the tourism economy and advance tourism theory'*.

Ma and Hassink (2013) advocate the EEG approach and suggest that there are synergies between TALC and EEG, particularly in their ambitions to understand development and the why and how industries and economies rise and fall. They propose that a co-evolutionary framework allows for greater understanding of the co-evolution between tourism sectors, products and institutions and how this occurs at multiple levels, something which is difficult to attain with the TALC model alone. Furthermore, they suggest that 'path dependence' allows researchers to uncover the casual mechanisms which to lead to the evolutionary process. In their case study of the Gold Coast, Australia, Ma and Hassink (2013 p.105) suggest that by viewing the tourist area through a path dependence lens, they uncovered that the decline of the destination was in part due a series of *'negative lock in's in response to external environments and institutional path dependence'* and that path creation was also induced through the adaptive nature of the local government and entrepreneurial initiatives.

Brouder and Eriksson (2013 p.377) also support the use of EEG within tourism studies and argue that there are *'latent synergies of EEG and using TALC'*. Similar to Ma and Hassink (2013) they observe the value in the trajectory of TALC, though they argue that it is it not the decline or rejuvenation that is significant, rather the *'unseen and complex interactions through the development up that point and beyond which is of interest from an evolutionary perspective'* (Brouder and Eriksson 2013 p.377). Correspondingly, Sanz-Ibanez and Clave (2014) support EEG as a concept that can provide tourism geographers and researchers with a wealth of knowledge and tools to try and seek out underlying changes and mechanisms.

Brouder and Eriksson (2013) encourage the use of EEG in tourism studies and propose three further themes for theoretical development. Firstly, 'regional branching', which considers the process of new types of businesses emerging from, related local industries by recombining existing capabilities (Brouder and Eriksson 2013). The notion of recombining knowledge and capabilities appears to be closely linked to Schienberg's

notion of 'cross path effects' previously addressed in this review. Secondly, they suggest that greater analysis of networks and knowledge transfers may be useful for further evolutionary studies and provide a fertile setting for further research given the complex nature of varying geographical locations of tourism destinations (Brouder and Eriksson 2013). Finally, they recommend researching tourism entrepreneurs as another means of enquiry that may lead to greater understanding of how routines and paths are created, particularly in view of how the tourism sector is dominated by SMEs. Essentially, by proposing these three areas of potential study Brouder and Eriksson are highlighting the broad scope of evolutionary perspectives available to tourism researchers.

Williams (2013 p.512) seeks to advance the use of evolutionary concepts by providing debate about how *'relationships between mobility and sustainable tourism can be understood in terms of path dependency'*. He considers the factors such as technology, culture and markets and the role of state that influence tourism mobility and whether they can be viewed as 'path creating' or 'path dependent', particularly when attempting to optimise sustainable tourism. Williams (2013) suggests that mobility in tourism is to some extent locked into a historical trajectory through influences such as a continual growing demand for mobility despite external factors like the 2008 global economic crisis. Williams (2013 p. 524) asserts that technology provides incremental changes rather than radical innovations, though overall there is a *'business as usual pathway'* which sets precedence for continuation which is not conducive for sustainable tourism mobility. In terms of path creation, Williams (2013 p.526) proposes that such a view is possible as cultural, market and state-led changes *'act as forces to create demand for, opportunities for, changing the board which new forms of mobility can be enacted'*. Such debate concludes that changes and continuities in sustainable tourism mobility are nuanced rather than a 'either or' outcome to path dependency or path creation and, in fact, a continuum may be more appropriate when considering sustainability and tourism mobility.

Co-evolution perspectives have also increasingly gained traction within tourism research. Some recent studies of tourism and temporal change recognise that 'path

creation' and 'path dependence' are better understood if they are not seen as binary or separate categories and that closer scrutiny reveals that co-evolution of paths may occur (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013; Gill & Williams, 2017; Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé, 2014). Brouder and Fullerton (2015, p. 152), for example, note how incremental path creating changes have occurred in the established tourism development path in Niagara, Canada, and that these '*new paths co-evolve with the dominant tourism paths*'. In their study of Whistler, Canada, Gill and Williams (2017, p. 48) similarly argue that there is '*contestation...between path-dependent forces that embody lock-in to established economic, political and social institutions, and path-creation forces*'.

Hassink and Ma (2017) select 'co-evolution' as an appropriate notion for their research and conceptual debate of tourism and regional innovation systems. They suggest that co-evolutionary perspectives can highlight the interplay between tourism products, sectors and institutions at multiple levels, in turn, they advocate their application in the field of tourism and EEG.

So far, the literature has explored how researchers wishing to evaluate paths and trajectories of institutions, technologies, economies, industries, places and tourist destinations have a wide range of analytical conceptual tools and concepts available to them. Geographers and tourism academics have utilised several of these, particularly EEG and have contributed to a broadening and expanding field.

However, models of Historical Institutionalism and path dependency are not without criticism. One key critique here is that that historical institutionalism reduces the study of institutions to an exercise in only providing causal explanations. Peters, Pierre and King (2005, p. 1284-5) argue that, with Historical Institutionalism:

'It is not sufficient to say that patterns persist; to be effective a theory should be capable of linking outcomes with actors and with the process that produced the outcomes...any acceptable explanation in the social sciences must be able to link cause and effect through an underlying social process, rather than through a 'black box'...'

Kay (2005, p. 554) also asserts a similar issue with the concept of path dependency: '

The concept of path dependency is neither a framework nor a theory...it does not provide a general list of variables that can be used to organize 'diagnostic and prescriptive inquiry'; nor does it provide hypotheses about specific links between variables or particular parameters of those links.'

Kay's (2005) core complaint about path dependency is that it is not sufficient to just infer that change has been limited and constrained over a period of time. Furthermore Kay, suggests that path dependency is therefore lacks capability on how to deal with policy. This is in part connected to the potential of both path dependence and historical institutionalism to reduce the role of human agency and other social practices, cultures and norms on institutional change. For example, Steinmo (2008 p.134) suggests that studies of institutionalism have relegated actors to '*hostages of the institutions that they inhabit*' and therefore somehow unable or are unwilling to foster change. In fact, there has been growing sensitivity by historical institutionalists to the complex relationships between structure and agency (Blyth, Helgadóttir & Kring, 2014). Hay and Wincott (1998, p. 95) argue for a historical institutionalist approach where '*structure and agency are conceived of as comprising not a dualism but a complex duality linked in a creative relationship*'. This '*implies a dynamic relationship between institutions on the one hand, and the individuals and groups who comprise them (and on whose experience they impinge) on the other*' (Hay and Wincott, 1998 p. 95). Individual actors and groups may respond to the structural pressures around institutions and, in doing so, they interpret their situation, including its constraints and opportunities, based on their own perceptions and values. They are not entirely free in how they respond, but nevertheless their agency transforms the social structures. Paper 3 draws on many of the noted concepts above from Historical Institutionalism and acknowledges the criticisms. In turn, paper 3 adopts Cultural Political Economy as means of addressing these issues.

2.3.5) Cultural Political Economy approach

Cultural political economy is a broad and relational social theory which sees institutional features and practices as embedded in the historically evolving multiple relationships with society.

Institutional social practices are regarded as embedded within economic, social, political, cultural and cognitive processes, with these having a history and also occurring at different geographical scales from local to international. These relationships are dialectical, so that all entities are connected, porous and co-constituted, with an entity embodying its wider relationships and thus it is not possible to understand it on its own. Institutional features and practices are considered to involve dialectical relationships of interdependence and of tension or contradiction. The resolution of those inter-dependencies and contradictions in particular historical circumstances affects the evolving character of institutions. Indeed, cultural political economy as a social theory is strongly rooted in the importance of examining historical processes over time (Castree, 2005; Harvey, 1996; Jessop, 2010; Sum and Jessop, 2015).

Cultural political economy directs attention to the importance of the economic and political relationships behind institutions, such as the potential roles of institutions in maintaining the authority of the state and dominant political groups. At the same time, the approach suggests that institutions are co-constituted by the cultural and ideational/semiotic processes of subjective meaning-making through ideas, experiences and perceptions (Jessop, 2010; Ribera-Fumaz, 2009). Within the cultural political economy perspective, there are two aspects which focus on institutional change. Firstly, there is the view that agency and structure relations, and also path creation and path dependence relations, for institutions are dialectically inter-connected rather than distinct phenomena that occur independently of each other. This is particularly significant if we consider Garud *et al's* (2010) notion of path creation which entertains the role of agency and actors influencing processes.

The second is that both material and immaterial/ideational/cultural/semiotic are seen as important and also are dialectically related in the evolution of institutions. The first of these is the view that institutions involve dialectical inter-relationships between agency and structure, and between path creation and path dependence.

Dialectical interconnections also apply for the ideas of path creation and path dependency. According to Garud, Kumaraswamy, & Karnøe (2010, p. 761), in

historical institutionalist there has been some *'scholarly interest in the constitutions of paths driven by structuration processes wherein structure is both the medium and outcome of practices'*"

Changes in the paths taken by institutions are also seen as varying in durability, scale and speed. The position taken here rejects the idea that 'path creation' only occurs in 'transformational shifts', with it also potentially taking place through gradual changes (Capoccia, 2016). What is seen as 'transformational' may actually occur over many years, and this involves continuing dialectical relations between path dependence and path creation and between internal and external processes.

The second aspect of cultural political economy relating to institutional change is the idea that the material and the immaterial/ideational/cultural/semiotic are seen as important and also dialectically related in the evolution of institutions.

This includes the idea that social practices and features of institutions are co-constituted by immaterial ideas, representations and subjective meaning-making as well as by material economic and political processes, such as the material interests of actors. It is considered that *'social processes and subjects are materially and immaterially co-constituted within capitalist social relations'* (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009, p. 458).

Within Historical Institutionalism there has been growing interest in how the cognitive components of ideas and beliefs inform behaviour. Hay and Wincott (1998, p. 956) in their formulation *'emphasise the crucial space granted to ideas'*, as *'Actors appropriate strategically a world replete with institutions and ideas about institutions'*. Their perceptions about what is feasible, legitimate, possible and desirable are shaped by the institutional environment in which they find themselves and existing policy paradigms and worldviews. Carstensen and Schmidt (2016 p. 319). Similarly, it has been contended that ideas matter in studying institutions as they provide people with *'interpretive frameworks that give definition to our values and preferences and thus*

make political and economic interests actionable' (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012).

2.3.6) Relational and social theory in tourism evolutionary studies

Social theory and relational theory and evolutionary approaches are being connected in tourism academia. For example, Pastras and Bramwell (2013) implement a dual approach of historical institutionalism and strategic relational perspectives to exploring the temporal trends of government involvement in policies and activities related to Athens tourism marketing, between 2000 and 2008. The relational perspectives allow the authors to focus on the interactions between actors and wider socio-economic and political context at different government tiers (Pastras and Bramwell 2013). New Institutionalism and strategic relational perspectives also permit focus on institutional arrangements and cultural practices related to Athens tourism marketing policies and activities. Subsequently, the research revealed historical difficulties and negative perceptions which inhibited wider joint working between public and private sectors. Furthermore, this dual approach encouraged attention on the continuities and changes over time in the evolution institutional practices, values and beliefs. In uncovering continuities and changes the authors reveal elements of path dependence due to previous limited government will and capacity. However, they also describe some significant 'path shaping' due to unexpected actions such as the introduction of new policies and greater initiatives at local and regional level causing a shift in attitudes and activities. Importantly, Pastras and Bramwell (2013) note that trends of 'path dependence' and 'path creation' occurred at the same time and co-evolved in a dialectical fashion. Adopting this approach to their study, they illustrate the wealth of potential data that may accrue from applying such evolutionary approaches.

Likewise, Bramwell and Meyer (2007) incorporated a relational approach into their evaluation of tourism policymaking on the Baltic island of Rugen in former East Germany. This study provides an interesting context of understanding tourism in a post-socialist transition in Eastern Germany, which moved from a centrally planned economy towards an capitalist free market within a multiparty political system

(Bramwell and Meyer 2007). The analysis reveals the '*unique tensions and trajectories of transition among Central and European nations*' through consideration of path dependency, structural legacies, the contingency of path creation and human legacy (Bramwell and Meyer 2007 p.785). Bramwell and Meyer (2007 p.785) explore *the interplay of path dependency and structural legacies with the contingency of path creation and human agency*', considering this in terms of the '*dialectical relations between actors and structures*' (p. 766). From this perspective, institutional path creation is also seen as dialectically related to, and co-constituted by, endogenous and exogenous processes and influences.

The relationships between path dependence and path creation continue to be explored by Evolutionary Economic Geographers (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013; Sanz-Ibanez & Clave 2014), further emphasising the need for greater focus on actors and agency alongside the evolutionary tools and concepts that both EEG and Historical Institutionalism offer. Ideas associated with this account of a cultural political economy approach to institutional evolution have begun to emerge over recent years in the tourism research literature. Many of the advances in theoretical understanding of temporal continuity and change for tourism, however, have been based on conceptual ideas developed in the research field of EEG, with much less use of historical institutionalist literature.

As noted earlier Gill and Williams draw on EEG to analyse the mountain ski resort, Whistler, Canada and argue their research has offered a model which assists in understanding the constraints and catalysts to governance change. Applying EEG facilitated understanding of how the growth of the resort maintained '*remarkably uncontested support from the resident population for its growth imperative*' (2017 p.58). They suggest the governance approach and trajectory of the resort is characterised, by lock-in, layering of policies and conversion to a growth management approach. However they also draw on Garud and Kanoe's (2001) notion that understanding the role of human agency is central to understanding the process of path creation', which they see as involving a process of 'mindful deviation' (Gill and Williams 2017 p.52).

Reciprocal inter-relationships between path creation and path dependence, are suggested in research by Brouder and Fullerton (2015) on the evolution of tourism in Niagara. They note how *'the region exhibits strong path dependence based on its industrial and agricultural legacy but long-term, organic, incremental processes of change within the region are creating new tourism development paths. These new paths co-evolve with the dominant tourism paths'* (Brouder and Fullerton, 2015 p. 152).

The useful notion of 'moments' along a development path is also introduced by Sanz-Ibáñez, Wilson and Anton Clavé (2017, p. 81). They see these as 'key components of the evolutionary path of a destination' as they are *'path-shaping evolutionary inflection points that cause a destination path (trajectory) to shift in direction and focus'*.

Although not developed in any detail, Anton Clavé and Wilson (2017) also advocate the use of CPE along with EEG approach for understanding the evolution of tourist destinations. In fact, a small number of geographers using EEG ideas, but not working on tourism destinations, had suggested the incorporation of political economy, although not cultural political economy, ideas (Oosterlynck, 2012). This includes Mackinnon, Cumbers, Pike, Birch and McMaster (2009, p. 145), who argue *'that EEG should be linked to geographical political economy approaches'*.

Here, the doctoral inquiry attempts to extend these past studies of evolutionary change in tourism research. It adopts several of the key theoretical notions address in this section and applies them to both sustainable tourism policy and to tourism partnerships in protected areas. In applying these evolutionary concepts, the research has been able to address the limitations of the sustainable tourism literature and tourism partnership working above. The doctoral inquiry has extended this body of evolutionary work by providing a new emphasis on tourism institutions rather than destinations. Furthermore, the concepts related to Historical institutionalism have been applied to tourism partnerships (described as institutions in third paper). This literature review demonstrates that this has only been completed in a minimal fashion and from EEG perspective. Similarly, CPE and other relational approaches have also

gained traction but mainly through the EEG perspective. The doctoral inquiry here, offers a deeper understanding of how through relational approaches which explore the role of agency and cultural and social practices, like CPE, we can observe tourism institutional change.

This literature review has addressed three branches of research which are applied and used in this PhD study and reflects the literature underpinning the 3 papers. The figure below summarises the conceptual thinking of the doctoral inquiry and how the concepts and literature identified above are used and applied in the study. The figure highlights three significant points. Firstly, it addresses three key themes and contexts of the research programme: protected areas; partnership working; sustainable forms of tourism. Secondly, it illustrates the underpinning theoretical concepts that are applied to the key research themes: path dependency; path creation; co-evolution; critical junctures; layering; conversion; cultural political economy; redeployment. Finally, Figure 2 highlights the critical linkages, relationships and influences between the themes which are addressed through the application of the theoretical concepts. This conceptual framework also reflects the academic research reviewed in the literature review chapter.

It is important to note that Figure 2 is intended to illustrate that the themes located in the circles are dialectical and reciprocal reflecting the nature of the research. In terms of readability, Figure 2 has no definite starting point but can be 'broken into' at any point. The three key themes are situated in the middle of the figure, and the theoretical concepts are explained as underpinning the study of these three themes.

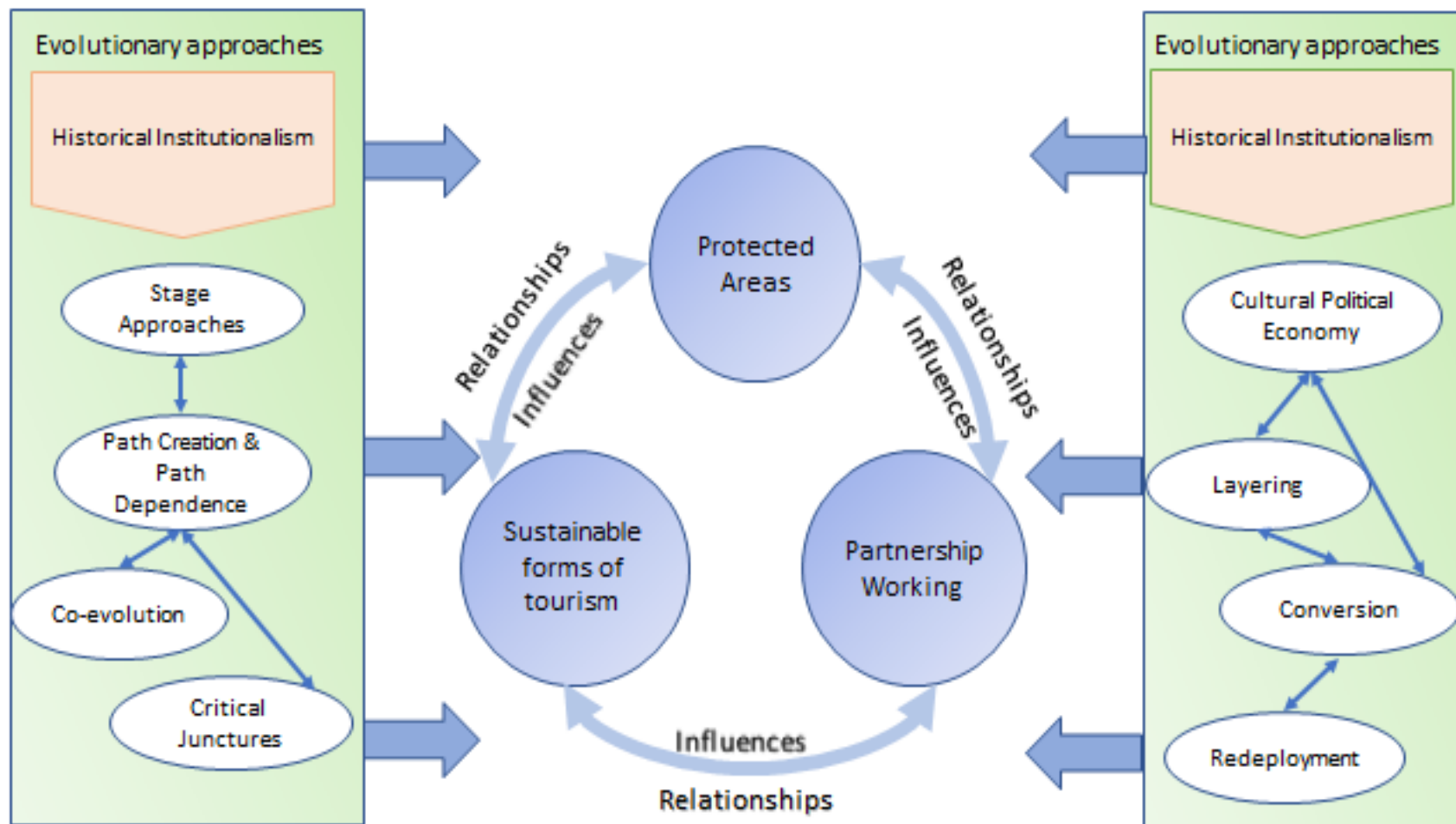


Figure 2. Conceptual thinking - theoretical concepts and themes of the doctoral inquiry

3) Methodology

While data collection information was included in the final versions of the paper, there was often insufficient room to discuss the methodological underpinnings of the research study. In paper 3, there is a greater indication of my position of the research however; overall this was limited in paper 1 and paper 2. Here this chapter aims to provide insight into how I approached the overall research strategy. It attempts to shed light on my position as a researcher and its influence on my approach to research design and execution. The chapter also discusses the research case studies, their selection and how I incorporated the relevant theories underpinning my conceptual thinking and built these into the methodology. Finally, it highlights the methods of data collection that were employed and how the data gathered was analysed and interpreted into findings, conclusions and inferences.

3.1) Position, beliefs and values

My previous studies of tourism have introduced me to concepts and ideas relating to sustainable tourism and how sustainable tourism is developed and manifested in many different contexts and environments. My own personal experiences of national parks in the UK (as a visitor) have also added to my own values and perceptions about tourism in protected landscapes. My research objectives initially developed from a combination of my personal experiences and existing tourism understanding and knowledge of theory. Here, my relationship with the subject matter has been influenced by my burgeoning knowledge acquired from engagement with relevant literature related to the study. It is important to acknowledge that this, in turn, began shaping my perceptions of the complexity of issues of sustainable tourism in protected areas and tourism institutions, such as tourism partnerships. My primary interest became investigating how and why decisions and policies are created and what the factors are shaping change and continuation of both sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions. In turn, this has fostered a desire to search for explanations for events, paths and trajectories as well as to attempt to understand the relationships that may exist in social structures. Naturally, embarking on this research journey, required me to consider my ontological position. In the three papers presented in this thesis, I search for reality and believe there is a reality 'out there' whilst also accepting

reality can never be fully understood (Guba 1990). This implies an objective ontological position (Bryman 2016) which is aligned with the facets of positivism. In particular, I share the belief that the world exists independent of my knowledge and that we can attempt causal statements about social phenomena and structures (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). However, there are facets of positivism which my beliefs about the world do not adhere to. For example, my research in particular sought to *explain* and *understand* relationships between structures and their environments, and these explorations may not be 'directly observable' as postulated in the positivist paradigm (Marsh and Furlong, 2002; O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014; Bryman, 2016). Furthermore, my research position is at odds with positivism and agrees with the critique articulated by Marsh and Furlong (2002) who suggest that social structures differ from natural structures, in that they do not exist independently of activities they may create. In fact, actions by agents are important as they may also shape activities in the structures. These postulations however err towards the interpretist and constructionism paradigm (Bryman, 2016; Marsh and Furlong, 2002). Exploration of relationships between structures and how they are shaped are particularly pertinent for my research aims and objectives of the doctoral inquiry. Similarly, identifying and interpreting social phenomena such as discourses and traditions and the role that these play in the trajectories of both sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions is significant for my research but is also connected to interpretive and constructionism paradigms. Therefore, suggesting my ontological position is purely positivist would be incorrect. Considering my belief and intent for seeking 'reality' I realise that it would also be problematic to align myself within the interpretist or constructionism paradigm, which argues that there may be multiple realities and mental constructions held by different persons rather than one truth (Guba 1990). Therefore my epistemological position is perhaps 'clashing' against these two traditional paradigms. However, acknowledging this clash has led me to give greater consideration towards my research position. Blyth reassuringly asserts that 'clashing ontologies' can be a positive force and:

'lead to the emergence of new research agendas and new findings in a way that an enforced ontological monism never could. In fact, comparing what different theories produce and developing through discussion new 'conventional wisdoms' based upon criteria such as explanatory depth, ontological coherence, empirical pay off and the like is how the field progresses' (Blyth, 2002, p.310).

3.1.1) Realism and Critical Realism

In my doctoral inquiry, my epistemological position leans towards realism and critical realism. Critical realism is form of realism, which like positivism, offers the belief that world exists independently of our knowledge (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). However, it also embraces and facilitates an interpretivist position which recognises that part of the world contains '*subjective interpretations which may influence the way the world is perceived and experienced*' (O'Mahoney & Vincent, 2014 p.3).

Critical realism (hereafter CR) is most associated with the work of Roy Bhasker (Archer, 1998) who asserts the need for this approach as:

'we will only be able to understand - and so change - the social work if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses... These structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences.' (Bhaskar 1989, p.2).

This explanation of CR is particularly useful for understanding my approach to the doctoral inquiry. It draws attention to the idea that deep structures may not be directly observable, something which is not tenable within the positivist paradigm. Interpretivists however may also reject the realist 'objective' view to observe those structures on the account of the notion that no structures are independent of social action (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). As Bhaskar argues, unobservable structures and events may only be identified and mediated through theoretical offerings - this highlights the crucial role that theory plays within critical realism and its objective position. CR also attempts to go beyond the objective and positivist ontology through adopting a position that distinguishes between the real, actual and empirical (Jessop, 2005; Fairclough, 2005). 'Real' refers to the generative structures and casual mechanisms, 'Actual' denotes events that may result from 'tendencies or countertendencies', and 'Empirical' refers to observations of actual events and underlying structures (Jessop, 2005 p.41). Importantly, CR underlines their relational nature *between* these strata and pays attention to both the internal and external contingent relationships among them (Jessop, 2005). The role of human agency is also significant in CR; this is explored and emphasis is placed upon how human agency may

contribute to *transforming* and reproducing existing structures and social processes (Fairclough, 2005).

My doctoral inquiry places importance on explaining the paths of sustainable tourism policy and tourism institutions, such as partnerships; this has inevitably directed attention to the structures and domains in which they operate. I have approached the study with the notion that there may be deeper structures, events and patterns which are not directly observable, or that they may be different to how they appear. I have sought to look at causal explanations and the relationships beyond these explanations. Making a distinction between the intransitive and transitive objects is a key epistemological feature of CR (Jessop, 2005), as is accepting that our knowledge about reality is 'fallible', using the theoretical and methodological may assist in informing us about the external reality (Danermark *et al*, 1997). I have studied both the 'transitive' and the 'intransitive' objects through the use of theoretical concepts such as 'path dependence', 'path creation', 'co-evolution', 'Historical Institutionalism' and 'Cultural Political Economy'. My findings have revealed further explanations, and inferences have allowed for exploration of both the internal and external contingent relationships and how these may have been transformed or reproduced (Jessop, 2005).

Table 2 outlines examples of both directly observable events and phenomena and structures which may be unobservable within the research case studies.

Events and Phenomena - Directly observable	Deep structures - unobservable
Historical events	Reactions to events and broader contextual abstracts (such as political economy)
Content of policy documents	Implicit meanings of texts and policies
Meetings and forums	Norms, rules, culture which are specific to institutions
Communication between others in meetings	Relationships between mechanisms

Table 2 - Direct observations and unobservable structures. (Adapted from Danermark *et al*, 1997)

Context and historical conditions are important to critical realists (Bryman, 2016). Jessop (2005) argues that social scientists should consider historical 'specificity' as historical conditions are important for assisting in providing reasoning in both internal and external conditions. For example, it may be reasoned that the study of events is

significant because they can be contingent and can create particular outcomes dependent on these historical conditions. Bryman (2016) also suggests that critical realists should seek to identify the context as they crucially serve to provide explanations on '*the conditions that promote and impede the operation of the casual mechanism*' (Bryman, 2016 p.25). Similarly, the discussion of context and conditions in CR also relates to the debate around structure and agency. McAnulla (2002 p.271) proffers the view that '*Structure usually refers to context; to the material conditions which define the range of actions available to actors.*' Bearing in mind the ontological position of CR and the idea that human agency can be 'transformational' (Jessop, 2005), then it is unsurprising that agency is also a point of interest. McAnualla (2002 p. 271) defines agency as referring '*... to the individual or group abilities (intentional or otherwise) to affect their environment*'. Within the three papers presented as part of this thesis, the role of historical settings, contextual environments and human agency have all been explored and have added to the explanations and findings related to sustainable tourism policy and tourism institutional paths.

Interpretation and double hermeneutics are also epistemological features of CR. The intransitive or unobservable features of social investigation are equally important as the directly observable or transitive features which may provide causal explanations. The interpretation and investigation of the intransitive objects, such as the relationships or 'mediating entities' can emerge as meaningful (Fairclough, 2005; Jessop, 2005). Jessop (2005) suggests that double hermeneutic refers to a situation where an attempt to '*interpret is itself pre-interpreted*' and that in relation to CR, '*social science results can feed back into the social world (transforming it) and thus [this] requires self-reflection by social scientists. It also implies that good explanations combine explanatory (causal) and interpretive (hermeneutic) analysis*' (Jessop 2005, p.44). While all three papers submitted as part of this PhD thesis search for reality, at the same it is important to highlight that they recognise that discourses, perceptions and images vary between different actors.

The inferences and findings from this study are therefore articulated inferences and findings that have been interpreted through the use of provisional categories and theoretical frameworks. It is important to note that CR also sees value in analysing and

interpreting discourses, texts and social practices as these can '*contribute to change in beliefs, habits of actions and indeed organizations*' (Fairclough, 2005, p.992). In keeping with the ontology underpinning CR, it remains important to draw out the relations between discourse and other social elements and processes (Fairclough, 2005). Here, it should be noted that the three papers have attempted to consider the discourses around sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions and their relations with both the wider context and social practices, in order to build a greater understanding of their trajectory and evolutionary paths.

3.2) Research design - qualitative and intensive approach towards critical realism

In light of my declared ontological and epistemological positions, the research design required me to consider the most appropriate way to understand the mechanisms and the relationships between varying structures, contexts and social practices. Danermark *et al.* (1997, p.162) suggest that the traditional dichotomy of quantitative methods being rooted in positivism and qualitative methods being linked to subjectivist positions creates a 'restraining influence' on researchers, particularly in the case of critical realists. Instead, they offer that this phase of the research process can be described in terms of intensive and extensive research procedures, whereby both are meaningful in the search for understanding generative mechanisms and for investigations into how contexts interact with mechanisms. They relate these categories to qualitative and quantitative approaches and state:

'The intensive empirical procedure contains substantial elements of data collecting and analyses of a qualitative kind. The extensive procedure has to do with quantitative data collecting and statistical analysis.' (Danermark *et al.*, 1997 p.163)

They go on to suggest how the procedures may vary and include different research methods. Table 3 outlines these variations:

	Intensive empirical procedure	Extensive empirical procedure
Types of research questions	How do processes work in a particular case or in a small number of cases?	What are the regularities, common patterns, distinguishing features of populations?
	What produces changes and continuities?	How widely are certain processes distributed or represented?

Typical methods	Study of individual agents in their contexts - interactive interviews - ethnography - qualitative analysis	Large scale survey of population - formal questionnaires - representative samples - statistical analysis.
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Table 3 Intensive and Extensive empirical procedures (Source: Danermark et al, 1997)

Here, research methodology reflects the intensive empirical procedure outlined by Danermark *et al.* (1997).

The aspiration of the research objectives to draw out a contextual picture of two English National Parks and seek to provide inferences and findings to enhance explanations of tourism institutional paths and policy paths through theoretical concepts was considered in view of Danermark *et al.*'s (1997) ideas. The research process was characterised by a combination of two key processes and approaches in the methodology. Firstly, 'pre-understanding' (Gummesson, 2003) was gained of the theoretical concepts that were to be applied to the selected case studies to assist in understanding and exploring the tourism institutional paths and sustainable tourism policy paths and their relations with social practices and contexts. Secondly, the methodology included qualitative methods to analyse and interpret the data.

The research aims include exploration and consideration of how and why sustainable tourism policy in protected areas and related tourism institutions evolve over time (See Figure 3). Here, I felt it was appropriate to select a qualitative approach to the doctoral inquiry. Mason (2002) argues that a qualitative approach can address the complexities, contexts and nuances of the social world rather than being inconvenienced by them and that qualitative inquiry can allow for exploration of a '*wide array of dimensions of the social world*' (Mason 2002, p1). This can include focus on how social processes, institutions, discourses and relationships work and, accordingly, generate '*compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts*' (Mason, 2002. p1).

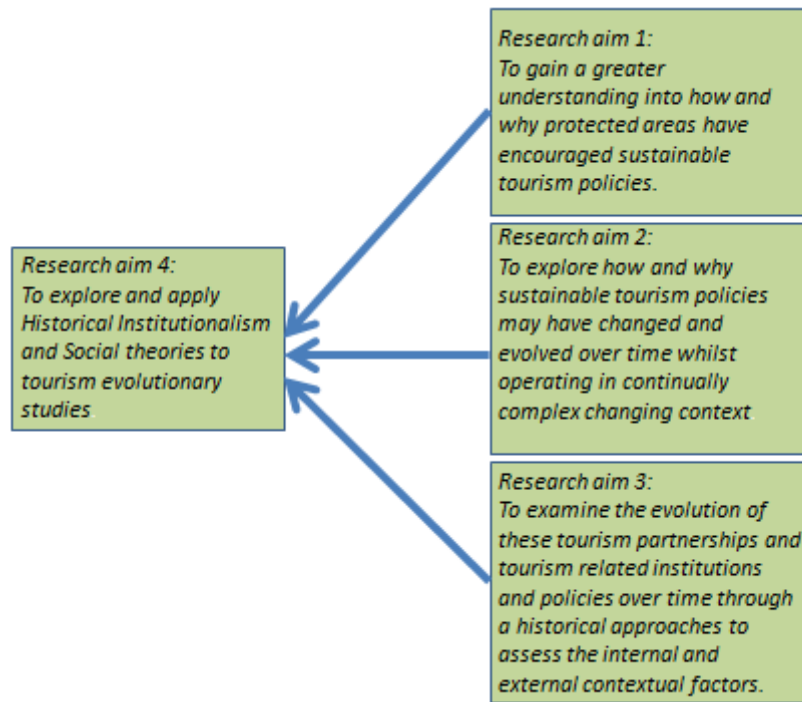


Figure 1: Interrelated research aims of the study.

Ritchie (2003) proposes that qualitative research encapsulates four broad types of social investigation: contextual; explanatory; evaluative; and generative. My research reflects three of these types of investigation. As noted in Figure 3, my doctoral inquiry has been concerned with exploring and explaining sustainable tourism policy evolution, and the trajectories of tourism institutions and partnerships within the context of protected areas. Furthermore, my research has aimed to aid and advance tourism evolutionary perspectives through the consideration of new approaches. Table 2.3 applies Ritchie's broad categories of social investigation to the research questions set out in Figure 3. This adds to the justification for adopting a qualitative approach to the study.

Research question	Ritchie's (2003 p.24) functions of qualitative research	
Q.1 To examine whether, why and how English National parks encouraged sustainable forms of tourism'.	Explanatory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Explanatory 'examining the reasons for, or associations between, what exists' - Contextual 'describing the form
Q.2 To explore how and why sustainable tourism has changed and evolved over time whilst operating	Contextual	

<i>in continually changing context</i>		or nature of what exists'
<i>Q.3 To examine the evolution of these tourism partnerships and policy over time through using new approaches to assess the internal and external contextual factors'.</i>	Contextual Explanatory	- Generative 'aiding the development of theories, strategies or actions'
<i>Q.4 To explore and apply Historical institutionalism and social theories to tourism evolutionary studies.</i>	Generative	

Table 4: Functions of qualitative research applied to doctoral inquiry Adapted from Ritchie (2003).

The first key feature of the methodological process was to acknowledge and integrate methods and theoretical concepts relating to evolutionary and institutional approaches. The literature review discusses several of these evolutionary approaches and reviews their application in the context of tourism research. Given the conceptual thinking of the researcher post-literature review, it was important to consider them at the stages of research design and data collection planning.

As stated in the literature review, factoring evolutionary approaches such as Historical Institutionalism into the research strategy can assist in developing explanatory arguments about outcomes through tracing historical sequences, transformations and processes. It can potentially draw out both critical junctures in a trajectory and the slow moving casual processes which can occur over time, shedding light on the development of institutions (Pierson and Skocpol, 2002). Similarly, Steinmo (2008) argues that institutions are important subjects of study because they can reveal decision-making and strategic behaviour and reaction to broader political events that occur within a chosen context. Here, a key aim of the research study is to understand the broader context in which sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions operate and, in turn, reveal how these contexts may affect structures, processes and policy decisions. The research design also incorporates notions of path dependency which allows us to view sequences and the temporal connections on both a macro- and micro level and allow researchers to view the self-reinforcing nature of institutions and their policy-making process (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson and Skocpol, 2002). This

approach also allows for the detection of co-evolutionary development and paths within the selected tourism institutions.

The cases specifically selected for the doctoral inquiry are the Lake District National Park Authority, Stanage Forum Steering Group and the Stanage Forum, located within the Peak District National Park – these are discussed further in the context section of this chapter. Diermeier and Krehbeil (2003 p.127) emphasise that institutions are worthy of academic scrutiny by researchers as they *'provide important contextual features of the decision-making setting that the researcher regards as essential to understanding how political actors behave in pursuit of their goals.'* They go on to stress that such an approach to research allows for future comparisons and for the construction of theories and relating to *'why certain institutions exist in the first place'* (Diermeier and Krehbeil, 2003 p.141).

Institutions may be defined as *'arenas of shared rules, norms, typifications'* and are *'systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social relations'* (Hodgson, 2006 p3) and allow for problems to be solved in a collective manner (Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, 2016; Steinmo, 2014). However, as addressed in the literature review, path dependency and Historical Institutionalism have received criticism for their lack of consideration of social theory and actor engagement (Hay and Wincott, 1998).

Therefore, the study sought to incorporate social and relational ideas relating to Cultural Political Economy and path creation in order to allow for duality between agency and structure to be considered in the case studies. As argued in the literature review, the relationship between both actors and institutions can be dynamic and creative, as actors may respond to the structure of the institution with some constraints and their agency may also respond and transform social structures (Cappocia, 2016).

Essentially, the aim of understanding evolutionary trajectories relating to tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policies required me to give thought to theoretical concepts and tools prior to the data collection. As noted earlier, theory and concepts are crucial to critical realists as they assist with explaining the causal relations between

contexts and social practices. It was necessary for me to have 'pre-understanding' of the literature and concepts before embarking on the fieldwork. Gummesson (2003) suggests that 'pre-understanding' is an essential part of research that is hermeneutic and interpretive. Engaging in pre-understanding means we can move towards greater understanding of a phenomenon and to the point where we improve our knowledge as a consequence of our research. Deduction and pre-understanding was also prevalent throughout the research period. As the data was collected, interpreted, and theorised, I could draw on the empirical ideas that were generated and subsequently apply new understandings and explanations of the situation and consequently I was able to offer new knowledge about the actions and effects of the institutions within the chosen case study settings. Pre-understanding in this study was addressed in two ways. Firstly, my understanding of the pertinent theoretical concepts was developed. This was necessary to design and implement appropriate methods of data collection. Secondly, my understanding of the complex contexts and background information of the protected areas increased – this crossed over into the data collection process.

3.3) Research design – case study

This next section will reflect on my research journey and the research process that was established in line with the research questions. Danermark *et al* (1997) note that the sampling approach aligned to their intensive empirical design is strategic and focuses on cases rather than an extensive approach which seeks to provide information about the total population. Once the broad research aims had been identified, the next step was to identify potential case studies and consider the research design.

My research is conceived of as a broad 'case study', where two protected area sites were selected and their policies and institutions surrounding sustainable tourism were studied. The case study approach offered many benefits for this study, for example, it allows for understanding a complex phenomenon such as protected areas, and can provide a rich and in-depth analysis of relationships, events and processes (Denscombe, 2003). Given the overall research objectives of the study, which sought to understand and explore institutions, policies, contexts through evolutionary and historical approaches, it was necessary to have a design which could account for these

elements within the setting of an English National Park in a holistic fashion (Miles *et al*, 1994). Furthermore, the case study design was recognised to be appropriate because it allowed for multiple actor perspectives to be drawn out which were rooted in the specific context of protected areas. These were critical to understanding the researched phenomena of sustainable tourism and institutional evolution (Lewis, 2003). For the doctoral inquiry both the Peak District National Park and Lake District National Park were identified as appropriate case studies.

Selection of the relevant cases (protected area sites) was clearly significant for fulfilling the research aims and objectives and there were some criteria which the chosen sites would need to follow.

- 1st criterion - Protected area status

Protected areas are complex domains which are increasingly required to operate with numerous competing objectives (Philips & Beresford, 2000). Here, they provide researchers with opportunities to explore these phenomena more closely. Their protected area status often refers to the legal requirement for some element of conservation and protection. This protection assists in maintaining and preserving their natural and pristine environment, however it's these features which are also desirable to potential visitors and tourists. Tourism and visitation within the protected areas has in turn, created 'contentious relationships' through differing ideologies regarding their use and the range of perceptions over their sustainable tourism development (Lovelock, 2002 p.6). Therefore, their institutional arrangements such as tourism partnerships and their policy development around sustainable development make their scenarios particularly interesting features of tourism research. The International Union for Conservation and Nature is a global body that categorises protected areas according to their management objectives (IUCN 2018). Here, the doctoral study has selected cases in part based on their protected area status and their connections within the tourism industry. IUCN suggest that Category V protected areas are identified through distinguishing features such as: distinct scenic quality; integration between people and nature over a period of time; and traditional land-use patterns. Furthermore, IUCN suggests that it may be desirable for these areas to include

opportunities for recreation and tourism, consistent with life style and economic activities.

Within the UK there are 15 National Parks, 10 are located in England, 2 in Scotland and 3 in Wales. Each park is administered by its own National Park Authority, these are independent bodies funded by central government (see Table 5). The English and Welsh parks are recognised as category V spaces and have shared core purposes which are to:

- *Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage.*
- *Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of national parks by the public.*

In carrying out these aims, National Park Authorities are also required to seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities within the national park.

(UK National Parks 2018)

The Scottish parks share four core objectives:

- *To conserve and enhance the natural and cultural heritage of the area.*
- *To promote sustainable use of the natural resources of the area.*
- *To promote understanding and enjoyment (including enjoyment in the form of recreation) of the special qualities of the area by the public.*
- *To promote sustainable economic and social development of the area's communities.*

The first element of the sampling was therefore to select appropriate protected areas which offered the complex connections between the tourism industry, the protected landscapes and the people living and working in those environments. Category V parks and UK National Parks were able to provide these rich scenarios and framed the samples.

English National Parks	Welsh National Parks	Scottish National Parks
Peak District National Park	Snowdonia National Park	Loch Lomond and the Trossachs National Park
Lake District National Park	Brecon Beacons National Park	Cairngorms National Park
Dartmoor National Park	Pembrokeshire National Park	
Exmoor National Park		
New Forest National Park		
Northumberland National Park		
Yorkshire Dales National Park		
South Downs National Park		
Broads National Park		
North York Moors		

Table 5: UK National Parks (UK National Parks 2018)

- 2nd Criterion Longevity as a National Park and long-established tourism industry.

Given the emphasis on trajectories and evolution in the research aims, it was important to select sites that could offer historical insights into the tourism industry in a protected area and its relationships with its governing institutions. This was significant because how relationships develop over time was an aspect that the research study implicitly sought to explore. In terms of methodological fit, Bryman (2016) points towards Yin's (2009) suggestion that cases with longitudinal features can provide opportunities for investigations at different junctures and they allow for study over a period of time. Table 6 identifies and orders UK National Parks by year of establishment.

Year of establishment	National Park
1951	<i>Peak District</i>
1951	<i>Lake District</i>
1951	Snowdonia
1952	North York Moors
1952	Pembrokeshire
1954	Exmoor
1954	Yorkshire Dales
1956	Northumberland
1957	Brecon Beacons

1989	Broads
2002	Loch Lomand and Trossachs
2003	Cairngorms
2005	New Forest
2010	South Downs

Table 6: Year of National Park establishment - UK National Parks (2018)

In addition to their longevity as established protected areas, it was also crucial to select case studies that had a developed tourism industry. Table 2 illustrates the historical designation of the English National Parks and provides some indication of the extent and value of the tourism industry in each park and insight into the selection of the two cases – the Peak District National Park and the Lake District National Park. Both sites were among the first areas to be designated as 'National Parks' in the UK, have an established tourist industry and provide an interesting context of visitation to protected areas. The significance and relevance of the tourism industry in these protected areas is further highlighted by their current visitor numbers and visitor spends (see Table 7). Both sites had also been subject to conflict amongst visitors, recreational users and the park authorities which added to their rich contextual background. In the case of the Lake District, conflict had occurred between local businesses and the Park Authority over the implementation of speed limits on Lake Windermere; this had impacted the authority's relationships with communities (Bell, 2000). In the Peak District, conflict had occurred between the Park Authority and recreational users surrounding the use and activities in the Stanage Edge area of the Peak District (Connelly and Richardson, 2006). At the time of the site selection this area in the Peak District National Park was in part managed by the Stanage Forum Steering Group, a partnership organisation made up of a range of representatives who were connected to the area. The steering group was also informed and directed by the Stanage Forum, both of these institutions are key 'units of analysis' within the case study (Miles, et al, 1994).

National Park name	Year of designation	Population	Visitors a year (million)	Visitor days a year (million)	Visitor spend a year (million)
Broads	1989	6,271	8	15.5	£568
*Dartmoor (figures taken from 2009 STEAM)	1951	34,000	2.4	3.1	£111
Exmoor	1954	10,600	1.4	2	£85
Lake District	1951	41,100	16.4	24	£1,146
New Forest	2005	34,922	Not available	13.5	£123
Northumberland	1956	2,200	1.5	1.7	£190
North York Moors	1952	23,380	7	10.8	£538
Peak District	1951	37,905	8.75	11.75	£541
South Downs	2010	120,000	Not available	39	£333
Yorkshire Dales	1954	23,637	9.5	12.6	£400

Table 7: Key Information about UK National Parks . National Parks UK (2018) – figures taken from STEAM 2014 unless otherwise stated.

- Criterion 3 - Multi-Scaled elements to site selection

Another criterion was that the study should provide a multi-scaler approach to the research design. It was important to have the opportunities to view varying scales at which policies and trajectories relating tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policy operate. Therefore, it was desirable to gain insights from a smaller local site-level partnerships operating within an institution as well as insights on a broader organisational policy-making level. Subsequently, viewing two sites from different scales could amplify the complexities and subtleties of the protected areas settings (Denscombe, 2003). The selection of two case studies also allowed for more robust research findings, particularly around the influencing nature of contexts and how their relative environments impact institutions, policies, processes and relationships.

Considering the multi-scaled focus to the research, it was deemed appropriate to select two National Park sites in England.

One key feature of the case study method is that despite its holistic approach to understanding, it does require some sort of bounded system (Kumar, 2011). In this research study, the issue of bounded systems or confirming when and where the case study starts and finishes needs clarification. As stated, the two case study settings here are the Lake District National Park and the Peak District National Park. However, the key focal points of research within these settings are highlighted in Figure 3 and Figure 4. The Lake District National Park case study allows for focus on a larger park-wide scale of the Park Authority's activities relating to: their policies on sustainable tourism; the impacts of their context; broader trends in protected areas; and how relationships with stakeholders may have contributed to changes and continuities in sustainable tourism policy evolution. The timescale for this case study has also been outlined here; this timescale was largely driven by the availability of policy documentation but also reflects the way in which documentation around this time began to acknowledge ideas and trends identified in the relevant literature reviewed in the literature section of this thesis.

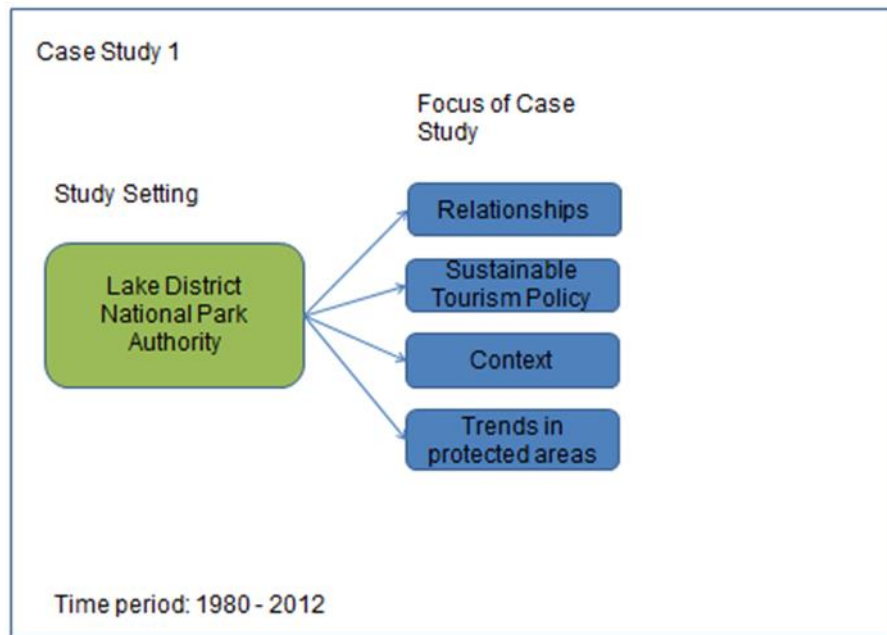


Figure 3 - Case Study 1 - Lake District National Park

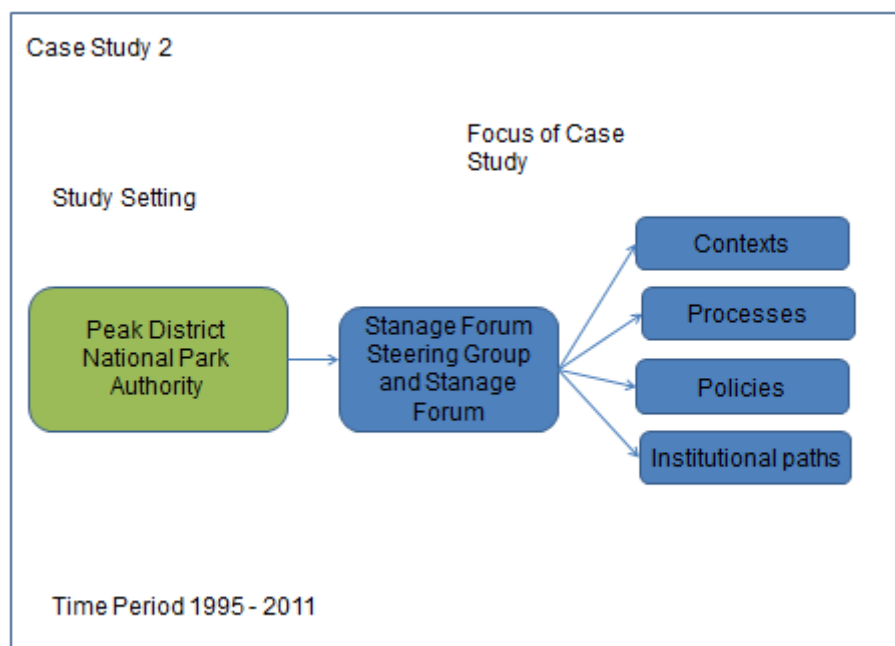


Figure 4 - Case study 2, Peak District National Park.

The Peak District National Park case study provides greater emphasis on an Institutional tourism partnership within a protected area context. The case study here focuses on processes and policies relating to partnership working. It is concerned with

the contexts influencing these activities and pays greater attention to the policy paths of institutions within the Peak District National Park. The timescale was designated through policy documentation which indicated when the notions of partnership working began to arise in each Park Authority.

- Criterion 4 - Convenience of samples selected

The criteria above demonstrates the strategic nature in which the case studies were selected. In addition to these, convenience was also a factor in their selection. While many academics advise against purely using convenience sampling, there is some acknowledgment that accessibility and cost may be a consideration when choosing a sample (Jennings, 2002; Etikan *et al.*, 2016). While there are several category V protected areas globally, it was clearly more convenient and appropriate given my personal experience and knowledge that I should select case studies from the UK. The Peak District National Park is very accessible from Sheffield Hallam University, meaning I was able to attend meetings and arrange interviews with ease. I was also able to draw on contacts that my PhD supervisor had made prior to my study. The Lake District National Park, whilst not as accessible as the Peak District, is located in the North England approximately 3-4 hours travel time from Sheffield Hallam. I was able arrange interviews and meetings over a three-week period for data collection.

The selection of the cases was not intended to shed light on circumstances that are unusual or extreme or even hugely different to other protected areas (Bryman, 2016). However, the cases were selected in part for the strong links to the tourism industry, which can be identified as common, particularly with Category V protected areas (Beresford, 2001). Therefore case selection here can be described as ‘exemplifying’ in that it sought to ‘exemplify’ the broader category of protected areas, in category V parks in Western society where conservation may be a key objective alongside the promotion of tourism industry (Bryman, 2016 p.62). These cases may be argued to epitomise these types of protected areas and provide an excellent context for answering the set research questions (Bryman, 2016). Opting for two cases which are typical and exemplifying here brings us to the point of generalisation – how can the findings from this study be useful? Or more explicitly, might we generalise from them?

I appreciate the issues and criticisms that lie with qualitative research and, in particular, with case studies where, as in this study, the researcher is only conducting research in small, in-depth settings. The findings and data will not be representative of all protected area settings and therefore not 'generalisable' to wider populations (Bryman, 2016). However, this is not the goal of the research. Findings from the case studies are intended to contribute and add to existing theoretical concepts through in-depth exploration of underlying social processes and structures and provide explanations from that context (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003). This is particularly pertinent for this doctoral inquiry as the research sought to explain and explore, and 'make sense' of temporal trends and trajectories of tourism-related institutions and sustainable tourism policy through existing theories relating to 'path dependence', 'path creation' and 'Historical Institutionalism'. In turn, through exploration of the two cases, the study makes what Lewis and Ritchie (2003 p.267) describe as 'theoretical generalisations', where the study supports established theories firstly, but then goes on to develop and refine theories to account for nuances and variations in circumstances identified in the research. In addition to theoretical generalisations, the case study research also offers 'inferential generalisations' (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003 p.276). Lewis and Ritchie (2003) point towards Lincoln and Guba's (1985) and Cronbach's (1975) stance that while there are always factors that are unique to each context and case, there is scope for transferability from one setting to another. This clearly relates to the researcher's judgement when considering research design. However, it must be acknowledged that the 3 papers presented within this thesis do offer inferences for those instances where contexts and settings are similar. The context section within this chapter will provide greater detail on the case study settings which, in turn, can provide a basis for analysing future research or comparative studies.

3.4) Methods and Data Collection

A key benefit to adopting case study design for this study was the ability to integrate different perspectives and sources, to build up the level of detailed understanding which was required (Denscombe, 2003). Bearing in mind the desire to include explorations relating to agency and structure, broader contexts, processes of

institutions and external events, it would have been insufficient to draw upon a single data source or method (Lewis, 2003). In short the '*understanding needs to be holistic, comprehensive and contextualised*' (Lewis, 2003, p.52). Thus, interviews, document analysis and observations were all used for data collection in the study.

3.4.1) Interviews

As noted earlier in this chapter, pre-understanding of the relevant theoretical concepts and study contexts were important to the data collection phase. With these in mind, the interviews were semi-structured in nature, with some pre-specified topics and questions identified prior to meeting the participants (Legard, Keegan and Ward 2003). The themes and questions for the interviewees were developed and aligned with the research objectives; they were also formed using notions and ideas identified in the relevant literature.

Within the Peak District National Park case study, two rounds of interviews took place with a 4-year gap. This allowed developments and trajectories to unfold during this period. As the findings reveal, the institutions began to move into phases of uncertainty. It was necessary to revisit these institutions at a later date until it was clearer what paths and decisions would be adopted. In turn, this allowed for my understanding of the key theoretical concepts to be refined and incorporated into future interview questions. This iterative process meant that four participants were selected to be interviewed twice during the research period. During the first round of data collection, the interviews included questions relating to the aspects of the organizations and operations of the Stanage Forum Steering Group partnership and the National Park Authority, their influences and impacts, and its wider governance. At this stage, the interview themes and questions were not guided by the evolutionary concepts of path creation and path dependence, however they were applied retrospectively and used to examine the data post-interviews.

The second round of data collection within the Peak District National Park included further interviews with members of the Stanage Forum Steering group and National Park Authority staff. The questions and themes here were guided by evolutionary

concepts such as Historical Institutionalism and also by issues emerging from the previous round of fieldwork.

Data collection for the Lake District National Park also included semi-structured interviews with participants from a mix of Park Authority employees and individuals working in the tourism industry in the Lake District. Similarly, questions around the issues and trends relating to sustainable tourism policy were asked based on relevant academic literature and park policy documents.

In all of the interviews, questions were designed to build up a picture of events, critical junctures and influential broader contextual factors that were necessary in order to apply the lens of evolutionary approaches. Often questions would involve asking participants to reflect on the actions of institutions, since creation or since their involvement and to identify key moments, events and actions. The excerpts provided in the plates below indicate the type of questions asked during the interview process in order to glean a picture of historical actions, continuities and changes occurring in the case studies.

Vicky - When did you start to see sustainable tourism policies emerge in the Lake District?

Interviewee - *'I guess it's been there all the time, when I first came to this area to work which was in the 80s, the land-use planning policy that the national Park were, the local plans and the local development frameworks has policy in them that will really quite restrictive to new investments and new developments in the tourism industry and it was probably around then when some of the terminology around sustainable tourism would start to creep in and perhaps farms were allowed to diversify into tourism to help sustain the farming, enterprise to help sustain the landscape, to help sustain the farming of the land, about whole theme is probably continued other words than sustainable tourism is still written in planning policy but interestingly I think it's fair to say if anything the national park authority have become a lot more positive and inviting of tourism investment over the last five years compared with prior to that.'*

Lake District Interview with Employee of Cumbria Tourism (2012)

Plate 1: Excerpts from an interview with participants in Lake District.

Vicky - How have those policies (tourism) changed over the past 10 years?

Interviewee – yeah, we've definitely got more of a focus on sustainable tourism, and it is still a challenge for us to define what that is an because it's new we only adopted the core strategy 18 months ago, it's evolving our definition of sustainable tourism, and working out would actually means but I think there has been a change in the mindset of people who work for the Park authority and the planning team, you know if they had received a proposal for a hotel without transport links, you'd be thinking 'I don't think so' and people are looking for opportunities for hotel developments in the settlement, and opportunities thinking or how could this potentially links to public transport and how come and work with the developer to make the developments as sustainable as possible.

Lake District interview with employee from the Lake District National Park Authority, (2012)

Plate 2: Excerpts from an interview with employee from LDNPA, in Lake District.

Vicky - Has your relationship changed with the business community in the past 10 years?

Interviewee - Yes, hugely, we've gone from the organisation that would say no to businesses to one that now seriously understands what they want to do and worked with them to find ways of achieving that in the within the park, and I think the proof is in the pudding. Going to talk to businesses as the peer review people did last year.. We had to have a think with the business task force which is a place where businesses get together and talk about what they want us to do and what their concerns are and what the future commitments might be.

Lake District Interview with Senior Executive of Lake District National Park Authority (2012)

Plate 3: Excerpts from an interview with employee from LDNPA, in Lake District.

Vicky - How did the idea of partnership working begin to emerge in the National Park in general?

Interviewee - 'It was all developing around that time really.. 1998/2000. I was always thought the origin of Stanage Forum as slightly different, the origin of that was from very much the Rio Earth Summit about local agenda 21 as it was called then. So it sort of followed on from that about bringing what has now become the carbon agenda to a local audience and getting people involved locally in their environment so it came more from that angle really as well as from realising there was lots of conflicts in the area, lots of conflicts of opinion so needing some way resolving the conflicts and building consensus, which is slightly different to partnership working, which is.. there is sort 2 strands developed through the authority and one is about stakeholder engagement which is Stanage Forum and the

other is more traditional partnership working where you work with more like minded organisations, like the National Trust or RSPB, Severn Trent Water.. more traditional sort of partnership working.'

Interview with Peak District National Park Employee (2011)

Plate 4: Excerpts from an interview with employer from the PDNPA in Peak District.

Vicky – What are the key policies do you think are around recreation that has come out of the forum and the steering group?

Interviewee – Well I think it's really how to deal with conflict really or conflicting interests really. I think (Anonymous) is very much one for trying to get people to find some common ground and find a different way to do things rather than just banning something. Well we ended up losing something, but there didn't seem any other way for us when we had to give up running on little bits of moorland, but a lot of the situations there has been room from compromise, but we've been trying very hard with the off-roaders to come up with a scheme there, with voluntary codes and things, now there's all sorts of other problems with that, but that's been the way of looking at things and also to try and quantify in some way how valuable that land is and the whole thing is to do with not just climbing.

Interview with User representative from the Stanage Forum Steering Group, Peak District (2011)

Plate 5: Excerpts from an interview with SFSG Member in Peak District

Vicky – I'd like to ask you about the Stanage Forum and the Steering group, how does it work with the partners? Is it still a forum every year and steering group meeting every 6 months.

Interviewee – Do you mean the Steering group with the forum?

Vicky – Yes a picture of that would be good

Interviewee - The steering group because it is a smaller group, I'm not sure who is supposed to be on it without looking back at emails, I don't know who is supposed to be involved, but they have done a lot of talking and brought forward lots of recommendations which in the past, and we are going back a few years now, I would say, has then go to the forums.. umm and I think really once the management plan was written, which is going back a good 8 years isn't it the forum hasn't been so important if you know what it mean. It just been still getting together of people of interested parties. The trouble is, with these organisations as well, people leave, people pass away I'm afraid and other people come along representing them and you can very often find that your starting to go over all ground that you discussed and thought you had sorted out two or three years before so after the first few and after the management plan has been written I feel the forums hasn't been a discussion group as much as being informed about what is happening and then being updated about how many Ring Ouzels have nested this year, you know,

important information like that.

Interview with resident representative from the Stanage forum Steering Group, Peak District (2011)

Plate 6: Excerpts from an interview with SFSG Member in Peak District

However, on many occasions, new questions were formed at the time of the interview as interesting information came to light from the participants. This meant that the interviews were '*fluid in nature*' and allowed me to pursue new lines of enquiry, to ask probing questions and to seek clarification when necessary (Jennings, 2001 p,174).

Participants were also informed that they were free to discuss other topics and themes that they thought would be useful. This was, at times, beneficial and extremely engaging. However, on reflection, this approach also meant that the interviews sometimes veered in a different direction, not anticipated. I found that some participants had brought their own agendas to the interviews and took this as an opportunity to air grievances about the institutions or other actors. Some interviewees even attempted to promote their own causes by showing me new or proposed developments for a region and informing me of how they had contributed to this work. Some of this detail was insightful. At least, it helped with building up a picture of the region and the institutions, however sometimes these contributions were not directly relevant to the study, but I think that the interviewees enjoyed the opportunity to discuss these points nonetheless and it did provide interviewees with a voice.

Throughout the study, 22 participants from both of the case study areas were interviewed. They were selected based up the principles of purposive sampling, where judgements were made about the potential participants and the ability of the sample to contribute to core research aims (Jennings, 2010). Key interviewees were identified prior to data collection and snowballing techniques were also employed to identify other potential interviewees who may provide useful data (Bryman, 2016). This was beneficial as it allowed me to capture the connectedness between the individuals and their relationships with the two case studies (Bryman, 2016; Jennings, 2010).

Furthermore, one broad criterion for the sample was to attain multiple voices and perspectives from a range of represented interests, allowing for greater contextual and

holistic understanding of the institutions under study (Lewis, 2003 cited in Ritchie, Spencer and Lewis 2003). Another significant criterion was the importance of gaining views from interviewees who could provide a historical perspective. For example, in the case of the Peak District Stannage Forum Steering Group, it was crucial to gain insights into the creation and the development of institutions. Interviewees who could provide this were identified and interviewed as a priority.

In the Peak District National Park, two rounds of interviews took place with a 4-year gap. As aforementioned, this allowed developments and trajectories to unfold during this period. It was necessary to revisit institutions at a later date until it was clearer what paths and decisions would be adopted. In turn, this allowed for my understanding of the key theoretical concepts to be refined and incorporated into future interview questions. This also meant that four participants were interviewed twice during the research period.

Miles, Huberman and Saldana (1994) suggest that some data from particular participants may provide stronger validity than others; this could include those that are closer to particular events, processes or setting. Table 8 and 9 indicate the breadth of interviewees in each National Park and indicate that certain interviewees were considered to be particularly significant to the research and therefore a 'Priority Participant'. This label refers to those who had either greater experience of being involved in policy development or who had been associated with the tourism institutions for a number of years. Subsequently, they were able to provide stronger data and information about the case studies.

Participants - Positions	Organisation/Case study	
Estate Manager	Peak District National Park Authority	Priority Participant Interviewed twice 2007 & 2011
Senior executive	Peak District National Park Authority	2007
Former Senior executive	Peak District National Park Authority	2007
Warden of North Lees Estate	Peak District National Park Authority	Priority Participant Interviewed twice in

		2007 & 2011
Senior Manager	Peak District National Park Authority	2011
Member of Stanage Steering Forum Group	Local Resident	Priority Participant Interviewed twice. 2011
Member of Stanage Steering Forum Group	Representative for Fell Runners	2011
Member of Stanage Forum Steering Forum Group	Representative for Green Lanes (4x4 Users)	2011
Member of Stanage Steering Forum Group	Representative for British Mountaineering Council	Priority Participant Interviewed twice in 2007 and 2011
Recreational user - Ramblers	Representative for Ramblers UK	2011
Environmental interest	Representative for Sheffield Bird Study Group	2011
The interviews lasted an average of 62 minutes in 2007 and 73 minutes in 2011.		

Table 8. Interview Participants - Peak District Case Study

Participants – Positions	Organisation/Case study	
Senior Executive	Lake District National Park	Priority Participant 2012
Planning Officer	Lake District National Park	Priority Participant 2012
Sustainable Tourism Officer	Nurture Lakeland	2012
Tourism industry – Business owner	B&B Boots and Boards – Lake District	2012
Tourism industry – Business owner	B&B Elder Grove – Lake District	2012
Tourism industry – Managing Director	Windermere Lake Cruises – Lake District	Priority Participant 2012
Tourism industry – Director of Resort Operations	Langdale Leisure	Priority Participant 2012
Regeneration Officer	South Copeland Borough Council -	2012
Tourism Development Officer	South Copeland Borough Council	Priority Participant 2012
West Cumbria Tourism Partnership Officer	Cumbria Tourism	2012
Marketing and Developing Director	Cumbria Tourism	Priority Participant. 2012
Marketing and Business Development Manager	Muncaster Castle	2012
The interviews lasted on average of 62 minutes.		

Table 9. Interview Participants - Lake District Case Study

3.4.2) Documents

Whilst the interviews were significant methods employed during the data collection, another large source of data came from a wide range of official documents. Documents which were analysed included policy documents such as National Park Management Plans, Annual Reports, English National Parks position statements, National Park Review documents and minutes from meetings. Clark and Rowlinson (2004) argues that historical analysis of organisational documents has a critical role in qualitative research and in tracing actions and events which can then be constructed, interpreted and assist with understanding the paths of case studies. Similarly, Fairclough (2005) argues that such texts are significant for understanding discourses and explaining social relations and practices.

The collection and the availability of these documents were of particular importance in this research study. Many of these documents offered greater historical information than the interview participants could provide. Many documents were available online via Park Authority websites and some were provided by the key participants and kindly forwarded on. Other documents pre-2000 were available from the archives of the Sheffield Hallam University Library. Table 10 outlines some of the key documents used and analysed in the study from both of the case studies.

Peak District - Documents Analysed	Lake District - Documents Analysed
<i>The Peak District National Park Management Plan, 2000-2005</i>	<i>The Lake District National Park Plan -1986</i>
<i>The Peak District National Park Management Plan, 2006-2011</i>	<i>Lake District National Park - New policies and initiatives for the Lake District, 1990</i>
<i>The Peak District National Park Management Recreational Strategy, 2003</i>	<i>Lake District National Park - A plan for the National Park, 1998</i>
<i>Peak District National Park - Sustainable Tourism Plan, (2000)</i>	<i>Lake District National Park - Promoting sustainable tourism, (2005)</i>
<i>Peak District National Park Performance - Self Assessment (2005)</i>	<i>Lake District National Park Authority The vision for the Lake District National Park 2006–2030 (2006)</i>
<i>Peak District National Park North Lees Estate Management Plan (2002)</i>	<i>Lake District National Park Authority Performance assessment report. (2012).</i>
<i>Peak District National Park, Stanage</i>	<i>Lake District National Park Authority. Core</i>

<i>Forum - Design Group Workshop (Meeting Report) (2000)</i>	<i>strategy including proposal map, (2010.)</i>
<i>Peak District National Park, Stanage Forum Steering Group 1st meeting, (2000)</i>	<i>Lake District National Park Authority Performance assessment report. (2012).</i>

Table 10: Sample of key documents analysed for case studies.

3.4.3) Participant Observation

An additional method used in the case study of the Peak District National Park was non-participant observations of the Stanage Forum Steering Group and the public Stanage Forum meetings. Attending these meetings allowed me to observe, listen and understand the issues and policy decisions that were being discussed and this added a greater richness to the documents that I was analysing. This also allowed me to view the 'natural setting' where decisions were being agreed and contested and I was able to see how key actors interacted with each other. This enhanced my ability to view agency interacting with structure and the cultural norms that may have been present (Denscombe, 2003). In these settings I was a 'participant as observer', where my identity and rationale for attending these meetings was openly recognised and was in line with the university ethics procedures. (Denscombe, 2003). Attending these events also assisted with connecting with interview participants and building a rapport with them. During these meetings, I took field notes and these were built into and added into my broader interpretation and analysis frameworks.

3.4.4) Triangulation of data sources and methods

In order to develop greater corroboration of the findings and to enhance the validity of the doctoral inquiry, triangulation was incorporated into the research process. Bryman (2016 p.697) suggests that triangulation is the '*use of more than one method or source of data in the study of a social phenomenon so that findings may be cross checked.*' Miles, Huberman and Saldana (1994) follow Denzin's (2001) distinctions of triangulation which can include triangulations of data sources, methods and theories. Here, the research process included triangulation of data sources within the interview participant selection. Within the Peak District Case Study a selection of interview participants were identified based upon their representational interests within the institutions. This included interview participants who worked for the National Park

Authority, residents of the local area, conservation representatives and recreational residents. Similarly, the Lake District participants were also from a range of organisations and with varying interests to ensure a broader picture was built up of the processes in the case study.

In addition to the interviews providing triangulation of data sources, the research process also incorporated triangulation of methods. Jennings (2010) further highlights Denzin's interpretation of triangulation who argues that no one single method adequately explains causal factors. Within the Peak District and the Lake District, interviews, and document analysis were carried out and these methods were supplemented with participant observations in the Peak District. This allowed for greater validity of the structures and processes explored in the analytical process.

The research process also included triangulation of theoretical concepts, as explained in further detail below; theoretical concepts were considered prior to the data collection. Post data collection, if events and contexts were not explainable through the theoretical concepts identified prior to data collection then new theories and differing concepts were brought into the analysis at a later stage; this allowed for a more robust critical approach to the research process.

3.5) Interpretation of the data, tools and processes

This section will reflect on the analysis and interpretation of the data collected and how this was generated into findings for the three published articles that form part of this PhD thesis submission.

The methods of data collection had produced a wealth of information that required careful analysis. Interview transcriptions, field notes from the observations and the documents (in their raw form) meant that the task of analysis was substantive (Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor, 2003). One major task was the scrutiny and subsequent analysis of the textual content in the documents. The documents tended to fall into four broad categories: national broader policy documents (such as National Park Reviews); Park Authority documents (Management Plans, Annual reports, strategies); tourism and institutional documents (Tourism sustainable plans,

Partnership documents); and finally, local information documents (Minutes from meetings, newsletters, updates).

This part of the data collection itself became a form of data condensation (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 1994) as I was required to select, from a very broad range, only the documents that would provide relevant but also contextual data. The first step of the analysis was to identify textual content relevant to the study within each document. This reflects the critical realist approach of the study. Theoretical concepts and frameworks were crucial to shedding light on the unobservable structures and to help explain the paths of the institutions and policies. This analysis process was largely based upon my 'prior knowledge' and pre-understanding of the case studies and the key notions and ideas.

A key step in the analytical process was to initially develop 'codes' which could be categorised and refined into themes and theoretical understandings of what occurred within the case studies. Saldana (2016 p.4) defines a 'code' within qualitative analysis as 'researcher generated construct that symbolizes or translates data and thus attributes interpreted assertion or proposition development, theory building, and other analytical processes.'. First, key words were selected as codes, these include broad terms such as 'recreation and tourism' 'rural tourism' 'economic well-being' and 'tourism partnerships', while these codes were broad and derived from pre-understanding and prior knowledge, there were representative of 'essence capturing' data and summarised the primary key topics (Saldana 2016).

The process of coding then allowed for the data to be organised into broad themes and categories - sometimes these themes were explicitly linked to the theoretical concepts, which lent themselves to acting as analytical frameworks for sorting the data.

As I became further 'immersed' in the fieldwork, a second cycle of codes were developed and existing codes were refined. For example **for** the code 'rural tourism' was not sufficient in helping to explore the patterns and relationships of the study. In turn, codes that were 'phrases' which related to structure, relationships and patterns were developed. For example one such code was 'increasing support for tourism in

context of rural decline'. This allowed for units of data to be explored that were concerned with causation of tourism support and its relationship to the context of rural decline. Additionally, another code 'impacts of tourism in national parks' was also refined in the second cycle to other codes such as 'concerns over tourism's seasonality' and 'tourism and employment', this allowed for tracing patterns on whether discussion on the impacts of tourism had increased or decreased over the time period.

This allowed for greater categorisation and new themes began to arise. In particular, at this stage data analysis started to reveal themes that had perhaps had not arisen from a review of existing literature (Spencer, Ritchie, O'Connor, 2003). For example, in the initial fieldwork round for the Peak District National Park I began to observe patterns and influences as suggested in the partnership stage models. However, there were also other factors that were not accounted for in these models, and therefore new interpretations and themes began to emerge. The next phase of analytical activity involved combining and subsuming all of the fieldwork into one matrix. Miles, Huberman and Saldana (1994) suggest that this is a means of further organising information and begins to allow for conclusions and inferences to be made or for further analytical action to be taken.

Moving from themes that were descriptive and generic to new emergent ideas and potentially explanatory ideas reflects Spencer, Ritchie and O'Connor's (2003 p.213) notion of an 'analytical hierarchy' whereby the *'first stage of analysis involves data management, sorting and synthesizing the data so that the analyst can then move on to more interpretative work, making sense of the findings through the production of descriptive and explanatory accounts.'*

In the analysis of the documentary data, I also started to incorporate timescales and periodization's in order to observe sequencing of events, actions and casual inferences. This also allowed for identification of key ideas from the theoretical frameworks, such as critical junctures. Developing a timeline and placing the coded data within in the timeline was key to understanding the connections and the relationships between the key themes.

The analysis benefitted greatly from techniques derived from Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995) following a policy path (Peck and Theodore 2012) and 'process tracing' (Collier 2011). Fairclough (1995 p.88) suggests that a critical approach to discourse analysis *'looks to establish connections between properties of texts, features, of discourse practice (text production, consumption and distribution) and wider socio-cultural practice.'* He offers that researchers studying social change may need to pay more attention to discourse and how discursive change relates to wider social and cultural change. This proposition further suggests that analysing discourse alongside other types of sociological analysis may wield opportunities for improved micro- and macro analysis (Fairclough, 1995). Discourse may be seen in text, spoken or written, with text production and text interpretation and in socio-cultural practice. An example of discourse shifting in this study through analysis of document and interview data is the way in which tourism appeared to be more 'accepted' by the Lake District National Park Authority over a 30-year time period. This was reflected textually in documents and in social practices (in this case through increased working relationships between the authority and the tourism industry).

Peck and Theodore (2012 p.29) advocate 'following the policy' and applying a methodology that attempts to trace emergent policy mobilities across connected networks that may account for both *'dominant patterns and trajectories of transformations'*. In this study, in both case studies, following policy paths was an important means of understanding the storylines given by actors and provided in official documentation. Great consideration was given to their trajectories and to the theoretical evolutionary concepts.







One technique used to follow the paths of the Peak District institutions in this study was 'process tracing'. This is described by Collier (2011 p. 824) as an *'analytical tool for drawing descriptive and causal inferences from diagnostic pieces of evidence, often understood as part of a temporal sequence of events of phenomena'*. He suggests that researchers may find it useful to develop a timeline to assess the sequences of events, phenomena and causal mechanisms. In this study, the process tracing methodology was useful to analyse the policy paths, discursive changes and continuities as it assisted in unveiling historical endogenous and exogenous processes and practices at

varying scales. Importantly, Peck and Theodore (2012) exert that this approach to studying trajectories, requires an amount of reflexivity. Similarly, Spencer, Lewis and O'Connor emphasise that their 'analytical hierarchy' is not a linear concept, and suggest that researchers move up and down the descriptive and explanatory platforms, and continually revisit original or the synthesised data. In this study, revisiting the original data, confirming or disconfirming new ideas and remaining open to new interpretations throughout the research journey was paramount and occurred frequently. Working with my supervisor and continually discussing themes, categories, ideas, inferences and findings ensured a sound level of trustworthiness and validity. Returning to data and refining inferences and conclusions was also essential for making thorough revisions and responses during the journal article review process. This meant that the research findings were corroborated through different sources before committing to claims of new findings and conclusions (Miles, Huberman and Saldana, 1994).

Table 11 illustrates the research process for each paper and at what stages pre-existing knowledge and theoretical concepts were incorporated into the research process. It also draws on Miles and Hubermans (1994) 'Components of Data Analysis interactive model' (see figure 5) which views qualitative data analysis as a flowing concurrent activity which is continuous and iterative. It exemplifies how the data was transformed into findings and conclusions which are presented in the three papers.

Phase 1 shows my pre-understanding and which theoretical concepts were included before the data collection phase. Phase 2 shows the data collection methods adopted for each paper. The third phase underlines how my analysis of the data involved a combination of emergent new thoughts and ideas, as well as being interpretive through the analytical frameworks and categories. The analytical concepts and theories were particularly useful for 'data condensation' which Miles and Huberman (1994 p.12) suggests is the process of *'selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and/or transforming the data that appears in the full corpus'*. This phase also included the process of displaying data which is crucial to the data analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994); here the display of data was often the organisation of categories and

the periodization of significant events, actor's intervention and contextual shifts. Phase 4 highlights how new theory was incorporated into the analytical process to help explain features and characteristics of the institutional and policy paths that had not been accounted by the earlier theoretical concepts. In turn, this led the fifth phase where new findings, explanations and inferences were developed, however these were not necessarily the 'final' conclusions. Final conclusions were only presented in the final versions of the three papers after phase 6 was completed. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest good qualitative research practice should maintain openness and scepticism when drawing conclusions, and may involve the researcher revisiting the data. This was evident in the final phase of the research which demonstrates how the findings and inferences corroborated through the supervisory meetings and the journal review processes. At this point, it was sometimes necessary to revisit the earlier phases of the research process to further confirm and refine the findings.

	1. Pre-existing knowledge and pre-understanding	2. Data Collection	3. Data Display and Analysis and data condensing	4. New theory applied to help explain data	5. Explanations, conclusions, findings and inferences	6. Revisiting and Refining concepts and verifying conclusions
						
Paper 1	Stage approaches to collaboration (Gray 1985)	Interviews Participant Observation, Document Analysis	Using theory to understand data. Phases analysed New themes and ideas emerged that Stage approach did not account for	Path dependency theory and Path creation helped explain contexts, relations and actions not observable through Stage approach	New findings, inferences and explanations revealed through application of Path dependency and Path creation	Working with supervisor to refine findings, discuss meanings and inferences. Revisiting data collected and the analytical frameworks. Responding to reviewers
Paper 2	Literature and theory around trends occurring in protected areas and their potential drivers towards sustainable tourism	Interviews and Document Analysis	Interpretation of data through theory, analytical categories and themes formed. 'Following the policy' through periodization. Further new themes emerged that existing theory did not explain.	Co-evolution theory applied to help explain the connected relationships between policies, structures, contexts and agency.	New findings and understandings about sustainable policy paths in protected areas and how co-evolution theory can help explain these.	Working with supervisor to refine findings, discuss meanings and inferences. Revisiting data collected and the analytical frameworks. Collecting further policy documents for analysis. Responding to reviewers responses.

Paper 3	Knowledge derived from paper 1 including Path dependency and Path creative concept and case study information from the 4 year gap.	Interviews Document Analysis, Participant Observation.	Interpretation of data through theoretical concepts.	Cultural Political theory applied to make sense of the 'ideational' and the impact on these on trajectory.	News explanations about how tourism institutions evolved over time.	Working with supervisor to refine findings, discuss meanings and inferences.
	Increased understanding of the evolutionary concepts from Historical Institutionalism.		'Following the policy' through periodization and process tracing. New emerging understanding about the tourism institution paths.	Further ideas from HI also helped explained institutional paths.	Deeper understanding about the path trajectory and why they moved in certain directions. Greater understanding about the role of HI & CPE and its ability to explain unobservable structures.	Revisiting data collected and the analytical frameworks. Collecting further policy documents for analysis. Responding to reviewers responses.

Table 11 - Phases of research process throughout the study.

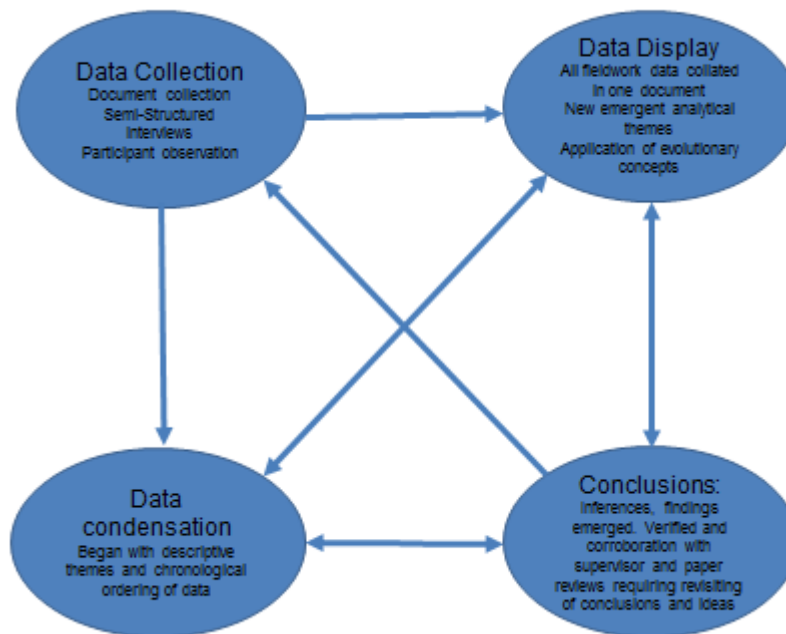


Figure 5.

Adapted from
Hubermans,
Miles and
Saldana (1994)
'Components of
Data Analysis
Interaction
Model'

Here, the aim of the methodology chapter was to provide insights into the core position and beliefs around research and how these were accommodated into the research strategy. It demonstrates how the Critical Realist approach combined with a qualitative strategy has sought to draw out explanations and new ideas about both sustainable tourism policy and tourism institutes such as partnerships. The Critical Realist epistemology has allowed me to proceed assuming an objective position alongside an interpretivist approach. This has been crucial for fulfilling the research

aims that are seeking to understand and explore contexts, social practices, structures and the role of human agency. The role of the core theoretical concepts has also been discussed here. This has included their significance to my pre-understanding and pre-data collection and to the analytic phases where they were used to help make sense of data, post data-collection. In addition, this contributed to theoretical triangulation, which added to the validity of the data. The interpretative characteristics of my research directed me towards intensive qualitative research design, whereby small case studies were preferable over large population samples associated with quantitative designs. The case study criteria is outlined here and a case for focusing on longer established parks with significant tourism industries was identified. Next, the chapter moved on to describe the methods of data collection. Interviews, observations and document analysis were selected and allowed for both triangulation of methods and sources. Importantly, how the data was interpreted and analysed was also addressed. Here, the vital link between data collection, analysis, interpretation of findings and conclusions was identified. Table 11, illustrates how the theoretical concepts were incorporated at different phases and how inferences and findings were verified and re-confirmed to ensure greater validity and trustworthiness of the conclusions finally presented in the three published papers.

The next key section below will provide greater details about the two case study locations. This will assist the reader in understanding the broader context of each case study, the nature of their tourism industry, the administrative features and historical settings. Finally, there is a critical commentary section, which provides insight into how the data analysis was undertaken and how the theoretical concepts were incorporated in this process. The thesis will then move on to discuss the 'research journey', drawing on my personal reflections from the broader experience of 'doing a PhD'.

3.6) English National parks history and aims and purposes

This section will provide further information about the protected area case studies selected for the doctoral inquiry.

The first National Parks were designated in the Peak District, Lake District, Dartmoor and Snowdonia in 1951 after social demand for access to the countryside mounted as

appreciation for the benefits of physical exercise and desire for open-air recreation increased (UK National Parks 2014). The industrialisation and expansion of towns and cities and enclosure of land fostered this desire for access to the countryside. Discontent grew and a series of conflicts emerged, including the 1932 'Mass Trespass' on Kinder Scout in the Peak District (UK National Parks 2014).

In 1949, an Act of Parliament was passed to establish National Parks to 'preserve and enhance their natural beauty and provide recreational opportunities for the public' (UK National Parks 2014a). Subsequently, by 1960 10 National Parks were designated in the UK. In 1995 the Environment Act revised the original legislation and set out two statutory purposes for National Parks in England and Wales, these are to:

1. Conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage
2. Promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of National Parks by the Public. (UK National Parks 2014).

One important facet of these two statutory purposes is the conflict which can occur in trying to adhere to both aims. Subsequently, in 1974 the National Parks Policy Review Committee made the recommendation known as the 'Sandford principle' which states:

'Where irreconcilable conflicts exist between conservation and public enjoyment, then conservation interest should take priority' (UK National Parks 2014c).

In addition to these statutory purposes, National parks also have a duty to: 'Seek to foster the economic and social well-being of local communities within the National parks.' sometimes known as the third duty (National Park UK 2014).

3.6.1) Structure, ownership and governance

Under the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act, National Park Planning Boards and Authorities were established to administer and manage the designated areas (Hind and Mitchell 2004). One key activity of the National Park Authorities, is that they are the sole local planning authority for the area, meaning they have planning powers for the area in order to manage the impact of development in the National Park (DEFRA 2010).

Each National Park Authority includes Members, staff and volunteers. Members for each Park Authority range from individuals from local and parish councils to Members who are appointed by government based on their expertise. Members are advised by the Park Authority staff, and then ultimately make strategic decisions about the National Park (National Parks UK 2014).

Each National Park Authority must prepare a statutory National Park Management Plan and review it every 5 years (Environment Act 1995 section 66). This is an overarching strategic document which sets out the aims and objectives of the parks for the next 10-20 years (DEFRA 2010). It should also include key information about how the park authorities intend to work with key partners such as communities, landowners, and stakeholders (DEFRA 2010).

Working with communities and key stakeholders, such as landowners is particularly important to National Park Authorities as much of the land designated as a National Parks in England is privately owned, often by Farmers or organisations such as the National Trust (UK National Parks 2015d). Whilst they can employ rangers and wardens to help owners maintain and enhance landscape, authorities must seek ways to influence others actions (Hind and Mitchell 2004) and work in partnership with local government and stakeholders in order to fulfil their core purposes.

3.6.2) Category V nature of protected areas and how these reflect English National Parks

It is important to place the case studies and English National Parks within the wider global context of protected areas. Within their designation, English National Parks include settlements with communities who live and work within their boundaries (UK National Park 2018), unlike other protected areas which may include more sites of wilderness and strict access. Globally, the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines protected areas as:

‘a clearly defined geographical space, recognised, dedicated and managed, though legal or other effective means, to achieve the long term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values’ (IUCN 2018b).

English National Parks are considered protected areas and fall under the IUCN definition of a Category V protected area which is defined as:

'Where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining the area and its associated nature conservation and other values.' (Dudley 2008 p.1).

Worldwide there are 28,320 protected areas which have the IUCN category V designation, the largest surface ratio of the all IUCN categories (Mose and Weixlbaumer 2007). However a large proportion of these are located in Europe (13,780) and in the Americas (11,793) (IUCN & UNEP 2014). This is a particularly important contextual factor for the study as it demonstrates the value and potential use of the study findings for protected areas who may encounter similar challenges relating to interactions between their communities and protected landscape.

3.6.3) Peak District National Park

Designated in 1951, the Peak District National Park is located in central England and covers an area of 555 square miles (Peak District National Park Authority 2018a). This area includes a wide variety of landscapes including, open moorlands, gritstone formations of the Dark Peak and dales and gorges of the White Peak (Peak District National Park 2018). Within these landscapes are farmlands, wooded valleys as well town, villages and hamlets which are to 38,000 residents (PDNPA 2018a). The central location of the Peak District means 16 million people live within an hour's drive of the boundary, this includes the two major cities of Sheffield located to the east of the park, and Manchester located to the west. The location of the park makes it an accessible tourist destination for short stay visitors, around 48% make visits lasting less than 3 hours (PDNPA 2018a). See figure 6 below.

The economy of the Peak District National Park is made up of several industries including farming, manufacturing and the accommodation and retail sector (PDNPA 2018a). However traditional industries such as farming and land management have been in decline whilst sectors such as tourism have seen growth in their contribution to the economy (PDNPA 2018).



Figure 6 - Map of the Peak District National park.

Stanage and North Lees

Most of the land within the Peak District National Park is privately owned, major land owners include the National Trust, water companies, and individual estate holders (such as the Chatsworth) (PDNPA 2013) . Stanage is unique in the sense that the PDNPA has retained ownership of the land and continues to manage through a partnership approach.

Stanage and North Lees are areas in the Peak District National Park which are managed by the Park Authority in partnership with both the Stanage Forum and the Stanage Forum Steering Group. The area is characterised by dark peak, moorland, rock edges, woodland and farmland (PDNPA, 2018b). Significantly, the area has huge importance from both a conservation and recreation perspective. The land throughout Stanage is internationally renowned for its fragile heather moorland, rare birds, blanket bog and is classified as a Site of Special Interest, a Special Area of Conservation and has Special

Protection Area status. From a tourist and recreational perspective, the area receives approximately over half a million visitors per year who engage in a range of outdoor activities, including cycling, horse riding, hang-gliding, para-gliding and bird watching. However the area is particularly important for walkers and climbers, due to its open access and as it is considered to be the birth place for the sport and is internationally famous for bouldering (Peak District National Park, 2002, 2018b). See figure 7 below.

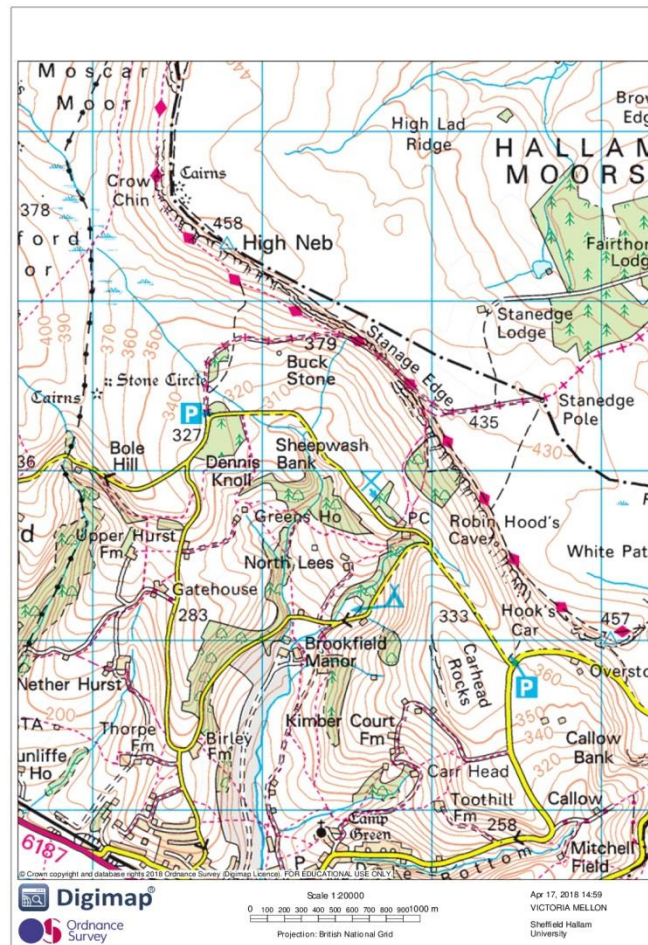


Figure 7. Map of Stanage and North Lees Estate

The doctoral inquiry looks at the 2 institutional arrangements concerned with managing Stanage and North Lees; these are the Stanage Forum and the Stanage Forum Steering Group. The Stanage Forum and the Stanage Forum Steering Group were established by the Peak District National Park Authority in 2002, in part, with the view of reducing conflict and tension occurring between outdoor recreation activities and environmental protection. The Stanage Forum was established to act as an open

meeting where opinions, recommendations and information could be delivered and gained from the wider general public, the forums convened on annual basis. The Stanage Forum Steering Group was developed as representational body made up of representatives from a variety of user groups and is considered the 'main decision making' body (Peak District National Park 2018b, 2002). Their meetings were more frequent and ideas, objectives and aim were discussed here and brought to the forum for debate. Ultimately, the Park Authority is the land owner for Stanage and North Lees and therefore statutory responsibility remained with them. Decisions from the Steering group were still required to be authorised by them. The diagram below outlines the structures for the Stanage Forum and the Stanage Forum Steering Group.

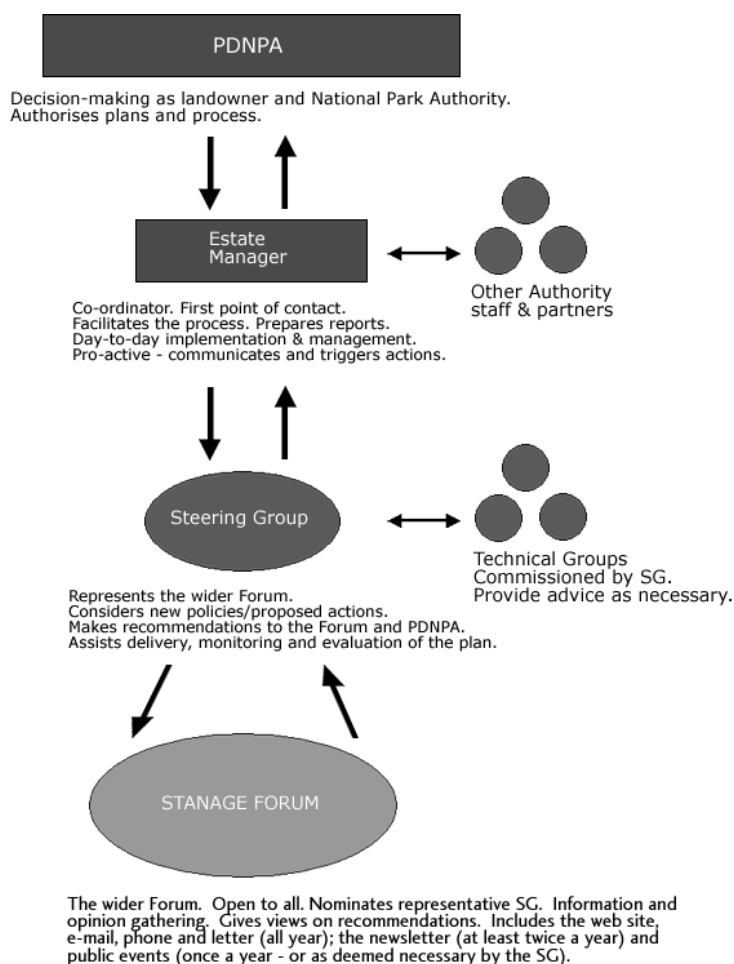


Figure 8: Management structure for Stanage Forum and Stanage Forum Steering Group within the Peak District National Park Authority

3.6.4) Lake District National Park

The Lake District National Park is located in North West England was established as National Park in 1951. It is the largest park in England and Wales covering 2292 square kilometres and the park landscape and environment is characterised by wild fells, mountains, deep valleys, lakes and a short stretch of coastline (Hind and Mitchell 2004, LDNPA 2014a). The park is also within close proximity of two major UK cities, being a 1-2hr drive from Manchester and 2hr from York and has a population of over 41,000 residents (LDNPA 2018) (See figure 9 below). Agriculture and woodland industries have been a traditional economy for the Lake District, however agricultural economies are less prominent with only 2500 people employed in farming (LDNPA 2018). Tourism is the most dominant industry with over 15,000 estimated to be working in the sector (LDNPA 2018). The tourism industry is predominately made up of small independent businesses, which include accommodation, visitor attractions, lakes boats and pubs, cafes and shops (Hind and Mitchell, 2004). Recent data from STEAM 2014 supplied by Cumbria tourism indicate that visitors spent £1,145 million in the Lake District in 2014 and that visitor numbers were estimated at 16.4 million in the same year (LDNPA 2018). The Lake District National Park Authority owns less than 4% of land within the park boundaries and the rest is owned by organisations such as the National Trust, United Utilities, Forestry Commission and private landowners. As the lead authority for managing the park, the LDNPA aim to protect the park through the access and environmental legislation and working in partnerships with landowners and key stakeholders. For the doctoral inquiry, the LDNPA is used as a case study for understanding how and why sustainable tourism ideas have been adopted and evolved over time within their policy context. The longstanding tourism industry, its large resident population and history of conflict over the restrictions and speed limits placed on the popular Lake Windermere and this subsequent impact on the business community (Bell 2000), makes for an interesting and complex setting for the evolution and adoption of sustainable tourism policies.



Figure 8. Map of the Lake District National Park

3.7) Critical Commentary on research methods

As noted above my approach to the research was interpretative, immersive and critical through the use of theoretical concepts. This section will provide a critical commentary on my approach to collecting and analysing my fieldwork and data.

As indicated earlier the data collection and data analysis phases of the research were interconnected, overlapping and sometimes cyclical. Therefore the process of identifying potential codes began as data was being collected. Early on the data collection phase I engaged in what Saldana (2016 p.20) describes as 'pre-coding'. This includes circling, highlighting and bolding important passages from the interview transcripts and key policy documents, that might be worthy of attention (Saldana 2016). All data that was highlighted remained so; this was beneficial later on in the analysis process and some highlighted excerpts were then used as evidence to support arguments and propositions in the final drafts of the articles.

It was this pre-coding and the knowledge that I had developed from prior knowledge and understanding, which then led to developing my first set of codes. These codes were often broad and descriptive and allowed and were useful for organising large chunks of data. The images below illustrate some pre-coding in the documents and interview transcripts.

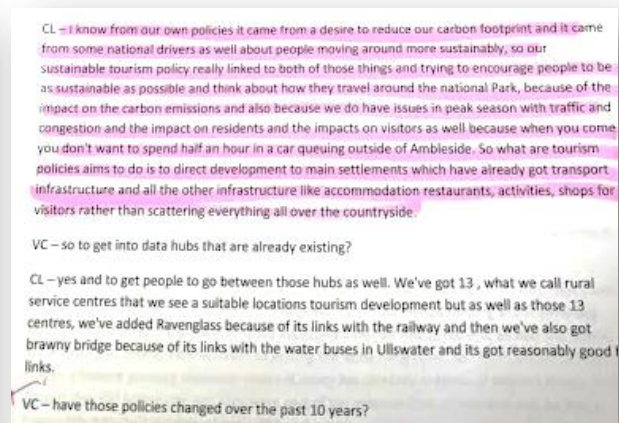
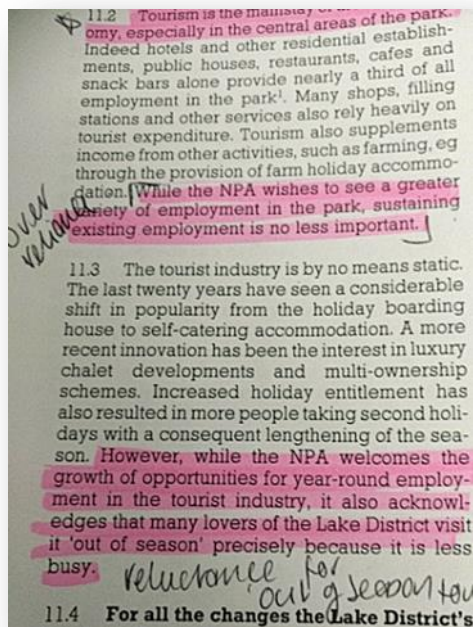


Image 1 and 2 - pre coding in document analysis and in interview transcripts.

After the first set of codes were formed, the analysis required further reflection on emergent patterns, this in turn meant that inevitably some codes were refined and an element of recoding occurred during the latter phases of analysis. Equally, some codes such as 'tourism partnerships' were proving not to be sufficient in uncovering patterns and shifts related to the processes and drivers for partnership working and were potentially too narrow. Instead changes to the codes such as 'community engagement' and 'working together in tourism' were more fruitful and led to improved analysis of the data. Further examples of evolving codes include, 'sustainable tourism' which was sub-coded to the 3 additional codes of 'sustainable tourism and the economy' 'sustainable tourism and environment' and 'sustainable tourism and the community'.

An important feature of my data collection and analysis was the data layout and the manual approach to coding. All interview transcripts, policy documents and field notes were printed out. This allowed for the pre-coding and highlighting key moments and excerpts. Once I moved onto producing the first codes, I then developed tables and created columns for each code using MS word, and extracted and organised the relevant data into each column (this was done electronically, through cut and pasting). I would print out these documents and then add in handwritten notes to the columns; these might include adding references to relevant literature or the start of initial arguments and propositions.

This was obviously time-consuming, particularly in comparison to using specific electronic software such as NVivo or CAQDAS. Nevertheless, manual coding did allow me to have a greater sense of more control and ownership of my data. Furthermore, I felt that I was able to pick up on the nuances and complexities that might not have been picked up in electronic coding software systems (Saldana 2016). Studying part-time also made it difficult for me to attend relevant training and have designated time for learning new software programmes. The manual coding approach allowed me to gain confidence in developing codes and analysing the data in an intensive fashion. I feel that now I can build on this experience and use electronic software programmes for future research purposes. Engaging with the data in this manner was also useful for understanding the discourses in a critical form which is essential for critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995).

After a second cycle of analysing the data and refining codes, I was then able to progress to producing themes and categories which started to form the basis of findings and article structures. An example of a category would be 'external contextual factors' here, the codes which represented data indicating shifts and drivers towards sustainable tourism policy development were grouped together. Similarly, I was able to produce categories and themes from the codes around partnership working and

community engagement, the category developed into 'factors influencing widening participation'.

Considering my critical realist approach to the research methodology, a key feature of my analysis was applying the theoretical concepts to the data and themes. The process of viewing the data through a theoretical lens occurred once themes and categories had begun to emerge. In order to apply notions of historical institutionalism and path dependency I began ordering the themes and categories into broad time phases, this allowed me to uncover when certain factors were influencing the tourism partnerships and related sustainable tourism policies. The image below shows how I ordered the themes and categories into broad time phases.

possible, it is important that the document is read, and applied. indicates previous problems and desire NP to adopt a new tourism-related jobs "SOP" # prosperous economy, world class visitor experiences one class visitor experience Contributing to vibrant

5 tourism or more positive activities tourism economy board leader influence 2nd

Lake District Data Analysis

	Pre 1998	1998 -	2001 - 2008	2009 - 2013
Theme 1 Wider shift towards social and economic development in protected areas.	<p>1986 National Park Plan, highlights that authorities such as the countryside commission should 'to give due regard to the needs of the agriculture and forestry and the economic and social interests of the rural area' p.3</p> <p>1986 plan also draws attention to the Sandford report, and the recommendations that NPA's should 'give special emphasis to nature conservation' however it also notes that the problems of youth unemployment and lack of opportunities. The plan quotes the Sandford report (1971) '... a community losing its young people and its vitality is as depressing to the visitor as to its inhabitants... we agree with those what have urged upon us that policies for those national parks where this problem exists should not exclude the provision of more</p>	<p>1998 This plan highlights the 1995 Act that requires NPA's to seek to foster economic well-being of local communities within the National Park by working closely with local authorities responsible for these matters, but without incurring significant expenditure.</p> <p>There appears to be more understanding of this requirement than previous: 'This responsibility reflects the fact the National Parks are a product of the economic and social development of their communities. Future developments will have a significant influence on conservation and public enjoyment. The Government expects National Park Authorities to carry out this duty in ways which are compatible with their pursuit of National Park purposes.' LDNPA Management Plan, 1998, p.5</p>	<p>2004 "in managing the National Park we will maximise environmental, social and economic benefits and make sure that, wherever possible, the impact of one activity has positive benefits for another" Guiding Principle 3, LDMP p.6</p>	<p>2009 - 2013 "we take it very seriously we've almost raised it equal to a purpose in this particular National Park and we try not to talk about the purposes in the duty actually because we interpret them through our vision for the National Park, it slightly reorders in a way that works for us here, so we don't kind of bang on about purposes, indeed one of the problems that the Park got itself in was talking relentlessly with the partners about nothing other than the first two purposes you never heard anything about the duty to look after the socio-economics of communities in the Park". Chief executive (discussing the duty)</p>

Image 3 - Themes organised into the time phases.

This was followed up by manually drawing up large timeline of events for both of the case studies. This was done using large flipchart size paper, and as my data analysis progressed I would add key points and information to the timelines. Such information would include when a new policy was introduced nationally, or a significant event happened, such as the impact of foot and mouth disease outbreak.

In addition to key events and policies, I also created a new layer by suggesting what theoretical concepts characterised the events or shifts. At this point, I was required to delve deeper into the analysis and give more thought to nature of the key actions and events. Rather than just observing change, I was gaining a greater understanding the nature of the trajectories and their subtle nuances, this led me to question whether 'change' had in fact occurred, or was it merely a complex continuation. In turn, this was an important influence on conceptual thinking and my findings. I created a large

timeline with events and key actions and an indication on the nature of that event. An example here would be the employment of the new Estate Manager, which was depicted as critical juncture in the tourism partnership trajectory. The timeline was an extremely useful tool and illustrates how I engaged in both 'process tracing' (Collier 2011) and 'following the policy' (Peck and Theodore 2012). The immersive and critical approach to analysing the data allowed me to move on to the next phase of draft arguments and findings for the three articles. However, as indicated in table 11, I would often go back to the timeline and field notes after to refine and revise my conclusions and findings.

While this approach was beneficial for this research study, it perhaps would have been useful, for the purposes of thesis writing, to take further photos of my field notes and timelines. This and committing to writing reflective journal would have allowed for further reflection and stronger demonstration of analytical processes.

4.0) Personal reflections on the research journey

This chapter provides some insight into my personal learning journey during the Article Based PhD. Here, I outline where my research interests stem from, I reflect on the process of working with others on my research publications and during the writing of the thesis, I consider the impact of my research, and I provide some reflective commentary on my personal development and my development as a researcher through the peer reviewing process.

4.1) Personal interests and research inquiry

From a personal perspective, I have always had an interest in tourism and English National Parks. Family experiences from my childhood in Dorset included many visits to protected natural spaces, such as Dartmoor National Park and the New Forest (now a National Park). This, coupled with my interest in working within the tourism sector, led my education towards a BA Hons in Tourism Management and later an MSc in Sustainable Tourism. It was through these studies that I became interested in sustainable tourism and, subsequently, how sustainable tourism is implemented and the role of stakeholders within this. Field visits to the Peak District National Park and to Stanage Edge and talks from staff working at the Peak District National Park Authority led me to become curious about the working relationship the park had with its many user groups and how it had addressed longstanding conflicts. It was at this point that I began to consider undertaking research for the purposes of a doctoral inquiry.

During the early stages of the research, I was focused on and enjoyed reading academic literature on tourism partnership working and instances of case studies where partnership working has been deployed in the name of sustainable tourism and research that observed sustainable tourism practice within protected areas. However, in order for my research to make an original contribution to knowledge and to go further than evaluating existing theories, I realised that I was required to draw on a wider range of academic fields, theories and concepts that went well beyond my initial research interests. Venturing into new academic territories has been a source of great academic learning for me, but also a sense of unknown and endless 'rabbit holes'. At times, it seemed intimidating to begin ploughing for literature in order give credit

appropriately to the academics that had forged new ideas and to ensure that I had fully understood each concept and its origins. Ultimately, this exploration of other fields such as 'Historical Institutionalism' and Evolutionary Economy Geography (EEG) theories has given me a greater sense of ability when it comes to researching historical approaches and tourism scenarios. In fact, one of the most rewarding facets of the doctoral study has undoubtedly been the process of learning and achieving greater understanding of theories and concepts through the linking and application to my own fieldwork and creating my own interpretations.

I very much feel that the ordering of my published papers reflects my doctoral learning journey and demonstrates my increasing knowledge and development of ideas and concepts. The diagram below attempts to visually represent how my learning has progressed throughout the development of the three published papers.

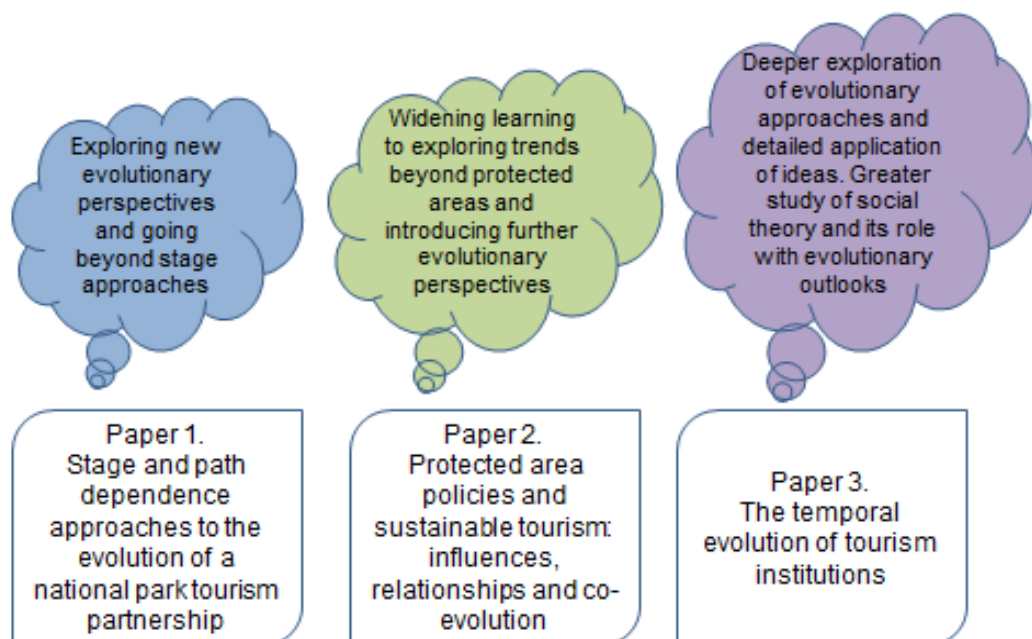


Figure 10: Illustration of expansive learning throughout the research process.

In addition to learning through the research and fieldwork process, I also transformed my research skills extensively through working with my PhD supervisors during doctoral inquiry.

4.2) Article Based PhD route and co-authoring papers

In this section I reflect specifically on the process of co-authoring papers and my decision to opt for an Article Based PhD route. Pursuing an Article Based PhD and publishing my research findings in journals as part of this route has been invaluable to my development as an academic researcher in terms of project management, research methods, writing and publication skills. My decision to enrol on this PhD route instead of undertaking a traditional monograph PhD was partly shaped by personal circumstances and a need to study part-time. There were some recognisable benefits in being able to work towards developing as an academic through publishing and using the time spent on research and publications to simultaneously focus on a PhD award. Whilst opting for this route has allowed me to invest time on focusing on the development of research publications alongside a shorter accompanying thesis, it has also presented some challenges for me. Firstly, I now realise that writing for academic journals is very different to writing chapters for a monograph style PhD. There were many times when I felt my papers were 'ready' however, in fact, they still needed considerable reworking and refining to satisfy the requirements of international academic journals and blind peer review processes. Secondly, I had not really anticipated the amount of time that the journal revision and review process could potentially take. Whilst I was fortunate not to have any of the papers rejected by a journal, the time from initial submission of papers to their acceptance after revisions was approximately between 1-2 years. Another external factor which affected the publication process was my personal circumstances; during my PhD, I have taken two periods of maternity leave and this has impacted on my momentum and the timescale of publication for the three articles that accompany this thesis.

In terms of writing this thesis, I found the process to be interesting and beneficial to my learning but it was not a process without challenges, not least with respect to the crafting of the thesis element of this Article Based PhD. Writing chapters about the findings and the contexts of my research in a holistic manner and exploring the broader contributions was challenging at times, as I had become used to being immersed and focused on writing individual papers based on specific aspects of the overall project of doctoral inquiry. I have also had concerns over the potential for

repetition, though realising, to some extent, the nature of an Article Based PhD means that some reiteration of ideas is perhaps inevitable. However, on reflection, the thesis has provided me with the opportunity to revisit earlier drafts of my published papers and through exploring my initial thinking I have been able to rediscover and revisit academic literature that had been removed or modified during the process of editing the journal papers for publication. Similarly, writing the thesis after the three papers had been accepted for publication also provided me with the chance to explore and explain my methodological approach and data collection methods in depth without being stifled by the word limit constraints of the journals.

I feel that undertaking an Article Based PhD has benefited me greatly on the whole; this includes the experience of co-authoring the three papers. My co-author on all three papers was Professor Bill Bramwell, who has extensive knowledge of the field of sustainable tourism and considerable experience in supervising doctoral students. As my initial Director of Studies prior to his retirement, Bill acted as a mentor to me and guided me through both my research journey and the publishing process. He continually challenged my research and findings at our supervisory meetings. This included asking me to revisit my evidence and arguments and really address and draw out complexities that the findings were offering rather than being drawn to the 'definite'. Through this experience, I really learned how to be open, more curious, and more critical about the formulation of my arguments and key ideas. I believe that, in turn, my research is more rigorous and more nuanced than I expected. Furthermore, as well as acting as mentor which enhanced my learning journey and the contributions of my research, Bill also guided me through the editing and reviewing process of the three journal articles.

As per studying for a monograph PhD, the doctoral research strategy that underpins this doctorate submission was formulated and designed by myself with support and guidance from my supervisors. Fieldwork and data collection was conducted by me, as was the data analysis and the reporting of findings in the three presented papers. Writing for academic journals was a new challenge to me, Bill supported me with academic writing skills, reading drafts of papers, providing me with feedback and assisting me with responding to reviewers in an open and inquiring fashion, rather

than in a defensive manner. Bill gave me more support with the first paper in particular and he took a lead on advising how the paper should be structured. We had many intensive supervision meetings to discuss my analysis and findings and how these should be best presented in a journal article. When writing the second and third papers, my confidence grew and I was more assured about presenting my ideas and arguments for the proposed journals. Bill continued to read and provide feedback on draft versions and supported me with the final edits. Thus, the co-authoring relationship shifted over time with me gaining more confidence and ownership as my doctoral study progressed.

4.3) Revisions and review process

One steep learning curve area specific to choosing the Article Based PhD route has been the peer review process tied to the journal review process of the papers. The extent of the reviews was quite varied; some reviewers only suggested minor changes whilst others suggested major reworking and even a rejection. Receiving those comments was difficult as a researcher mid-way through doctoral study. Although, the overall decisions on the papers mounted to suggestions only for minor revisions, reading comments from some of the individual reviewers was, at times, disappointing. However, any insecurities that surfaced were balanced out by receipt of the positive comments. These reassured me that there was academic value in the papers, and that they were of relevance and of interest to a wider spectrum of academics.

Overall, I was fortunate in that the reviewers provided comprehensive feedback and recommendations for strengthening the papers. Examples of feedback received included suggestions to clarify the structure of the UK National Parks and the tourism institutions used in the case studies; several reviewers noted that the case studies needed to provide further information. From an international perspective, the UK National Park governance and structures vary from other global protected areas. Therefore, for the papers to be published in international journals, I was required to provide greater explanations of the governance of the parks, the communities living in- and affected by the parks, some financial data to support claims around reduction in farming economies and the importance of tourism, and some descriptions of the tourism industry.

A concern was raised by some of the reviewers that other protected areas, such as Category 2 parks, perhaps had different drivers and trends which were affecting the promotion of sustainable development and sustainable tourism (one reviewer suggested, for example, that in developing nations poverty was the key driver rather than sustainability). This observation forced me to reflect on the potential transferability of the findings of my study. It was further highlighted that the UK protected areas are Category 5 parks and that the value of the study would be greater for this type of park situated in Western nations rather than in lesser developed countries.

I was reminded that publishing in journals with an international readership requires consideration of how I present my information about a UK case study and there is a need to consider the value and the transferability of research findings more critically. My presumptions about the levels of knowledge that others have regarding the research contexts of my study were challenged.

In terms of methodology, the reviewers were on the whole, positive, however comments were expressed that perhaps there was potential for more interviews to be undertaken with farming communities and residents, in particular. Yet, given the scope and the scale of the study they were persuaded that further interviewing was not always possible. With respect to Paper 3 further explanations of the deeper philosophical underpinnings and the methodological traditions that were applied in the study were desired. This required reworking of the methodology section of the paper to incorporate their suggestions and to provide greater detail of the broader rationale for the chosen methodology and research methods employed. Thus, the process of writing and publishing the three papers may be recognised to be a reflective research process.

4.4) Contribution of published research to date

I believe that my research has begun to influence the wider tourism research community and I have attempted to extend its impact through presenting both internally (to Sheffield Hallam University) and externally at academic conferences. Paper 1, for example, was returned for Research Excellence Framework in 2014 and I

will be submitting paper 2 and paper 3 for Research Excellence Framework in 2021. The table below illustrates the impact factor and journal ranking in which the papers are published and the number of citations to date.

	Journal Ranking & Impact Factor	Paper citations
<i>Paper 1 – Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i>	Impact factor - 2.978 and an SJR rating of 1.687	59 – Google Scholar Citations
<i>Paper 2 – Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i>	Impact factor - 2.978 and an SJR rating of 1.687	4 – Google Scholar Citations
<i>Paper 3 – Annals of Tourism Research</i>	Impact Factor - 3.194 and an SJR rating of 2.205	(published 2018)

Table 12: Journal ranking & Impact and Paper citations.

In addition to publishing my findings I have presented them at several conferences, the table (13) below outlines my conference attendance and presentations. These have included the American Association of Geographers Meeting (2017), Leisure Studies Association (2015), PhD Colloquium at Sheffield Hallam University and Girona University (2012) and Sheffield Management PhD Conference (2011). I have also had a paper accepted for the International Sustainable Tourism Conference taking place in Vienna, May 2018 – Here the paper will be published into conference proceedings.

Conference Title	Paper Presented	Date	Author
Sheffield Management PhD Conference - University of Sheffield	Sustainable Tourism Partnerships	April 2010	Vicky Mellon
PhD Colloquium with Girona University - Sheffield Hallam University	The development of policies in protected areas - tourism	May 2012	Vicky Mellon
Leisure Studies Conference - Bournemouth University	Adoption and Acceptance of Sustainable Tourism in protected areas	July 2015	Vicky Mellon
American Association of Geographers Annual Meeting 2017 - Boston	Co-evolution in protected areas	April 2017	Vicky Mellon
Wessex Institute - Sustainable Tourism	Co-evolution and sustainable tourism in	May 2018	Vicky Mellon

Conference 2018 - Vienna	- protected areas - to be published in WIT transactions		
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Table 13 - Conference presentations

The Article Based PhD route has proved to be thought-provoking, challenging and rewarding, prompting much personal reflection on my identity not only as a doctoral researcher but also as a practising academic. This chapter has provided some insight into my personal research journey, my learning experience and the impact of my research so far. It is an important chapter given the nature of the experience of undertaking an Article Based PhD, a doctoral route that remains less familiar in the UK.

Next, the thesis will move on to discuss the three papers which have been published and the overall findings from the doctoral inquiry will be considered.



Stage and path dependence approaches to the evolution of a national park tourism partnership

Bill Bramwell & Vicky Cox

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Stage and path dependence approaches to the evolution of a national park tourism partnership

Bill Bramwell* and Vicky Cox

Centre for International Tourism Research, Sheffield Hallam University, Sheffield, UK

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This paper examines two approaches to the study of the evolution of tourism partnerships over time: a stage approach and a combined path dependence and path creation approach. They represent alternative frameworks to explain temporal trends in partnership management and activities. Previous applications of the stage approach to tourism partnerships have emphasized common phases in the evolution of their organizational arrangements and management activities. Path dependence and path creation ideas have not been used previously to understand tourism partnerships. The path dependence approach highlights continuities and changes between past and current practices in the organization of partnerships and in their activities. It helps establish if partnerships fundamentally alter the policy environment and practical outcomes, and thus if they are path-creating and innovative, and it also assists in explaining the influences on these processes. The two approaches are used to evaluate a partnership established to reduce conflicts around tourism and conservation in a British national park. The case study illustrates the valuable but different insights that the stage and path dependence approaches offer for research on partnership working.

Keywords: tourism partnerships; path dependence; path creation; organizational stages; temporal change

Introduction

In the social sciences, there is a growing interest in historical and temporal processes (Amoore et al., 2000). There is an increasing trend to employ concepts and terminology that focus on “evolutionary” development over time, as in the concepts of “adaptive management”, “learning organizations” and “deliberative consensus-building”. The growth in interest in continuities and changes over time is also reflected in recent studies of the development and activities of tourism organizations (Schianetz, Kavanagh, & Lockington, 2007). This developing research emphasis reflects a return to a well-established interest in temporality within the social sciences. In tourism studies, for example, there has been a long-standing interest in the idea of a “destination life cycle”, which involves the notion that the historical evolution of tourist destinations may follow a series of typical developmental stages or phases (Rodríguez, Parra-López, & Yanes-Estévez, 2008).

This paper also focuses on temporal continuity and change. It examines the evolution over time of tourism partnerships, collaborative arrangements that bring together independent actors in regular, face-to-face negotiations over tourism-related issues (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Jamal & Getz, 1995). Partnership working is growing in significance as an

*Corresponding author. Email: w.m.bramwell@shu.ac.uk

approach to governance and decision-making in tourism. It is, therefore, especially important to understand how partnerships evolve over time, including how they are affected by their past context and by changes in their present context, how their activities may alter during different phases in their development, and how their impacts on the policy context may vary at different points in time. An improved understanding of these temporal continuities and shifts will create a better appreciation of the impacts of partnerships, and could help to establish more effective collaborative working. The analysis explores two approaches to explaining temporal trends in the management and activities of tourism partnerships. The first is a stage or phase approach, and the second approach combines the concepts of path dependence and path creation.

There are two broad types of temporal trends associated with tourism partnerships. First, there are internal trends in the organizational arrangements and activities of partnerships, and in the interactions among their participants. These internal trends affect, for example, whether partnerships incorporate a wide range of different interests and whether their policy objectives are converted into effective practical actions. Second, there are trends in relations between partnerships and their external environment. These include the influence of the general environment on partnership operation, such as the impact of overall governance traditions on the forms and operation of individual partnerships. Individual partnerships can also influence the wider political, governance and policymaking environment, by demonstrating the value of new policies and new approaches to cooperative decision-making. Of course, there are also reciprocal interactions between the internal and external processes associated with tourism partnerships.

Previous applications of the *stage approach* to tourism partnerships have emphasized phases commonly seen from the establishment to the end of a partnership, and they have often focused on the evolution of internal organizational arrangements and management activities over these phases. The stage approach can help us to understand common patterns in the evolution of the organization and activities of partnerships, and thus it can assist with improving those elements (Gray, 1996). A *path dependence approach* to tourism partnerships also highlights temporal continuities and changes that affect the organization and activities of partnerships (Martin & Sunley, 2006). But, it can also help to establish whether or not tourism partnerships fundamentally alter the policy environment or produce substantial new results, and thus whether or not they are path-creating and innovative. This in turn can assist us in recommending improvements to the practice of collaborative working. Further, a path dependence approach can focus on both external and internal processes connected with partnerships. This can promote an improved understanding of all influences on the evolution of collaborative arrangements, and of the interactions between them.

The first part of the paper evaluates the stage approach and the combined path dependence and path creation approach as conceptual frameworks. The differing conceptual basis of both approaches is examined in order to explore their potential to help understand the evolution of tourism partnerships and the extent to which they make an impact. Do these approaches help explain, for example, the organizational aspects of partnership working, and do they help establish whether or not partnerships fundamentally alter the policy environment and practical outcomes? The second part of the analysis applies each of these approaches to a specific partnership in a British national park in order to show how, in practice, each can provide valuable but different insights. The case study partnership – the Stanage Forum Steering Group – was established in response to conflicts between tourism and outdoor recreation and environmental protection in a local area within the Peak District National Park in Central England (www.peakdistrict.org). Such partnerships are increasingly being used in protected areas as a means to promote dialogue and negotiation, with

this dialogue often being between actors focused on tourism and economic development and other actors with conservation concerns (Jamal & Eyre, 2003).

A stage approach to tourism partnerships

Several studies of tourism partnerships have identified a series of stages or phases through which they pass and evolve (Araujo & Bramwell, 2002; Parker, 2000; Selin & Chavez, 1995). These studies could focus on stages for any aspect of these partnerships, but in practice they have emphasized the internal organizational arrangements and activities of partnerships. The stages are simplifications of a more complex reality, presenting common sequences of activities that many partnerships engage in and that are considered important for progress to be made (Jamal & Getz, 1995). The research on tourism partnerships is greatly influenced by the work on inter-organizational collaboration by McCann (1983) and Gray (1985, 1996). For Gray (1996, p. 61), the “general sequence of phases regardless of the problem under consideration” moves from “problem setting” to “direction setting”, and then to “structuring” or implementation. These temporal stages identify a general direction of change and they compartmentalize the work of partnerships into typical groupings of organizational, administrative and operational processes. In tourism research, Gray’s framework is used by Selin and Chavez (1995) to analyze three US Forest Service tourism-related partnerships, by Parker (2000) to examine tourism development on the Caribbean island of Bonaire, and by Araujo and Bramwell (2002) to evaluate tourism planning on Brazil’s Costa Dourada coast. While some of these papers slightly adapt Gray’s framework, the three broad phases outlined form the basis of their analysis.

Stage models of tourism partnerships are simplifications or “ideal types”. The intention is not to reflect the full complexity of specific situations, rather it is to simplify by eliminating less fundamental or incidental detail, aiding understanding and encouraging researchers to clarify their own thinking (Weber, 1947). The models of tourism partnerships developed by Selin and Chavez (1995) and Jamal and Getz (1995), based on the ideas of McCann and Gray, provide valuable general summaries of temporal sequences in the organizational arrangements and operational tasks that are frequently found in practice. Simplification has the advantage that it can enable the visualization and comprehension of phenomena that otherwise might not be grasped because of their complexity. These “ideal types” have considerable practical value; they help desegregate interrelated events into a small number of more easily understood phases, and each stage can also be related to a specific body of literature and to particular practical concerns (Dredge & Lawrence, 2007). This can assist partnership personnel to structure their organizational and policymaking practices, and identify appropriate ways to approach collaborative working during each phase. The models can also help to identify the causes of difficulties in partnership working, and show how these may be avoided. Thus, Gray (1985, p. 932) argues that “different conditions facilitate successful collaboration during each developmental phase”; and the inability to achieve those conditions during each phase “may be the best source of explanations to date for why collaborative efforts fail”.

While “ideal type” stage models of partnerships have significant benefits, they may have some disadvantages. First, the idea of “before and after” phases may be too simplistic and dualistic, overemphasizing the rational and sequential nature of organizational development and policymaking. A problem here is that what happens in one stage affects what happens at other points in the process, and thus there can be overlaps and recycling. It should be noted, however, that both McCann and Gray recognize this complexity, while still arguing that there is much value in a simple, generalized model. McCann (1983, p. 78), for example,

concedes that “all three processes greatly overlap and interact. They are also open-ended and continuous in the sense that they are never ‘complete’”. Gray also admits that “Not all collaborations, however, proceed through these phases in sequence” (1996, p. 61).

A second potential criticism of the stage models developed for tourism partnerships is that, while they could consider all elements and sources of influence, in practice they have tended to focus on internal organizational processes, and thus the policy outcomes and the important influences from wider socio-economic and political pressures and events may be underplayed. Araujo and Bramwell (2002), for example, suggest that some of the models of tourism partnerships tend to give detailed consideration to external influences only for the very early stage of partnership development.

A more fundamental critique of stage models of tourism partnerships would challenge the value of “ideal type” approaches for social science research. A better way to evaluate the evolution of partnerships could be to focus on the complexity of partnership processes in the “real world”. This would allow for a full understanding of the diverse internal and external influences on partnerships, of the interplay between these influences and the partnerships, and of the diversity of experiences across different cases. This critique reflects a general shift in the social sciences toward a focus on understanding the complexity of societal relations and toward highly specific explanations that take full account of the uniqueness of particular contexts.

A path dependence and creation approach to partnerships

An alternative approach to understanding the evolution of tourism partnerships is to combine the ideas of path dependence and path creation. This approach has not been used widely, if at all, by other tourism researchers, and in particular it has not been used to explain trends in tourism partnership working. A path dependence approach to a tourism partnership can be used to highlight temporal continuities and changes in its organizational arrangements and in its activities. The temporal focus can relate to the start of partnership working, the period of the life of a partnership, and also to its subsequent legacies. In other words, a path dependence approach can be applied to all aspects of the trajectory of a partnership. This approach can help to establish whether or not partnerships fundamentally alter the policy environment and practical results, and thus whether or not they are innovative. It can also explore the reasons for these continuities and changes. This in turn can help recommend improvements to collaborative working practices and achieve greater impacts.

According to Kay (2005, p. 553), “A process is path-dependent if initial moves in one direction elicit further moves in that same direction; in other words . . . the trajectory of change up to a certain point *constrains* the trajectory after that point”. Path-dependent sequences are “marked by relatively deterministic causal patterns” (Mahoney, 2000, p. 511). Mahoney (2000) suggests that the identification of path dependence involves tracing outcomes back to a particular set of historical events, and showing how those events are contingent occurrences that cannot be explained on the basis of prior theoretical understandings or historical conditions. Thus, path-dependent sequences occur after these unexpected and contingent historical events have taken place (David, 2001). A tourism partnership may be path-dependent, for example, when it is set up in the context of general societal expectations for governance that is participatory and involves a range of stakeholders. Its trajectory might also be path-dependent if, for example, its policies conform to widely accepted understandings of, and priorities for, sustainable economic development.

Ebbinghaus (2005) argues that path dependence can comprise both self-reinforcing sequences and reactive sequences. A self-reinforcing sequence involves the continuing

reproduction and reinforcement of an existing pattern. This can be illustrated by funding that allows a tourism partnership to be set up to replace one that has ended. With reactive sequences, each event in the sequence is in part a reaction to the temporally antecedent events, and as such it is “dependent” on prior conditions, but it also involves counter-reactions that then transform subsequent events. It is, therefore, still relatively path-dependent or constrained by past circumstances. An example could be a partnership that has regularly funded tourism marketing in a national park, but which subsequently reacts to calls by an environmental group to reduce traffic pressures in the area by using its funds to encourage more tourists to make greater use of public transport.

There are conditions, however, where path dependence can be halted by a clearly new contingency, that is, by a shift to “path creation” (Park & Lee, 2005). Contingency or path creation occurs when an event is unexpected and cannot be explained by previous circumstances or by theoretical frameworks. For tourism partnerships, these contingencies could be due to large changes that are unexpected, such as the sudden ending of funding for partnership activities or due to a decision to consult far more extensively than had occurred previously. Sudden and unexpected changes can also be due to small changes that are too specific to be accommodated by prevailing general social trends, such as through influential choices made by individuals involved in these partnerships. Individual actors involved in partnerships can play a vital role in deliberately and mindfully shifting partnerships away from their established path. This involves them using their “agency” to disengage from the established structures that constrain them. Thus, for example, a single participant may carry the others along in a major shift in policy priorities, perhaps redirecting activities from a focus on mass tourism toward niche market tourism.

The path dependence approach to studying tourism partnerships is likely to give prominence to three issues. The first of these is the extent to which actors have agency or are constrained by social rules and structures. While path creation involves actors actively departing from established practices, they do not exercise unbounded strategic choices, as they are embedded in societal structures (Araujo & Rezende, 2003; Bramwell, 2007; Cleaver, 2007; Giddens, 1984; Greener, 2005). These structural constraints are always present, and they are not a feature only of path dependence. A second likely focus for attention in a path dependence approach to tourism partnerships is the character of the interactions between processes internal to partnerships and the environment beyond them (Yeung, 2005). This wider environment includes historical legacies and also socio-economic and political elements. The extent to which there is a tradition of democratic governance, for example, is often a key influence on partnerships. Unexpected shifts within the wider environment, such as in government funding priorities, can be a very important reason why tourism partnerships depart from their expected paths. A third issue that becomes prominent with the path dependence approach is the decision whether to concentrate analysis on the paths of specific aspects of partnership working or to look holistically at the overall trajectory of the partnership, although ideally both should be considered.

One difficulty with a path dependence approach is that it may be hard to determine exactly when there is a more determinist pattern of path dependence and when there is a more unexpected and innovative pattern of path creation. In practice, the activities of a specific partnership may include elements that are path-dependent *and* other elements that break out of existing constraints in a path-creating manner; there could also be complex interactions between these elements. Path dependence and path creation may be intimately connected and they may “co-evolve” (Garud & Karnøe, 2001; Martin & Sunley, 2006). This source of complexity, and others, means that it may be quite challenging to distinguish between path dependence and path creation. But it can be argued that research on tourism partnerships

needs to tackle this complexity and richness in a direct way, including considering the uniqueness of these relationships in particular contexts.

Case study and methodology

The stage and also the path dependence and creation approaches are applied next to a case study of the Stanage Forum Steering Group. The intention here is not to provide comprehensive findings, rather it is to illustrate how in practice both approaches can provide valuable insights, and to examine some differences in the types of insights that each may offer. The case study partnership was established in 2000 in order to help reduce tensions between outdoor recreation and tourism and environmental protection at Stanage, an area of upland within the Peak District National Park in central England. Stanage comprises 542 hectares of internationally recognized rare and fragile heather moorland and bog, part of which is designated as a Special Protection Area under the European Union Birds Directive (PDNPA, 2002). The area is under intense pressure from a wide range of recreation and tourism users, including climbers, hill walkers, bird watchers and off-road vehicle drivers. Pressures at Stanage are especially acute due to its close proximity to major urban centers, notably the city of Sheffield. It is estimated that over half a million people visit the area each year, and because the vast majority access the area by car there can be significant traffic management problems (PDNPA, 2002, Section 1.2.4). One of the local conflicts has been between allowing access for rock climbing and the protection of habitats for bird nesting.

The land at Stanage is owned by the Peak District National Park Authority. The Park Authority has a statutory responsibility that when there is a conflict between recreational activities and the environment, then environmental protection must take precedence (DEFRA, 2004). The Stanage Forum and Steering Group were established by the Park Authority in order to develop and implement a local management plan. The Forum was an annual public meeting that was open to participation by interested stakeholders, including the general public, while the Steering Group met much more regularly and it was attended by a smaller number of representatives of stakeholder groups. The Steering Group's ideas and recommendations were brought to the Forum for debate and approval, as was the final Stanage management plan.

The case study was evaluated using diverse local primary sources. In particular, there were face-to-face, semistructured interviews with people involved in the Steering Group at different levels, or who had an interest in its activities. These included the National Park's Chief Executive, a former Chair of the National Park's Management Committee, the Stanage Estate Manager, the Stanage Estate Warden, a British Mountaineering Council representative, and a local resident who was also a member of the lobby group, the Campaign for the Protection of Rural England (www.cpre.org.uk). The interviews covered aspects of the organization and operation of the partnership, the influences on its activities, its overall impacts, and the wider context to governance in the area. The interviews took place in 2007 and each lasted 45–60 minutes. The resulting transcripts were interpreted following an iterative, yet broadly hierarchical process described by Spencer, Ritchie, and O'Connor (2003), with this process comprising management of the raw data, making sense of the data through descriptive accounts, and then further examining the data through explanatory accounts based on more refined and abstract concepts. Two of the interviewees also read a draft of the article so they could note any inaccuracies and comment on the interpretations.

In addition, observations were made at Forum and Forum Steering Group meetings in 2007, and analysis was undertaken of a large number of Stanage partnership and Park Authority documents produced since 2000, including minutes, reports, and updates for the

Forum and Steering Group meetings. A final notable source of information was the research undertaken by Tim Richardson, based on interviews with Steering Group participants and National Park staff, assessment of internal documentation, and observation of meetings. Richardson's work evaluates whether this initiative encouraged more inclusive forms of deliberative democracy and, while that focus is not central to the present paper, his detailed analysis provides much useful information (Richardson & Connelly, 2001).

A stage approach to Stanage

An analysis of the activities of the Stanage Forum Steering Group was undertaken using Gray's (1985) model of partnership stages from the initial setting up of a partnership. This simplified or "ideal type" model was used rather than others because it has been the most influential for past research on tourism partnerships. While stage models could examine other issues, Gray's model focuses on the internal organizational, administrative, and operational aspects of partnership working. The application to this case study confirms its value as a simplified model because many of the Steering Group's activities did follow the model's general direction of change and its sequential groupings of organizational processes. The discussion next provides illustrations of how the evolution of the Steering Group's activities broadly followed the stages identified by Gray.

In Gray's (1985, p. 916) framework, the first phase of "problem setting" involves convening the relevant stakeholders, gaining "mutual acknowledgement of the issue which joins them", securing some preliminary expectations, and getting a commitment to work together. These activities do generally characterize the initial establishment of the Stanage Forum Steering Group. By 2000, a new management plan was overdue for Stanage, and the Peak District National Park Authority had decided that a different approach to the area's management was needed because of the opposition of recreational groups to the traffic management schemes that it had introduced there. These groups felt that the Park Authority's scheme for charging at car parks was "taxing recreation", that the payment machines were "urbanizing their countryside", and that there had been a lack of consultation. The Park Authority resolved to involve a range of stakeholders, so in 2000 it contacted numerous organizations and people interested in the area and invited them to a workshop in order to explore the idea of establishing a local partnership. The workshop was led by an independent facilitator so as "to promote open discussion and a stakeholder ownership of the process" (PDNPA, 2000a, p. 2). A Steering Group member from the British Mountaineering Council noted how the independent facilitator was important because "in the beginning we were suspicious of the National Park Authority, as we knew they could just reject the objectives of the... plan". Participants at the workshop were introduced to the principles of consensus-building. They were asked to discuss the possible role of the Steering Group and to identify relevant stakeholders that might join it, and a democratic process was used to determine which stakeholders to invite onto it. The workshop was well received, with one participant claiming that "all of a sudden you could see how it was going to work". Many of the interested parties also then began to want to work toward a more shared definition of the problem and to collaborate more. The initial Stanage Forum and Steering Group meetings were held soon after, attended by a range of stakeholders, and again reactions to them were generally positive. At the second Steering Group meeting, some "missing" stakeholders were identified, and they were contacted to encourage their participation (Croney, 2007).

According to Gray (1996, p. 61), during the second stage of "direction setting" the participants engage in "establishing ground rules", explore the problem in some depth, and then attempt to reach an agreement about a particular direction and about related actions.

These activities do broadly apply for the Stanage Steering Group. At the first Steering Group meeting, for example, certain ground rules for the group were discussed and agreed, including rules about everyone's "right to speak", the decision-making processes, how the group would work as a team, and about the "aim" or intention to reach a consensus and to "guard against getting bogged down in detail" (PDNPA, 2000b, p. 3; 2005a, Appendix: ways of working; Croney & Smith, 2003). A number of "consensus-building principles" were also used in their subsequent discussions:

Participants speak directly to each other and reach agreement openly. Everyone will have a say and their opinion will be valued. Every effort is made to reach agreements acceptable to everyone. . . People will work from an open position, where their interests are stated and understood, even if not agreeable to others. People accept and are willing to work with each group's differences in order to reach a consensus that benefits all (PDNPA, 2002, Appendix 3).

In the Group's early meetings, they discussed the issues with the intention to "explore the causes (roots) and define the effects (branches) of each of the main problems" (PDNPA, 2000c, p. 4). Technical subgroups were also set up to provide the Steering Group with information about such issues as traffic management and the condition of bird habitats (PDNA, 2004a). A detailed management plan for the Stanage area was agreed and published in 2002, after a period of almost two years that involved 25 Steering Group meetings and four Forum meetings (Richardson, 2005, pp. 6, 13). This plan included some 150 detailed management objectives, with related implementation actions. These actions were given specific priorities and timescales, and they were also related to lead partners (PDNPA, 2002).

The third phase of "structuring" or implementation, as identified by Gray (1996), involves ensuring that the agreements reached are followed through into practice, including securing the institutional arrangements for implementation. This "structuring" stage was also evident for the Steering Group. Thus, prior to the management plan's publication in 2002, the plan was taken to the National Park Authority for formal approval. Its approval was vital for implementation as it is the local land owner and it has key financial and staffing resources. A range of implementation and monitoring activities has helped to apply the plan since 2002. Since then, for example, many external organizations have been involved in the implementation work, including the British Mountaineering Council, English Nature, and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. Many monitoring tasks have also been undertaken, such as daily recording of the number of threatened ring ouzel birds, the impacts of recreational activities on these birds, and recording car-parking patterns.

The Estate Manager has produced regular reports to keep the Steering Group informed of progress, based on the monitoring data (PDNPA, 2002, Section 17.3). Reports on progress in implementing the plan's objectives were drawn up, for example, at the end of the first year, after 20 months, and also at the end of the second year. After two years it was suggested that progress had been made on all but 28 of the 112 objectives timetabled for that period (PDNP, 2004b, 2004c). Some Steering Group participants suggested in 2007 that the Steering Group's activities "had begun to slow down slightly". This was attributed by some to the local conflicts having largely been diffused and also to the routine nature of many of the implementation activities. Richardson (2005) and the present research suggest that many participants continued to have quite positive views of the partnership and its achievements.

While many of the Steering Group's activities broadly followed Gray's sequence of stages, it was clear that there were also overlaps and recycling between them. Thus, some activities linked by Gray to the initial phase of "problem setting" continued into the "direction setting" and "structuring" stages. Attempts, for example, to recruit participants

in the partnership did not end in its early phases, with continuing efforts being made to involve Derbyshire County Council, Sheffield City Council, and the Highways Agency, but with very limited success. These actors were considered important for the implementation of the Steering Group's objectives around social exclusion, engaging young people, and traffic management. Another example is how the management of people using four-wheel drive vehicles and trail bikes in the area had not been agreed during the "direction setting" stage, and it was not decided until well after the management plan was being implemented. At early meetings many people wanted to see these activities banned, but there were no representatives of these recreational groups at the meetings. When they were later involved, unsurprisingly they wanted to continue their recreational activities (PDNPA, 2005b). As previously discussed, however, it is recognized that there are likely to be some deviations from Gray's "ideal type" model. It has been argued here that the Steering Group's activities broadly did follow the model's direction and sequence of change, and thus it offers some significant analytical and explanatory benefits.

A path dependence and creation approach to Stanage

The ideas of path dependence and path creation are applied next to the case of the Stanage Forum Steering Group. Again, these ideas can help us to understand the temporal continuities and changes in partnership working. The path dependence approach can assist in determining whether or not a partnership fundamentally alters the policy environment and practical results, and thus whether or not it is path-creating and innovative. This can help in improving the effectiveness of collaborative activity. The use here of the path dependence approach considers both external and internal processes associated with the Steering Group's activities, and it will be shown how this improves the understanding of the influences on this partnership. The analysis looks at the development or trajectory of two specific aspects of the Steering Group's work, studied in relation to the partnership's wider environment: the adoption of more intensive forms of participatory or deliberative working, and the policy priorities arising from the tensions between tourism and recreation and environmental protection. These were chosen as they illustrate the value of using the path dependence approach to understand tourism partnerships and potentially also to improve their effectiveness.

Paths for the participative process

First, consideration is given to how the Stanage Forum and Steering Group adopted a fairly intensive approach to stakeholder participation and to negotiation and deliberation. It is argued that this reflected a path-dependent trend, but that it was also path-creating as it partly diverted from past trends.

In many respects the setting up of this Steering Group reflected a broad temporal trend, found in many countries, for public policymaking to shift from control by a few government agencies to more diverse governance arrangements. There has been a blurring of the boundaries between the state, market, and civil society, with diverse actors from the public, private, and voluntary sectors engaging in more complex and informal institutional arrangements, including not-for-profit organizations, partnerships, and community forums (Healey, 1997; Yüksel, Bramwell, & Yüksel, 2005). The increasing importance of these new institutional arrangements has been encouraged by a general decline in the status of the traditional institutions of representative democracy (Goodwin, 1998, p. 5). There has also been a widespread assumption that the new institutional structures should bring actors together in ways that encourage negotiation and consensus-building. This broad

trend in governance has been a relatively determining one that substantially influenced the establishment of the Steering Group.

This trend in governance is seen in the UK government's requirement that national parks should give a priority to "ensuring effective mechanisms for involving relevant interests and stakeholders", such as "consultative forums involving a range of local and regional stakeholders and other interests such as constituent local authorities, statutory agencies, business organizations, tourism, recreation and conservation interests" (DEFRA, 2002, p. 36; Thompson, 2005). The Peak District National Park Authority has for some time given partnership working a high priority (PDNPA, 2005c, p. 10). It was one of the two guiding principles behind its park management plan for 2000–2005 (PDNPA, 2000d, p. 6). In 2005 the Park Authority admitted that "in the past, there was a lack of focus and commitment to engage with communities and partners and as a result, the Authority picked up a 'corporate arrogance' tag", but it went on to contend that "the previous culture of consultation by process, is giving way to more inclusive and effective engagement" (PDNPA, 2005d, p. 8; 2007, p. 16). The Park Authority made an early commitment to follow a participatory consensus-building approach at Stanage. This context of a growing orthodoxy of deliberative governance in the UK and its national parks suggests that the Steering Group reflected a "self-reinforcing" trajectory of path dependence.

Alongside this pattern of path dependence for the Steering Group, there was also a path-creating element. A somewhat surprising element of this partnership was that as early as 2000 there were very diverse groups participating in it, and that these groups, rather than the Park Authority, were allowed to formulate policies for the Stanage area. This unexpected situation was influenced by the agency and innovation of two individuals. The first of these was a Sheffield University researcher who was interested in consensus approaches to planning, and he was also a regular rock climber at Stanage. In 1997 he suggested to the Stanage Estate Manager the idea of testing the use of innovative participatory approaches by applying them to the management of recreation and environmental protection at Stanage. The Estate Manager then consulted with his employer, the Park Authority, and the British Mountaineering Council about the potential to progress this idea (Croney, 2007).

The more inclusive and participatory approach used to develop Stanage's management plan was then led by the second individual, the Estate Manager. He played a key role in persuading the Park Authority to allow the Forum and Steering Group to have some independent decision-making powers. He also worked closely with the Icarus Collective – an organization that gives practical assistance with multi-stakeholder participation (Croney, 2007; Croney & Smith 2003; www.icarus.uk.net) – in order to decide on the potential organization for the partnership and on the likely consensus-building techniques to use (Croney, 2007). The Estate Manager has also taken a lead role in the Forum and Steering Group activities through to the present, such as by organizing the meetings, drafting the management plan, coordinating the plan's implementation, and liaising with the Park Authority (PDNPA, 2004d, p. 2). His personal skills in leading many aspects of the partnership's work were praised by several respondents.

The relative novelty of the more intensive participatory approach at Stanage helps to explain why the Park Authority officers and members were somewhat divided in their views about the value of the Forum and Steering Group, especially early in their development. While there were expressions of formal support for the approach at Stanage at the Park Management Committee meetings, the interviews undertaken by Richardson (2005, p. 22) suggest there was significant skepticism among the Park Authority staff. He found that some of the Authority's officials privately were dismissive of the approach at Stanage, considering that their own land-management expertise meant that their views should not be

over-ridden (Connelly, Miles, & Richardson, 2004, p. 10). In the interviews in 2007 for the present study, one Park Authority respondent commented that “the suspicion that some park officers have is that you’re handing this property over to a bunch of [recreational] users. And you were paid to make decisions, and you’re letting them make the decisions”. Another Park Authority employee argued that in the early days of the Forum and Steering Group, his Authority was quite uncomfortable at relinquishing power and control, “and it still is a little bit now, but a lot less than before”. There was some nervousness among the Park Authority staff that the management plan might include ideas that they could not endorse. It was also suggested that there were complaints that this initiative was time-consuming and also expensive in officer resources. Richardson concluded in 2005 that “it is clear that the principles and ways of working represented by the Forum are not natural to the working culture of the National Park Authority” (Richardson, 2005, p. 22). More recently, however, the approaches used at Stanage seem to have gained more frequent and fulsome formal endorsements from the Park Authority (PDNPA, 2006).

Overall, the use of participatory approaches in the Stanage Forum and Steering Group was substantially influenced by the previous trend in the UK toward more diverse governance arrangements, and thus it can be depicted as path-dependent. But the more inclusive form of participation adopted at Stanage was an unexpected deviation that was path-creating. It could also be argued that this aspect of the Forum and Steering Group’s activities reflected the co-evolution of path dependence and path creation.

Paths for the policy priorities

Consideration is given next to some path-dependent and path-creating features associated with the policy priorities established by the Stanage Forum Steering Group. More specifically, it looks at the Steering Group’s policy priorities in response to the tensions between recreation and environmental protection.

The policy priorities of a partnership will be affected by the power configurations of the actors that are involved with them. With regard to the Stanage Forum Steering Group, the Park District National Park Authority was in a highly influential position. This meant that it was likely that the policies for recreation and environmental protection would reflect those of the Park Authority. In other words, the policies of the Steering Group were likely to be path-dependent, based on the historical legacy of the Park Authority’s considerable influence.

There were several reasons why the Park Authority was in a strongly influential position with regard to the Steering Group’s policies for recreation and environmental protection. The Park Authority has statutory responsibility for environmental policies; the 1995 Environment Act requires the National Park Authorities to conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife, and cultural heritage of the Parks, and also promote opportunities for understanding and enjoyment of their special qualities (PDNPA, 2007). But if there is conflict between recreational activities and environment, the Park Authorities have a duty to give precedence to environmental protection (DEFRA, 2002, p. 24; 2004, p. 11; Sharpley & Pearce, 2007, p. 560). Further, the 1995 Environment Act requires all relevant bodies, including the Stanage Forum Steering Group, “to have regard to” the National Park’s statutory requirements, including its duty in cases of conflict to give precedence to environmental protection (DEFRA, 2004, p. 6). The agreed “Ways of Working” for the Steering Group states that “Steering Group members should recognize that we operate within a statutory framework which impacts on our work” (PDNPA, 2005a, Appendix). The Park Authority also owns the land at Stanage, has land-use planning powers there, and has the essential

organizational, financial, and staffing resources for developing and implementing the Steering Group's management plan. Third, it was clear that the Steering Group's recommendations for the management plan ultimately had to be endorsed by the Park Authority (PDNPA, 2005a, p. 6). Finally, the Estate Manager who initiated the Steering Group and Forum was an employee of the Park Authority, and he continued to play a leading role in the work at Stanage. Together, all the above factors made it likely that the Steering Group would give priority to environmental protection in its policies.

But the long-standing influential position of the Park Authority and its policies for environmental protection potentially could have been challenged by the Stanage Forum Steering Group. This was because there was a preponderance of representatives of recreational and tourism user groups among the actors actively involved on the Steering Group. One recreational user group, the British Mountaineering Council, was particularly vocal on the Forum and Steering Group (Connelly, Richardson, & Miles, 2006; Richardson, 2005, p. 18). By contrast, there were very few representatives from environmental protection organizations on the Steering Group, such as from bird watchers or conservation volunteers. Did the influential position of the Park Authority and its long-established environmental priorities mean that the policies in the Steering Group's management plan also gave a strong priority for environmental protection? Or did the policies in its management plan represent a departure from this path in a new, path-creating direction?

The most controversial environmental issue for the Stanage management plan was the management of the vehicles used by climbers, walkers, mountain bikers, runners, and others engaged in recreational activities in the area. At times there are large numbers of vehicles in the area, with considerable associated pressure on parking and thus on the environment. The Park Authority was anxious not to exceed the local "environmental limits", and it contended that the area already "was reaching or had exceeded its 'capacity' in terms of private vehicles" (Connelly et al., 2006). At the same time, both the Park Authority and the recreational groups involved on the Steering Group wanted to encourage unrestricted access to the area for recreational activities. In response to these tensions, the Steering Group developed a policy compromise that in part reflected the environmental priorities of the Park Authority and also in part reflected the desire for unrestricted recreational access that was so important for the recreational user groups.

The Steering Group's policy compromise in its management plan was that some restrictions on parking were necessary in the area in order to limit the traffic pressure, but at the same time there could be increased public access and use of the area for recreation through improvements in public transport – bus and train services – to and from the area (Bramwell, 2006; Richardson et al., 2004). The policies for parking restrictions reflected the Park Authority's long-established priority for environmental protection when recreation and the environment are in conflict, and as such they suggest that the Steering Group's policies were path-dependent. However, the policies for improved access through public transport reflected the preferences of local recreational groups, possibly including their past strong opposition to access restrictions at Stanage. While the policy discourse in the management plan gives the appearance that the policies have bridged the conflicting positions and priorities, some would argue that the recreational groups have secured some significant concessions from the Park Authority as the constraints on access to the area contained in the plan are very modest. It could be contended that more access restrictions would have been likely if the Park Authority had developed its own management plan for the area.

The policy outcome for recreational access and environmental protection perhaps represents a "reactive sequence" type of path dependency, this being influenced by the legacy of the priority for environmental protection, but with it also being adjusted in response to the

debates in the Steering Group's meetings. However, it could be suggested that this policy outcome was an unexpected departure and that, as a consequence, it was path-creating. Perhaps again it is more accurate to suggest that for this policy outcome the path-dependent and path-creating elements were intimately connected, and thus they co-evolved together.

Conclusion

The paper has evaluated the stage and the combined path dependence and path creation approaches as conceptual frameworks for the study of the temporal development of tourism partnerships. The conceptual basis for both approaches was examined in order to assess how they can help us understand the evolution of tourism partnerships. That understanding can assist with improving the practical effectiveness of partnerships. The two approaches were used in an assessment of the Stanage Forum Steering Group, a partnership established to reduce conflicts between tourism and conservation in the Peak District National Park. The intention behind this case study was to illustrate the valuable but different potential insights offered by these two approaches.

In conceptual terms, the stage approach simplifies the complexity of the temporal evolution of partnerships, and this has the considerable advantage of aiding visualization and understanding, which in turn helps researchers to clarify their own thinking. Some would argue, however, that social science research would be enhanced by moving on from "ideal type" simplifications to focus instead on the complexity of the "real world", including the unique circumstances of each specific context. The stage models that have been applied to tourism partnerships have a particular potential limitation in that they tend to focus on internal organizational processes and they may underplay the external processes that affect these partnerships. Other stage models, however, might be applied to tourism partnerships that do consider the external environment more fully.

The combined path dependency and path creation approach to the evolution of tourism partnerships provides a rather different conceptual framework for researchers. It focuses on whether these partnerships continue to move in the same direction because of past circumstances that constrain their subsequent development, or whether they depart from past trends in an unexpected way because of new contingencies. The former is depicted as path-dependent, and the latter as path-creating. This approach encourages a focus on explaining the reasons for the continuities and changes in partnership working. The path dependence approach to tourism partnerships is also likely to give prominence to the nature of the interactions between the processes internal to partnerships and the environment beyond them, including the prevailing patterns of governance and policymaking, with these interactions often being of critical importance for partnerships. A potential difficulty with the path dependence perspective, however, is that in practice it may be challenging to distinguish between situations that are path-dependent and others that are more unexpected and innovative, and that consequently are path-creating. But some would argue that research on tourism partnerships must directly confront this difficulty because it arises from real complexities found in practice and that need to be understood.

The application of these two approaches to the Stanage Forum Steering Group illustrated the different types of insights that each can offer for researchers. Based on the application of Gray's stage model of partnership working, it was argued that it provided a helpful broad generalization that was relevant for the evolution of the Steering Group's internal organization and activities. While there were overlaps and recycling between the stages, Gray's model appeared to provide a helpful "ideal type" that aided understanding of this partnership's development.

The use of the path dependence approach indicated that the Steering Group's development demonstrated both path-dependent and path-creating elements. Thus, the Steering Group's adoption of a fairly intensive approach to stakeholder participation and negotiation was partly path-dependent as it reflected a well-established trend in the UK toward more diverse patterns of governance. At the same time, the level of involvement of a broad range of partners in the Forum and Steering Group, and their scope to develop policies that normally would be formulated by the Park Authority, was path-creating because it departed significantly from past trends. The path dependence approach also helped to identify key influences on these different paths. The unexpected level of stakeholder participation in the Steering Group's decision-making, for example, was strongly influenced by interventions by two individuals with a commitment to such participation. Another benefit from using path dependence ideas was that they highlighted interactions between processes within the partnership and the external environment. It was shown, for example, how the wider governance context and also the past differences between the stakeholders had significant impacts on the Steering Group's activities.

There are at least two ideas associated with the path dependence approach that could be used more fully than they are here within future research on tourism partnerships. First, more attention could be directed to the likely complex interplay between path dependence, path creation, and path destruction trends in these partnerships. There is scope to explore the co-evolution of these trends through detailed research on specific partnerships (Martin & Sunley, 2006). Second, further work on path dependence and tourism partnerships could also focus on the relations between stakeholders' strategic agency and the structural conditions within which they operate (Jessop, 2008). Agency and structure are key concepts behind the ideas of path dependence and path creation, and they merit more detailed consideration in future research. And, having mentioned path destruction above, there needs to be more research on why partnerships end, and whether and how the lives of faltering partnerships should be prolonged.

Notes on contributor/s

Bill Bramwell is Professor of International Tourism Studies at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. His research interests include tourism's connections with the politics of sustainability, governance and partnerships, actors and political economy, and developing countries.

Vicky Cox is studying for a PhD at Sheffield Hallam University, where she is examining attitudes to tourism and tourism partnerships in national parks.

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Vicky Mellon & Bill Bramwell

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Protected area policies and sustainable tourism: influences, relationships and co-evolution

Vicky Mellon and Bill Bramwell

Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, Sheffield, UK

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the adoption of sustainable tourism ideas in a Park Authority's policies over a period of two decades in a developed world, category V protected area. There is only limited research on influences encouraging the inclusion of sustainable tourism ideas in protected area policies, or on relationships between sustainable tourism policies and other policy priorities. The paper departs from an approach which considers sustainable tourism policies in isolation, because potentially they are reformulations or extensions of other previous policies, or else indirect outcomes of other policies. There is assessment of influences on the Park Authority's sustainable tourism policies, and of the co-evolution between sustainable tourism policies and other policies. Such influences as government funding reductions and rising concern for community well-being affected the Authority's adoption of sustainable tourism ideas. Incorporation of sustainable tourism ideas in policies occurred gradually. It involved re-labelling established policies as well as reframing and extending those policies. It was often an indirect outcome of policy developments not focused specifically on sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism-related policies co-evolved with, and through, policies for community well-being, actor participation, and sustainable development. The approach used here is relevant for research on policy co-evolution in other policy fields.

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Introduction

Some protected areas where communities live and work are beginning to incorporate additional goals alongside those of protection and conservation (Beresford & Phillips, 2000; Hanna, Clark, & Slocombe, 2008). Managers of some of these areas are becoming more likely to appreciate the interconnectedness of environment and people, to consider that both environment and society should be treated sustainably, and to seek to engage more diverse actors in policy decisions (Beresford & Phillips, 2000; Phillips, 2003). The broadening of protected area policies in some places may be encouraged by growing endorsement of sustainable development objectives (Sharpley & Pearce, 2007; Weaver, 2006). It is contended that these policy trends in certain protected areas might come to represent a "paradigmatic shift" (Phillips, 2003; Ravenel & Redford, 2005).

The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) recognises such broad policy goals in particular in its category V protected areas, where "the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant ecological, biological, cultural and scenic value: and where safeguarding the integrity of this interaction is vital to protecting and sustaining

the area and its associated nature conservation and other values” (Dudley, 2008, p. 1; Francis, 2008; IUCN & UNEP, 2014). According to the IUCN (2012), the primary objective of category V protected areas is “to protect and sustain important landscapes/seascapes and the associated nature conservation and other values created by interactions with humans through traditional management practices”, and consequently “social, economic and conservation considerations are all integral to the category V concept”. Category V protected areas are culturally modified landscapes, and some can embrace “more people-focused” policies, combining protection goals with attempts to enhance local people’s socio-economic development and to reduce poverty (Phillips, 2003). At times these areas can include a focus on “social planning and income generation” (Locke & Dearden, 2005, p. 1). Such more people-focused policies can prompt debate about whether some category V protected areas pay sufficient attention to conservation (Dudley, Parrish, Redford, & Stolton, 2010; Locke & Dearden, 2005). Broader policy goals are also emerging in some protected areas in other IUCN categories.

The suggested increasingly diverse management goals of some protected areas may encourage the adoption of sustainable tourism policies. The inclusion of sustainable development goals, for example, might encourage acceptance of tourism as a protected area activity when developed “sustainably” (Weaver, 2006). Sustainable tourism policies may also encourage protected area policies of boosting community well-being and widening actor engagement in policy-making.

There has been relatively little research to date on potential influences that can or do encourage the inclusion of sustainable tourism ideas into protected area policies. Furthermore, sustainable tourism policies too often are considered in isolation, when those policies can also emerge through the re-labelling, reformulation, and extension of established policies, and also as indirect outcomes of other policies. Consequently, this paper examines, using a case study protected area, the influences affecting the inclusion of sustainable tourism in its policies, the continuities and changes in those policies from previous policies, and the co-evolution of sustainable tourism and other policies. Co-evolution occurs when sub-system elements, such as sustainable tourism policies and other policies, help to shape but not determine each other, in a relationship of relative autonomy. It is a helpful analytical category for understanding connectivity between related sub-system elements. Evolutionary perspectives in tourism research lack detailed accounts of how such co-evolution processes take place between related sub-system elements. The case study used here examines the adoption over two decades of ideas connected with sustainable tourism in the policies of a category V protected area agency in an economically developed country – the Lake District National Park Authority (LNPDA) in England. The findings have particular relevance for other category V protected areas in other economically developed countries.

The analysis, first, considers influences encouraging acceptance of sustainable tourism-related ideas in the Park Authority’s policies. Second, there is an assessment of possible continuities and changes between the Park Authority’s policies associated with sustainable tourism and its earlier policies not identified or labelled as sustainable tourism. It is possible that sustainable tourism policies re-label already established policies, or that they entail some reframing of those policies, or that they bring new thinking which departs from earlier policies. The analysis examines, third, the co-evolving relationships between the Park Authority’s sustainable tourism policies and other policies, in this case, policies for community well-being and wider actor participation. It illustrates the need to consider sustainable tourism policies in their broad policy environment, with potentially many such policies emerging indirectly from other policy arenas and priorities. The findings may interest researchers examining the co-evolution of policies associated with sustainable tourism, or of policies in other policy fields.

Literature on trends in protected area policies

Some research studies suggest that policy approaches relevant to sustainable tourism have altered over recent years in some protected areas, and there have also been normative calls for such changes. Yet, such trends may vary (Hanna et al., 2008; Mose & Weixlbaumer, 2007; Phillips, 2003).

Sustainable development policies may be more prominent, for example, in certain category V protected areas in developed countries, while poverty reduction policies may feature more in some developing nation protected areas (Redford, Roe, & Sunderland, 2013). The literature review below examines five potential policy trends which might be associated with sustainable tourism in some category V protected areas (rather than in developing countries and for some other protected area categories). The subsequent case study is evaluated against these five potential trends.

Increasing inclusion of community socio-economic well-being with environmental protection

There are suggestions, first, that some protected areas are beginning to include consideration of residents' socio-economic well-being alongside concerns for landscape and environmental protection, or that this is increasingly seen as a desirable trend. According to Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007, p. 12), in the past, protected areas were more likely to focus largely on nature and species preservation, and more were managed as segregated areas using a "static preservationist" approach, sometimes emphasising "fences and fines" (Michaelidou, Decker, & Lassoie, 2002; Phillips, 2003). It is contended that, in certain protected areas, more attention is now being paid to both socio-economic development for local communities and environmental protection, with more integrated policy approaches emerging (Becken & Job, 2014; Francis, 2008; Michaelidou et al., 2002). That shift can be combined with what Mose and Weixlbaumer (2007, p. 12) call a "dynamic–innovation" approach, bringing together top-down and bottom-up management through cooperation among affected parties. It is suggested that a focus on community socio-economic well-being and involvement is often also aligned to sustainable development goals (Francis, 2008; Mose & Weixlbaumer, 2007).

Greater emphasis on community socio-economic well-being, potentially including through fostering tourism

Despite long-standing and continuing concerns over tourism's environmental impacts, a growing policy interest in enhancing community socio-economic well-being in some protected areas could foster encouragement of tourism. Of course, tourism has often been a significant factor in the original designation of protected areas (Butler & Boyd, 2000), for reasons such as its potential to foster awareness and support for protection, and to encourage healthy outdoor activity (Bushell & McCool, 2007). But tourism's acceptance has sometimes been held back by understandable concern that it could entail excessive visitation, especially if it is combined with a strong "profit-seeking orientation" and poor planning (Bushell & McCool, 2007; Whitelaw, King, & Tolkach, 2014, p. 585). It is suggested by some observers that, in certain protected areas, tourism is now potentially more acceptable as a development tool, including for rural regeneration (Roberts & Hall, 2001; Sharpley & Pearce, 2007). Puhakka and Saarinen (2013) argue, for example, that tourism is increasingly justified in Finnish National Parks because of a rising policy priority for socio-economic development. Tourism could be encouraged in protected areas for quite specific socio-economic reasons, such as to reduce dependence on farming and/or extractive activities (Francis, 2008), or as a response to government funding reductions for such areas (Francis, 2008; Whitelaw et al., 2014). Tourism's acceptability might also be encouraged by policies for sustainable development, and by increasing awareness of the sustainable tourism concept.

Greater interest in wider actor engagement in policy-making and management

A third potential trend indicated by researchers is increasing interest within some protected area policies in wider actor engagement (Phillips, 2003; Scherl & Edwards, 2007). Selin and Chavez (1995) suggest that more such areas are beginning to seek to open up policy-making through more inclusiveness and consultation. Enhanced cooperation may be encouraged by rising expectations that these areas consider community well-being, including at times through tourism development,

and also by growing interest in sustainable development goals (Becken & Job, 2014). McCool (2009) suggests that conventional protected area tourism planning could ignore the complex socio-economic and political environments of these areas, and he advocates greater cooperation to enable these areas to achieve their widening aims.

Greater interest in sustainable development, potentially including sustainable tourism

Fourth, it is suggested that some protected areas have a new policy interest in sustainable development. This approach has been depicted as accepting “human development that does not destroy natural resources”, based on reducing the tensions between man and nature (Hammer, 2007, p. 23). It can be argued that protected areas have a policy priority for environmental protection, and thus they may be more likely to embrace sustainable development ideas than other “non-protected” areas. Furthermore, they ought to favour development activities that have a tangible interest in ensuring that economic development does not occur at the environment’s expense (Barker & Stockdale, 2008; Hunter, 1997). Boyd (2000) indicates that support for sustainable development has often increased in protected area policies. He contends that sustainability policies are increasingly seen as necessary for tourism businesses wishing to accept responsibility for their actions and demonstrate environmental concern. Sustainable development opportunities might include sustainable tourism. Yet, importantly, he also asserts that parks have perhaps historically always been “managed for the most part, along the lines of sustainability, regardless of what terminology is used” (p. 181). This might indicate there is more continuity in park policies than some may realise, as traditional concerns for environment and community are re-labelled using newer sustainable development ideas.

Greater emphasis on policy integration, and potentially an associated encouragement of sustainable tourism

Finally, there are suggestions of a trend in some protected areas toward increasing integration of policies, or at least of researcher endorsement of that as a policy direction, and potentially that can encourage a focus on sustainable tourism. In particular, when protected areas focus more on policies for social and economic well-being alongside environmental protection, then that can encourage them to seek out new development tools, such as sustainable tourism. Pegas and Castley (2014, p. 604) contend that sustainable tourism in protected areas potentially can benefit “both people and nature”, due to the environment being considered alongside economic viability and social responsibility. Similarly, Sharpley and Pearce (2007, p. 557) consider that sustainable tourism in these areas has potential for “balancing environmental and tourism needs with the sustainable socio-economic development of local communities” (MacLellan, 2007). As tourism has traditionally featured in many protected areas, it is perhaps to be expected that policy-makers might look to sustainable tourism as a development tool. It is especially appealing as it might assist with multiple policy goals, such as encouraging economic growth, facilitating economic diversification, retaining local rural populations, and promoting awareness of the importance of landscape and environmental protection (Eagles, McCool, & Haynes, 2002). For such reasons, sustainable tourism might be seen as useful for policy integration in protected areas.

Literature on policies and co-evolution

One aim of this paper is to consider whether the case study Park Authority’s sustainable tourism policies co-evolved with other policies in the wider policy environment, and thus attention is directed to literature on policy co-evolution.

Co-evolution involves a situation “where different subsystems are shaping but not determining each other (relative autonomy)” (Aarset & Jakobsen, 2015; Kemp, Loorbach, & Rotmans, 2007, p. 78).

Co-evolving relationships between different sub-systems and across different scales are reciprocally inter-related and mutually constituting. The co-evolution concept within evolutionary social science perspectives is useful for understanding connectivity between related sub-system elements. Researchers have noted such co-evolution between varying sub-systems and scales, including between actors and structures (Giddens, 1984), technology and governance (Von Tunzelmann, 2003), and between ecology, economy, and society (Norgaard, 1984). This paper focuses on co-evolution for a specific type of sub-system, that of policy fields or domains. Co-evolution over time of policy fields involves them helping to shape each other, but not to determine each other. Sustainable tourism policies, for example, might be affected – but not fully determined – by policy developments not directly concerned with either tourism or sustainable development. Similarly, sustainable tourism policies can influence other policy domains. A co-evolutionary view is “important for thinking about governance for sustainable development”, due to the complex interdependent relationships involved in this broad policy field (Kemp et al., 2007, p. 79; Norgaard, 1984).

Public policy sub-systems and scales have a relative autonomy, and thus they are partially independent. Economic policies, for example, can co-evolve with environmental policies, where each helps to shape the character of the other. Co-evolutionary processes may also occur between specific policies and macro-scale societal events, changes and influences. With change in waste management policy, for example, Kemp et al. (2007, p. 84) argue that this “is best understood as a process of co-evolution of the waste management subsystem and societal values and beliefs (a society growing conscious of waste problems and hostile to landfill sites)”.

Co-evolution ideas have been used to only a very limited extent in tourism research. Examples include studies by Pastras and Bramwell (2013, p. 390) of “the co-evolution of structures and practices that shape tourism policies and activities” associated with the marketing of Athens to tourists, and by Brouder and Eriksson (2013) of the co-evolution of tourism and other economic activities in tourist destinations. In the present paper, the co-evolution concept is used to understand relationships between sustainable tourism policies and the policy environment.

Case study context and methods

This paper explores the adoption of sustainable tourism ideas in policies of the Park Authority for the Lake District National Park, a developed world, category V protected area, over a period of two decades (from the late 1980s to 2012). This Park in north-west England was designated in 1951. It is the largest national park in England and Wales, covering 2292 square kilometres, and it is characterised by lakes, mountains, and a short coastal stretch (Lake District National Park Authority [LDNPA], 2014a, 2014b). It has 40,800 residents and much of the land is privately owned, often by farmers. The analysis here examines the area and resident communities within the Park boundary, and the related Park Authority policies, and it does not consider the areas and communities outside the Park boundary. The Lake District National Park’s local economy has been highly reliant on agriculture and forestry, but farming is now less dominant, directly employing only 2500 people on 1060 commercial farms, and with average annual net farm income as low as £9594 in 2010–2011 (LDNPA, 2013a, p. 13).

Tourism is long established in the Lake District, beginning in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when tourist accommodation was developed in some larger settlements. Tourism growth intensified after 1847 when the first railway into the area was opened (Hind & Mitchell, 2004; Marshall & Walton, 1981). Tourism businesses there include accommodation, visitor attractions, lake boats, and tourist-related pubs, cafes, and shops. The available evidence suggests that, in recent years, there has been little growth in the Park’s visitor numbers, with that probably moderating concern about tourist pressures. There were around 15.7 million visitors in 2009, 15.2 million in both 2010 and 2011, 14.8 million in 2012, and 15.5 million in 2013 (LDNPA, 2013a, p. 22). In a 2012 visitor survey for the wider Cumbria region, which substantially reflects visitors to this Park, only 8% were international visitors and as many as 70% were aged over 45 years (Cumbria Tourism, 2013). Despite the recent stability in visitor numbers, available data for the Park indicate that estimated tourism income and jobs

have risen: tourism revenues from £524 million in 2000 to £1051 million in 2013, and full-time tourism jobs from 12,227 in 2000 to 15,424 in 2013 (Cumbria Tourism, 2013; LDNPA 2005a, p. 16).

The presence of people living in this category V Park, the long-established local tourism industry and the stable visitor numbers over recent years, meant that the Park Authority was perhaps more likely to have introduced some of the potential policy changes suggested in the academic literature. The Park's two strategic "statutory purposes", which are set down in government legislation, are "to conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage" and "to promote opportunities for the understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of the National Park by the public", in other words, recreation and tourism. The first "statutory purpose" of conservation must take priority when the two "statutory purposes" are in conflict (LDNPA, 2014a; UK National Parks, 2014). The Park Authority controls land-use planning decisions, enhancing its influence on economic development. Its influence is increased through its five-year Park Management Plans, and it also attempts to fulfil its aims by influencing the actions of others (Hind & Mitchell, 2004). Much Authority funding comes from national government, although one-third derives from such sources as car park charges and planning application fees (LDNPA, 2014c). The Park Authority does not license businesses, or control prices or the opening times or ownership of businesses.

The analysis here focuses on the Park Authority's policies related to sustainable tourism, but other organisations also contributed to local sustainable tourism initiatives. The North West Regional Development Agency, for example, was established by government in 1999 to promote regional economic development, such as by building economic development partnerships and disseminating economic development advice (Fuller, Bennett, & Ramsden, 2002; Sandford, 2005). The local tourism organisation, Cumbria Tourism, was closely linked to the North West Regional Development Agency, such as through the latter providing some of Cumbria Tourism's funding for sustainable tourism initiatives.

The policies relevant to sustainable tourism are not examined in isolation, rather they are examined for potential relationships with the wider policy context, including other policies. They are also considered in relation to potential trends in category V protected areas indicated in the literature review.

Over 30 policy documents with potential relevance were evaluated, representing over 1500 pages of text. They include Park Authority national park plans, policy discussion documents, performance reviews and economic and business reviews, as well as relevant policy and evaluation documents produced by other agencies. Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with 12 actors selected to represent the key agencies and interests, with individual respondents chosen as they had significant experience of the issues. These were two National Park employees, two Cumbria Tourism staff, two local government employees, one staff member of a local sustainable tourism organisation (Nurture Lakeland, previously the Tourism and Conservation Partnership), and five respondents working in the Park's tourism industry. Respondents were asked about issues and potential trends suggested by the review of academic literature and the Park's policy documents. The interviews were semi-structured, they explored relevant policies and relationships in the Park, each lasted between 35 and 90 minutes, and they were recorded and transcribed.

Influences encouraging policies associated with sustainable tourism

In this analysis, sustainable tourism is considered as the application of sustainable development ideas to the tourism sector. Policies relevant to sustainable tourism affect the tourism sector and they seek to meet the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. They can embrace sustainable development's varied dimensions, notably economic, socio-cultural, and environmental sustainability. There is also growing recognition of the importance for sustainability of governance, including broad societal participation in policy-making and implementation (Bramwell, 2015; Meadowcroft, 2013).

Consideration is given, first, to influences encouraging acceptance of sustainable tourism ideas in the Park's policies between the late 1980s and 2012. According to Hanna et al. (2008, p. 1), changes

in protected area management reflect society's "rapid social and ecological" changes. Five such influences are discussed. In [Figure 1](#), they are categorised by whether they are broadly more global, national, or local in character, although these distinctions are blurred as global, national and local influences interact with each other.

Sustainable development

Sustainable development ideas have spread globally, gaining in importance for English policy-makers since the 1987 "Our Common Future" report (Dredge, 2006; Hall, 1999; Hopwood, Mellor, & O'Brien, 2005; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). These ideas formed a widely adopted management philosophy in English national parks over the study period, including in the Lake District, supporting the Park's two established "statutory purposes" (LDNPA, 2004; National Parks England, 2013; Sharpley & Pearce, 2007). Recognition has grown that sustainable development ideas can be applied to both land-use planning and the tourism industry. A Lake District National Park Authority employee suggested there had "been a gradual evolution in planning towards sustainable development over the last 15 years", and that sustainability policies had "filtered through to tourism". According to one respondent, recent tourism proposals in the Park sought to demonstrate their sustainability, and thus they "were now a lot more flexible". Sustainable tourism's increasing inclusion in the Park's policies and management emerged gradually rather than through a sudden policy change. Importantly, sustainable tourism was considered to hold out the prospect of boosting the economy while protecting the environment. Park policies for sustainable development were inter-connected and co-evolved with policies for sustainable tourism.

Economic restructuring

Another global and national influence on the Park's policies associated with sustainable tourism was agriculture's long-term economic restructuring, affected by increasingly global competition and associated agricultural mechanisation and price competition (Bramwell, 1994; Butler, Hall, & Jenkins, 1998; Evans & Ilbery, 1992; Hall, Roberts, & Mitchell, 2003). In England, tourism has increasingly been

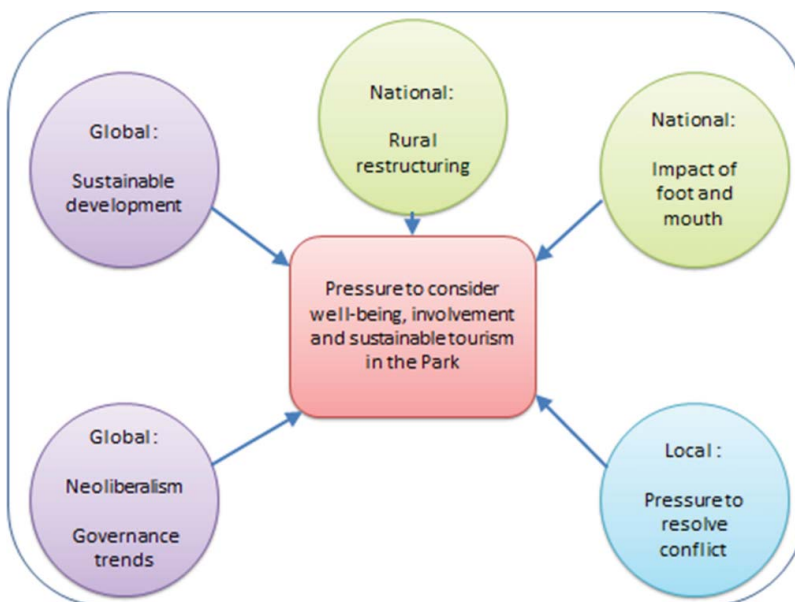


Figure 1. Influences on the Park Authority's policies related to sustainable tourism.

recognised as having potential to reduce problems associated with the economic restructuring of rural economies (Eagles et al., 2002; Sharpley, 2003). In the Lake District, tourism had gained acceptance “as a means of strengthening the rural economy where traditional industries were in decline” (LDNPA, 1990, p. 30). As previously discussed, tourism was also long-established as an important economic sector in the Park. Indeed, it is notable that taking together all the English national parks in 2009 as many as 27.5% of local businesses and 21.2% of employment were in “tourism-related industries” (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2011, pp. 8–9). In this way, the Park’s tourism-related policies evolved over the study period in the context of long-term, broad economic trends.

Economic diversification into tourism among the Park’s farmers has been promoted by various grants, such as to convert redundant farm barns into self-catering accommodation (LDNPA, 1986). Areas in the Park have also received Objective 5b European Union funding, intended to “counteract the consequences of the loss of traditional rural industries” (LDNPA, 1998, p. 51). Eligibility for this European funding was concentrated on places with low agricultural incomes, a high share of agricultural employment, and a “low level of socio-economic development” (European Commission, 2011, p. 1). However, the Park Authority traditionally had also expressed substantial concerns about tourism development. A former local government worker in the Park observed how in the past local government there had also been “really quite restrictive to new investments and new developments in the tourism industry”.

Neo-liberalism and governance trends

Two trends in governance, both influenced by neo-liberalism, seem also to have affected Park policies related to sustainable tourism over the study period. First, there had been a “re-scaling” of governance in England, with central government devolving more powers for local economic development — including tourism development — to regional agencies, often working through partnerships with business (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). In 1999, strategic economic development agencies — the Regional Development Agencies — were launched for the English regions. Among these was the North West Regional Development Agency, with the Lake District within that region. These agencies provided new funding for tourism initiatives in English national parks, in many cases favouring sustainable tourism initiatives supporting their own sustainable development priorities. The Park Authority expressed enthusiasm “to play an active part in the delivery of the regional and local strategies” developed by the North West Regional Development Agency through its associated Cumbria Tourism organisation, and to help these agencies to deliver sustainable tourism (LDNPA, 2005a). Thus, the sustainable tourism policies here co-evolved with wider changes in the governance arrangements for economic development.

A second relevant trend in governance over the study period was a growing restraint on certain government interventions and associated expenditure, especially after the 2007–2008 global financial crisis. This affected sustainable tourism policies in the Park in two ways. One was that in 2010 the government abolished England’s Regional Development Agencies. A Park employee noted that the removal of the North West Regional Development Agency led to the immediate end of funding for some projects in the Park, including some associated with sustainable tourism policies. At that time, too, there were funding reductions for other public sector organisations involved in economic development work in English national parks (Hall, 1999; LDNPA, 2013b).

Another consequence of decreasing public sector funding over many years was that, indirectly, it encouraged the Park Authority and other public agencies in the Park to work more closely in partnership with local communities and businesses, groups that often could still engage in activities associated with public policies (Bramwell & Cox, 2009). In 2005, the Authority had also noted how “government is placing a new emphasis on effective and co-ordinated partnership working in tourism” (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 5). Whether intended or not, the trend toward partnerships with local communities and businesses supported the principle of broad participation within sustainable development and sustainable tourism thinking. The resulting collaboration may also have helped to stimulate small

businesses and the promotion of local crafts and foods for tourism, outcomes that could also be compatible with sustainable development (LDNPA, 2004, p. 57). Hence, policy trends associated with sustainable tourism co-evolved with changes in wider governance arrangements and approaches.

Impact of foot and mouth disease

During 2001, an outbreak of foot and mouth disease, a highly infectious animal disease, affected parts of the English countryside. Large areas of the Lake District National Park were closed to the public in order to reduce the disease's spread, leading to tourist spending in the local economy falling in that year by 6.6% (LDNPA, 2005b). Although the outbreak and the associated economic hardship were fairly short-lived, they attracted enormous media coverage and this increased awareness levels among the public and policy-makers about tourism's importance for the Park's economy (Sharpley & Pearce, 2007). The heightened awareness encouraged the Park to pay more attention to issues around improving the socio-economic well-being of communities, including through tourism development (Cumbria County Council, 2002). Thus, the outbreak of foot and mouth disease indirectly encouraged wider policies for socio-economic well-being, including some associated with sustainable tourism.

Pressure to improve local relationships

A local influence on tourism development in the Park has been a history of some distrust between business people, including tourism entrepreneurs, and the Park Authority. A common view was that, in the past, the Authority could pay too little attention to economic development in its concern to protect the Park. That view was perhaps encouraged by a well-publicised conflict between the Authority and business interests regarding Authority pressure for a reduced boating speed limit on a major lake in the Park, which some business people argued would reduce economic activity around the lake (Bell, 2000; Bramwell & Pomfret, 2007). According to a 2005 external review of the Authority's operations, the Authority was insufficiently active in cooperative working with the community (LDNPA, 2005b).

This 2005 external review, however, encouraged greater cooperation between the Authority and other actors. An Authority respondent suggested that improving these relationships had become a "corporate survival requirement". In 2006, the Authority responded by forming a new Park-wide partnership arrangement, involving community and business representatives, and it devised a new Park plan in 2010. The wider participation encouraged consideration to be given to community concerns, including that of tourism businesses. A senior Park Authority staff member claimed that "we have gone from the organisation that would say 'no' to businesses to one that now seriously understands what they want to do, and worked with them to find ways of achieving that within the Park". Thus, the Park Authority's tourism-related policies could co-evolve in relation to wider pressure for better relationships between the Authority and community and business actors.

Continuity and change in Park Authority policies related to sustainable tourism

An assessment is now made of continuities and changes from the late 1980s to 2012 in the Lake District National Park Authority's policies related to sustainable tourism. First, there is an evaluation of any changes between the Authority's policies related to sustainable tourism and its earlier policies not identified or labelled as sustainable tourism. Consideration is given here to how sustainable tourism policies might re-label previous policies, or might more significantly reframe, extend, or depart from earlier policies. The analysis also examines, second, any potentially co-evolving relationships between the Authority's sustainable tourism policies and other policies. Policies potentially can co-evolve through reciprocally and mutually constituting inter-connections. This evaluation is made

against the five potential policy trends associated with category V protected areas as suggested in the literature review.

Increasing inclusion of community socio-economic well-being with environmental protection

The goal of community socio-economic well-being became more prominent in the Park Authority's policy documents over the study period, and it also seemed to become more integrated with other Park Authority goals. A 2006 vision document for the Park highlighted the importance of both conservation and community socio-economic well-being objectives, and also their inter-dependence (LDNPA, 2006). The 2010 Park Management Plan explained that the 2006 vision was for the Park to "be a place where a prosperous economy, world class visitor experiences and vibrant communities all come together to sustain the spectacular landscape, its wildlife and cultural heritage" (LDNPA, 2010a, p. 5). The inclusion of both socio-economic and environmental objectives supported sustainable development objectives, and potentially also sustainable tourism agendas.

A senior Park officer confirmed that socio-economic well-being was increasingly accepted as an important Park objective:

We take it very seriously. We've almost raised it equal to a [statutory] 'purpose' in this particular National Park...it slightly reorders things in a way that works for us here. So we don't kind of 'bang on' [constantly remind people] about 'purposes'; indeed, one of the problems that the Park got itself into was talking relentlessly with the partners about nothing other than the first two 'purposes' [of conservation, and promoting understanding and enjoyment]. You never heard anything about the 'duty' to look after the socio-economics of the communities in the Park.

An assessment in 2012 of Park Authority's performance commented that:

The balance between economic priorities and conservation and promoting understanding priorities is not fully understood by all. There are internal and external views that a priority shift has been made towards business and economy at the expense of conservation and promoting understanding. (LDNPA, 2012, p. 7)

Yet, there was little evidence to question the continuing priority for conservation for the Park Authority. The first "statutory purpose" of conservation still had to take priority when the two "statutory purposes" were in conflict (LDNPA, 2014a). Furthermore, there was also much continuity in the Authority's recognition of socio-economic objectives, with the importance of a strong local economy long featuring in the Authority's policy documents. As early as the 1995 Environment Act, for example, it was required that English national park authorities, while fulfilling their two statutory purposes, should also have a "duty" to "seek to foster economic and social well-being of local communities within the National Park" (LDNPA, 2004, p. 2; Countryside Agency, 2003).

Greater emphasis on community socio-economic well-being, potentially including through fostering tourism

The Park Authority's socio-economic and environmental protection policy objectives could encourage sustainable tourism. This could be indirect as the policies might not be focused primarily on tourism or sustainable development, but the policies were often inter-related and thus mutually constituting, and thus they often co-evolved together (Kemp et al., 2007). Alongside an increasing emphasis on community socio-economic well-being over the study period, greater recognition was also gained more directly for tourism, and particularly for sustainable tourism, as a useful source of community economic returns. A 2004 Park management plan, for example, identified a "buoyant sustainable tourism" sector, especially one closely linked to the farming industry, as an important contributor to economic development, and as a sector potentially that "sustains and enhances the area's special qualities" (LDNPA, 2004, p. 12).

A sustainable tourism approach was perceived as holding out the appealing prospect of improving the Park communities' socio-economic well-being while also reducing tourism's potential adverse environmental impacts. Increasing thought was given in the Park Authority's policies to including

both environmental and socio-economic well-being goals, including through sustainable tourism (LDNPA, 2005b, p. 15). Thus, the Authority expressed its aim to create an “economically buoyant” tourism sector that has “shared responsibility for conserving and enhancing” the landscape (LDNPA, 2005a).

The Park Authority’s policy documents have historically expressed concerns about the area’s reliance on tourism, and about the industry’s potentially adverse impacts on the Park’s environment and character. There were concerns that tourism growth would make the Park busier and less suited to quiet enjoyment (LDNPA, 1986, chapter 11, p. 2; LDNPA, 1998, p. 60), that the industry could fluctuate (LDNPA, 1990, p. 18), and that there were development pressures for additional and more sophisticated facilities (LDNPA, 1990, p. 30). A 1986 Park plan stated that its “first concerns are to maintain the character and promote the quiet enjoyment of the Lake District countryside, not to maximise the income from tourism” (LDNPA, 1986, chapter 11, p. 2).

While such concerns continued to be repeated about tourism’s potential impacts, more recently there were some more positive endorsements of (sustainable) tourism and of the need to support the sector. The Park’s 2010 management plan, for example, contended that “The National Park’s distinct seasonal visitor pattern has changed in recent years with a trend towards a lengthening season. Visitors increasingly take short breaks throughout the year. This trend benefits employment and supports local businesses all year round” (LDNPA, 2010a, p. 39). In 2005, the Park Authority asserted that “we want to provide the conditions for tourism businesses to flourish and for visitor stay and spend to be maximised” (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 12). There was also a seeming strengthening aspiration for “tourism development to deliver a high quality, sustainable tourism experience for the diverse range of visitors to the National Park” (LDNPA, 2010b, p. 97).

Yet, there were also many continuities in attitudes to tourism over the study period. Thus, both early and later in the period, the Park Authority’s policy documents recognised tourism’s importance for the Park’s economy (LDNPA, 1986, chapter 11, p. 2). In 1986, it was noted how tourism was a “mainstay of the local economy”, and in 1990, it was observed that “tourism has for many years been the dominant employer” (LDNPA, 1986, chapter 11, p. 12; LDNPA, 1990, p.30; LDNPA, 1998, p.69). There was also a continuing emphasis on securing good quality forms of tourism. In 1998, it was stated that tourism development would be supported as long as it did “not conflict with the special qualities of the National Park including the quiet enjoyment of the area”, and it was “of a character and scale which respects the quality of the environment” (LDNPA, 1998, p. 69). Similarly, in 2010, a Park Authority document endorsed “New development and the re-development, extension and improvement of existing tourism accommodation, facilities and attractions to raise the quality of provision”, provided that its “nature and scale [was not] detrimental to the character and quality of the environment” (LDNPA, 2010b, p. 98). There was also policy support in both 1998 and 2005 for tourism facilities that encouraged “good environmental practices” (LDNPA, 1998, p. 69; LDNPA, 2005a, p. 22), and for tourism projects that directly benefitted the environment (LDNPA, 1998, 2005a, 2010a).

There was also a continuing positive endorsement of enjoyment of the countryside through quiet recreation that appreciates tranquillity. In 1986, the Park Authority asserted that “Their role is to offer unspoilt countryside, peace and quiet, adventure on the mountains, intimacy with nature and quiet recreation generally on lake and fell. It follows...therefore the funfair and similar forms of gregarious entertainment will be alien” (LDNPA, 1986, chapter 11, p. 3). In 2004, the Park continued to note the need to “Protect and, where possible, enhance opportunities Park-wide for quiet enjoyment, and retain the character of the Quieter Areas of the National Park” (LDNPA, 2004, p. 51). The importance of quiet enjoyment was also discussed in a Park document in 2005 “Promoting sustainable tourism” (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 29), where it was explained that:

Many people value the sense of space and freedom, spiritual refreshment, and release from the pressures of modern-day life that the Lakeland fells, valleys and lakes have to offer. We cannot expect to experience quiet enjoyment everywhere in the National Park, and that is not what we advocate. But peace, quiet and tranquillity are qualities that visitors enjoy – we know this from our surveys and the surveys of others – and quiet enjoyment is one of the special qualities of the Lake District National Park.

Greater interest in wider actor engagement in policy-making and management

Over the study period, the Park Authority tended to seek to make policies and management decisions in more inclusive ways involving more community actors. The Authority worked more closely with the business community, often including tourism entrepreneurs. This trend seems to have supported the developing policy focus on the socio-economic well-being of the Park's local communities, and also to have encouraged sustainable tourism and sustainable development as organising frameworks. These policies were reciprocally inter-related and mutually constituting, and they appear to have co-evolved (Kemp et al., 2007).

One catalyst for more actor engagement in the Park Authority's policy-making and management was a 2005 external review of the Authority's operations, which was critical of the relatively limited actor participation activities, including with tourism business people. Despite a quite long-established emphasis in the Park on collaborative working, the external review indicated that relationships between the Authority and business community were not always positive, and that there was scope for more pro-active working with these and other actors, including for advancing sustainable development (LDNPA, 2005b, p. 15). The Authority subsequently sought to be more inclusive in its policy and management processes, notably through establishing in 2006 a new Park-wide collaborative arrangement, the Lake District National Park Partnership. Another example of more recent partnership working by the Authority concerns public transport and is examined in Stanford and Guiver (2016).

The partnership working involved more engagement with the business community. A Business Task Force, which included tourism businesses, was formed as a Lake District National Park Partnership Sub-Group, with a remit to draw on the business community's "knowledge and expertise to help achieve the prosperous economy theme of the [Park's] Vision" (LDNPA, 2014c, p. 1). The Sub-Group sought to "build understanding, respect, trust and collaboration between businesses, the Lake District National Park Authority and other public sector organisations" (LNPDA, 2014c, p. 1). In the interviews, Cumbria Tourism and Park Authority respondents commented that, compared to previously, there were improving relationships between the tourism business community and the Park Authority.

The wider engagement of the Park Authority with other actors resulting from the new Partnership in 2006, including with the tourism industry, may have encouraged the Authority to give more policy prominence to community socio-economic well-being issues and also to related sustainable tourism and sustainable development activities. This was likely to be fostered through their mutual cooperation and the enhanced policy influence of community actors, including business people. An assessment of the Authority's performance in 2012 noted improvement in its engagement with the tourism industry (LDNPA, 2012, p. 9). It stated that there were perceptions the Authority's policies were now "delivering in a sound way for tourism interests" (LDNPA, 2012, p. 11). There were likely to be co-evolutionary relationships here between policy domains, with policies for widening participation affecting the context for policies for socio-economic well-being, sustainable development, and sustainable tourism. This indicates how sustainable tourism policies could be affected by policy developments not directly concerned with tourism.

Greater interest in sustainable development, potentially including sustainable tourism

A fourth potential trend suggested in research literature was an increasing interest in sustainable development in some category V protected areas. For the Park Authority, there is evidence of increasing endorsement of the sustainable development notion. The Lake District National Park Partnership 2006 Vision strategy stated that its aspiration was for the Park to be "an inspirational example of sustainable development in action" (LDNPA, 2006, p. 1). According to a Park Authority employee, "Sustainable development underpins all our policies. It's very much been the driver behind how we... work with the industry", and another argued that the Partnership established in 2006 focused on

collaborative working for sustainable development. There was growing acceptance of sustainable development and sustainable tourism ideas, with that encouraged by their considerable inter-connections. Park policies associated with sustainable development and sustainable tourism were inter-related and also co-evolving. Indeed, policies associated with sustainable tourism could be substantially influenced by sustainable development goals not primarily focused on sustainable tourism.

There was an early endorsement of sustainable tourism in a 1998 Park plan, which stated that: “It is important to the future of the National Park and the economic and social well-being of its local communities, that the Principles for Sustainable Rural Tourism have a considerable influence on the tourism industry” (LDNPA, 1998, p. 69). The sustainable tourism discourse directed policy attention not just to reducing the industry’s negative features, but also to assisting the industry positively to provide tourist appreciation of the Park’s qualities and to enhance local community socio-economic well-being. A Park official argued that:

national parks have all been on a journey with sustainable tourism...For a long time visitor numbers were seen as something that needed to be limited so as to limit the impacts on the landscape and the natural environment. But there’s been a gradual move away from that position, recognising the benefits of having people visit the National Park, both in terms of their personal experience and in terms of the economic benefits that brings, and in terms of creating supporters for what we need to do to look after the National Park.

An understanding of sustainable tourism seemed to increase over the study period. There was improved appreciation that the sustainable tourism approach could be applied to all tourism’s aspects and was not restricted to separate “green” products. Some earlier Park documents highlighted developing “green tourism” products, such as “working holidays” to supplement farm incomes (LDNPA, 1990). A Park employee commented how a broad view of sustainable tourism as more than specific products had gained ground, as that “only appeals to a few people, such as the green market”, when the approach needed to be “embedded in the wider tourism picture”.

As the Park Authority became interested in sustainable tourism, it engaged with diverse actors with tourism-related interests. In 2005, the Authority recognised that promoting sustainable tourism required “real partner buy-in” in collaborative activities (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 2). That was considered to involve “sharing responsibility through joint working” and “engaging with the local community by involving them in tourism development and management” (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 6). Interest in sustainable tourism encouraged other interactions between the Authority and tourism businesses. A Park employee involved with the Authority’s tourism planning applications noted a greater openness to discussing whether tourism proposals were likely to be suitable, and to working with tourism businesses “to make developments as sustainable as possible”. This reflected the inter-connections between sustainable tourism and wider actor participation in policy domains. Their co-evolution involved them shaping but not determining each other.

The Park Authority only gradually introduced the sustainable tourism “label” and ideas into its policy documents. It was used occasionally from fairly early in the study period. In 1998, for example, an Authority document (LDNPA, 1998, p. 69) endorsed “Principles for Sustainable Rural Tourism” developed by national agencies, as “They provide a framework within which tourism can develop its wider role with the community, and the responsibility it accepts for maintaining the special qualities of the National Park”. In 2005, the Authority issued a specific document entitled “Promoting sustainable tourism”, announced as its “first ‘tourism statement’”. It explained that it had “produced it because we believe sustainable tourism can bring widespread benefits – to our local economy, communities and environment – and we want to play an active and positive role in its future development” (LDNPA, 2005a, p. 2). By 2010, an Authority document identified the objective to “Encourage opportunities for sustainable tourism, such as visitors staying longer, spending more on local goods and services, contributing to local communities and using public transport” (LDNPA, 2010a, p. 19).

There was more continuity here than may first appear, however, as many Park Authority initiatives recently identified with the sustainable tourism label and notion were long established and in place before the Authority used this label or notion more widely. This is apparent for many environmental

policies, such as for visitor management, traffic management, improving environmental practices, and for reducing the negative impacts of tourism business. The Authority had always worked to secure environmental conservation and to manage tourist activities to reduce negative impacts, and it had long recognised the tourist industry's importance for community well-being. Thus, the sustainable tourism discourse could represent, partly or substantially, "old wine in new bottles", or the "dressing up" of long-established activities with a new label. Yet, the emerging sustainable development and sustainable tourism perspectives also appear to offer new framings for policy coherence and integration, and there is greater prominence for socio-economic and community engagement priorities.

Some tourism industry respondents also argued that they did not see sustainable tourism as especially new, considering that they had always responded to the need to protect the Park's environment and that this made good business sense for them. Many tourism businesspeople had long accepted that their commercial success depended on the local landscapes and environment. A lake boat operator observed how:

landscape and the surroundings are what bring people here, and as a tourist operator I do not want anybody to be killing the goose that is laying golden eggs. And that has been our philosophy for a long, long time, and the same with many other businesses around this area.

A Park Authority manager similarly noted how tourism businesses were mainly locally owned, and thus "it's not in their interest to do stuff that is detrimental to the National Park", so that a sustainable tourism approach made good sense for them. Some business people asserted that for them sustainable tourism was often the re-labelling of existing practices. One commercial lake boat operator contended that:

it would be wrong to say that in the last year or last decade suddenly the tourism sector had latched on to sustainable tourism. Absolutely not, as we've been doing it for an awfully long time. Perhaps in the last 10 years it has become badged as sustainable tourism, but the principles and the practices we've espoused for a long time.

Greater emphasis on policy integration, and potentially an associated encouragement of sustainable tourism

A final potential trend suggested in the research literature was an increasing emphasis in some protected areas on the integration of policy domains. Here, the Park Authority began increasingly to see environmental, socio-economic, and community engagement policies as inter-connected and that potentially benefits could follow from their integration.

That perspective was reflected in the Park Partnership's 2006 vision statement, which saw the Park as "A place where its prosperous economy, world class visitor experiences and vibrant communities come together to sustain the spectacular landscape, its wildlife and cultural heritage" (LDNPA, 2006, p. 1). Such integration was seen as requiring collaborative approaches involving many interested parties. The Partnership concluded that work toward achieving its 2006 vision statement meant that "Local people, visitors, and the many organisations working in the National Park or have a contribution to make to it, must be united in achieving this" (LDNPA, 2006, p. 1). Integration of environmental, socio-economic and community engagement domains also supported the Partnership's aim that "The Lake District National Park will be an inspirational example of sustainable development in action" (LDNPA, 2006, p. 1). It also encouraged a sustainable tourism approach, based on "High quality and unique experiences for visitors within a stunning and globally significant landscape...A landscape whose natural and cultural resources are assets to be managed and used wisely for future generations" (LDNPA, 2006, p. 1). Sustainable tourism depends on such integrative approaches. These relationships indicate the co-evolution of environmental conservation, socio-economic well-being, community engagement, sustainable development, and sustainable tourism policy domains in the

Park. A policy may lie mostly in one of these policy fields, but it can influence the specific character of the other domains.

Integration of policies in the Park Authority's broad vision, however, did not always extend to the Authority having a lead role in the associated implementation work. Many activities included in the Partnership's policy documents, for example, were not led by the Park Authority, resting instead with other organisations involved in the Partnership (LDNPA, 2010a, p. 21). Reflecting the Authority's traditional concerns, among activities set out in the Partnership's policies, the Authority steered a "Low Carbon Lake District" initiative to encourage alternative transport modes, and it led work to increase participation in healthy outdoor activities (LDNPA, 2010a, p. 50). Responsibility for tourism initiatives, however, was often given to other agencies, notably to Cumbria Tourism, although its activities were reduced in 2010 (Hind & Mitchell, 2004; LDNPA, 1998). An Authority employee noted that:

I don't see that it's our role to manage sustainable tourism as such. I mean we have a role to play in trying to ensure that new development proposals are as sustainable as they can be. And then we have got a role within the Partnership to encourage and to work with partners like Cumbria Tourism that have more access to businesses, and work more directly with them, and we do.

Conclusions

This paper has explored the inclusion of sustainable tourism ideas from the late 1980s to 2012 in the policies of the Lake District National Park Authority, the Park Authority for a developed world, category V protected area. It assessed influences on the Authority's sustainable tourism policies, and also the co-evolution between sustainable tourism policies and other policies. Influences encouraging changes in the Authority's policies associated with sustainable tourism included re-organisations of governance arrangements, government funding reductions, the impact of foot and mouth disease, rising concern for community well-being, and pressures to improve relationships between the Authority and other local parties. The long-standing importance of tourism in the Park has also been a significant influence. The inclusion of policies relevant to sustainable tourism by the Authority was often an indirect outcome of policy developments not focused specifically on sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism-related policies co-evolved with, and through, policies for community well-being, actor participation, and sustainable development.

Incorporation of sustainable tourism ideas in policies did not result from a sudden policy change, rather it occurred gradually. It involved re-labelling established policies as well as the reframing and extension of those policies. For the Park Authority, sustainable tourism ideas seem to have become more accepted because there appears to have been little growth in the Park's tourist numbers in recent years, tourism was already an established and important activity for the Park community's socio-economic well-being, and because sustainable tourism as a concept was perceived to hold out the appealing prospect of socio-economic benefits within environmental constraints. Yet, some activities which became identified with sustainable tourism in the Authority's policies were actually long-established activities that pre-dated this new discursive label. This could give a misleading impression of the extent to which the policies represented a new direction. Overall, the study's empirical findings may have wider relevance for the debate, reviewed in the paper, about potential emerging policy directions in some category V protected areas.

The paper also makes new contributions as there is only limited in-depth research on influences encouraging the inclusion of sustainable tourism ideas in specific policy contexts, or on relationships in such contexts between sustainable tourism policies and other policy priorities. The analysis departed from an approach which considers sustainable tourism policies in isolation, because potentially they are reformulations or extensions of other previous policies, or else indirect outcomes of policies in other policy fields.

The paper particularly focused on how the Park Authority's sustainable tourism policies co-evolved with other policies in the wider policy environment, notably policies for community well-

being, wider actor participation, and sustainable development. Here, the analysis drew on conceptual ideas of co-evolution between different sub-system elements, which involves the elements influencing and co-constituting but not determining each other, in inter-relationships of relative autonomy. The use of co-evolution concepts highlighted the importance of considering sustainable tourism policies in relation to broad societal and governance processes. The concept of co-evolution was shown to have considerable analytical potential for researchers interested in the emergence and development of policies associated with sustainable tourism, and also in other tourism-related policy fields. The approach used here also helped to demonstrate the importance of a full recognition that tourism policy, planning, and governance activities often have a broad reach and are difficult to delimit, and that they tend to require careful integration across diverse policy fields and practical activities.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributors

Vicky Mellon is a senior lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University, UK. Her research interests include sustainable tourism, rural tourism, tourism and protected areas, partnership working in protected areas, and tourism policy and planning.

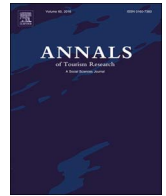
Bill Bramwell is Emeritus Professor of tourism at Sheffield Hallam University, UK and Co-Editor of the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. He has edited numerous books on tourism development and tourism governance. His research interests include tourism policy and planning, tourism and environmental politics, governance in tourism, tourism development and society in China, and political economy and tourism development.

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The temporal evolution of tourism institutions

Vicky Mellon, Bill Bramwell*

Sheffield Business School, Sheffield Hallam University, Howard Street, Sheffield, S1 1WB, UK

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ABSTRACT

A fuller understanding of tourism processes should include analysis of historical influences, legacies and the sequencing of change. The paper examines the temporal evolution of tourism institutions by employing historical institutionalist and cultural political economy approaches and a process tracing methodology. They are used to study two institutions involved in tourism and environmental management in a protected area. The assessment carefully explores the timing and sequencing of events and interconnections between processes over time. It demonstrates the value of the approaches and methodology, such as by suggesting that path dependence and path creation are not binary categories, but instead are reciprocally intertwined and co-constituting. Both material/social and ideational/discursive processes are also shown as significant for institutional temporal paths.

Introduction

Tourism involves processes that evolve through continuities and changes over time. When tourism researchers describe tourism growth, decline or crisis, for example, this involves processes that take place over varying time frames. There are also temporal trends in the socio-economic, environmental and political contexts affecting tourism, and in tourism's impacts on them. If we freeze analysis at one moment in time there is a danger that tourism research could overlook or misunderstand these processes, which could lead to ineffective policies. To help avoid such issues, tourism research should consider historical trends in its processes and also examine the approaches and methods used to understand temporal change (Brouder, 2014; Shone, Simmons, & Dalziel, 2016).

This study explores the temporal evolution of tourism institutions. These are social structures that form as human interactions become habituated or reproduced over time (Berger & Luckman, 1991). They are “the rules, norms, and practices that organize and constitute social relations” (Fioretos, Falleti, & Sheingate, 2016, p. 7), and they help people to respond to collective problems (Steinmo, 2014). The paper's case study concerns two institutions involved in policymaking: a tourism-related partnership, and a policy forum involving the general public. While these were more formal institutions, with for instance written rules, they also involved informal rules, values and practices. Such institutions involve constraints and opportunities for political preferences and actions, and for the distribution of political power. They are a vital part of tourism as an activity and industry alongside, for example, tourists, experiences, representations and technologies. Although such institutions are usually conceived as relatively stable and recurring patterns of behaviour, they also tend continually to evolve.

The paper focuses on examining longitudinal trends over time for two case study tourism institutions, using approaches and methodology from the historical institutionalist research tradition. Historical institutionalism has deep political science roots, but by the 1990s it had become a significant academic approach (Fioretos et al., 2016). Fioretos et al. (2016, p. 3) observe that it “examines how temporal processes and events influence the origin and transformation of institutions that govern political and economic

* Corresponding author.

E-mail addresses: v.mellon@shu.ac.uk (V. Mellon), w.m.bramwell@shu.ac.uk (B. Bramwell).

relations". It highlights the timing and sequencing of temporal processes and events associated with institutions (Thelen, 2002). When things happen, and the order in which different processes unfold, can be extremely important in establishing the validity of particular causal claims. The approach also seeks to appreciate the significance over time of contextual embeddedness and interconnections among processes (Suddaby, Foster, & Mills, 2014).

The paper, first, considers past research approaches to temporal trends in tourism institutions. It extends this work, second, by developing an historical institutionalist approach combining historical institutionalism with cultural political economy perspectives. More generally, there is also scope for ideas from the specific research tradition of historical institutionalism to be evaluated in more sustained depth in studies of tourism institutions. The approach sees path creation and path dependence as reciprocal and co-constitutive, and it also recognises the importance of both the material/social and ideational/discursive, and of their interconnections. Use is also made of a "process tracing" methodology. Third, this approach and methodology is used to assess temporal trends for the case of two institutions involved in managing tourism and environmental tensions within a UK protected area. The first of these institutions, the Stanage Steering Group, was a partnership organisation which reported to the second institution, the Stanage Forum, which involved members of the public and with which it was closely associated.

Literature review and conceptual perspectives

Past approaches to research on temporal continuity and change in tourism institutions are considered next. This is followed by discussion of the two approaches to assessing such trends brought together in the present study: historical institutionalism and cultural political economy.

The most influential conceptual study of historical trends in tourism is Butler's (1980) destination life cycle model. It proposes that a graph of tourist numbers in a destination against time often evolves through a broadly S-shaped curve, which can be divided into different development stages. Many studies apply Butler's destination life cycle model as a framework to assist with explanations of the development trajectories of destinations (Zhong, Deng, & Xiang, 2008). This model has at times been combined with conceptual ideas about institutions. Ioannides (1992), for example, combines the model with an examination of relations between destination institutions and external tour operators (Rodríguez, Parra-López, & Yanes-Estévez, 2008), and Garay and Cànoves (2011) integrate it with regulation theory – a political economy perspective – to explain institutional interventions in destination development trends.

Some previous studies focus on examining temporal trends specifically for tourism institutions. They often draw on conceptual ideas from one of two distinct fields of academic study: either institutional studies, a broad research field that includes the more specific approach of historical institutionalism, or evolutionary economic geography (EEG). Several of these studies draw on concepts from the research tradition of institutionalism. Jamal and Getz (1995), for example, evaluate evolving institutional processes in different phases of tourism partnership working; Pavlovich (2003) examines evolving organisational networks in tourist destinations; and Wray (2009) considers institutional "issue lifecycles" affecting tourism policies.

A number of studies of the evolution of tourism institutions are informed by conceptual ideas from the EEG research literature. This literature examines the temporal and geographical evolution of economic activity, such as in industrial zones and regional economies (Martin, 2010). While most tourism studies drawing on EEG concepts focus on the evolution of destinations rather than institutions, a few do consider institutional development in destinations (Brouder & Fullerton, 2015). In one study applying EEG concepts to assess tourism institutions, Ma and Hassink (2014, p. 595) assert that "The evolution of tourism areas is a dynamic open path-dependent process by which tourism firms, products and institutions coevolve along unfolding trajectories". Halkier and Therkelsen (2013, p. 42) draw on EEG approaches to assess the evolving flexibility of institutions involved in coastal tourism. Gill and Williams (2014, p. 547; 2017; 2011) use EEG concepts to examine governance shifts in a mountain resort "from a growth-dependent model towards one grounded in principles of sustainability". Some studies of tourism institutions based on EEG approaches draw on concepts from the more specific historical institutionalist research tradition, but they can tend to be based on this tradition's coverage in the EEG literature, and there remains clear scope to examine historical institutionalist ideas in more sustained depth.

The present study of historical change in tourism institutions extends these past approaches through its in-depth, combined use of historical institutionalism and cultural political economy perspectives. These perspectives are now reviewed, including their key concepts used in the paper.

Historical institutionalism focuses on the historical processes involved in institutional creation, reproduction and change. Its historical reasoning emphasises timing and sequencing in the analysis of institutional and political processes, considering "the significance of an event or action in light of antecedent and subsequent developments" (Wadhvani & Bucheli, 2014, p. 9; Thelen, 2002). It also entails a complex understanding of time in which multiple temporal processes often operate together to influence an action at a particular moment in time. Thus, its "historical studies of institutions focus on *complex*, rather than *unitary* causality" (Suddaby et al., 2014, p. 104, emphasis in original; Fioretos et al., 2016). A hallmark of historical institutionalism is close proximity to each empirical case under investigation, but there is also scope for theorizing and knowledge accumulation across studies (Suddaby et al., 2014; Thelen, 2002). While historical institutionalist practitioners share a focus on temporal effects, they can hold differing views, such as about the degree of dynamism within institutions and the role of actors in institutional accounts.

Two prominent historical institutionalist concepts are used in the present study. The first concept, of "critical junctures", concerns periods – often rather short periods – of significant path-creating change that leave distinct historical legacies for organisations. While critical junctures involve path-creating openness, they subsequently tend to reproduce themselves, so that they mark the beginning of path-dependent processes (Collier & Collier, 1991). The second concept, of "path dependence", applies to periods when organisations experience a narrowing down of the scope for alternative actions, so that it becomes difficult to reverse the established direction for

action (Schreyögg & Sydow, 2011). Path dependence occurs because of self-reinforcing feedback, which means that deviations from an existing path are less likely (Boas, 2007; Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2004). Self-reinforcing feedback can occur because the organisational values and ways of working become socialised and unquestioned among the actors, for reasons such as the actors learning to deal with the system in a particular way (Gains, John, & Stoker, 2005; Pierson, 2004). It can also result from institutional actors gaining skills and knowledge from their established procedures, and from institutions gaining political authority and legitimacy (Capoccia, 2016; Schreyögg & Sydow, 2011). Path dependence can be depicted as likely to occur over relatively long periods of time.

Some consider that the critical juncture and path dependence concepts mean that historical institutionalism tends to suggest that institutional history involves short periods of path-creating upheaval followed by long periods of path dependent stability. Yet historical institutionalism has also been concerned with explaining slow, path creating changes that can become transformative (Capoccia, 2016; Sarigil, 2009; Thelen, 2004). Historical institutionalist scholars describe several potential sources of gradual path-creating institutional change which can lead to substantially new paths. Such sources of gradual change can include frictions within institutions around their related actors, ideas and policies. Other sources can include the discretion of actors around how they interpret and enforce rules, shifts in the coalitions among actors involved in institutional arrangements, and new circumstances following a political election (Capoccia, 2016; Fioretos et al., 2016; Gains et al., 2005; Mahoney, 2000; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010).

Several “modes” of gradual path-creating change for institutions have been identified (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Van der Heijden, 2011). A first such mode of slow institutional change, that of “replacement”, involves the removal of existing organisational relations or rules, and the introduction of new alternative ones. A second such mode, that of “layering”, concerns the introduction of new rules, such as new policy goals, alongside existing ones, with this steering the institutions in a new direction (Boas, 2007). Rast (2012) suggests that layering can occur when actors are dissatisfied with an existing policy or institution but lack the power to dismantle it. Incremental, path creating change for institutions can occur, thirdly, through “conversion”, which entails the changed use of existing rules so that they serve new purposes not previously envisaged (Rast, 2012; Thelen, 2004).

“Redeployment” is a fourth potential mode of gradual institutional change (Schneiberg, 2007). It involves rehabilitating at a later date previous “paths not taken” that were only partially successful, or were incomplete or failed. Here previous “paths not taken” provide “institutional repertoires”, or building blocks of knowledge, experience or competence, that may help to support an institution’s future development (Crouch & Farrell, 2004). A fifth potential mode of slow institutional change involves “cross-path effects” (Schneiberg, 2007), whereby actors draw on “solutions already used in adjacent fields” (Crouch & Farrell, 2004, p. 24). Here actors learn from ideas in adjacent but separate institutional situations, and they combine aspects of those ideas in another institutional context, thereby potentially establishing a significantly new development path.

The present study is premised on the argument that historical institutionalist research may provide enhanced explanations when combined with social theory. Peters, Pierre and King (2005, p. 1284–5), for example, argue that with historical institutionalism, “It is not sufficient to say that patterns persist...[Any] acceptable explanation in the social sciences must be able to link cause and effect through an underlying social process, rather than through a ‘black box’”. Much historical institutionalist research employs social theory (Fioretos et al., 2016), and here cultural political economy is used alongside historical institutionalism. Although not developed in detail, Anton Clavé and Wilson (2017, p. 109) also propose that “a broader CPE [cultural political economy] approach...be considered alongside EEG [evolutionary economic geography] approaches”, but they suggest this for studies of the evolution of tourism destinations rather than of tourism institutions. The present authors are unaware of previous studies of tourism institutions making in-depth use of a combined historical institutionalist and cultural political economy approach.

Cultural political economy sees institutions as embedded in society’s social, economic, cultural and political relationships. These relationships around tourism institutions are regarded as porous and intertwined, so that they embody interconnections, including with their wider context. Thus, the varied societal processes and their interactions will co-constitute the character of a tourism institution (Castree, 2003; Harvey, 1996; Sum & Jessop, 2015). The inter-weaving of societal relations around tourism institutions are also considered to involve both interdependencies and tensions, with these likely to entail continuities and changes over time (Harvey, 1996; Jessop, 2010; Sum & Jessop, 2015).

Cultural political economy also recognises that institutions structure incentives and constraints, but at the same time humans actively create and change these institutions based on their prior expectations and cognition (Hall, 2010; Steinmo, 2014). It asserts that there are structural pressures – including both opportunities and constraints – but that people interpret them based on their own perceptions and values, so that, while they are not entirely free in how they respond, their agency transforms the social structures, including institutions (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). This indicates that institutional path creation and path dependence are not binary or separate categories; rather, they are reciprocally inter-connected, reflecting agency-structure interactions. The path-creating activities of institutions are thus regarded as reciprocally related to path dependence, with evolving and co-constituting relations between them (Garud, Kumaraswamy, & Karnøe, 2010; Hay & Wincott, 1998; Oosterlynck, 2012). Consequently, this perspective emphasises the importance for institutions of the reciprocal relationships between structural pressures of dependence and more open processes of human agency, chance occurrences and path creation (Blyth, Helgadóttir, & Kring, 2016; Capoccia, 2016).

Some studies of the temporal evolution of tourism institutions, while not framed in the specific research traditions of historical institutionalism or cultural political economy, also recognise there are reciprocal interactions between path dependence and path creation (Brouder & Eriksson, 2013; Gill & Williams, 2017; Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé, 2014). Brouder and Fullerton (2015, p. 152), for example, note how incremental path-creating changes have occurred in the established tourism development path in Niagara, Canada, and that these “new paths co-evolve with the dominant tourism paths”. In a study of tourism partnerships, Bramwell and Cox (2009, p. 195) also assert that “Path dependence and path creation may be intimately connected and they may ‘co-evolve’”, and Pastras and Bramwell (2013, p. 396) argue that path creation and path dependence co-evolve for tourism institutions through a “dialectic of path-shaping in the context of path-dependency” (Nielsen, Jessop, & Hausner, 1995; Williams, 2013).

Cultural political economy also indicates that studies of institutions need to take seriously the cultural/ideational/discursive as well as the economic/political spheres. It recognises, therefore, the importance for institutions of the ideational and discursive processes of subjective sense-making and meaning-making (Carstensen & Schmidt, 2016; Hall, 2010; Ribera-Fumaz, 2009). The importance of ideas, images, meanings, and of the symbolic, is recognised here. In their political economy approach to institutions, therefore, Hay and Wincott (1998, p. 956) “emphasise the crucial space granted to ideas”, as actors “appropriate strategically a world replete with institutions and ideas about institutions” (Carstensen & Schmidt, 2016; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Here the present study uses the concept of “story lines”, this being associated with cultural political economy’s ideational and discursive realm. A story line is “a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). Story lines provide institutional actors with language and ideas that can provide a common understanding and can form a basis for coalitions around different story lines. Story lines are part of the discourse conflicts that affect the material policies of institutions (Fairclough, 2013).

Methodology

The paper’s case study concerns the evolving institutional arrangements and processes for a tourism-related forum, the Stanage Forum, and a closely linked partnership organisation, the Stanage Steering Group, in the UK’s Peak District National Park. This case was selected because of the researchers’ interest in the evolving tourism and environmental management activities of these institutions, and due to the institutions’ continuing willingness to cooperate with the research. The analysis provides a conceptually-informed explanation of causal influences and their effects on the temporal evolution of the Stanage Forum and Steering Group.

To achieve this objective a “process tracing” methodology was used as it helped with inferences about which of many potential necessary and sufficient causes were shaping the historical “path” for the two institutions (Collier, 2011; Rast, 2012). The analysis sought to “reconstruct, in a systematic and rigorous fashion, each step in the decision-making process, identify which decisions were most influential and what options were available and viable”, as well as to “clarify both their impact and their connection to other important decisions” (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007, p. 354–355). The influences, sequential steps and connections associated with underlying structural processes were also considered.

The study provides an historical geography of institutional change, tracing both the history and varying spatial scales and locations of the endogenous and exogenous forces affecting events. Examining both internal and external processes also helped to uncover “left-out variables” which might otherwise not have been looked for (Bennett & Elman, 2006). To provide portability to the findings, the analysis also used the conceptual approaches explained in the literature review (Fioretos et al., 2016).

The two case study institutions were established to reduce tensions between outdoor recreation, tourism and environmental management at Stanage and North Lees Estate (shortened here to Stanage Estate). It is an upland area which is owned by the Peak District National Park Authority, and it is of outstanding landscape value and of international importance for its heather moorland and bog ecology. The Estate is popular with hill walkers, rock climbers, bird watchers and off-road vehicle drivers, with an estimated over half a million visitors in 2002 (PDNPA, 2002). There are tensions between recreation, tourism and the area’s important environmental/ecological qualities, such as between rock climbing and the protection of bird-nesting habitats, especially during the bird-breeding season. There are very few tourist facilities, almost no tourist accommodation, and almost no residents within the Stanage Estate, with these found in nearby villages also in the National Park.

The Peak District Park Authority established the Stanage Forum and its associated Steering Group, asking these institutions to develop and apply a new Estate management plan. Decisions about the Estate were formally approved at the annual Forum meeting, which was open to the general public. Its associated Steering Group was a partnership organisation made up of interest group representatives, and it met more regularly than the Forum. It coordinated the drawing up and implementation of the Estate management plan, and it reported to the annual Forum. The study here assesses how the Forum and Steering Group first emerged in 2000 and then evolved over the period to 2011. The evolution of these two institutions was partly tracked through interviews held in 2007 and 2011, with these asking about developments since 2000. The four-year interval between the interviews allowed further time for several new developments to occur and potential future trajectories to emerge.

The “process tracing” assessment of evolving relationships for the two institutions drew on several sources: documents, observation, past research studies, and semi-structured interviews. First, the documents consulted included the Stanage Forum and Steering Group’s management plan, reports and minutes of meetings. Second, observation took place by attending several Forum meetings and Steering Group meetings. Third, use was made of academic studies by Tim Richardson on the early work of the two organisations, studies that used interviews, internal documents and observation of meetings to examine issues of consultative democracy (Connelly, Miles, & Richardson, 2004; Connelly, Richardson, & Miles, 2006; Richardson, 2005; Richardson & Connelly, 2001; Richardson, Connelly, & Miles, 2004).

Fourth, semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2007 and also in 2011 with key actors associated with the Forum and Steering Group. The purposive sampling of interviewees was intended to secure multiple and knowledgeable voices from the main interest groups. The six interviewees in 2007, including four Steering Group members, were: two National Park staff selected as they had significant management responsibilities for Stanage, a rock climbing representative as climbing is a major recreational activity there, a resident living in a nearby village with tourist facilities that are often used by Stanage visitors, a National Park Committee member involved with the area, and a top-tier National Park staff member.

In 2011 the nine interviewees, including seven Steering Group members, were: four representatives of recreational groups active in the area, a nearby resident representative, a conservation group representative (due to the area’s high environmental quality), and

three National Park staff with management responsibilities for Stanage. Four respondents were interviewed in both 2007 and 2011. The interviews lasted an average of 62 min in 2007 and 73 min in 2011. Interview questions in 2007 asked about the Forum and Steering Group's organisation and operation, influences on their activities, impacts of their activities, and the context to the Estate's governance. The questions were not directly guided by the concepts of path dependence and path creation, with those concepts only becoming important for the research when the collected interview data were examined. By contrast, the 2011 interview questions were directly guided by the concepts that emerged from reviewing historical institutionalist and cultural political economy research literature, as well as by issues arising from the 2007 interviews.

The process tracing methodology sought to “follow the path” taken by the two institutions, based on in-depth consideration of the primary sources and the conceptual ideas from the study's historical institutionalist and cultural political economy conceptual perspectives (Peck & Theodore, 2012). The process tracing specified the actors involved directly and indirectly in the Forum and Steering Group. It also identified processes and events, together with their sequencing and inter-connections, which affected the evolving “path” of the two institutions. Further, attention was directed to relevant material and social processes and also to ideational and discursive processes. Thus, consideration was given to discursive “story lines”, to the reasons that actors gave for their actions and behaviour, and to how narrative constructions could have material effects (Vennesson, 2008). A critical discourse analysis approach and associated techniques were used for the collection and analysis of these “storylines” (Fairclough, 2013).

The process tracing methodology then sought to assess the sequencing of the evolving historical geography of endogenous and exogenous processes (at varying locations and spatial scales) affecting the Forum and Steering Group, including of processes originating at a geographical distance, as well as the inter-relationships between them. This geographically broadly drawn or “distended” approach sought explanation “in the interplay between trans-local relational connections and mutations, and [the] ‘local’ socio-institutional context across networks and multiple sites” (Pike, MacKinnon, Cumbers, Dawley, & McMaster, 2016, p. 130). Distinctions between internal and external processes have heuristic value, but they are somewhat arbitrary as they are intimately interconnected.

The researchers actively sought to confirm and disconfirm ideas and to remain open to new interpretations. The continuing dialogue between the collected information and the study's conceptual ideas on evolving institutional paths followed Miles and Huberman's (1994, p. 10) guidelines on qualitative data reduction, as a process of “selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and/or transforming” information in order to develop conceptual interpretations.

	Critical juncture and formative phase, 1995–2002	Early implementation and layering phase, 2002–2007	Phase of growing uncertainty, 2008–2011
External institutional processes	More participatory governance trend	Public sector cost-cutting leads to estate manager having additional work	Global financial crisis and national election encourage further budget cuts
	Increasing adoption of Local Agenda 21		Second asset management review
	Park Authority endorses Local Agenda 21	Asset management review considers selling the estate	Discussion with third sector on taking over estate
Internal institutional processes	New estate manager	Less regular meetings	Internal consideration of options for the estate and its management
	Advisor interested in consensus-building		Consideration of neighbouring estate's path
	More intensive participatory approach	More information sharing and less consensus-building	
External institutional policies	Park Authority priority for environmental considerations	Asset management review considers selling the estate	Second asset management review considers estate's transfer to third sector
Internal institutional policies	Integration of “limits” and “free access” thinking	Implementation of established policies	Implementation of established policies

Fig. 1. Temporal phases, categories and sequences for the two connected tourism institutions.

As noted by Collier (2011), when analysing and reporting on the findings of process tracing work, it can be productive to start with a timeline that lists the sequence of events, and Fig. 1 provides this, along with an outline summary of process categories and findings for the Forum and Steering Group. Fig. 1 identifies a “periodization” of three temporal phases for the “path” found to have been taken by these institutions, and these phases are used when reporting the findings here. The first phase was a “critical juncture” and formative phase from 1995 to 2002, a phase when latterly the Forum and Steering Group were established and a management plan was devised. A second phase between 2002 and 2007 involved the management plan’s early implementation and a process of institutional “layering”. During the third phase between 2008 and 2011 there was growing uncertainty about the Forum and Steering Group’s future. Fig. 1 also distinguishes between processes that tended to be more internal or more external to the two institutions, while recognising that these were only tendencies as they were often reciprocally interrelated. There is a further analytical distinction in Fig. 1 between institutional processes and institutional policies, although again it is important to note that they were intertwined. These temporal phases and analytical categories, and the related findings, are explored more fully next.

Critical juncture and formative phase, 1995–2002

The first phase covered the five years before the Stanage Forum and the Stanage Steering Group were set up in 2000, and the subsequent two years leading to the Forum’s management plan being finalised in 2002. Based on historical institutionalist ideas, this phase can be seen as a “critical juncture” in the Stanage Estate’s governance because it was a period of unexpected and substantial change, or path creation, from established institutional arrangements and practices (Capoccia & Kelemen, 2007; Collier & Collier, 1991). It was “formative” because it was followed from 2002 by distinct historical legacies of path dependence (Schreyögg & Sydow, 2011). The substantially new departure was that diverse parties, rather than just the Park Authority which owned the estate, were allowed to engage in formulating and applying the Estate’s policies, and also that the policies were to be determined through consensus-building techniques. Policy making was transferred from the Park Authority to the Forum and Steering Group, although the Park Authority still needed to approve the recommended policies. The Estate manager argued that the traditional approach to developing a management plan would have been for the Park Authority to write to stakeholders individually and deal with each issue in turn, rather than to ask them to contribute in a more inclusive and continuing manner. The novelty of Stanage’s more intensive participatory approach helps to explain why in this phase the Park Authority officers and members were somewhat divided in their views about the Forum and Steering Group’s desirability, with some nervous that the plan would contain ideas they could not endorse (Bramwell & Cox, 2009; Richardson, 2005).

There were two catalysts directly behind the major institutional change of the setting up of the Stanage Forum and Steering Group. The first was the Park Authority’s appointment in 1996 of a new manager for Stanage Estate, who was asked to develop a new management plan. This new manager represented change because he sought substantial engagement in decision-making by interested parties so as to diffuse previous conflicts around the Estate’s management of recreation, tourism and environmental protection. The second catalyst was the involvement of an advisor working with the Estate manager who was a recreational user of the area as well as a university academic with research interests in inclusive forms of consensus-building in environmental management. This advisor encouraged the new Estate manager to use consensus-building environmental management ideas.

The new Estate manager had some advantages in introducing a more participatory, consensus-building approach to the Stanage Forum and Steering Group. He had not previously worked at Stanage, and thus he was not perceived as necessarily holding entrenched views, although the Park Authority was regarded by some as displaying “corporate arrogance” (PDNPA, 2005, p. 8; PDNPA, 2007a). Some interviewees also commented that the new estate manager was open to new ways of working. One Steering Group member observed that “he was fresh and not overly influenced by the negative side of the conflict and by civil service work”. He was also enthusiastic to reduce conflict through consensus-building approaches, and he had good social skills which enabled him to persuade stakeholders to cooperate in developing the estate’s management plan. His social skills and enthusiasm became recognised, and the stakeholders began to trust him and respect his efforts to involve them in decision making. One Steering Group member commented that “he is extremely hardworking” and he can “listen to what people are saying, and draw out from their ramblings what they are really saying”. Others noted how “he was always looking for some sort of compromise and listening very carefully to people. He wasn’t saying ‘I am the boss and this is how it is going to happen’”, and also that “he was so good, so tactful, and he’s drawn the best out of people”.

Stanage’s unexpected new institutional arrangements reflected the two path-creating catalysts outlined here, with these being partly chance occurrences and dependent on influential individuals. They also resulted from reciprocal, co-evolving and co-constituting relations between path creation and path dependence (Garud & Karnøe, 2012; Gill & Williams, 2017; Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé, 2014). The path-creating step of setting up the Forum and Steering Group in 2000, for example, was in reciprocal relationship with an established, path dependent trend in the 1990s at the UK geographical scale toward more participatory governance (Bramwell, 2011).

One strand within that governance trend was the increasing adoption in the UK of ideas around Local Agenda 21, which advocated involving diverse stakeholders in policy making directed at securing sustainable development (Barrutia & Echebarria, 2015). This path dependent trend at international and national geographical scales was also becoming evident for the Park Authority. Local Agenda 21 (LA21) ideas were included, for example, in the Park’s Management Plan for 2000–2005 (PDNPA, 2000, Appendix A-3), which explained how the

“LA21 is the process by which the people in many countries are now helping to define a vision for the 21st Century, promoting sustainable development. The process seeks to involve as many people as possible, looking at problems and opportunities and drawing up an action plan.”

The Stanage Estate manager also argued that the Forum and Steering Group were influenced by Local Agenda 21 ideas about “getting people involved locally in their environment”. This important political and ideational/discursive context was partly identified through the study’s cultural political economy perspective (Sum & Jessop, 2015).

Fig. 1 distinguishes between the Stanage Estate’s institutional arrangements and its policies, with discussion so far focusing on the first analytical strand of institutional arrangements 1995 to 2002. During this period, the Estate’s policies – the second analytical strand – were also slightly modified after policy making was transferred from the regional-scale Park Authority to the more local-scale Forum and Steering Group. Connelly et al. (2004) suggest there was a minor modification in the integration between policy priorities, with policy for access for tourists’ recreational activities using public transport gaining slight traction in its integration with policy for environmental limits. The policy priorities for the Estate’s management were affected by ideational/discursive debates based on differing “story lines” (Hajer, 1995). As discussed earlier, story lines can provide actors with a common understanding of an issue, and story lines can also be accepted by differing coalitions of actors.

In early Forum and Steering Group meetings there was much discussion around two story lines (Connelly et al., 2004). The first concerned “environmental limits”, based on the idea that the Estate had reached or even exceeded its “capacity” in terms of cars used by tourists and recreationists; and the second story line concerned the idea of “free access” and the notion of people’s right to unrestricted and uncharged access to the estate, largely for recreational activities. The former story line was especially important for the National Park representatives, while the latter story line was espoused in particular by climbing community representatives (Connelly et al., 2006). With the Forum and Steering Group’s aim being to reach a policy consensus, a new “bridging” story line was agreed based on the idea of integrating car parking limits, in order to reduce environmental pressure, with improved public transport to the area, in order to facilitate recreational access but with relatively less environmental pressure (Richardson et al., 2004). According to Connelly et al. (2004, p. 8), in meetings there was a “continued dominance of the free access” story line. The strength of “free access” thinking in the policies reflected the much greater representation of recreational groups on the Steering Group, as opposed to conservation and environmental protection groups. The importance of story lines here indicates the significance of the ideational/discursive as well as the material/social for an understanding of evolving institutional policies, as suggested in the study’s cultural political economy perspective (Jessop, 2010; Ribera-Fumaz, 2009).

Based on the study’s combination of historical institutionalist and cultural political economy perspectives, the Forum and Steering Group’s policies are interpreted here as reflecting reciprocal and co-constituting relationships between path creation and path dependence (Garud et al., 2010; Hay & Wincott, 1998). Path creation occurred in the precise policy integration between access for tourists’ recreational activities and for environmental protection, but there were also continuing, path dependent pressures encouraging retention of an environmental protection focus. One path dependent pressure was that the Park Authority continued to be legally required to prioritise environmental and conservation considerations when they conflicted with other priorities (PDNPA, 2005, p. 6). Here it should also be noted that the Park Authority continued to employ the Estate manager, have representatives at Forum and Steering Group meetings, pay the Forum and Steering Group’s administrative costs, fund many Estate management activities, and to decide whether to endorse the Forum and Steering Group’s management plan. These intimate ties between the Park Authority and the Forum and Steering Group illustrate how it can be unhelpful to place binary boundaries between internal/endogenous and external/exogenous influences in assessments of evolving institutional processes (Blyth et al., 2016).

Early implementation and layering phase, 2002–2007

The path creation and path dependence dialectic (Capoccia, 2016) for the Forum and Steering Group continued in the period 2002 to 2007, but the balance between them had shifted from path creation toward path dependence. It became more path dependent as the broad institutional arrangements and policy priorities had already been established, and the Forum and Steering Group now concentrated on early implementation tasks from the 2002 management plan. At the same time, however, there were also some incremental path creating modifications (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Van der Heijden, 2011) which altered the Forum and Steering Group’s operation.

The incremental path creating changes between 2002 and 2007 were associated with the focus of the Forum and Steering Group meetings altering from their previous regular interactions around conflict reduction and consensus-building to a new focus on less regular interactions based on information sharing. One reason for these changes was that the 2002 management plan had deliberately focused on issues where agreements could be reached, so that during the plan’s subsequent implementation there was less apparent need to discuss contentious issues or build a consensus, and instead the meetings concentrated on sharing monitoring information about progress with implementation tasks. This was relatively path dependent, based on internal organisational trends established in the earlier more path-creating phase. One Steering Group member noted how, “once the management plan was written, the Forums haven’t been so important...I feel the Forum hasn’t been a discussion group as much as being informed about what is happening”. A National Park employee commented that fewer people attended Forum meetings in this period, suggesting that this was to “the credit of the Forum” which had reduced conflicts around the area’s management. Yet the agreements reached for the management plan could also be used subsequently to stifle dissent. Thus, a conservationist steering group member commented about this period that “the feeling was that the initial thing was the main part, when they hammered out the agreements”, and when people in meetings tried to broach a contentious issue that had been discussed earlier, they could be told that there was no need to debate it further as it had already been “dealt with in the past”.

There was also an external political-economic influence (Harvey, 1996; Mackinnon, Cumbers, Pike, Birch, & McMaster, 2009) which meant the Forum and Steering Group meetings became less regular. This was the well-established, path dependent trend at the national scale for the UK government to seek neo-liberal reforms to reduce public sector costs (Bramwell, 2011), and in that context

in 2004 the Park Authority undertook a structural review of its activities. The review resulted in the Stanage Estate manager being given additional management responsibilities elsewhere in the Park Authority (PDNPA, 2004), and because he organised the Forum and Steering Group meetings this further encouraged their reduced frequency. A Steering Group member observed how the meetings had “sort of dwindled” from meeting regularly every three or four months to once a year. The estate manager explained that “in more recent years we met and decided that actually, well, we don’t need a full Forum meeting”, and there were fewer meetings “partly because I’ve been so busy since I set it up, because I’ve got a different job”. The frequency of meetings was thus partly affected by neo-liberalism’s increased sway in the UK’s political economy at this time. Neo-liberalism concerns broad ideological beliefs about society, and its consequences for Stanage illustrate how the ideational/discursive realm is an important consideration in the evolution of institutions. It also indicates the ideological/discursive realm’s reciprocal interconnections with the material/social realm of political and economic change, as suggested in a cultural political economy approach (Ribera-Fumaz, 2009; Sum & Jessop, 2015).

The incremental path-creating shifts in the Forum and Steering Group’s operation from 2002 to 2007, which have been outlined, can be interpreted through the concepts of “replacement”, “layering” and “conversion”. These represent different modes of gradual institutional change, as suggested in historical institutionalist research (Rast, 2012; Thelen, 2004). “Replacement” involves the removal of existing organisational rules and the introduction of new alternative ones; “layering” concerns the introduction of new rules for an organisation alongside, or on top of, existing ones (Boas, 2007); and “conversion” entails the changed use of existing institutional rules so that they serve new purposes (Thelen, 2004). These three concepts are relevant to the Forum and Steering Group’s modified activities between 2002 and 2006. There was “layering”, for example, as the same institutional structures and agreed policies were broadly retained, but new rules were added alongside those, such as through the meetings being held less frequently, and through them becoming less concerned with confronting contentious issues and more concerned with sharing information.

During this period the Forum and Steering Group also experienced the start of another mode of gradual institutional change within the dialectic of path dependence and path creation, this being what Schneiberg (2007) calls “redeployment”. This occurs when established institutional paths contain elements of “paths not taken”, which can be incomplete or abandoned experiments and developments. As discussed in the literature review, at a future date these “paths not taken” can represent resources of knowledge, experience and competences to support new developments (Crouch & Farrell, 2004).

The stimulus for a “path not taken” arose once again from neo-liberal pressures evident at the national scale on UK public agencies to withdraw from activities and to reduce their expenditure (Bramwell, 2011). These political-economic pressures led the Park Authority to undertake an Asset Management Review in 2006, and the review considered breaking up and selling the Stanage Estate (PDNPA, 2007b). The Forum and Steering Group and their members responded by evaluating whether it might be possible to operate as a charitable organisation or a trust, which could protect the estate and possibly buy it from the Park Authority. Advice and information were sought and considered about this potential new path for the Forum and Steering Group. During this time period, however, it appeared to be successfully argued to the Park Authority that the Estate should not be broken up and sold. The Estate manager noted that the “threat subsided” after they had “argued that the estate should be kept together. They could do something different with the hall and farmhouse [two features on the Estate], but the rest of the Estate would stay together and the Stanage Forum would continue running”. The knowledge gained from this “path not taken”, however, became useful again subsequently, as will be discussed in the next Section ‘Phase of growing uncertainty, 2008–2011’. The political-economic pressures behind this “path not taken” again indicate how a cultural political economy perspective can help to reveal potential sources of institutional change (Harvey, 1996; Sum & Jessop, 2015).

Phase of growing uncertainty, 2008–2011

The reciprocal interplay between path creation and path dependence (Pastras & Bramwell, 2013; Williams, 2013) altered again in a third phase from 2008 to 2011 (the end of the research period). The Forum and Steering Group’s governance arrangements and policies had been relatively path creating up to 2002, while between 2002 and 2007 they had been more path dependent but with some incremental path creating modifications. In this third period, however, there were intensifying exogenous pressures at varying spatial scales creating growing uncertainty about the Forum and Steering Group’s future path.

The global financial crisis of 2007–2008, a major change in the external political economy, halted the UK’s national economic growth and increased demands for public sector efficiencies. The subsequent May 2010 UK election brought in a Coalition Government committed to public sector budget cuts and privatisation (HM Treasury, 2010). That year the Park Authority’s budget was cut by 28.5% over the period 2010 to 2015 (PDNPA, 2010). This resulted in another review of the Park Authority’s assets, which reconsidered whether the Stanage Estate should be leased or sold to other organisations. The Estate manager asserted that “the latest review...has been brought on by finances and nearly 30% cuts to our budget”. By 2011 there were discussions with third sector organisations, including the National Trust and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, about taking over the estate’s management. The possibility of third sector management of Stanage created much uncertainty about the Forum and Steering Group’s future, as noted by a Park Authority employee:

“Up until now we’ve been in a position where we can say ‘well, we’ve agreed on this, and what sort of consensus can we have?’ Now there are issues coming up where we’re having to say ‘this is how we will deal with it, but actually in six months’ time the situation may be very different’, and we’re certainly losing control”.

The study’s cultural political economy perspective encourages in-depth consideration of the effects of such wider political economy issues when evaluating the development paths taken by institutions.

While budget cuts influenced the Park Authority’s changing attitude to the estate, it may also have been affected by shifts in ideas,

attitudes and values around environmental protection. These ideational shifts at varying spatial scales again indicate the potential influence of the realm of ideas, perceptions and the discursive on institutional evolutionary paths (Hay & Wincott, 1998). The Estate manager suggested that the Park Authority's changing attitude to Stanage at this time in part reflected perceptions that there were decreasing threats to environmental protection at such places, for such reasons as the funding available for farmers to engage in conservation and a greater willingness among third sector organisations to take on the management of threatened areas. He asserted that

“Philosophically we're seeing that there are fewer threats to places like Stanage these days...and there seems to be other organisations with similar objectives willing to take them on. That's the crucial part of it, as long as they are willing and have the capacity to take them, then why not?”

When responding to the renewed threat of the estate being leased or sold, the Forum and Steering Group drew on their earlier experience in 2006 of a “path not taken”. From that prior experience they knew more about the likely issues involved, and advantages and disadvantages of the differing proposals. Based on historical institutionalist ideas, this could be interpreted as a mode of gradual institutional change through the “redeployment” of knowledge and information resources or institutional repertoires from an earlier failed path, with these building blocks then being re-combined with the new circumstances and resources (Crouch & Farrell, 2004; Schneiberg, 2007; Stark & Bruszt, 2001). There were quite fundamental potential consequences for the Forum and Steering Group if the estate were leased or sold.

When the Forum and Steering Group members considered Stanage's potential future path at this time they also engaged in what Schneiberg (2007) terms “cross-path effects”. As discussed earlier, the process of learning, borrowing and adapting from paths taken by other similar but separate institutions has been described as “cross path effects” (Crouch & Farrell, 2004). Here the Forum and Steering Group considered the route recently taken by the neighbouring upland Eastern Moors estate, which was transferred from the Park Authority to the National Trust and Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. With several stakeholders involved with both estates, they consequently learnt about the leasing process involved and how terms and conditions had been agreed. According to the Estate manager, many of the Stanage stakeholders had been reassured by the Eastern Moors experience, as they had “seen what they feel is a good outcome, on the whole”. This influence from the neighbouring Eastern Moors was partly the result of a chance coincidence of events, but it was also influenced by broad structural trends.

Conclusion

Without a critical understanding of tourism processes and their historical continuities and changes, we might misinterpret those processes and offer inappropriate policy recommendations. Consequently, there is real value of research on tourism institutions and their activities which is based on careful and critical temporal analysis and which draws on conceptual approaches. The study has responded to the need for more research on tourism institutions which draws on the specific research tradition of historical institutionalism. It also extended past research on temporal trends in tourism institutions through its in-depth use of a combined historical institutionalist and cultural political economy approach. It examined this research perspective, and then applied it to two institutions involved in tourism and environmental management in a protected area.

Insights were gained from the application of the study's historical institutionalist and cultural political economy perspective to longitudinal trends associated with the two institutions. It was shown there is interpretive value in focusing on the timing and sequencing of events and the interconnections between processes over time. The value was also indicated of employing such historical institutionalist concepts as critical junctures, path dependence, layering, redeployment of paths not taken, and cross-path effects. This also applied to the use of a cultural political economy approach, such as through consideration of reciprocal structure-agency interactions and of both material and cultural/ideational processes, together with their interconnections. The application of both perspectives also indicated the merit of their emphasis on limits to the determinism of path dependence as well as on the importance of recognising historical contingency. Here such aspects of history as chance, the role of individuals, and the influence of people's perceptions and interpretive frames can be critical influences.

The combined use of historical institutionalist and cultural political economy perspectives suggested that path creation and path dependence for the two institutions were not binary categories, and instead they were reciprocally intertwined and co-constituting. It also helped to reveal the significance of both the material/social and also the ideational/discursive for temporal continuities and changes.

Further insights came from the application of a process tracing methodology to capture the timing of when things happened, the order or sequencing through which different processes unfolded, and the interconnections between processes, with these being key in establishing the validity of particular causal claims. Process tracing was assisted by the use of heuristic analytical devices, such as creating a time line, establishing an outline periodisation, and distinguishing between more internal and more external processes and between institutional processes and institutional policies. The associated analytical categories are somewhat arbitrary, however, due to the interconnected character of societal and historical processes, and thus they should be used flexibly.

Care must be taken before generalising from this study of just two institutions. It is interesting that the Forum and Partnership were originally intended to make policies fairly independently from the main sponsoring agency, the Park Authority, but eventually the policy context affecting this sponsoring agency came to dominate discussions about the future of both institutions. This may suggest a wider importance of considering potential external steering of tourism-related organisations by more powerful institutions, but of course this is just one case study. Yet the analytical approaches, concepts and methodology used here can facilitate comparison between studies to see whether such evolving processes over time occur in similar ways in other contexts, so that wider but still embedded generalisations are then possible.

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Vicky Mellon is studying for a PhD and is Senior Lecturer at Sheffield Hallam University, UK (v.mellon@shu.ac.uk). She has research interests in sustainable tourism, rural tourism, tourism in protected areas, partnerships in protected areas, and tourism policy and planning.

Bill Bramwell is Emeritus Professor at Sheffield Hallam University, UK (w.m.bramwell@shu.ac.uk) and Founding Editor of the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. He has research interests in tourism policy, planning, governance and development, and in cultural political economy.

5) Conclusion

5.1) Introduction to the conclusion and key findings

This conclusion chapter aims to emphasise and draw out both the key findings from the three papers and the broader contributions to research from the overall doctoral inquiry. Firstly, this chapter provides a meta-summary of the findings from each paper in turn. Table 14, highlights key discoveries and suggests where there is potential for further research. Next, the chapter moves to address the broader research questions proposed in the introduction chapter of this thesis. Further discussion on the key findings is provided before the chapter moves on to highlight the broader contributions to research and identifies why these are important. Finally, this chapter acknowledges the limitations of the doctoral inquiry and reflects on my continuing research agenda.

5.2) Meta summary of findings

The meta summary table (Table 14) attempts to link together the findings from the three papers and the research objectives identified in the introduction chapter in a concise fashion. Additionally, it provides a brief context to the development of each paper and identifies the potential for further research questions.

<i>Paper Context and Research Objective fulfilled</i>	<i>Key findings and arguments from the three papers</i>	<i>Further Research Questions</i>
<p>Paper 1 - Stage and Path dependence approaches to the evolution of a national park tourism partnership</p> <p>Here, path dependency and path creation theory were applied retrospectively. The stage approach was applied prospectively.</p> <p>A,B</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The trajectory of the Stanage Forum Steering group (SFSG) is evaluated through the stage approach, path dependence and path creation approaches. Both conceptual frameworks provide insight into the temporal nature of partnership working. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interplay between path dependence and path creation and the role of individuals in these processes. Exploration of co-evolution between path dependence and path creation and between other areas such as policies and contextual trends. Historical analysis and tourism partnerships and institutional arrangements. Why tourism partnerships fail and how faltering partnerships can be prolonged.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SFSG did appear to follow the broad direction of phases and stages that is proposed by Gray (1985), including internal processes, and the overlapping nature of the phases. This approach is useful for clarifying the thinking for researchers and practitioners involved with tourism partnerships. It did reveal limitations such as lack of focus on exogenous factors which may influence the partnerships trajectory. 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SFSG demonstrated both path dependent and path creating qualities. An intensive stakeholder approach to participation was partly following a path dependent trend towards greater inclusive governance within the UK. Applying the path dependence lens to the policies developed 	

	<p>by the SFSG revealed that policies were potentially predisposed to the historical legacy of the PDNPA and their influence within the partnership.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Path creating qualities were also evident, as key actors were taking a lead role in advocating an approach that was new to the culture of the PDNPA. The inclusive nature of the partnership meant that potentially concessions were made around access. • The path dependence lens uncovered the influence of historical legacies, UK governance trends and the role of individuals. • The paper suggests it may be more appropriate to view path dependence and path creation as co-evolving rather than distinct entities. 	
PAPER 2 - Protected area policies and sustainable tourism: influences relationships and co-evolution.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exploration of sustainable tourism ideas throughout the time period 1980 to 2012 in the Lake District National Park (LDNP). An assessment of the influences on the authority's sustainable tourism policies and the co-evolution of sustainable tourism with other policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The paper may have implications and relevance for the wider debate about policy directions in Category V protected areas.

<p>The paper explores tourism in a protected area setting via historical perspectives. Initially a desk-based paper looking at historic sustainable tourism policies that evolved into including insight from individuals in the Lake District proved. Trends, influences and relationships were explored and built on Paper 1. Co-evolution theory was employed and accorded greater attention here.</p> <p>A and C</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addresses findings from a Category V protected area (in this case the LDNPA) and explores policy trends within the case study. This provides weight to existing policy discourses and details on the nuances of their evolution. • Key findings include the indication that there are numerous global, national local and site specific influences affecting the policy trends associated with sustainable tourism in protected areas. • Analysing the policy trends and their influences provided an improved opportunity to further explore the notion of co-evolution. The co-evolutionary perspective to its analysis of policy trends and influences, through the notions of sub-systems (Norgaard 1984) provides a greater understanding of the trajectory of the policies and how they operate and merge together to create, reformulate and shift policy outcomes. • Co-evolution revealed that sustainable tourism policies were often an indirect outcome of other policy developments. • Sustainable tourism policies co-evolved with community well-being, actor participation and sustainable development. While it is perhaps unsurprising to find that sustainable tourism policies are interconnected with sustainable development, these findings shed light on the integrated and complex nature of sustainable tourism. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Co-evolution analysis in the paper demonstrates potential for consideration of emerging and developing policies related to sustainable tourism and in other tourism-related policy fields.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over the study period, there were both continuations and changes to policies related to tourism. The incorporation of sustainable tourism was a gradual process, which incurred re-labelling of established policies. Sustainable tourism became more acceptable over the period. This was, in part, due to the 	

	<p>little growth that appeared over the time and the importance of the tourism industry. Sustainable tourism was perceived as a prospect for maintaining socio-economic activity whilst considering negative impacts of tourism.</p>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some longstanding policies which pre-dated the concept of sustainable tourism were relabelled as 'sustainable tourism', distorting the extent to which new policies had been introduced. 	
<p>PAPER 3 – Institutional Evolution in Tourism Destinations</p> <p>This paper builds on the first paper. It produces findings from further fieldwork within the PDNPA and expands the study to 2 institutional arrangements. The paper provides greater detail on the trajectory of the case studies through the use of different methods from Historical Institutionalism (HI) and Cultural Political Economy (CPE) theory. This is an interdisciplinary paper which allowed for further exploration and historical approaches and</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The paper analyses the trajectory and the evolution of the two connected tourism institutions within the PDNPA, through a HI and CPE approach which that goes beyond previous tourism evolutionary studies. • This includes employing the methods of 'process tracing' to identify key features and to retrace and clarify decisions made by the institutions' paths. • Three broad periods are identified in which the trajectories shifted. The first phase (critical juncture and formative phase), exposes catalysts for the development of the institutions and how these were 'path creating' such as the intervention of two key actors. Path dependent pressures to retain environmental policies were also present and influencing institutions' evolution. • Co-constituting and reciprocal relationships were found between path-dependence and path-creating approaches through the CPE perspective. • The second phase (early implementation and layering phase), 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insights into the value of adopting historical perspectives to understand the evolution of tourism institutions. • There is scope to apply these concepts elsewhere in the tourism domain, such as governance and destination contexts. • This broadens the current field of evolutionary research in tourism from a geographical perspective to an historical institutionalism perspective. • Comparative studies may be useful to produce further generative studies.

social theory being applied simultaneously.	reveals how the institutions' path creating and path dependent interaction shifted throughout this time.	
A,B,D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This phase appears relatively stagnant and quiet. However, findings uncovered incremental, gradual path creating changes. Institutions throughout this period had traits relating to 'replacement', 'layering' and 'conversion', which represent modes of gradual change. The CPE perspective was also helpful for exploring the wider political-economic influences such as neo-liberalism and their impact on the institutions. 	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This paper draws out findings through an interpretive approach to considering timelines, sequencing of events, and interconnections over time. Wider political economic factors appear to influence institutions at different levels and emphasises the significance of the role of actors, their perceptions. Combining HI and CPE approaches gives weight to the notion that path dependence and path creation are better understood as reciprocal and intertwined rather than separate categories. 	

Table 14: Meta-Summary of findings from papers.

The doctoral study set out to gain a deeper understanding of the evolution of sustainable tourism policies and tourism-related institutions through the application of historical and evolutionary approaches. Throughout the three papers, the key research aims have been addressed. The meta-summary table highlights the key findings revealed in the published papers. This section will review how these papers have answered the research questions set in the introduction chapter and it will then move on to highlight the broader conclusions and contributions of the doctoral study.

5.2.1) Research aim 1: To gain a greater understanding into how and why protected areas have encouraged sustainable tourism policies.

In addressing the first research question, the doctoral inquiry produced some interesting findings.

The first key finding, which perhaps is implicit rather than explicit, is that policies relating to sustainable tourism are prevalent in English National Parks. This was uncovered in the research and partly through the methodological process which set out to analyse park policy documents. However, more interesting is how and why parks encouraged sustainable tourism policies. Broadly, my findings were in harmony with broader trends relating to social economic development and widening participation in category V protected areas suggested in the literature. Paper 2 addresses in greater detail how sustainable tourism has increased through greater encouragement and emphasis on these broader trends.

The findings revealed that the desire for greater social economic well-being amongst the local community helped to increase awareness of the economic potential of sustainable tourism. The socio-economic well-being of the community became ever more important throughout the study period and its integration with environmental conservation objectives supported wider goals of sustainable development and, in turn, encouraged the sustainable tourism agenda. The move towards a more integrative approach by protected area management is also reflected in the literature. The incorporation of objectives relating to human interaction and conservation has seemingly been on the rise (Mose and Weixlbaumer, 2007); in part due to concerns

over the lack of effectiveness of an isolation approach (Michaelidou *et al*, 2002). There has also been recognition that greater human interaction may result in better socio-economic development and increased support for conservation of the environment (Michaelidou, Decker and Lassoie, 2002).

The trend towards the endorsement of sustainable development in category V parks was suggested in the literature and revealed in the findings of the second paper. Sustainable development has received universal support in a wide range of industries and settings; it is therefore understandable that it has received encouragement in the context of protected areas (Barker and Stockdale, 2008). In the case study of the Lake District National Park, sustainable development had also become a key driver and a guiding principle for the authority and there was evidence of a growing acceptance of sustainable development and its interconnectedness with sustainable tourism.

The increasing role of widening participation in decision-making and policy-making was also a trend that was identified in the literature and was observed in practice in the Lake District National Park. The literature review offers numerous reasons why actor participation is significant and increasing in the protected area context. These include: the turbulent environments in which protected area managers operate in require such cooperation (McCool 2009); lack of public funding means support and resources are vital from elsewhere (Bushell and McCool 2007); and that tourism demand has opened economic opportunities for communities who therefore have a larger role to play and perhaps a greater democratic right to contribute to its management process (Plummer and Fennell, 2009; Becken and Job, 2014).

In this study, the empirical research undertaken revealed a high level of inclusivity and involvement of community actors in the decision-making process, particularly actors from the tourism business community. The park authority encouraged this participation which, in turn, appeared to have provided greater emphasis and encouragement to the policies and actions relating to the socio-economic well-being of the local community and towards sustainable tourism and sustainable development.

The broad integrative nature of the policy drivers influenced the coverage of sustainable tourism in the Park Authority. However, this did not mean that the Park Authority was the lead actor in implementing policies related to sustainable tourism. Often specific tourism-related activities were taken on board by the LDNPA partners 'Cumbria Tourism' who had considerable experience in marketing and destination branding. LDNPA, in turn, took on objectives that were more related to their traditional conservation roles such as encouraging low carbon activities within the park boundaries. A key finding here is that while the emphasis on sustainable tourism may have increased over the study period, on closer inspection it could be argued that actually, some actions related to sustainable tourism are in fact reformulations and relabelling of previous or existing actions rather than new, drastic or novel ideas. Furthermore, it provides understanding of how policies and actions are organised and implemented in this protected area setting. Finally, this re-emphasises the significance of relationships in sustainable tourism and their interconnected nature with other policy areas and actions.

The implication of these findings is that the study has provided some explanatory insight into how and why sustainable tourism has become prominent within the protected area domain. While some findings may be understandable and logical, it is still important to reveal how and why sustainable tourism has gained traction in recent years and how trends towards sustainable tourism within protected area policy have become integrated with other key policy domains and with the desires of the local communities.

5.2.2) Research aim 2: To explore how and why sustainable tourism policies may have changed and evolved over time whilst operating in continually complex changing contexts.

Questioning how and why sustainable tourism has evolved and changed over time has proved to be a fruitful question for this research study. The above section highlights how the integrative nature of broad policy trends played a role in the encouragement of sustainable tourism. This research aim led to the development of two more specific research objectives: first, exploration of the broader contexts affecting sustainable tourism policies and partnerships; and second, examination of how sustainable tourism policies have evolved and what key influences impact on their evolution.

As noted earlier in this thesis, sustainable tourism has been a well-covered topic in academia. However, a tendency for it to be studied in isolation encouraged the researcher to pursue a line of enquiry that goes beyond its immediate setting. This meant adopting an approach which draws out the wider circumstantial influences impacting the trajectory of tourism in a protected area setting which is subject to swift social and ecological changes (Hanna *et al*, 2008). Similarly, when analysing tourism partnerships, academic research has suggested that partnerships may be a sound approach to overcoming the turbulent environments in which tourism organisations tend to operate (Selin, 1999). However, there has been greater focus on understanding the linear stages through which tourism partnerships may move and their internal processes rather than the important wider external factors (Araujo and Bramwell, 2002).

The findings and analysis go some way to revealing what these wider key influences are and how they impact on the trajectories of sustainable tourism policies and institutional tourism partnerships. All three papers provide analysis of these influences. Paper 2 and Paper 3 offer a diagrammatic illustration of the findings (see Figure 11 and Figure 12). Figure 11 illustrates the influences driving greater participation, socio-economic well-being and sustainable tourism and broadly categorises them into 'global', 'national' or 'local'. Throughout the study, global factors such as sustainable development and broader trends towards reduced government interventions have influenced the case studies, as have national issues such the impact of the foot and mouth outbreak and continuing rural restructuring. Local level influences such as existing conflict and pressure to improve relationships were also prevalent and played a role in affecting sustainable tourism policy and the development of Stanage Forum Steering Group and the Stanage Forum. Figure 12 similarly offers insight into the influences. However, it delves deeper into the detail of the 'path' by offering a timescale during which the influences were impacting on the trajectory of the institutional tourism partnership. Additionally, it considers how the partnership internally reacted to the changing processes and policies within the surrounding environment. We see that policies relating to Local Agenda 21 and sustainable development are a driving force for greater participation, particularly in the formative phases for the institution. National influences of changes to government

and subsequent budget cuts also affected the development of the institution as did the internal- and local influences or new staff, desire for consensus and the paths of closely related other institutions.

Figure 13 highlights the multi-scaled nature of the study and how the broad influences act as drivers for sustainable tourism and for increased participation and how this subsequently impacts the trajectory of the institutional tourism partnership path.

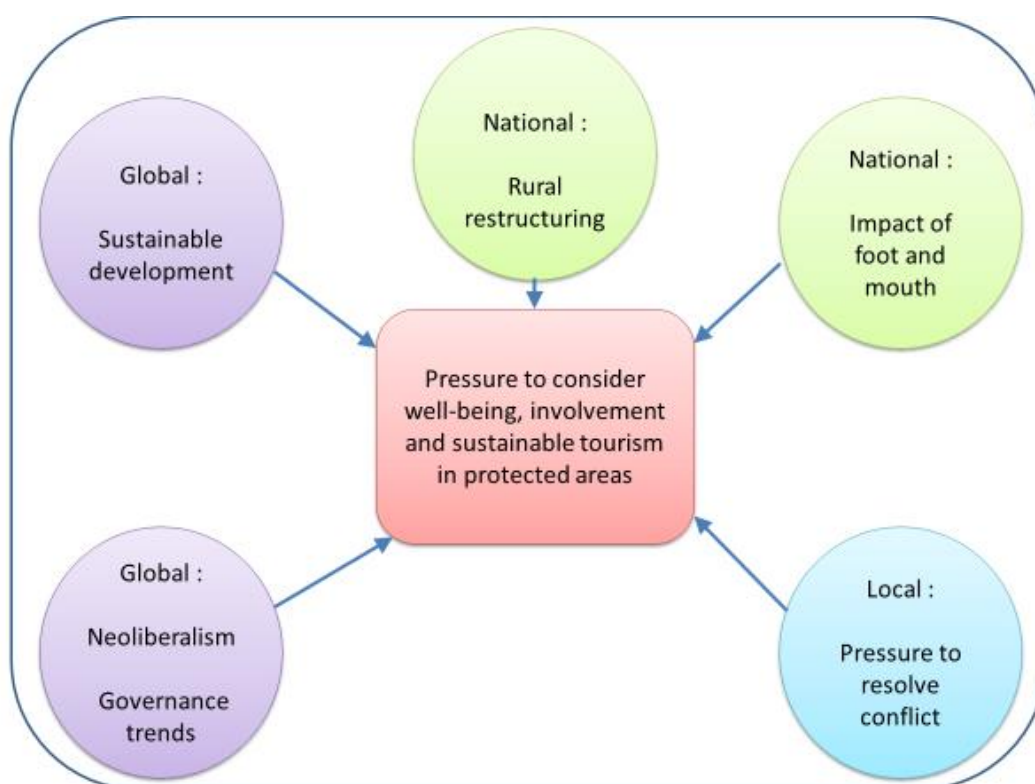


Figure 11. Influences on the Park Authority's policies related to sustainable tourism.

	Critical juncture and formative phase 1995-2002	Early implementation and layering phase 2002-2007	Phase of growing uncertainty 2008-2011
External institutional processes	More participatory governance trend Increasing adoption of Local Agenda 21 Park Authority endorses Local Agenda 21	Public sector cost-cutting leads to estate manager having additional work Asset management review considers selling the estate	Global financial crisis and national election encourage further budget cuts Second asset management review Discussion with third sector on taking over estate
Internal institutional processes	New estate manager Advisor interested in consensus-building More intensive participatory approach	Less regular meetings More information sharing and less consensus-building	Internal consideration of options for the estate and its management Consideration of neighbouring estate's path
External institutional policies	Park Authority priority for environmental considerations	Asset management review considers selling the estate	Second asset management review considers estate's transfer to third sector
Internal institutional policies	Integration of "limits" and "free access" thinking	Implementation of established policies	Implementation of established policies

Figure 12. Institutional evolution of tourism partnership

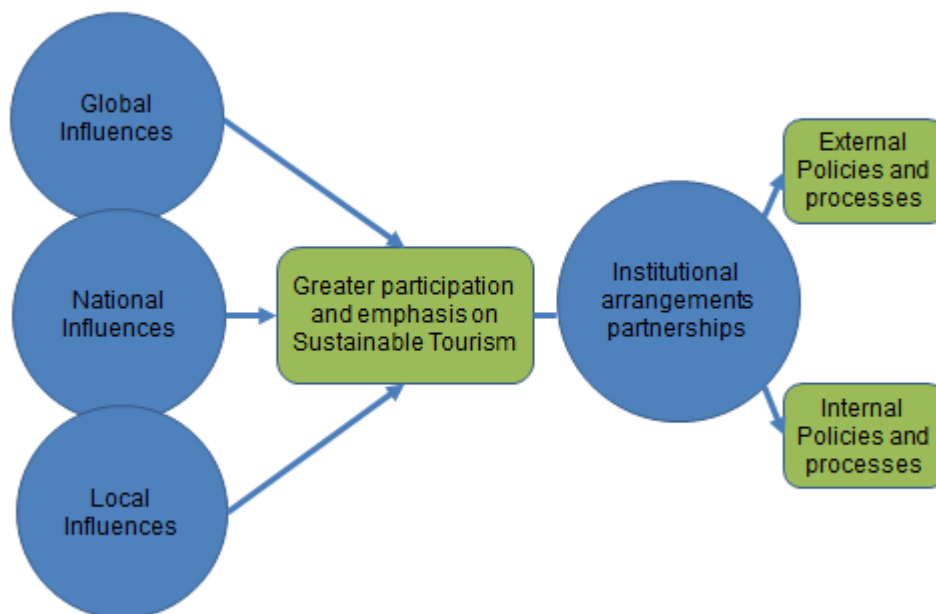


Figure 13. Multi-scaled findings related to context and evolution of sustainable tourism and institutional tourism partnership

Findings from Paper 2 identify and explore how these influences impact sustainable tourism through creating pressure for greater collaboration and desire for improved socio-economic well-being. Presenting these findings in diagrammatic form can be a useful tool for visualising the links between influences and actions relating to greater

emphasis on sustainable tourism and wide-ranging co-operative actions. However, the broader study also underlines how these connections are complex and nuanced rather than definitive and linear.

What I found was that these influences and policies towards trends for sustainable development, greater socio-economic well-being and community engagement have, in turn, resulted in greater attention towards, and advocacy for, sustainable tourism. Sustainable tourism became the acceptable means for tourism development. However, as the findings above suggest, this coverage and attention towards sustainable tourism, was often more subtle than direct policy changes.

The subtleties of the inclusion of sustainable tourism policies within in the Lake District National Park Authority are reflected through the lens of co-evolution. Noorgard (1984) proposes the concept of co-evolution as a vital lens for contexts of governance and sustainable development as it allows for consideration of the inter-dependent nature that exists in such environments. Here, the findings identify several scenarios where co-evolution occurs in the context related to protected areas and sustainable tourism. Perhaps unsurprisingly, sustainable development policies co-evolved with other broader policies that were directly related to sustainable tourism.

However, more interestingly is the nature of the co-evolution between sustainable development and sustainable tourism. The analysis revealed that there was a gradual increase in understanding of sustainable tourism over a 15-year period. Earlier on in the study, sustainable tourism was perceived as something that was separate and distinct from other forms of tourism. However, over time, in a gradual manner, actors and policymakers began to understand the holistic nature of sustainable development and its connections to sustainable tourism. Here, policy shifts could be viewed as a 'necessity' for the improvement and maintenance of the ecological and social systems apparent in a protected area (Noorgard, 1984).

Furthermore, it was clear that sustainable tourism co-evolved with other policy aims and trends towards socio-economic development in the protected areas. Historical conflicts also set the scene for the co-evolution of greater engagement policies which led to an increased involvement by the local business community, who advocated policies linked to socio-economic well-being through developing the tourism industry

in sustainable manner. Similarly, governance changes at a national level influenced the development and changes relating to sustainable tourism. Initial increases to funding from external agencies encouraged collaborative actions towards the development of sustainable tourism. This led to co-evolution with wider governance arrangements. A later decrease in external funding highlighted a need to continue efforts to work with local communities and in partnership, partly in the name of resource efficiency. This further reflects how sustainable tourism co-evolved within wider governance approaches and provides synergies with Kemp, Loorbach s' (2007) notion that sub-systems (policies) and scales that are autonomous and partially independent can co-evolve and shape the character of each other.

These findings are relevant because they address the identified gaps in the sustainable tourism literature and provide increased holistic understanding of the influences which can shape and change the direction and governance of tourism institutions and their policies.

The implications of these findings include their transferability to other protected areas; in particular category V protected areas, where there is human interaction and dependence on the natural area for livelihoods through a tourism industry. The research offers insights for other category V protected areas that may also be affected by range of similar influences. While each site will inevitably have local influences affecting their policies and decisions around sustainable tourism, global and national trends may be echoed in other similar scenarios. Furthermore, the findings have derived from a historical perspective and greater consideration of the wider environment. The doctoral inquiry illustrates how approaches such as co-evolution have unearthed new findings and insights and how such concepts may have greater value in application of other tourism scenarios.

5.2.3) Research aim 3 - To examine the evolution of tourism partnerships and tourism institutions and policies over time through historical approaches to assess the internal and external contextual factors

The previous section addressed the contextual factors and their impacts on sustainable tourism policy in protected areas, the extent of the analysis ranging from consideration of the global, national and local influences which have shaped policies and actions. This section shifts the spotlight to the trajectories of tourism-related institutions located

within the broader organisation of the Peak District National Park Authority. The findings for this research aim were sought through the application of approaches which explore the paths of the tourism-related institutions. Through the concepts of the stage approaches to understanding partnerships and through notions of path dependence and path creation, the findings are able to convey greater details about the internal and external factors which direct and shape tourism institutional paths.

The first set of findings from Paper 1 focuses on the application of the 'Partnership Stage Model' by Gray (1985) that facilitates analysis of the internal operations and organisational elements of partnership working. The model seeks to explore the partnership stages from its 'establishment' to its 'end' and proposes that explanations on why partnerships fail may be revealed through the observing of each developmental phase and their different conditions (Gray 1985). Furthermore, it provides a visualization tool which may be useful for organising and arranging new collaborations. For the doctoral inquiry, the application of this approach proved to be a useful starting point for observing the Stanage Forum Steering Group (SFSG). This allowed me to consider the internal processes of the SFSG in a sequential fashion and I began to identify issues relating to its applicability and simplistic nature.

The application of this concept to my research revealed findings that were broadly in line with Gray's (1985) model. The Stanage Forum Steering Group did move through the proposed stages of 'problem setting', 'direction setting' and 'structuring and implementation' and did so in a sequential manner. For example, the partnership engaged in activities such as 'consensus building' to achieve a common vision for Stanage and the North Lees Estate. It also addressed the existing conflict between the varying park users and the Peak District National Park Authority. The partnership worked hard to develop and implement the management plan once several conflicts had been resolved and the plan was implemented and the role of the partnership began to shift.

However, while these findings are not at odds with Gray's conceptual model of partnerships, the generalized nature of the framework did not account for the external environment in which the Peak District National Park Authority was operating within and, henceforth, the impact of this on the partnership. Gray (1985 p.932) does acknowledge its limitations and admits that the approach can be 'overly simplistic'. It is

these acknowledgements and limitations that led me to seek out other theoretical ideas that might account for the impact of the wider political and socio-economic contexts and the 'conditions' that tourism institutions operate within.

A key driver for the overarching research strategy was therefore to seek out and understand in greater detail the external factors which were driving actions and decisions made by tourism institutions such as the Stanage Forum Steering Group.

In addition to the findings from the application of Gray's (1985) stage model, the doctoral inquiry also revealed findings about the factors and actions which contributed to the direction and trajectory of the tourism institutional partnership and analysed whether the collaboration was path dependent and/or path creative. Economists and sociologists both proclaim that institutions are '*carriers of history*' (David, 1994 p.205) and that their previous contexts are relevant for their future development. The literature review identified traits of path dependence which include '*self-reinforcing sequences*' (Mahoney, 2000; Pierson, 2004) where early steps in the trajectory may encourage movement in the same direction and it becomes difficult to reverse or change direction of the path (Mahoney, 2000). This also relates to the notion of 'lock in' (Martin 2010). Identifying whether an institution may be path dependent requires tracing back outcomes to historical actions and events, and exploring their contingent nature (Mahoney, 2000; David, 2001).

Analysis of the trajectory of the Stanage Forum Steering Group revealed that there were path dependent traits aligned to the partnership. The paths towards a more participative process were analysed, followed by the paths for policy priorities to illustrate the path dependent nature of the tourism partnership institution.

Exploring why the Stanage Forum Steering Group (SFSG) and the Peak District National Park Authority (PDNPA) had adopted a considerably more intensive collaborative approach to working with key stakeholders was a significant route of interest for research. One key argument here is the partnership was at least to some extent, path dependent. There are two factors here which indicate a trajectory of path dependence with a 'self-reinforcing' sequence for the partnership. Firstly, like the above findings, the relationship between the National Park Authority, and subsequently the SFSG, perhaps reflected the wider political trends found in many countries towards greater

involvement of a more diverse range of organisations and actors. In this instance, the SFSG engaged a wide range of user groups in the development of the management plan for the North Lees Estate. This underlines a trend in the encouragement of governance approaches and a decline in traditional government-led activities. This broad trend in governance has been a relatively determining one that substantially influenced the establishment of the Stanage Forum Steering Group. The collaborative efforts for the partnership were then 'self-reinforced' by the more local effort of the Park Authority to increase its commitment to improving relationships with local communities through a more inclusive approach to engagement rather than 'consultation by process' (PDNPA, 2005 p.8; 2007 p.16). In turn, the partnership and the Park Authority agreed to adopt a more participatory consensus-building approach to working collaboratively.

While the partnerships participative approach here clearly demonstrates a 'self-reinforcing' path dependent trajectory there were also elements of the partnership trajectory that cannot be explained alone through a path dependence lens. There were involvements and interactions between actors that were circumstantial and surprising, which also undoubtedly impacted the collaborative and inclusive nature of the partnership, suggesting that trajectory was also 'path creative'. The path creative feature of the trajectory stems from the involvement and agency of two key actors; the first was an academic from a local university interested in consensus building approaches who proposed the notion of adopting an innovative and inclusive approach to working with local stakeholders to the Estate Manager; the second was the involvement of the Estate Manager, whose role in the initiation and the nature of the collaboration of the SFSG was key. He was responsible for both convincing the PDNPA to agree to adopting a more inclusive approach of working with stakeholders, as well as taking a lead role in facilitating the group and in organising and implementing its agreed management plan. His personal skills were also cited by many interviewees as a considerable benefit to ensuring the partnership was effective and collaborative. These findings very much reflect Garud, Karnoe and Kumaraswamy's (2010 p.770) notion of path creation that can be a deliberate attempt by actors to '*shape an unfolding process in real-time*' rather than '*reflecting on institutions self-reinforcing nature.*'

The findings also raised questions about whether the policy priorities established by the partnership were path dependent or path creative. Given the power configurations of the actors and of the structures surrounding the partnerships, it would be realistic to assume that the policies were path dependent. For example, the SFSG was required to operate within the statutory framework of the PDNPA and, adhere to the duty to give priority to environmental protection over recreational policies (DEFRA 2002). Also, the management plan and actions developing by the SFSG had to be agreed and endorsed by the PDNPA. The PDNPA also owns the land at Stanage and, as well as the land use powers, it held the resources for staffing, managing and implementing the actions of the SFSG (including employing the Estate Manager). Therefore, the policies that relate to environmental protection could be recognised to be path dependent and a continuation of the existing policies and actions. This is perhaps reflected by one interviewee from the PDNPA who thought that the Park Authority may have come up with similar plan if left to its usual consultative process and without the efforts of the SFSG. However, despite the strong contextual, structural and administrative features of the SFSG which push towards a self-reinforcing, path dependent trajectory, the findings also suggest that some policies were in fact path-creating due to the involvement of stakeholders and users via the SFSG. This is illustrated by the policy compromise developed by the SFSG around access at Stanage. This compromise included some restrictions on parking, for example – a long established policy priority for environmental protection but also an increase in access through public transport. This provided an indication that the recreation and tourism fraction of the SFSG were listened to or at least the Park Authority made some concessions towards the desire for greater access.

So far, the findings here from both the stage approach and path dependence approach are aligned with key elements of the literature review. The partnership did in fact move through the stages suggested by Gray (1985), and through the path dependence and path creative lens, the partnership trajectory appeared to be self-reinforcing and determined by wider external factors with elements of path creation from interactions with human agency significantly impacting the policies of the partnership. While the notions of path dependence and path creation have proved to be valuable tools,

uncovering findings related to the internal and external processes of the SFSG and its key influences, their presentation of duality and separate paths is not necessarily the only way to view them. The literature review points towards how these notions can be connected combined and co-evolve (Garud and Karnoe, 2001; Martin and Sunley, 2006; Pastras and Bramwell, 2013). For example, the trajectory of the participative process here seems to illustrate how the path dependent trends and the path creative trends in the SFSG are co-evolving and connecting with each other, through agency and relationships between actors within the process. Similarly, the policy compromises identified above also highlight how the path dependent and path creative nature of the partnership are strongly connected to each other, rather than separate and distinct entities.

In addressing research aim 3, the study has adopted evolutionary perspectives to evaluate the trajectory of a tourism partnership in a temporal fashion. Subsequently, key findings imply the significance of both internal and external processes, wider holistic trends and actor engagement in tourism institutions. This assists in answering why tourism institutions, such as partnerships, continue to develop in the same direction or why they may deviate unexpectedly from a certain path.

The next section progresses to consider how an overarching historical institutional approach to the research can provide further analysis through the application of a range concepts and tools to tourism institutions, and therefore contributing to the broader academic study of the tourism research.

5.2.4) Research aim 4 - To explore and apply Historical Institutionalism and Social Theories to tourism evolutionary studies

The findings in relation to research aim 3 reveal how the trajectory of a tourism partnership institution can be interpreted in numerous ways through evaluating and analysing its development path. Path dependence, path creation and co-evolution are significant features of the evolution of a tourism institution in protected areas. The findings also reveal that these characteristics are not separate and binary but are intertwined and interlinked with each other.

The final research objective aims to investigate tourism-related institutions in more depth. It uses and applies more sophisticated tools from 'Historical Institutionalism'.

This reflects the research direction of Paper 3, which allowed me to further explore historical institutionalism and its role in the analysis of a tourism institution.

As noted in the literature review chapter, the concept of path dependence straddles different academic fields; both political sciences and evolutionary economic geography have made use of this perspective. After the first round of data collection and analysis, my understanding of the evolutionary studies had broadened and I had begun to pay greater attention other tools and concepts which sought to make sense and understand the directions of institutions. These concepts were derived from the broader political science of Historical Institutionalism, which considers both the temporal character of institutions and the impacts of social and political behaviour on institutions paths (Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, 2016). Furthermore, whilst there has been some significant tourism research which adopts historical perspectives, Butler's destination life cycle is one key example; however there has been relatively little research underpinned by Historical Institutionalism and its related tools and concepts as presented in Paper 3. Therefore, shifting the study focus to include emphasis on Historical institutionalism meant that the inquiry could extend the interpretations of the institutional trajectory beyond path dependent and path creative characteristics.

Another key feature of research aim 4 is to incorporate social theory into the study along with Historical Institutionalism, in part to address its related critiques that Historical Institutionalism does not offer a social theory. Political scientists have voiced concerns that Historical Institutionalism may only provide a causal explanation which does not link outcomes to underlying social processes or actors (Peters, Pierre and King, 2005). Furthermore, Historical Institutionalism has raised questions over its ability to '*transcend the unhelpful dualism of institution and intention context and conduct, structure and agency*' (Hay and Wincott, 1985 p.955). To address these concerns about how to account for actors and their reactions to the wider context and to the impact of institutional structures, the study sought to incorporate and underpin the research with the social theory, Cultural Political Economy.

As explored in the literature review, Cultural Political Economy (CPE) has connections to historical approaches to understanding institutions as it insists that '*both history and institutions matter in economic and political dynamics*' (Jessop 2004, p.160). In terms of culture, CPE also appreciates the complexity of meanings and practices and seeks to

'combine evolutionary and institutional political economy with the cultural turn' (Jessop, 2004 p.160). It can also avoid approaches which are overly structuralist and that may rely too heavily on the macro influences and ignore *'the influence of the micro processes of human agency'* (Su *et al*, p.33 2018).

Given the findings from the previous two papers which provided insights into the impact of both wider macro influences and the complexities between these and the actors operating at a local, micro scale, then it was appropriate that this doctoral inquiry should seek to apply CPE alongside the concept of Historical Institutionalism. In doing so, Paper 3 was able to offer greater understanding of the trajectories of tourism institutions, in particular how cultural processes and contexts contributed to incremental changes to the institutional path.

Firstly, Paper 3 tackles research aim 4 by applying several key concepts drawn from the field of Historical Institutionalism to two related institutional arrangements of the Stanage Forum (SF) a policy forum which sought to include the general public and Stanage Forum Steering Group (SFSG) a tourism-related partnership, both operating within the Peak District National Park Authority. Here, both the SFSG and SF are referred to as institutions as they are both subject to formal and informal rules which may constitute structure social interactions and that form particular conventions (Fioretos, Falleti & Sheingate, Hodgson, 2006). Institutions are therefore significant in the study of tourism, as in other academic subject areas because they form a role in constraining and enabling individual choice and strategy, as well as collective interests (Barely and Tolbert, 1997; Hodgson, 2006).

Paper 3 provides some interesting insights around Historical Institutionalism and its application to tourism organisations. One key element of the paper is the literature review which provides a comprehensive overview of some of the tools and concepts on offer from the Historical Institutionalism toolbox for analysing the temporal nature of tourism institutions. I think this opens the door to other tourism academics and invites them to consider these concepts for future use. The paper broadens and enhances the findings from the doctoral inquiry from path dependency, path creation and the notion of co-evolution to greater consideration of related ideas and provides a serious, in-depth attempt at exploration of the temporal nature of tourism institutional

arrangements. It firstly does this through identifying three relevant and broadly categorised analytic phases in which complexities are uncovered.

The three analytical phases are organised into three broad time periods: the 'critical juncture and formative phase'; the 'early implementation and layering phase' and the 'phase of growing uncertainty'. These are illustrated in Figure 12. Each broad time period revealed a range of findings relating to the processes of the institutional arrangements and both internal and external policies.

The 'critical juncture and formative phase', was proposed as it draws attention to the path creating nature of the trajectory which led to the formation of the SFSG and the SF. As in Paper 1, attention is given to the catalysts which facilitated its formation, however in Paper 3, the findings illustrated how these catalysts and the formation of the SFSG relate to the historical institutionalism notion of critical junctures. They were aligned with critical junctures because these actions led to change that produced historical legacies without previous occurrences, making them path creative, through potentially launching a path dependent process (Collier and Collier, 1991). As this institutional arrangement was selected over other options, such as the PDNPA continuing with previous processes of consultation, this marks the formation of the SFSG as 'critical' (Mahoney, 2000).

In addition to the interpretation of critical junctures within the case study of the SFSG and SF, findings from Paper 3 have allowed a deeper insight into the character of the temporal changes that the institution incurred. One in-depth finding here is that change can occur in an incremental fashion over a period of time. The second broad time period was the 'early implementation and layering phase'. This phase also continued to draw out the dialectical relationship between path dependence and path creation by reflecting on the shift between them throughout this period. For example, in this phase the trajectory organisational arrangements and policy priorities had already been established, and the Stanage Forum and Steering Group now concentrated on early implementation tasks from the 2002 Management Plan, suggesting that the trajectory was now balanced towards path dependence. The SFSG had moved towards implementing the now agreed management plan and the partnership activities had shifted from actions that were focusing on consensus building to information sharing as many conflicts were resolved in the earlier

trajectory. At this point, the application of Historical Institutionalism proved to be a useful tool for interpreting these shifts and micro-level changes. The findings suggest that these gradual institutional changes are attributed and understood through the concepts of 'layering' (Thelen, 2004; Boas, 2007), 'conversion' and 'replacement' (Martin, 2010; Rast, 2012; Thelen, 2004). Small incremental changes may occur either through adding a 'new layer' of rules onto existing structures and arrangements or 'replaced' which involves the removal of existing organisational rules and the introduction of new alternative ones. Incremental changes may subsequently result in the 'conversion' of institutional arrangements with a changed use of existing institutional rules so that they serve new purposes (Thelen, 2004).

Another key finding from applying a Historical Institutionalism approach is that it proved to be valuable for exploration of paths that were not taken and illustrated how institutional arrangements learn from these experiences and potentially re-use and recombine this knowledge later, construed as 'redployment' (Crouch and Farrell, 2004; Schneiberg, 2007; Stark & Bruszt, 2001). Additionally, we also learnt how institutions can borrow information, experience and knowledge from other paths, known as 'cross path effects' (Crouch and Farrell, 2004). These traits were revealed in the final time period described as 'phase of growing uncertainty', where macro scale external factors of reduced government funding and subsequent budget cuts to the PDNPA invoked uncertainty about the future of SFSG. In turn, the actors looked towards other similar institutions and the paths they had taken and re-visited previous discussions about significant changes to the institutional arrangements.

Combining CPE with Historical Institutionalism theory also played an important role in the analysis of these findings and is significant for several reasons. CPE allows attention to be given to the importance of the economic and political relationships behind institutions, and suggests that institutions are co-constituted by the cultural and ideational/semiotic processes of subjective meaning-making through ideas, experiences and perceptions (Jessop, 2009; Ribera-Fumaz, 2009).

In this study, the consideration of Cultural Political Economy revealed several characteristics and features surrounding the evolution and trajectory of the institutions. Firstly, it highlighted how the broader political and discursive and ideational context of encouraging wider engagement of local people in the decision-

making process about their environments through the influence of Local Agenda 21. Through the CPE approach, the findings revealed how ideological and discursive context combined with the material and social realms were influential. Here, neoliberal trends were uncovered through the Historical Institutional lens; these trends included a reduction in public spending, which affected the PDNPA, in turn, employee roles were shifted and increased. The institutions' meetings and activities were subsequently reduced; this illustrates the connections between the ideological contexts and the material/social realms and how they can affect institutional paths.

CPE assisted in uncovering how the path creation traits of the institutional trajectory were interconnected, reciprocal and co-constituting with the path dependents traits. The path creation features of the trajectory were revealed through policies which advocated access for tourist recreation activities and environmental protection. These policy decisions were influenced by the activities of the SF and SFSG which were internal to the institution on a micro level, whereas the legality of prioritising conservation over other policies was a path dependent trend that was external and on a macro level. However, they were not distinct and separate from each other, they were intimately related. For example, the Paper underlines how the PDNPA continued to administer the SF and SFSG and have an employee assist in facilitating both of the institutions. This finding adds to the notion that CPE has applicability to varying micro and macro levels and that co-evolution may be mediated in different ways (Sum and Jessop, 2015).

The influences of political and economic pressures were also identified through the application of CPE. Neoliberal trends and shifts towards greater cuts on public spending caused the actors within the institutions to consider how they continue but in different forms during the 'Early Implementation' phase. While this became a path that was not taken, later in the institutions' trajectory, further public spending cuts re-emphasised the political and economic pressures on the institutions and illustrated the uncertainty facing the SF and SFSG. In turn, the CPE approach allowed for further understanding on the reasons and rationale for institutional change (Harvey, 1996; Sum and Jessop, 2015).

Finally, the CPE approach also uncovered shifts in perceptions and ideas from actors were potentially influencing the institutional paths. During the 'Uncertainty' phase one

interviewee reflected on the shifting ideas around environmental protection towards external bodies taking on roles previously adopted by the PDNPA. It was therefore beneficial to interpret the trajectory through this perspective as it allowed for consideration of the importance of ideas, images and meanings as actors have 'ideas' and notions about institutions and how they should operate or act (Carstensen and Schmidt, 2016; Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Therefore, the findings construe and identify elements of the trajectory which are material/social and ideational/discursive.

The findings from Paper 3 specifically address the fourth research question of the PhD study. Paper 3 has applied an approach which has only been partially used in tourism academia, in a serious and in-depth fashion. The findings imply and demonstrate a concerted effort to address the limitations of the Historical Institutionalism approach by combining and incorporating a Cultural Political Economy approach, which has enhanced and enriched the analysis of the study findings.

Next, the study will consider the limitations of the findings and how I intend to continue contributing to a related research agenda in the future.

5.3) Limitations of the doctoral inquiry

Three specific limitations of the doctoral inquiry may be identified and these are now considered, in turn.

5.3.1) Generalisation of findings and applicability to other studies

One limitation of the doctoral inquiry relates to the extent to which my findings may be considered as applicable to other protected area or tourism-related settings. Earlier in the thesis, it was noted that generalisability in a pure positivist sense was not the purpose of the research but it is useful to consider the extent to which empirical work based on two particular National Parks can inform the endeavours of future researchers. My doctoral inquiry has presented findings from two case studies located within the UK and these are characterised as category V protected area spaces. Therefore, the findings may not be transferable to other scenarios, particularly to those protected areas where the broader contexts are vastly different to here. For example, drivers for sustainable development and greater partnership working, and subsequently institutional paths could be immensely dissimilar in developing nation's,

indeed this was highlighted by a reviewer during the review process for Paper 2. Equally, the findings may be limited for other protected areas where goals for conservation of ecological systems and biodiversity require zero or minimal human interaction as in the case of IUCN Category 1a and 1b protected areas (IUCN, 2018). Therefore, the transferability of my findings is perhaps restricted to protected spaces in Western countries and to parks where local communities have strong links with the tourism industry and are interacting with the natural landscapes as is the case with IUCN Category V protected landscapes. However, as suggested in my methodology chapter, I present the two case studies as '*exemplifying*' (Bryman, 2016 p.62) - seeking to exemplify and epitomise other such similar situations. Furthermore, the findings from the doctoral inquiry do provide '*inferential generalisations*' (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003 p.276). This accepts that while case studies are often unique and different to context, there is still scope for transferability. Additionally, I would emphasise that while the transferability of the findings from my doctoral inquiry may be limited to certain scenarios, due to only studying two case studies, the in-depth exploration of these has allowed for '*theoretical generalisations*' (Lewis and Ritchie 2003 p.276). Here, the findings have provided insight into the social processes and structures, and have attempted to account for nuances and variations within these cases and have therefore provided some refined theoretical understandings of tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policy trajectories. I would also note that the implications of my research are related to the historical and social approaches applied in this study and that these approaches are shown here to have value in tourism academia, and may be valuable for understanding other tourism scenarios.

5.3.2) Periodization - When to start and when to finish

Another limitation of my study which may potentially impact my findings has been the periodization of the selected case studies. It was difficult to ascertain at which point the focus of the study should start and finish, particularly considering the importance of historical events and contexts within the two case studies. In practical terms, the study period for the Lake District National Park was, in part, determined by the availability of policy documents, with the earliest documents being from the mid-1980s. The time period for study of the Peak District National Park case study was slightly easier to demarcate as the institutions (Stanage Forum Steering Group and the

Stanage Forum) were established in 2000 and at the time of the data collection staff and steering group members who assisted initiating the forum were still involved in the institution and its partnership arrangements. In terms of 'end' dates, this again was decided for practical reasons, for the study of the Lake District National Park Authority. As much data was gathered as possible up until the point where the research could be analysed, a paper was then written and submitted to the journal for review. In terms of the Peak District institutions, data was collected and there was 4-year interval. This allowed for developments to occur and future paths to emerge. An end point was agreed during the 'uncertainty' phase as at the time there was genuine indecision about the future of the SFSG and whether it would continue. This made further research on the trajectories difficult, as their work and progress was halted, with little information on time frames and when decisions about their future would be made. The selected periods chosen for the study may have impacted on the findings of the study as historical events, processes and influences, and their subsequent effects on the paths, outside the bounded time frame may have gone undetected.

5.3.3) Determining the concepts and notions with the study

The doctoral inquiry has attempted to use numerous concepts and theories from a range of historical perspectives. Concepts and tools such as co-evolution and path dependence and path creation, have uncovered intricate relationships, nuances and gradual changes within both sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions. However, one key issue and potential limitation has been the application of these concepts and the process of determining and labelling each action or inaction within their trajectories. Kemp, Loorbach & Rotmans (2007) echo this issue in their research which advocates the use of co-evolution by suggesting that unpicking when and where co-evolution happens and occurs is a difficult aim. Deciphering whether sub-systems are acting independently, shaping each other or determining the character requires careful consideration and not every interaction is co-evolution.

This raises questions about the interpretative nature of the study - my interpretation of whether an action is path dependent or path creative may differ from someone else's interpretation. In the methodology chapter, I attempt to explain how my research uses 'pre-understanding' of existing theories, but also how the research is interpretive in its approach, as my findings are based on my interpretations of others'

accounts of what has occurred during the time periods (Gummersson 2003). However, whilst determining the nature of the path activities can be problematic, acknowledging my 'pre-understanding', shaped by knowledge of related theories, perhaps helps to counter issues related to inductive approaches. Furthermore, my findings and conclusions have been externally validated or 'corroborated' through continual discussions with supervisors and to some extent through the review and revision processes relating to the publication of the three papers.

The next section will consider my future research strategy and how I intend to extend my research focus.

5.4) Future and continuing research agenda

Since publishing the three papers and completing the thesis, I have begun to consider the scope for future research based on these papers. While I believe the papers provide significant and original contributions to knowledge, I outlined in the meta-summary table (presented earlier in this chapter) the potential to develop the findings from the papers and continue to address questions and the limitations of my research.

Firstly, I think there is potential to apply the concepts used in the study to a range of tourism scenarios and settings. In particular, I think the co-evolutionary lens which was applied to understand sustainable tourism policy development could be a useful tool to apply in other contexts where sustainable tourism is emergent. There is scope to enhance my findings, and investigate protected areas in different contexts and generate stronger analysis about the tourism industry within a protected area domain, particularly considering its links to sustainable development as suggested by Noorgard (1984). As noted in my reflections chapter I am continuing to develop this area, in part through a single-authored conference paper which will be published and presented at Wessex Institute - Sustainable Tourism Conference in Vienna, May 2018.

I also feel that research aim 4 of the doctoral inquiry can be extended through further application of the concepts and tools related to Historical Institutionalism and social theory within tourism destinations. As noted in the literature, Evolutionary Economic Geography has contributed greatly to evolutionary studies of tourism. Here, I feel that the combination of Historical Institutionalism and Cultural Political Economy could be expanded to consider the evolution of tourism destinations and provide new insights

into the destination trajectories. Recently, Su et al, (2018) considered the application of CPE within the context of Urban Heritage Tourism; here, they argue there are further opportunities for CPE to be applied in the field of tourism as it incorporates both cultural and economic perspectives and continues to challenge dualisms of agency and structure. My future research will continue to explore the interconnectedness of historical contexts and actions, policies, agency and relationships through the concepts discussed and used in this doctoral inquiry and strive to generate insights on these intertwining facets.

While this study has placed emphasis on historical actions and influences on sustainable tourism and its related institutions, future research on exploring more recent events may also be useful.

One such event could be the impact of Great Britain leaving the European Union in 2019. The effects of 'Brexit' are potentially wide reaching and within UK national parks, concerns have been raised about the prospect of reduced funding to farming communities. Nationally, there has been recognition that current investments from government in farming and the national parks will be under closer scrutiny (National Parks England, 2018). European Union funding streams such as the Common Agricultural Policy will be withdrawn as will the LEADER scheme that looks to support rural tourism projects and small businesses who want to diversify into tourism activities. This could potentially de-incentivise the development and diversification of tourism within national parks. However, perhaps this reduction in funding will continue to elevate sustainable tourism within national parks as they seek to develop policies and collaborative efforts that can make up for short falls in funding, support economic development and maintain environmental conservation objectives. One National Park paper from the South Downs suggests that while there is much uncertainty concerning Brexit, a weaker pound could mean greater international and domestic visitor numbers to the parks. This could further highlight the importance of developing a strong tourism industry which is both economically and environmentally sustainable (South Downs National Park Authority, 2016).

Brexit could therefore present the national parks with some challenges; reduced funding and increased visitor numbers would be problematic economically and

environmentally. However, these both open the door for sustainable tourism and partnership working to become an even greater feature of national park policy.

5.5) Broader contributions and wider implications of the PhD research study

The previous section summarised and outlined the debates and arguments from each individual published paper and attempted to highlight how each article addressed the research objectives of the PhD research study. It also outlined the limitations of the doctoral inquiry and how I intend to move forward with my research.

This next section reflects on the research in a broader manner and offers conclusions on the implications of the PhD study to the field of sustainable tourism and the wider research community. Three key broader contributions to research are outlined. Firstly, it focuses on 'contexts, influences and relationships' of tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policies. Secondly, it considers the significance of 'continuity and change' that has been revealed through the application of historical perspectives. Finally, the contribution to research through the consideration of social theory alongside these historical approaches is also illustrated.

5.5.1) Key contribution 1: Greater understanding of contexts, influences and relationships of tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policies.

Contexts, influences and relationships were revealed in the papers to have significant impacts on the trajectories of both sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions. Here, the doctoral inquiry has provided an original contribution through offering greater insight into the role of external and internal factors and their integrative and interconnected nature.

A review of the existing literature identified and discussed several trends relating to protected areas and sustainable tourism. This includes the suggestion that protected areas in Western and Northern Europe were increasingly seeking to integrate aims of socio-economic wellbeing of communities with environmental protection (Mose and Weixlbaumer, 2007; Hanna, Clark & Slocombe, 2008; Beresford and Philips, 2000) and to encourage the widening participation and active engagement of local communities (Scherl and Edwards, 2007; Francis, 2008). Such trends provide rationale for the development of sustainable tourism policies and an increased desire for partnership working within protected areas. The inquiry contributes to this focus in three ways.

Firstly, the study confirms that these trends were apparent in the case studies here, therefore the findings from this study have the potential to provide some generalisations about trends towards emphasising and integrating sustainable tourism policies in other protected areas where there are similar desires and objectives to foster greater well-being for communities whilst maintaining environmental protection.

Secondly, the inquiry broadens and extends the academic field of sustainable tourism and protected areas by providing insights into how and why these trends are generated through greater study of the broader contextual influences impacting protected areas and their decisions to include sustainable tourism policies and to develop tourism institutions, such as collaborative partnerships. The original contribution to the wider research community includes consideration of what the key influences are affecting protected areas, and how such factors may be present at local, national and global levels. These new contributions provide applicability to other case studies that have similar circumstances, such as the designated Category V parks as studied here. However, it should be appreciated that while local and national factors may vary in different case studies, the findings are relevant for those studying protected areas and tourism and who want to draw on this research to identify potential contextual influences. This study has provided potential indicators on what influences may be interacting and shaping institutions and policies and at what level they might stem from.

Furthermore, rather than suggesting these influences are separate and distinct from each other, the study directs attention to their complexity and interconnectedness. The interconnectedness of the influences is present at local, national and global levels, and the relationships between the influences were also important as they appear to co-evolve and merge with each other. This study provides a basis for using new approaches for other researchers who want to explore the complexity and role of influences on institutions and policies. It provides insights into the relevance of theoretical ideas such as co-evolution which may help unpick and explain trajectories more effectively.

As well as the scale at which influences may occur, the research has also underlined how the relationships between past historical contexts and present contexts are vital

and how issues such as historical conflict amongst stakeholders, common in a protected area context, can have an enduring impact on policies and institutions. Relationships between policies for sustainable tourism and other wider policies were identified in the research. This proved to be interesting for understanding how policies were moulded or reformulated, particularly as sustainable tourism is dependent on integrative policies and connected relationships. This consideration of relationships and influences around tourism institutions and sustainable tourism is significant for the contribution to wider research.

As addressed in the literature review and introduction chapters, there has been concern over the tendency for sustainable tourism to be studied in isolation, and a need to incorporate new mechanisms and frameworks, which focus on interactions and complexities has been argued (Collins, 1999; Butler, 1999; Moscardo, 2007). My study addresses this concern and makes new contributions towards the existing limited research on the influences that encourage and impact sustainable tourism in a protected area context. It does this by placing emphasis on sustainable tourism policies and their relationships with other broader policies, in different contexts, and with a variety of key influences. In turn, new contributions are provided relating to the development and presentation of tourism policies. The research has considered how reformulations and extensions of previous or existing policies can cloud the extent to which sustainable tourism agendas are being addressed in practice. This is important as it highlights complexities in the external and internal environments of sustainable tourism that tourism institutions operate within.

5.5.2) Key contribution 2: Greater detail about the change and continuity of tourism institutions and sustainable tourism policies through the use of historical perspectives and methodological approaches.

In addition to the significance and role of influences, the doctoral inquiry has extended and made original contributions to tourism research through its adoption of evolutionary approaches and historic perspectives as a means of understanding tourism institution trajectories and sustainable tourism policy paths.

The literature review identified evolutionary approaches that have long been present within the tourism research domain. Existing research around partnership working

within tourism presents studies that have focused on the internal processes and the linear phases that a tourism partnership may move through during its life (Gray, 1985; Selin and Chavez, 1995; Caffyn, 2000). While there are some exceptions which claim that the externalities to tourism partnerships are significant (Araujo and Bramwell, 2002), the literature review highlights that there is a gap in the research surrounding the external factors which may affect partnership trajectories. Similarly, the literature review points towards studies investigating life cycles of destinations and using historical perspectives that have received criticisms for perhaps their overly simplistic frameworks. However, as Amoore *et al* (2000) and Martin (2010) offer, there has been increasing interest in temporality and past, present and future trajectories. Studies applying techniques from the field of Evolutionary Economic Geography to tourism fields have provided some significant contributions to tourism research; these include application of co-evolution and path dependence lenses to tourism destinations and regions (Ma and Hassink, 2017; Brouder and Eriksson, 2013; Gill & Williams, 2017; Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé, 2014). However, while this is important research, there are limited studies which incorporate and apply in great detail, concepts and techniques from the political science field of Historical Institutionalism. Some papers have sought to include one or two of these techniques such as 'layering' (Williams and Gill, 2017). However, the utilisation of the notions in tourism research has been minimal and not directed to sustainable tourism policies in protected areas or tourism institutions. Here, the doctoral inquiry, through the three papers, has extended and presented original contributions to the literature on tourism partnership working, sustainable tourism policy studies and tourism institutional development through its employment of a range tools and techniques related to Historical Institutionalism and path dependency in particular.

Applying these concepts to the case studies presented in this study has assisted in understanding the evolution of sustainable tourism policy and tourism institutions greatly, particularly within the contexts of protected areas. Notably, approaches such as 'layering', 'conversion', 'co-evolution', 'redeployment', 'path dependency' and 'path creation' have offered insights into the sequencing of events and actions, internal and external institutional processes, and the temporal path which institutions follow. The research has made a concerted effort to re-contextualize evolutionary techniques that

have previously been used in tourism. As well as application to tourism institutions, there is considerable scope to provide rigorous and critical application of historical perspectives to other facets of tourism, such as destinations, attractions and other policy contexts.

Through the application of these evolutionary perspectives to understanding sustainable tourism policies and tourism institution paths, the papers have revealed a complex nuanced picture of their evolutionary trajectories and uncovered a series of changes, shifts and continuities. In particular, the research has revealed how change can be gradual and incremental which may lead to re-labelling of policies and continuation of actions rather than sudden, new policy changes. Acceptance of sustainable tourism, for example, was achieved and increased over the time period studied rather than by abrupt policy transformation at one singular point in time.

Change and continuity was also explored through a comparison of two approaches to understanding the evolution of an institutional tourism partnership. The path dependence approach explored why tourism partnerships moved in the same policy directions and uncovered reasons for this continuation. Adopting a path creation lens similarly exposed why and how partnerships and institutions move away from established trends and change policies and actions. The study of both models found that the stage approach was useful as a tool for exploring how partnerships may form and move through phases based on their internal practices. This was offered as an 'ideal type'. The path dependence model however offered new insights into the trajectory of such institutions and attempted to deal with the complexity including the unique circumstances of different contexts.

Accepting that change and continuity may be gradual, sudden, complex and intertwined with a variety influences provides improved understanding and value for researchers. This exposure of trajectories is important for the wider research community because their exploration through such approaches can lead us to questions and answers on whether such institutions and collaborations are innovative and 'path creating' and are able to affect their external environments. In turn, this can enhance understanding and foster greater appreciation of how change can occur in such contexts. As such, informed recommendations might be offered to practitioners and the research community for more effective institutions and partnerships.

5.5.3) Key contribution 3: Social theory and evolutionary approaches to tourism academia

Finally, another original contribution of the research has been the attempt to incorporate social theory into the doctoral inquiry, which reveals how human agency and cultural contexts can also be significant in shaping the trajectories of sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions in protected areas.

The literature review chapter highlighted the criticisms that Historical Institutionalism and path dependency models have received. These trepidations were two-fold: first, there are concerns over the models potentially only illustrating causality and sequencing of events and how institutions are mainly characterised by self-reinforcing behaviour (Peters, Pierre and King, 2005; Kay, 2005). Second, it has been claimed that Historical Institutionalism fails to acknowledge both agency and structure and the complex relationships between them (Hay and Wincott, 1985) and that actors are 'prisoners' of their own institutions (Steinmo, 2008). Here, the doctoral inquiry has made serious attempts to guard against such criticisms by underlining the important role of human agency through the application of CPE, Co-evolution and investigation into the path creating features of paths. In turn the study has made original contributions to tourism academia. The doctoral inquiry consistently addresses issues of dualism between structure and agency. Path dependence and path creation are both explored in the study and so is the complex interplay between them. The study appreciates and reveals how the path dependent actions of institutions are often co-evolving with path creating trends initiated by human agency. They are reciprocal and dialectically intertwined.

This extends the body of research which is focussing on evolutionary trajectories relating to tourism and is a new contribution as it provides emphasis on the dialectical relations within tourism institutions. The notion of co-evolution also unveiled the relationships between policies, contextual influences and human agency and how they are interconnected and linked to each other. This assisted in uncovering how sustainable tourism policies were continued and gradually increased within the protected area context.

The research has also produced an original contribution to knowledge by combining Cultural Political Economy and Historical Institutionalism approaches. Within tourism academia, relational approaches which attempt to account for human agency within institutional contexts have begun to be considered (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Pastras and Bramwell, 2013), and Economic Evolutionary Geographers have called for researchers to broaden their approaches to include political economy (Oosterlynck, 2012; Pike, Mackinnon, Cumbers, Dawley & McMaster, 2016). However, unlike other pockets of research, here the inquiry applies several concepts and techniques' relating to Historical Institutionalism and it commits to the use of the CPE for understanding tourism institutional trajectories more effectively, particularly those within the protected area realm. In turn, the findings reveal both the causality of tourism institutional paths and the micro interactions of humans, and importantly how they are connected. Applying the CPE approach revealed the impacts of political economy on the tourism institutions and their shaping of development paths. Furthermore, these cultural and social perspectives also revealed the shifting nature of human ideas and notions and drew attention to how material/social and ideational/discursive ideas were influencing trajectory patterns.

5.6) Concluding statement

Overall, the doctoral inquiry has generated many findings and attempted to make broader original contributions to research. I think my research has contributed to the key loci of sustainable tourism in protected areas, partnership working, and historical perspectives in tourism and social theory in tourism. Subsequently, it has provided greater insights into the path and trajectories of sustainable tourism policies and tourism institutions. Such understanding is essential, particularly if we are to encourage future tourism planners and practitioners to continue to develop tourism that is more sustainable and equitable. Destinations, institutions, firms and actors need to give thought to historical actions and their broader contexts and attempt to draw lessons from the past and identify previous experiences that could affect and impact their future paths. This PhD research inquiry provides understanding into how this can happen, and the insight that can be generated.

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