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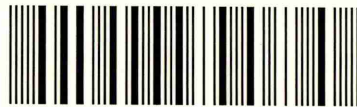
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**Approaches and Organisational Forms Adopted by Local
Tourism Development Partnerships in England**

Philip E. Long

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam
University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

With the collaboration of the English Tourism Council

May 2002



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ABSTRACT

A number of partnership arrangements involving public and private sector and community representation have been created in many countries in recent years with local and regional economic development, place marketing and regeneration remits. This research examines partnerships that are concerned specifically with the development of tourism in England. Various forms of partnership for tourism development in England and elsewhere continue to emerge and evolve in the early years of the 21st century.

This study investigates the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of such partnership arrangements. The study also examines the political, environmental and socio-economic influences that may affect local tourism development partnerships in England. It does so through an integrated conceptual framework that combines theoretical perspectives on resource, and political and institutional considerations in an evaluation of such partnerships. The roles of individual partnership members are also evaluated. This study suggests that the conceptual framework developed for this research may be adopted for the analysis of tourism development partnerships elsewhere.

This research involves the critical study of partnerships through the integration of both policy studies, and organisation studies perspectives. Theories developed to account for inter-organisational collaboration are given particular prominence in this research. Additionally, theories are also incorporated from political geography, and from institutional theory. It is shown that all of these approaches are relevant and applicable to the study of tourism development partnerships. Theories developed to account for organisational partnerships have been applied to empirical studies in a number of policy, locational and business contexts in recent years. However, there has been comparatively little work that has developed an inter-organisational collaboration theoretical framework in the study of tourism development partnerships. Therefore, this research contributes to knowledge in relation to an emerging and important subject in the field of tourism studies.

The methodology in this study is qualitative, centring upon an intensive analysis of three local tourism development partnerships, including a pilot study, and involves the use of interviews with key actors and documentary analysis. Theories of inter-organisational collaboration inform the research design and analytical framework and contribute towards the development of an integrated theory of partnerships in the context of tourism development. The approach adopted here is transferable to the examination of inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships both within and beyond the field of tourism. Therefore, the methodology developed for this research has considerable potential for substantive application elsewhere.

The study concludes with a comparative analysis and evaluation of the findings from the three case studies in this research. The implications of these findings for future research on partnerships are highlighted. The implications of this study for the development of theory and methods for researching tourism development partnerships are also suggested.

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Chapter 1 The background to partnerships in local tourism development in England

1.0 Introduction

This research emerged from a recognition that there had been few previous studies of inter-organisational partnerships in tourism development. Furthermore, theoretical perspectives from the collaboration and partnership literature that are particularly relevant to the study of these arrangements have previously only been applied in a limited way in the tourism field.

Inter-agency collaboration and partnership arrangements in tourism development worldwide have proliferated in recent years. For example, the creation and support of organisational partnerships has been high on the agenda of local authorities, tourist boards and other organisations with interests in tourism development in England, particularly since the 1980s. Over recent years, local tourism development partnerships have been promoted by central government (Employment Department et. al., 1992; Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 1999); and national tourist boards (English Tourist Board 1991; Scottish Tourist Board 1992; Northern Ireland Tourist Board 1992; Wales Tourist Board 1993), and have been established in a number of locations and in a variety of organisational forms across the United Kingdom.

However, in the tourism studies literature there is limited detailed analysis of such critical issues as the pre-conditions that give rise to inter-organisational collaborations, the form and structure of the resulting partnership, the processes of interaction in these partnerships, and local factors which may influence their outcomes. Such research on partnerships for tourism development that has taken place has often either been commissioned or conducted internally by partner organisations. This research is generally place specific, policy-driven and action-orientated, and is commonly focused on the characteristics of the area, its tourism potential and development and marketing opportunities, the design of the programme of action, and on the monitoring and evaluation arrangements (Bramwell and Broom, 1989).

This pragmatic approach to research reflects in part the need for tourism development partnerships to achieve results in what is commonly a limited time scale for such programmes.

The present research aims to address a gap in the literature on tourism development partnerships. It does so by the adaptation and application of a theoretical model drawn from the literature on inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships (Gray and Wood, 1991; Wood and Gray, 1991). Parts of the model have been applied to the study of partnerships in other contexts but not previously in the tourism field. Therefore, one purpose of this research is to test its applicability and strengths and weaknesses in relation to partnerships for tourism development. The model is applied here to three contrasting cases of such partnerships in England. Consideration is given to the implications arising from the use of this model for the development of a more comprehensive framework for the study of tourism partnerships.

1.1 Defining inter-organisational 'collaboration' and 'partnerships'

Levels and degrees of interaction between organisations, agencies and interest groups involved in tourism development range from ad hoc, informal arrangements for specific purposes to highly structured, formal and long-term relationships. It is necessary therefore to identify and define categories of interaction that may have some general applicability if research is to move beyond the descriptive analysis of cases towards studies of distinct *forms* of co-operation, collaboration and partnership. Dictionary definitions suggest that the distinction between these terms is principally one of degree, with organisational definitions also moving from the loose notion of co-operation to the tighter concept of partnership. Thus, co-operation 'involves working together to some common end' (Chambers, 1976). In organisational terms, this definition lacks the detailed pre-conditions and process characteristics described by the other terms. 'Co-ordination' may be defined more formally as, the process whereby two or more organisations create and/or use existing decision rules that have been established to deal collectively with their shared task environment.

The dictionary definition of 'collaboration', 'to work in association' (Chambers, 1976), is similar to that offered for 'co-ordination', though sometimes given an invidious usage in English as compared with the more harmonious implications of co-ordination. In recent years, however, the term 'collaboration' has been widely used and debated in the field of inter-organisational relations. In this context, Wood and Gray (1991) present a definition of collaboration which, they argue, encompasses several elements of the approaches to the subject used by a number of other authors. They suggest that 'collaboration occurs when a group of autonomous stakeholders of a problem domain engage in an interactive process using shared rules, norms and structures to act or decide on issues related to that domain' (146).

The elements of this definition and examples of issues arising from it that may be the subject of research in relation to a particular partnership include:

- the extent to which '*stakeholders*' exhibit common or contrasting definitions of the issues that are addressed by the partnership, and how these perceptions may change over time,
- whether the collaboration involves *full or partial stakeholder representation*,
- how far an individual organisation's or representative's '*autonomy*' is relinquished to the collaborative arrangement,
- whether the '*interactive process*' of their involvement with other collaborators results in changes to the actors' perceptions of the issues addressed by the partnership,
- the extent and direction of changes in the '*shared norms, rules and structures*' of the collaboration,
- whether '*actions or decisions*' arising from the collaborative arrangements are intended but not achieved, and also whether they are anticipated or unanticipated,
- the consequences of changes in the '*problem domain*' for the collaborative arrangement.

These examples of research issues arising from Wood and Gray's definition of collaboration suggest many pertinent questions that may be applied to studies of organisational partnerships involved in tourism development. However, recent tourism development partnerships in the UK exhibit some very particular or distinctive characteristics that need specific consideration. These characteristics, which are incorporated in the analysis of tourism development partnerships in this research, include:

- the involvement of actors from private sector tourism businesses and also from public sector agencies and authorities with policy, planning and strategic interests and responsibilities for tourism development,
- their operation within defined geographical boundaries that may or may not coincide with local and regional political and administrative districts,
- representation from a range of tourism businesses in terms of their scale, ownership and operational nature,
- the participation of communities within the partnership's defined geographical boundaries, with this involvement taking a variety of forms, including direct membership from interested individuals, representation from voluntary membership associations, or from elected local politicians.

'Partnership' in the tourism development context in the UK implies similar characteristics to those defining inter-organisational partnerships more generally, with the added dimensions of representation across sectors and the definition of geographical boundaries for the partnership programme. A working definition of partnerships for this research is thus derived from incorporating elements of the collaboration concept as defined by Wood and Gray (1991) along with a recognition of the particular characteristics of tourism development partnerships in the UK.

Thus the working definition for this research is that the case study tourism development partnerships are, *“collaborative efforts of autonomous stakeholders from organisations in two or more sectors and with communities which have interests in tourism development who engage in an interactive process using shared rules, norms and structures at an agreed organisational level and over a defined geographical area in order to act or decide on issues related to tourism development.”*

This definition offers conceptual and empirical validity and allows for the application of conceptual perspectives from the theoretical field of inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships.

1.2 Examples of tourism development partnerships in England

A number of partnership initiatives focussed on tourism development have emerged in England in recent years. Some of these partnerships have been established as a consequence of local and regional tourism initiatives, or as part of more general area regeneration programmes, while others have been promoted and supported as part of national scale programmes. In these latter cases, requirements for specific local organisational frameworks and categories of member representation usually form part of the criteria for their funding. Such local and regional partnerships within national programmes have included the English Tourist Board-sponsored Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs) that were designated in the 1980s. Hence, there has been no single organisational framework for partnership arrangements for tourism development in the UK. However, the types of tourism development partnerships established in England in recent years may be categorised. One approach to their classification follows Waddock's (1991) identification of three categories of partnership arrangement. These categories are distinguished by the nature of the issues that are addressed by the partnership and the extent or level of the participation and representation, such as in terms of the sectors, professional and/or political status of participants and the level of specialist expertise that is involved. It is helpful to describe these three partnership forms, together with illustrative examples from the tourism sector.

The first is a 'programmatic' form of partnership. Here the partnership is narrowly focussed on the technical or operational considerations associated with particular tourism development or management issues or problems. These partnerships commonly involve a contractual relationship between a few partners in a 'programme' that is specifically set up to address the issues or problems. The emphasis in this type of partnership tends to be on specified products or outputs that are to be achieved in a defined period of time. These partnerships are therefore usually short-term arrangements, typically with funding for a period of up to three years. Visitor and traffic management initiatives in areas or sites experiencing physical pressure from tourists, such as those formed for the Lake District and Surrey Hills, illustrate this type of partnership in the UK context. In these cases, a limited range of agencies and authorities, including local government, transport, conservation bodies, and tourism interests, have promoted approaches aimed at reducing traffic pressures. These approaches have included the promotion of public transport and of alternative driving routes, and the implementation of 'traffic calming' measures.

The second partnership form is 'federalional.' Here, the partnership comprises industry groupings and/or a regional coalition operating within a defined geographical area. Federalional partnerships typically involve local and regional politicians, government agencies, private sector tourism businesses and, in some cases, local communities. The focus here is broader than for programmatic partnerships and federalional partnership aims usually seek to address a range of the strategic economic, environmental and social issues that are associated with tourism development in their area. The partnership tends to adopt a proactive stance towards coalition building, issue identification and the definition of its scope and purpose, and in consequence it is a more complex arrangement than in programmatic partnerships. However, the partnership's programme is still limited by the range of development issues that are identified and given priority by its members or sponsoring agencies. Examples of this approach include many of the local area tourism initiatives in England, notably the former English Tourist Board-sponsored Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs).

The TDAP programmes typically sought to attract inward investment in tourism, supported tourism job creation and training programmes, encouraged the improvement of visitor information, accommodation, attractions and public transport links, and engaged in marketing and promotional activity.

The third form of partnership is 'systemic' which is concerned with the broad, system-wide political, social and economic issues associated with tourism development. Here the partnership in a geographical area is concerned more with establishing an institutional framework and political advocacy process in support of tourism rather than with a specified development programme or defined outputs. The emphasis is on benefits for the wider tourism system, or 'industry', rather than on gains for individual participants, and representation in these partnerships tends to come from senior managers and officials across the relevant sectors. The Tourism Forum that was brought together to inform the development of the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (1999) strategy for tourism in the United Kingdom illustrates this category of partnership.

It should be noted that in practice individual tourism development partnerships might engage in activities in more than one of the categories in this classification. It is also possible that they will evolve from one form to another over time.

This research examines partnerships for tourism development in England, and during the last twenty years a significant number of these have been largely federational in form. These partnership initiatives have tended to be based on relatively formal organisational arrangements and to share several defining characteristics. The English Tourist Board sponsored Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs) and Local Area Tourism Initiatives (LATIs) epitomise this approach. Bramwell and Broom (1989) identify certain key characteristics of these programmes:

- they were intended to act as an advocate and catalyst for area-based tourism development,

- they were expected to serve as a focus for co-operation and collaboration among a wide range of public and private sector organisations located in, or having an interest in tourism development within an area,
- they were action-orientated, with the programme placing emphasis on the design and implementation of a range of development initiatives rather than on prolonged and detailed research,
- they aimed to be comprehensive and integrated in approach, encompassing a breadth of inter-related aspects affecting tourism in the programme area,
- they were corporate in approach, usually adopting a distinct organisational brand and image, such as in their publicity and promotional materials, and they normally had separate office accommodation and staffing. However, objectives and work programmes were negotiated and agreed with the member organisations. This was particularly important where the programme area extended across administrative boundaries and where tourism-related activities were a responsibility of several different government agencies and local authorities,
- they were short-term programmes with a limited duration, usually three years, with the aim of establishing sufficient momentum so that progress could be sustained in the longer term based on local resources. Some TDAPs did indeed secure continued support for their programmes beyond the initial English Tourist Board funding period, and this included the programmes that are the case studies in this present research.

The partners in these TDAPs or LATIs usually included (Bramwell and Broom, 1989):

- the local authority, or several local authorities within the programme area,
- local private sector tourism operators and associations such as chambers of commerce and tourism associations,

- the relevant regional tourist boards,
- the English Tourist Board.

Other organisations directly involved varied among the TDAPs or LATIs, and sometimes included:

- national park authorities,
- urban development corporations, and their successor economic development and regeneration agencies, which were often themselves partnership organisations,
- local community groups and associations, such as civic trusts, parish councils, heritage and conservation societies.

Local area tourism partnerships commonly developed formal organisational arrangements for programme administration and management. This usually involved the appointment of an officer accountable to a working group (sometimes with sub-groups) that was composed of officer-level staff from partner organisations and responsible for programme implementation, and also to a steering group that normally comprised of more senior representatives from partner organisations, including in many cases elected members from local government. Local area tourism partnerships can therefore be considered as organisations in their own right, with their own identity, management and objectives, albeit with a high degree of dependency on the sponsoring partners and possibly with a limited life span.

1.3 Rationale for inter-organisational collaboration in local tourism development

The nature of tourism development itself encourages the establishment of some form of partnership arrangement. Private, public and voluntary sectors alike have increasingly recognised their common interests - if not necessarily shared views - as stakeholders in the mixed economy of tourism. As Inskeep (1991:412) puts it: 'because tourism is a complicated, multi-sectoral activity, achieving co-ordination among the government agencies involved in the various aspects of tourism and between the government and private sector enterprises is a major consideration'. The widespread emergence of partnership arrangements, particularly in the past two decades, provides evidence that this is the case. Therefore, this research is timely from both academic and practitioner perspectives.

The broad government policy context for tourism development in the United Kingdom in recent years has also made inter-organisational aspects more central and encourages related research. Since the 1980s, successive governments have extended private sector involvement in local and regional planning and development activity (Bailey, 1995; Bennett and Krebs, 1991; Boyle, 1989; DoE, 1997; Edwards and Deakin, 1992; Harding, 1990; Lawless, 1991; MacKintosh, 1992; Paddison, 1997). These policies have resulted in the emergence of new institutions with extensive development powers; including interests in tourism, along with an array of policy instruments that specifically require a partnership approach to development. Examples in the United Kingdom include the former development corporations and a range of public-private regeneration agencies (Barlow, 1995; Coulson, 1993; Edwards and Deakin, 1992; Newman and Thornley, 1996). There has also been an often related erosion in local government powers and resources for development, resulting in an increased recognition from local government of the necessity for and value of partnerships with the private sector and central government agencies (ACC, 1992; CFP, 1997; DoE, 1997; Harding, 1991; Roberts, Russell, Harding and Parkinson, 1995).

A further factor that has reinforced partnership formation in recent years in the UK has been the increased significance of European Union funded programmes and projects for development and regeneration. These programmes commonly require a partnership approach, particularly in the provision of matching resources from local sources and the establishment of cross-border working. While the influence of this strand is beyond the scope of this research, it clearly provides a further important impetus to the formation of partnerships, including those for tourism development.

More directly relevant to this research has been the catalytic role of the national tourist boards during the 1980s and 1990s in the formulation of partnership arrangements for tourism development in local areas, such as the TDAPs and LATIs, although they have had more recent reductions in their resources for this type of activity. However, the continued existence of tourism development partnerships that had previously been funded, directly or indirectly, by the tourist boards does suggest that their continuation has been secured with new combinations of resources.

Moreover, the emergence and increased recognition of the concept of sustainable tourism, promoting wider participation in policy decisions and concerned with integrating approaches across diverse policy areas, has provided an added impetus to the notion of involving 'stakeholders' in the development process through some form of partnership process (Bramwell and Lane, 1993; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hunter and Green, 1995).

The interest among local authorities in participating in partnership arrangements for tourism development can also be portrayed as being associated with central government policy requiring them to act as 'enablers' and not 'providers' of services, as well as by central government restrictions on local government spending, with tourism regarded as a 'discretionary' (i.e. non-statutory) form of public expenditure (ACC, 1992; Bailey, 1995; Coulson, 1993; DoE, 1997; Edwards and Deakin, 1992; Turner, 1992).

On the private sector side, difficulties in achieving the desired rate of return from some tourism developments, particularly from innovative schemes, has led private enterprises to look to local government to contribute to capital costs, ease planning constraints, provide infrastructural support, or else to offer favourable rental terms (where they are the landowners), with this being seen as recognition of the wider economic benefits that can result from new tourism developments (Turner, 1992).

Additionally, there has been a realisation in both established and aspiring tourist destinations in England that there needs to be a pooling of resources in what is a very fragmented industry in order to compete with the level of spending by the travel industry on the promotion of overseas holidays. There is also a recognition in both public and private sectors that for many of the complex infrastructure problems which confront tourist areas a simple 'solution' to development issues is insufficient, or that defining and implementing development programmes requires a partnership approach that involves local institutions and communities.

Local communities may also seek involvement in partnerships in order to influence the nature and rate of planned tourism-related development. Community involvement in tourism development partnerships may occur through the active membership of elected local politicians, representation from local societies and associations, or both.

Partnerships may also provide a forum for groups opposed to tourism development. Similarly, voluntary sector organisations may represent a particular constituency or interest in a tourism development partnership. This representation may range from large-scale membership bodies with a conservationist agenda, such as the National Trust and Friends of the Lake District; through to local amenity and historical associations, whose involvement in a partnership may enhance an area's tourism product and promotional material. This diversity of potential representation in tourism development partnerships highlights the likely difficulty of arriving at a consensus, or agreed view about policy-direction, among the participants.

1.4 Outline of the research issues

This introduction chapter to the thesis now identifies some critical research issues in relation to partnership arrangements for tourism development. These critical issues emerge from the literature on organisational partnerships and on the practice of tourism development partnerships, and they are the focus for this present research. These issues are:

- the management of uncertainties and dependencies in the operational and strategic environments facing tourism development partnerships,
- the reasons for stakeholder involvement in partnerships for tourism development and the extent to which different stakeholders are involved,
- the ways in which partnership members represent their stakeholder networks and also respond to their views about the development of tourism,
- the ways in which individual partnership members contribute to the work of partnerships,
- how members of partnerships regulate their behaviours so that collective gains may be achieved,
- why tourism development partnerships adopt particular organisational and procedural arrangements,
- the ways in which tourism development partnerships interact with local, regional and national agencies and authorities,
- the distribution of resources, power, benefits and costs associated with tourism development partnerships.

1.5 Aims of the Research

There is a need to develop conceptual frameworks for the study of partnerships for tourism development. The first aim of this research is therefore designed to address this fundamental issue. Tourism development partnerships in England, as defined above in section 1.1, are typically time-limited and located in particular bounded areas, and have programmes that are concerned with the development of tourism within their boundaries. Local considerations, such as local politics, tourism industry structure, market potential, and environmental factors, are significant influences on a partnership's prospects, as well as the period for which they are funded to deliver their tourism development programmes. These local factors underlie the second and third aims of this research. Hence the three overall aims of the research are:

1. to develop, apply and assess an integrative conceptual framework for the study of local tourism development partnerships that draws from relevant theoretical perspectives,
2. to use the conceptual framework to examine the political, environmental and socio-economic influences which may affect local tourism development partnerships,
3. to use the conceptual framework to evaluate the differing stages of local tourism development partnership life-cycles.

1.6 Structure of the research

Chapter two of this thesis comprises a review of literature that contributes to theoretical approaches to the analysis of local tourism development partnerships. This literature includes published research from the fields of policy studies, and organisation studies, as well as literature that is directly concerned with partnerships in tourism development.

Some of the methodological choices that need to be made when studying local tourism development partnerships are discussed in chapter three. This chapter also explains the specific empirical approach used in this research.

Chapter four discusses the conceptual framework that is used to focus this research. This framework is based on the inter-organisational collaboration literature.

Chapters five, six and seven present the analyses of the case study partnerships, namely, the Peak Tourism Partnership, the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative and, Discover Islington. Each chapter discusses the resources for tourism within the case study partnership programme boundaries, the administrative arrangements for tourism, the background to the establishment of the tourism development partnership and its pre-conditions, processes and outcomes. Each chapter also contains an analysis of the critical issues facing the tourism partnership, with this analysis being strongly influenced by the theoretical framework developed by the author.

Chapter eight presents the research conclusions, including a synthesis and an evaluation of the study. The applicability of theories of inter-organisational collaboration to the study of local tourism development partnerships in England is critically evaluated and the theories then are re-formulated in a conceptual framework and model that takes account of the specific context of local tourism development. Methodological considerations relevant to the analysis of tourism development partnerships are also discussed with a view to informing future studies in this field.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In its review of literature relevant to the study of inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships in tourism development, this chapter begins by examining theoretical contributions from the policy studies and organisation studies fields. Literature from these fields is found to be particularly useful in offering fresh perspectives that may be applied to this research. The review concludes with an assessment of literature that is directly concerned with inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships in tourism.

The literature review is used subsequently to develop the conceptual framework that underpins the remainder of this study. The conceptual framework, based on a theoretical model from the literature on inter-organisational collaboration and combining elements from both organisation studies and policy studies, is elaborated in chapter four. Dictionary definitions of 'partnerships' and 'collaboration', these being key terms examined in this research, were considered in chapter one.

Tourism development partnerships are typically involved in a range of policy and organisational relationships and networks, giving a complex structure to their strategic and operational environments. These networks and relationships include local communities, politicians and professional officers from various levels of government, various institutional fields (other tourism and related organisations), and private sector interests. This observation lead this researcher to focus on concepts from policy studies and organisation studies, and notably on theories of inter-organisational collaboration and partnership. Inter-organisational theories have been developed mainly in the policy, organisation, and business studies fields, although the latter discipline focuses particularly on the strategic *commercial* benefits that may be realised through the pursuit of strategic *business* alliances. As such, much of the business studies literature is beyond the scope of this present research (Greenwood, 1995; Dussauge and Garrette, 1999; Tayeb, 2001).

2.1 Policy studies theories of inter-organisational collaboration and partnership

Broadly, the policy studies literature provides perspectives on the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policy, as well as its political and ideological dimensions. Recent studies have examined these considerations in relation to partnerships and inter-organisational working arrangements in a diverse range of policy areas, and these perspectives are relevant and transferable to the examination of tourism development partnerships. The policy literature on partnerships for regional and local economic development and regeneration was found to be particularly relevant to this present research (Bergman, Maier and Todtling, 1991; Blackman, 1995; Boyle, 1989; Camagni, 1992; Campbell, 1990; Carley, 1992; Chisholm, 1990; Eisenschitz and Gough, 1993; Fasenfest, 1991; de Jong, 1996; Valler, 1991). Studies of partnerships in other policy fields, for example, in health, housing, environment, and the social services, also provide insights that may be used to inform research on partnerships for tourism development (Ovretveit, 1993; Iles and Auluck, 1990; Webb, 1991; Statham, 1994; Leathard, 1994; Long and Arnold, 1995). The following discussion considers perspectives from the policy studies literature on the emergence of partnerships, their implementation, monitoring and evaluation. It also examines the particular contributions from the political geography literature to the study of partnership arrangements.

2.1.1 Policy studies perspectives on the emergence of partnerships

The growing literature on partnerships in the UK policy studies field, along with contributions from north American and European commentators, can be traced to the extensive economic restructuring that took place during and since the 1980s, and the perceived failure of earlier regional development policies and other central government policy measures to encourage such development (Bailey, Barker and MacDonald, 1995; Bergman, Maier and Todtling, 1991; Camagni, 1992; Campbell, 1990; Chisholm, 1990; Cuadrado-Roura, Nijkamp and Salva, 1994; Fasenfest, 1991; Fosler and Berger, 1982; Kolzow, 1994; Meyer, 1991; Smallbone, 1991; Storper and Scott, 1992; Valler, 1991).

Common responses to these perceived failures of policy have been attempts to develop innovative strategies and mechanisms for promoting regional economic development and regeneration programmes. These policy responses have involved reviews of the institutional arrangements that would be required for the design and implementation of these new development programmes, with these reviews typically recommending new forms of partnership working (ACC, 1992; Boyle, 1989; Cochrane, 1991; DoE, 1997; Jordan, 1990).

A number of policy-related arguments in support of the widespread establishment of new regional and economic development partnerships have been debated in the policy studies literature during and since the 1980s and 1990s. Firstly, it has been suggested that partnership arrangements would introduce new private-sector management skills to addressing the problems associated with regional and economic restructuring and regeneration programmes. In this view, partnerships bring a new sense of urgency to dealing with local problems by enlisting private-sector pressure to overcome alleged public-sector delay and bureaucracy (Boyle, 1989; 1993; Bryson and Roering, 1987; Edwards and Deakin, 1992; Fitzgerald, 1990; Preston and Post, 1975). A related set of arguments suggest that when public and private-sectors work together to develop and implement regeneration strategies they increase their collective effort and effectiveness, mobilise and utilise local knowledge and commitment to an area, and bring to bear the skills and expertise of all sectors in bringing about area-based regeneration programmes (Carley, 1992; Deakin and Edwards, 1993; Haughton and Whitney, 1989; Lloyd and Newlands, 1990; Squires, 1991; Thornley, 1993). While these assertions remain contentious and largely untested, there has been significant and continuing political support for the view that new institutional arrangements, including formal partnerships involving the private-sector, can possess significant advantages over development programmes that are the sole responsibility of local government and/or public-sector agencies.

A second and related rationale for partnership working from policy perspectives is that partnerships may achieve synergies through their combination of the expertise of each participant. In this view, more can be achieved by two or more sectors working together than they could by working separately.

The implication here is that a combination of profit-making and non-commercial interests all benefit from a mutually agreed partnership programme and that none loses from this collaboration.

This argument suggests that the private-sector benefits from its developments becoming possible through partnerships, such as through its improved business networks, working relationships and community relations. It is also suggested that local government and public sector agencies engage in partnerships both as a necessary condition for development to occur and/or, especially in the UK context, for funding to be forthcoming from central government or European sources that requires collaborative institutional arrangements (ACC, 1992; DoE, 1997; Gaunt, 1991; Gray, 1996; Lloyd and Newlands 1990; Mackintosh, 1992; Roberts, Russell, Harding and Parkinson 1995).

A third rationale for the establishment of partnerships is the view that such arrangements can improve working practices and relationships through their decision-making and negotiation processes. In this view, partners are required to confront their possibly stereotypical views of each other and to secure collective agreements on aims and purposes if positive results and continued funding are to be achieved. Typically, it is suggested that the public-sector is viewed by private-sector partners as being inward looking, over cautious and too concerned with its internal procedures. In contrast the private-sector may be conceived as being committed to short-term profit-making and lacking a wider social perspective, while voluntary sector or community representatives may be viewed as 'tokens' who are not in a position to make financial contributions to a partnership. This latter consideration relates to a fourth rationale for partnership working – the possibility of enlarging overall budgets for economic development through a partnership's eligibility for designated funding. This possibility is an attractive proposition for public-sector agencies whose core budgets are commonly under pressure and at risk of cuts imposed by central government. From a private sector perspective, the prospect of risk-reduction or possible subsidy for its involvement in a development partnership is also attractive (Boyle, 1993; Carley, 1992; Deakin and Edwards, 1993; Mackintosh, 1992).

A fifth and final argument in the rationale for the establishment of partnerships from policy perspectives is their theoretical ability to coordinate and improve place marketing and promotional activity. This is typically a key element in the programmes of many tourism development partnerships, including those that are the subject of this research. As well as the direct association with attracting tourists, such marketing and promotional activity is commonly also intended to attract inward investment by highlighting labour supply, access to communications, housing availability and environmental quality. The enhancement of local civic pride and the promotion of local attractions to local communities are further common justifications for this kind of partnership programme.

Theoretical perspectives that seek to explain the emergence of economic development partnerships in the UK drew initially on policy-related studies from the USA on 'urban growth coalitions' (Bryson and Roering, 1987; Cox and Mair, 1989; Elkin, 1987; Fainstein and Campbell, 1996; Fosler and Berger, 1982; Harding, 1991; Jessop, 1997; Lloyd and Newlands, 1988; Molotch, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Savitch, 1987). For example, Logan and Molotch argue that business-led coalitions pursue a course of self-interest by their seeking to maximise land values as well as through their demand for goods and services, and that this may be achieved in part through the promotion of place-marketing strategies – an implicit connection with the work of some tourism development partnerships. Attempts were made to apply a 'growth coalition' approach to the UK, but difficulties were found to exist in transferring the perspective to a UK context (Lloyd and Newlands, 1988; 1990; Shaw 1993). There were found to be contrasts between the UK and USA in their systems of local administration, powers and representation, as well as the limited impact that local growth strategies can have on local tax revenues in the UK. In contrast to the USA, local government or public sector agencies were typically found to have taken the lead role in establishing local economic development partnerships in the UK during the 1980s and early 1990s, a finding which concurs with the evidence in this research (Cox and Mair, 1989; Harding, 1991; Shaw, 1993).

A second and related theoretical policy perspective on the emergence of partnerships is the examination of “regimes” for local economic development and regeneration programmes. A simple description of regime theory is that it is ‘a conceptual framework for understanding the variety of political responses to urban economic change’ (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994:195). These political responses include the devising of new partnership forms, including those for tourism and for wider economic development and regeneration programmes that include tourism as a component. Regime theory was developed in the United States by policy analysts seeking to explain and account for the characteristics and stakeholders involved in urban regeneration policies and programmes in that country (Elkin, 1987; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Stone and Sanders, 1987; Harding, 1994). Regime theory is based on the assumption that the effectiveness of local government depends greatly on the cooperation of non-governmental actors and on the combination of state capacity with non-governmental resources in the formation of a local ‘regime’ for development.

The focus of a regime theoretical approach is upon the decision-making behaviour of different organisational actors, the range of actors that are involved, formally and informally, in urban development strategies, the importance of place to various sections of the business community, and the implications of different forms of regime for patterns of resource distribution. Therefore, regime theory may contribute to an understanding of the fragmentation of institutions, the changing role of central and local government, and the emergence of new networks, both public and private, which attempt to co-ordinate policy areas, including that of tourism development. Regime theoretical approaches also underline the importance of human agency, inter-agency and professional relationships, and contextual factors in urban development (Harding, 1994). Thus, regime analysis encourages research focused on the characteristics and motivations of the individual members of a partnership. From this perspective, contrasting motivating factors for the participation of partnership members may be identified, and these may include:

- a broad desire (either professionally or voluntarily) to achieve tangible and measurable results, such as, for example, jobs created, land and buildings re-developed, inward investment achieved, and visitors attracted;
- a dependency on the locality for votes and business;

- the expression of a political platform in terms of, for example, ideology, local pride, and/or a broad concern for community welfare, quality of life, economic and environmental well-being (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994).

Such considerations can give significant substance to a comparative research agenda for the study of tourism development partnerships.

However, some commentators argue that regime theory's applicability to non-US contexts is limited. For example, Harding (1994:365) suggests that 'many of the institutional and cultural characteristics underlying the formation of US urban regimes are found less readily in the UK. The instrumental business control over local political strategies is much less marked in the UK. US cities contain higher concentrations of local resources for facilitating economic growth than do cities in the more centralized UK. They also provide fertile environments for strong business social networks which in turn create fora for discussion about urban problems and potential from a business viewpoint.' A further criticism of regime theory on methodological grounds has been levelled by Harding (1994:377), who suggests that, in relation to methodology 'regime theory is less enlightening, primarily because the research methodologies employed by the main exponents are either under- or unspecified.'

In spite of these criticisms, 'notwithstanding cross-national and cross-disciplinary difficulties, theoretical accounts that emphasise the importance of sub-national coalition formation are likely to be of growing relevance to any understanding of the politics of comparative urban development' (Op.Cit: 357). It might also be suggested that the emphasis of development policies in the UK has since the 1980s moved towards a 'boosterist' development model drawing on US experience, and that this reduces the difficulties that may have been associated with cross-national applications of the approach. Moreover, 'UK (urban) policy change can be viewed as an ongoing search for an effective mix of interest groups whose efforts are needed to promote urban regeneration and to be involved in decision making' (Harding, 1994:373)

A final theoretical perspective from the policy literature that may be applied to the study of the emergence of partnerships concerns the process by which a partnership is mobilised. This may include attention to whether a partnership programme is conceived and implemented through a 'top-down' process, for example in response to a policy initiative from central government such as a national pilot programme in sustainable tourism development, or through a 'bottom-up' process of the local definition and specification of a partnership's aims and programme, or through some combination of the two. For example, the policy studies literature contributes to the examination of the conception and implementation of partnership programmes through its focus on: the political nature of the policy-making process; the extent and scope of public participation in the policy-making process; the sources of power in policy-making and; the exercise of choice by public-sector agencies in complex policy environments (Hall and Jenkins, 1995:3).

2.1.2 Policy studies perspectives on the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of partnership programmes

The policy studies literature also contributes to the analysis of the structural characteristics of partnerships, and the processes by which they operate and may be evaluated (Bailey *et al*, 1995:26; Bergman *et al*, 1991; Boyle, 1989; Lloyd and Newlands, 1990; Martins, 1986; Roberts *et al*, 1995; Tennyson, 1998). At a fundamental level, policy studies perspectives can assist in the development of partnership typologies. From this categorisation tourism development partnerships may be located within the wider context of other partnership forms, and structural models may then be suggested that could be transferable to the tourism development domain. Bailey *et al* (1995:29) caution that 'the fluid and ambiguous nature of partnership organisations does not make such categorisation easy'. However, they go on to identify six types of partnership organisation that existed in the UK in the early-mid 1990s. These types are summarised in table 2.1.

Type	Mobilisation	Area of coverage	Range of partners	Remit	Examples
Development	Local	Single site or small area	Private developers, housing associations, local authority	Joint development to mutual advantage	Commercial or non-profit development producing mutual benefits
Development trust	Local	Neighbourhood	Community based with local authority and other representatives	Community-based regeneration	Local amenity and woodland trusts
Joint agreement or coalition	Local but may be in response to national policy	Clearly defined area for regeneration	Public, private and sometimes voluntary sectors	Preparation of formal or informal strategies. Implementation is often through third parties	City Challenge
Promotional	Local, often by private sector	District or city-wide	Often private sector led	Place marketing, promotion of growth and investment	Various urban-based initiatives
Agency	National, based on legislative powers	Urban or sub-regional	Public sector sponsored with private sector appointees	Terms of reference from sponsoring agency	Development Companies and Corporations
Strategic	National, regional or local level	National, regional, metropolitan	All sectors	Determining broad strategy for growth	London First, English Tourism Forum

Table 2.1: A Policy Oriented Typology of Partnerships (adapted from Bailey, 1995:30)

These categories of partnership organisation and their possible application to tourism development include firstly, the *development partnership or joint venture*. Such a partnership typically involves a local authority and private-sector developer working on the development of a specific site, commonly for a housing or mixed-use leisure purpose. Such developments may include elements that are attractive to tourists, for example the conversion of former industrial buildings to tourist accommodation, retail uses, or as visitor attractions.

Secondly, the *development trust* commonly operates at a local or neighbourhood level and these are initiated by local community organisations, but often with local government and sometimes private sector representation. Their purpose is to carry out development in the interests of the local community, and with significant community involvement. They may also be involved in local promotional activities, such as increasing local access to leisure provision. Such a partnership may engage directly in tourism development activity, or it may relate to a tourism development partnership.

The *joint agreement or coalition* arrangement is the third type of partnership identified by Bailey *et al*, and this most closely resembles a number of tourism development partnerships such as the former Tourism Development Action Programmes in England. Here, Bailey *et al* (1995:31) include 'a variety of mainly locally initiated partnerships where a variety of local stakeholders enter into an informal working agreement or formally constituted company in order to promote a local regeneration strategy in a clearly defined target area. Normally a strategy is prepared that forms the basis for implementation by either the partnership itself, through constituent members, or third parties'.

Their fourth category, which also resembles many tourism partnership arrangements, is the *promotional partnership*. Here local business interests come together with local authorities and public sector agencies to engage in place marketing activity, including the development of marketing campaigns aimed at tourists.

The fifth category is the *agency partnership*. These are locally based agencies that form part of a national network with clear legislative guidelines in their constitution and remit. Examples from the 1980s and 1990s in the UK included the development corporations and training and enterprise councils. These agencies were sometimes themselves represented on tourism development partnerships as members, for example in the steering group of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative – one of the case studies in this research.

The sixth and final partnership category suggested by Bailey *et al* is the *strategic partnership*. In these cases senior representatives from local authorities, central government departments and public-sector agencies combine with senior management from major private-sector organisations to promote the development of an area or economic sector through infrastructural development and inward investment. Some of these strategic arrangements are specifically focused on tourism, such as the English Tourism Forum and the Scottish Tourism Coordinating Group, as well as various regional tourism forums. The London First Visitors Council is a further example of this category that relates directly to the case of Discover Islington in this research.

A number of critical issues in the implementation of partnership programmes may also be examined from policy studies perspectives. The first of these considerations is the range of participants and the balance of power between the sectors that are represented on a partnership. In this regard, it is suggested that 'top-down' partnerships are often required to reflect national directives on representation, whereas 'bottom-up' examples tend to aim for a wider spread of membership in order to emphasise consensus and common purpose (Bailey, 1995:27). The case studies in this research generally support this view, although each case was arguably limited in its membership to local elites, with a lack of voluntary and community sector representation.

A second and related policy consideration in the implementation of partnership programmes concerns the degree of autonomy that is adopted by a partnership or is allocated to it. The extent to which a partnership may act 'independently' in developing its remit may be predetermined to a greater or lesser extent where the partnership is part of a wider government programme, or it may evolve according to the local needs and priorities that are identified by its members.

A key theoretical strength of partnerships in developing and implementing their programmes is their ability to operate beyond the highly restricted powers and practices of local government and to pursue objectives in a quasi-independent manner (Bailey 1995:28).

Third, the policy studies literature offers practical ways of putting partnership working into practice. For example, Tennyson (1998) presents a 'toolbox' of methods that might be employed by those convening and/or participating in development partnerships. This publication also draws on the experiences of an international network of more than 1000 practitioners, which shares experiences of partnership working for sustainable development. Tennyson (1998) is representative of the handbook approach in that it proposes attention to a broadly linear and sequential process of activity that he argues is necessary in partnership building (see also, for example ACC, 1992; DoE, 1997; Long and Arnold, 1995). The generic 'tools' that Tennyson recommends involve firstly, planning and resourcing new partnerships, the identification of partners and the agreement of core principles and objectives. This founding 'stage' is followed by advice on the building of working relationships, the creation of a partnership organisation, the management of the partnership-building process, overcoming obstacles to partnership working, and measuring impacts.

All of these issues and the techniques that are suggested are relevant to tourism development partnerships, particularly in the early phases of their establishment. Bryson and Crosby (1992) offer a comparable, if more theoretical 'handbook' aimed at participants in social and environmental partnerships. A fourth and related contribution from the policy studies literature has been the development and application of performance evaluation tools and methodologies that may be used by partnerships (Harding in Campbell, 1990; see also Coulson in Campbell 1990 on Social Audit, Social Cost Benefit Analysis, Impact Analysis and Action Research Methodologies).

A fifth consideration in this discussion of the policy literature on the implementation and evaluation of partnerships concerns the coverage of a partnership, both in relation to its programme and to its geographical area. For example, Deakin and Edwards (1993) argue that the clear identification of boundaries may allow a partnership to mobilise local interests, generate resources and draw political and community support.

A sixth and final set of policy issues surrounds the variations that may be found to exist between localities in their implementation and evaluation of partnership programmes. For example, research attention might be paid to the political balance within local authorities, changes to that balance and the extent to which this may be a factor in influencing council roles within partnership structures (Harloe, Pickvance and Urry, 1990; Fasenfest, 1991; Smallbone 1991). The examination of the particular historical and political circumstances within local areas that may represent constraints or opportunities for the development of partnership approaches connect the broad field of policy studies with the more specific area of political geography – the subject of the discussion that follows.

2.1.3 Political geography

Political geography perspectives on partnerships offer a contrasting approach to the study of policy by their emphasis on the specific territorial features that distinguish regions and local areas, as opposed to an emphasis on generic policy processes underlying partnerships (Barlow, 1995; Batten, 1995; Bergman, Maier and Todtling, 1991; Boyle, 1989; 1993; Camagni, 1991; Cappellin and Batey, 1993; Carley, 1992; Gaunt, 1991; Harloe, Pickvance and Urry 1990; Paddison 1983, Taylor and House 1984). An example of the relevance of this perspective to this research relates to the geographical boundaries of tourism partnerships. These boundaries may not necessarily coincide with administrative borders and they may be devised more widely or narrowly in terms of their actual or potential recognition as tourist areas. Examples include the Peak Tourism Partnership and West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, where parts of several administrative areas were contained within these partnerships's boundaries. Other tourism partnerships, including Discover Islington are defined as sub-areas within larger districts. This identification of viable sub-regions which have the conditions to achieve recognition or to operate as coherent tourist areas in marketing and management terms is clearly important in securing tourist, tourism industry and community support for local tourism development initiatives. Political geography perspectives might usefully contribute to the analysis of these considerations.

From a political geography perspective, tourism development partnerships may also be examined in historical context in terms of their adaptation to the social and political relations in particular localities, as well as their relationships with central government agencies (Thornley, 1993).

Paddison (1983:15) outlines a framework that examines political systems territorially. In this approach, 'territory (space) is a politically organising factor, providing identity, a sense of place, security and stimulation'. The development and promotion of a "sense of place" or local identity is typically a key component of the work of tourism development partnerships. Therefore, Paddison's framework highlights issues that are relevant to the study of tourism development partnerships, and this framework is adapted in table 2.2 below in the specific context of such tourism partnerships.

Problems/Issues	Defining Features	Examples
Identity	Shared and competing views held by local communities concerning a tourism partnership's concept of the area	Sub-regional identities developed as part of a partnership's promotional work
Legitimacy	Local acceptance of a partnership's programme	Partnership authority may be questioned by some
Participation	Those who contribute to decision-making	Sub-regions/ localities and population groups that are included and excluded from decision-making
Penetration	Effectiveness and extent of a tourism partnership's programme within its boundaries	Spatial impacts of programmes
Distribution	Extent of resource distribution	Transfers between 'rich' and 'poor' areas.

Table 2.2 Territorial Political Systems and Tourism Development Partnerships (Adapted from Paddison, 1983: 9)

There are five political geography 'problems/issues' suggested by Paddison that may be related to the analysis of tourism development partnerships. First, these partnerships are typically concerned with building on or developing a sense of identity for their areas, if only as a basis for marketing activity. This consideration is highlighted in the three case studies examined in the present research, and particularly in West Cumbria and Islington.

Second, the legitimacy of a tourism development partnership may be a concern for some local communities, politicians and institutions. This issue is particularly apparent in the case of the Peak Tourism Partnership.

Thirdly, the extent of participation in a tourism development partnership, for example through representation on steering groups, may be problematic. This issue also emerged in this research in terms of interest groups that were arguably excluded from membership of each of the case study partnerships.

Fourthly, the 'penetration' and 'distribution' of the activities and resources of tourism development partnerships arose in each of the case studies in this research.

A fifth feature of this framework is its emphasis on local community perspectives. Therefore, a political geography framework might be employed to consider issues of equity in local political systems, including partnership arrangements, in addition to the wider economic development considerations.

Variations in public sector spending programmes between and within the areas covered by tourism development partnerships may also be examined from a political geography perspective. The variables that might explain differences in spending between and within these areas include:

- the identification of local needs in terms of 'the objective conditions that demand ameliorative action by governments. These should include conditions generated by the physical and socio-economic character of the jurisdiction that arise either within the community at large or *from a specific area* or demographic sub-group within it'

(Paddison, 1983: 157 emphasis added). These remarks highlight those areas, such as West Cumbria and Islington, that are sub-regions within wider 'jurisdictions'

- the "territorial extent" of the resources that are available to meet development "needs", for example the potential physical resources and their distribution that are identified in an area and that may be available to meet the 'need' for tourism development
- the views of local politicians, professionals, business and community representatives toward the identification of needs and the deployment of resources for tourism development.

The framework suggested by Paddison might also include a focus on competing perceptions of tourism development needs and their associated strategic requirements, partnership members' attitudes towards their client groups (for example, the local tourism industry), and local community views about the desirability and legitimacy of development partnerships in meeting these needs.

Therefore, political geography provides a potentially useful organising framework for the analysis of tourism development partnerships. These perspectives also suggest lines of analysis concerning the variations that may exist between different areas in resourcing partnership initiatives. The issues of local equity, accountability and participation may be overlooked in tourism partnership programmes that emphasise marketing and economic development objectives. Hence, the approaches outlined here may be of value in the analysis of these considerations.

As Pearce (1992:1-2) observes, 'there has been comparatively little research on tourist organisations, whether in the tourism or in the organisation literature'. Moreover, 'in general, tourist organisations at regional or the smaller, local scale have attracted even less attention than the national organisations'. Pearce (1992) has made a valuable contribution to the study of tourism organisations and has highlighted the need for further research in this area, particularly at the local level. However, his treatment of organisation theory is limited to a functionalist/open systems approach, an approach that has been challenged by organisation theorists. Thus, for him, 'the concern is with what tourist organisations *actually do*, a concern expressed by *focusing on their goals and functions*' (Op. Cit: 19, emphasis added). While this is a perfectly reasonable objective and remains under-researched in tourism studies, the challenge to the functionalist orthodoxy in organisation theory, and the implications of this challenge for the study of tourism partnership organisations, is not addressed. The nature of this challenge and its implications for the study of tourism partnership organisations is briefly presented here. This section then turns to a discussion of theories of inter-organisational collaboration, which emerged from the debate within organisation studies and which form the theoretical basis of this study.

The origins of the functionalist position on organisational research can be traced to the 'scientific management' movement and the mass production technologies in manufacturing industry that were associated with Taylor and Ford in the 1920s-1930s. This approach asserted that corporate officers start with given goals or desired outcomes and then *design* the organisation, including its structure, control systems (technical and social) and work processes, in order to achieve measurable ends (Warriner 1984: 4). The basic assumptions of the approach were managerial control, agreement of purpose, and organisational autonomy. Therefore, the task of social scientific research was to suggest ways of improving organisational rationality and efficiency.

These functionalist assumptions about the nature of organisations and the research agenda that flowed from these assumptions were challenged from the 1950s/60s from three broad directions (Aiken and Hage, 1968; Aldrich, 1977; Alter and Hage, 1993; Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Hassard and Pym, 1990; Silverman, 1979). The first of these challenges was from a 'human relations' approach that emphasises non-rational, interpersonal factors within organisations, and recognises that managerial decisions are only one element of an organisation's operations. The second challenge centred on analyses of organisational aims and purposes that examined the legitimacy of management definitions of objectives. The focus here was on interest groups and 'political processes within organisations by which divergent interests are resolved, accommodated, or co-opted in order to achieve a consistent pattern of action' (Warriner 1984:12). The third challenge that is particularly relevant to this research was the recognition of the significance of external environmental influences upon organisations and the need for organisations to build partnerships and networks as a means of adjusting to these external factors (Aiken and Hage, 1968; Aldrich, 1979; Hall, Clark, Giordano, Johnson, and Van Rockel, 1977; Karpik, 1978; Knoke, 1990).

Thus, a recognition that organisations operate within a complex network of relationships emerged from these critiques of classical functionalist studies of individual organisations. Therefore, recent research agendas in organisation studies emphasise *plurality*, *diversity* and *ambiguity* in organisational structures, the importance of inter-organisational networks, and the roles of individuals and groups of actors (Barrett and Srivastva 1991; Hassard and Pym 1990; Leifer 1989; Reed 1991). Assumptions of managerial autonomy and rationality have thus been challenged if not completely undermined within the field. The challenge to these assumptions was argued, in a seminal work in its field, by Burrell and Morgan (1979). The application of their arguments to this research is discussed in the following section.

2.2.1 Sociological paradigms and organisational analysis

The specification of the assumptions underlying theoretical perspectives is often lacking in the tourism literature (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988; Dann and Cohen, 1991). For Pearce and Butler (1993:6), there is a 'need for tourism researchers to be more explicit in what they do. We should not take for granted the methods, concepts or data that we use but rather examine these critically, exploring, appraising, setting out and justifying underlying assumptions, theoretical considerations, technical factors and limitations in use'. These remarks may also be applied to the interpretation and application of the organisation studies literature in this research.

Burrell and Morgan (1979) have provided a seminal contribution to the development of the field of organisation studies in their examination of the challenges to the functionalist orthodoxy. They present their argument in the form of alternative paradigmatic positions in organisation studies, which they present as Interpretivist, Radical Humanist and Radical Structuralist. This framework encourages researchers to identify and specify their ontologies, epistemologies and socio-organisational models in the development of theory that is rigorous and transparent. This section briefly considers the Burrell and Morgan model in relation to the study of tourism development partnerships. It also considers briefly the methodological choices that arise from the adoption of a particular set of assumptions, and these choices are expanded on in chapter three. Burrell and Morgan's starting point is the identification of whether research (in this case on tourism development partnerships) adopts a subjectivist or objectivist emphasis (see table 2.3).

The Subjectivist Approach to Social Science	← Category of gradations →	The Objectivist Approach to Social Science
Nominalism	← Ontology →	Realism
Anti-positivism	← Epistemology →	Positivism
Voluntarism	← Human Nature →	Determinism
Ideographic	← Methodology →	Nomothetic

Table 2.3: Subjectivist-Objectivist Research Dimensions: Burrell and Morgan (1979:10)

In this view, an extreme subjectivist position would be based on assumptions that the social world external to individual cognition is made up of nothing more than names, concepts and labels. Therefore, this social world is essentially relativistic and can only be understood from the viewpoint of the individuals who are directly involved in the activities which are to be studied. From this, it follows that researchers can only understand phenomena by 'getting inside' the subject under investigation. In contrast, an objectivist approach postulates that the social world external to individuals comprises distinct, tangible structures. Therefore, the research task is to explain and predict phenomena by searching for regularities and causal relationships between constituent elements. Hence, the emphasis from an objectivist position is on systematic standardised research protocols and techniques (Op Cit: 3-7).

A further set of assumptions arises from the researcher's position on the essential characteristics of social - in this case inter-organisational - systems. Thus, a set of assumptions which views inter-organisational systems as being concerned with, for example, consensus, cohesion, co-operation and order, will contrast with a position which emphasises, for example, dissensus, division and conflict. Burrell and Morgan combine these subjectivist/objectivist and order/conflict dimensions into a 2 x 2 matrix resulting in four paradigmatic positions within which inter-organisational analysis can be located. These are shown in figure 2.1. However, Burrell and Morgan's position is that 'a synthesis (of the 4 paradigms) is not possible since in their pure forms they are contradictory, being based on at least one set of opposing meta-theoretical assumptions', a conclusion that may be considered contentious (Willmott 1993).

However, recognition of these 'ideal-types' does assist in the review of the theoretical literature on inter-organisational collaboration. A brief discussion of the principal characteristics of each paradigm in relation to the study of partnerships follows.

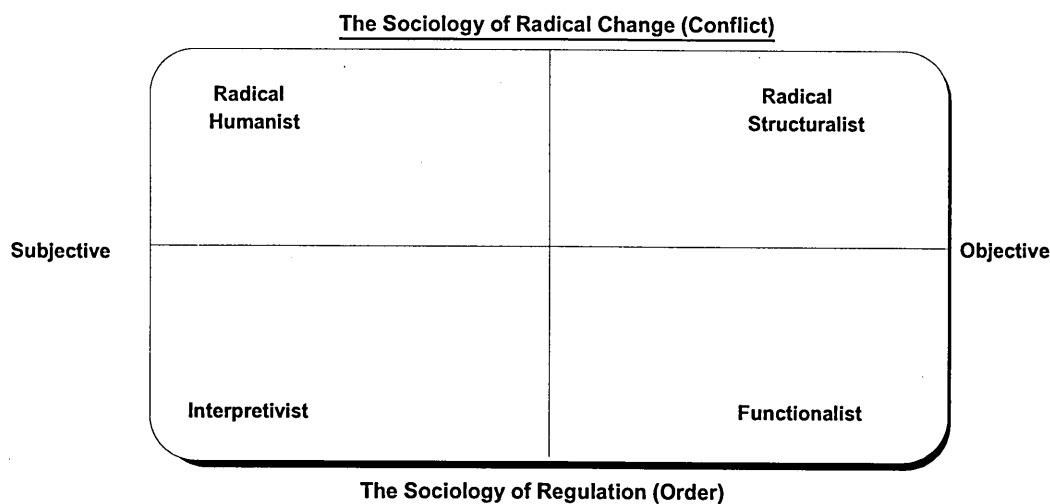


Figure 2.1: Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 22)

Firstly, the functionalist position generally assumes that organisations are rational, purposive and goal seeking. Therefore, the purpose of research is to seek practical solutions to practical problems, and it is primarily concerned with management and administrative priorities. Functionalist perspectives have dominated the field of organisation studies from Classical Management Theory (Taylorism), through varieties of Systems Theories, to more recent analyses of organisational pluralism. In tourism studies, the only text which explicitly adopts an organisation theory framework is also clear about its focus: 'the concern is with what tourist organisations actually do, a concern expressed by focusing on their goals and functions' (Pearce, 1992:19). However, while functionalism, whether explicit or implicit, remains dominant in the organisation studies literature, alternative approaches have challenged this orthodoxy.

For Burrell and Morgan, the first such challenge to functionalism emerged from an interpretivist position, concerned with understanding the world as it is at the level of subjective experience. Hence, the emphasis here is on individual perspectives, with researchers adopting the participant's rather than the observer's frames of reference.

The implication of this position for the study of tourism development partnerships is that the pre-eminence of structures should be rejected, and that from an interpretivist perspective partnerships are 'no more than the subjective constructions of individual human beings who, through the development and use of common language and the interactions of everyday life, create and sustain a world of inter-subjectively shared meanings' (Burrell and Morgan, 1979: 260).

Burrell and Morgan go on to suggest that a radical humanistic position represents a second challenge to functionalism. This paradigmatic position may be best described as 'anti-organisation' theory. From this perspective organisations are viewed as an alienating force, concerned with the wrong issues and the wrong problems. Hence, organisation studies is 'an essentially conservative enterprise which underpins the present system of ideological domination within contemporary society' (Op Cit: 312). Therefore, from this view, tourism development partnerships may be judged according to the extent to which they represent a radical departure from 'conservative' organisational structures and involve local communities in the planning and implementation of their programmes.

Thirdly, Burrell and Morgan argue that a radical structuralist position shares with functionalism a set of assumptions about the reality and precedence of social structures and systems. However, it is concerned with developing a critique of the functionalist position. Assumptions within this paradigmatic position have developed from two principal frameworks derived from the later works of Karl Marx and from radical interpretations of Max Weber. However, Burrell and Morgan argue that both frameworks share the core concepts of:

- 'totality' - the need to study total social formations as a means of understanding the elements of a social system;
- 'contradiction' - organisations are viewed as the stage upon which deep seated divisions within society as a whole are most visible;
- 'crises' - contradictions and changes in the totality will of necessity result in changes to organisational forms (Op Cit: 369).

Burrell and Morgan further suggest that the principal differences in emphasis between a Marxian and Radical Weberian approach can be represented in the primacy accorded to economic and political theory respectively, and that these may be summarised as follows:

Marxian Structuralists Stress:

- (i) Political economy
- (ii) Economic structures
- (iii) Monopoly capitalism
- (iv) The catastrophe analogy

Radical Weberians Stress:

- Political science
- Political administrative structures
- Corporatism
- The factional analogy

This presentation has greatly simplified the core features of the four paradigmatic positions and their contrasting assumptions about the nature and purpose of organisations. However, the intention here has been to highlight alternative assumptions that might be adopted in the study of tourism development partnerships from organisation studies perspectives.

Burrell and Morgan have been criticised for presenting an 'arbitrary' division of subjectivist and objectivist forms of analysis and for unjustifiably labelling the four paradigms as being mutually exclusive (Willmott 1993). In the context of researching tourism development partnerships a combination of positions within individual studies might be considered legitimate and indeed desirable given the relevance of the diverse issues that their framework helps to prompt. These potential issues are summarised in figure 2.2.

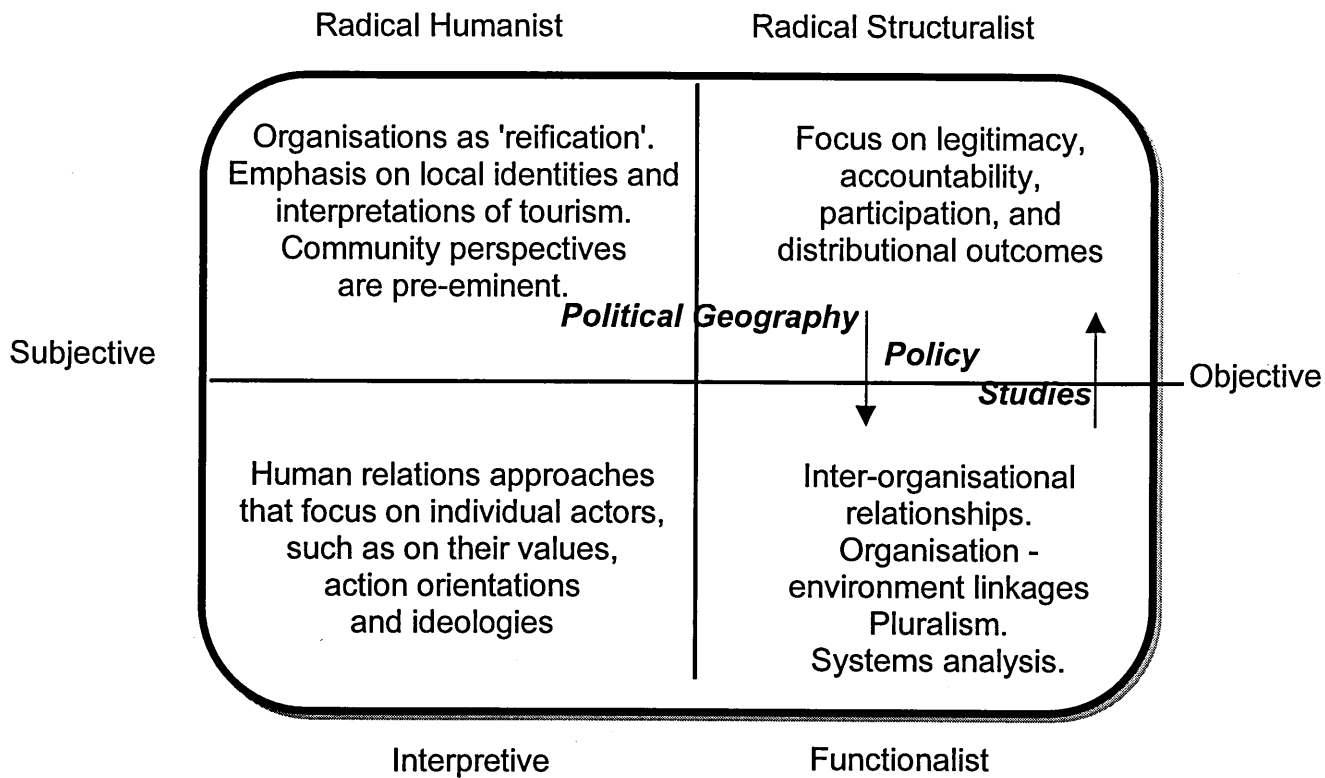


Figure 2.2: Application of Sociological Paradigms in Organisation Studies to Tourism Development Partnerships (adapted from Burrell and Morgan, 1979:22)

Figure 2.2 suggests that research on tourism development partnerships that is explicit about its underlying assumptions might, for example, include studies that focus on:

- the extent to which the partnership offers genuine opportunities for community participation;
- the degrees of legitimacy and accountability within the partnership system, as well as of equity within its geographical boundaries;
- the relationships, values and ideologies of the participants in a partnership;
- the partnership's place within the area's overall tourism economic, social and political systems, and the design of optimal organisational forms.

Given the nascency of this subject area within tourism studies, and the legitimacy of each paradigmatic position in the context of inter-organisational analysis, then research from organisation studies perspectives which adopts a variety of methods and which is explicit about its working potentially can provide a rich vein of enquiry and findings.

2.2.2 Organisation studies perspectives on partnerships and inter-organisational collaboration

Organisation studies have generally been concerned with studies of the internal dynamics and external relationships of *individual* organisations. However, research that focused specifically on bilateral and multilateral inter-organisational collaboration began to appear in the 1960s, initially in the form of case studies written by participants (Levine and White 1961; Litwak and Hylton 1962). Empirical research on collaboration and partnerships developed from the late 1960s (Emery and Trist 1965; Warren 1967), with advances in conceptualisation and modelling taking places from the 1970s (Hall et al 1977; Raelin 1982; Rogers and Whetten 1982; Waddock 1991).

The development of organisation studies research on inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships has coincided with a period of increasing environmental turbulence and complexity for organisations of all kinds, along with the challenges within the discipline to the traditional functionalist approaches to the subject that were discussed in the previous section. The need to manage uncertainty has been recognised by organisational theorists and practitioners alike, and this has contributed to the increasing research attention to issues of co-operation, collaboration and partnership. Considerable increases in inter-organisational alliances have also been observed in a number of industrial, national and regional contexts since the 1980s, including high-technology sectors, the car industry, film-making, textiles, metals and, electronics (Ebers, 1997).

Studies of this phenomenon from organisation studies perspectives have broadly been concerned with addressing the questions of when, where, why and how inter-organisational collaboration occurs. Theoretical perspectives and conceptualisation within the field of organisation studies have included contributions that partially overlap and partially compete from industrial economics, marketing, organisational sociology, game theory, resource dependence theory, population ecology, institutional theory, and social network approaches (Ebers, 1997).

The conceptual framework that is used in this research combines both organisation studies and policy studies perspectives, and this framework is discussed in chapter four (Wood and Gray, 1991). Therefore, this section considers other related perspectives from the organisation studies literature that are relevant to this research, as well as their connections with the conceptual framework that is discussed in chapter four. These connections are demonstrated by Ebers (1997), who focuses on the contingencies and processes that lead to the emergence of inter-organisational partnerships; the management of exchange relationships, and the outcomes and implications of organisational partnerships for participants and for third parties. These considerations parallel Wood and Gray's attention to a partnership's pre-conditions, processes and outcomes. However, it is important to emphasise that both frameworks conceive of partnerships as cyclical and not linear in nature (i.e. the 'stages' of partnership development are inter-related and involve feedback between them).

In Ebers scheme, the contingencies and processes that lead to the emergence of inter-organisational partnerships suggest a research focus on the motivations that underlie inter-organisational collaboration and the identification of partners. For Ebers, research from the field of organisation studies has tried to explain the motivations behind inter-organisational collaboration at three levels of analysis: the individual partnership member, the pre-existing relations among actors, and the relevant institutional factors. In this connection, and drawing on an analysis of the earlier literature, Oliver (1990) offers a summary of six main reasons why organisations establish inter-organisational partnerships with each other.

In her view, partnerships may occur as a consequence of:

- *necessity*, where organisations are mandated through law or regulation by higher authorities;
- *asymmetry*, that allows one partner to exercise power or control over another or over its resources;
- *reciprocity*, where partnerships encourage the pursuit of common or mutually beneficial goals or interests;
- *efficiency*, when organisations can achieve higher input/output ratios through a partnership;
- *stability*, when organisations can better anticipate and plan for uncertainties affecting their activities through a partnership and;
- *legitimacy*, when organisations can establish or enhance their reputation, image and prestige through partnerships.

All of these considerations may be relevant to the study of the contingencies or pre-conditions that may underlie the emergence of partnerships for tourism development.

In relation to the management of exchange relationships, or the processes involved in inter-organisational collaboration, Ebers suggests that research may focus on three main considerations. These are, firstly, analysis of any regional clusters of resources and institutional support, social networks and relationships that may exist in a partnership's area, and how these may be mobilised for the benefit of inter-organisational processes. Secondly, the flows of resources, information, and mutual expectations that are developed as part of the partnership process might be examined. Thirdly, an assessment might be made of the alternative forms of collaboration that may best support partnerships in particular circumstances. Gray (1989) proposes that research on partnership relationships and processes should also take account of the interdependencies among the partners, their shared perceptions of legitimacy, as well as the power relations that exist among the participants. Institutional economics perspectives within organisation studies also emphasise the rationale for partnerships as a substitute (or supplement) for market relationships, and as a viable form of corporate governance (Powell, 1990; Williamson, 1985; 1991).

In relation to the outcomes and implications of organisational partnerships for participants and for third parties, Ebers (1997) suggests that research should focus on the differences that might exist between partners' expectations and the outcomes of a partnership as well as on how these views may influence the nature of new, successor partnership arrangements. This suggestion indicates that partnerships should be conceived as being cyclical arrangements which evolve dynamically over time, with the forms, outcomes, and partners' evaluations changing as a consequence of inherent development processes. Ebers (1997) further suggests that these dynamics may result from unanticipated changes to partners' resources, information, and expectations during the course of a partnership programme. These considerations also highlight key methodological issues concerning the time at which research on a particular partnership is conducted and the importance of developing longitudinal studies where possible. These and other methodological issues involved in tourism development partnerships are discussed in chapter three.

2.3 Inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships in the tourism literature

This section outlines themes, approaches and theoretical frameworks that have been adopted in the literature on partnerships in tourism. It concentrates particularly on work that has applied organisational and policy-related partnership and collaboration theory. Other relevant literature from the planning, economics, strategic management and politics fields, for example, is incorporated in the conceptual framework that is discussed in chapter four.

The emergence of formal collaborative arrangements in tourism development during and since the 1980s has been associated with a number of contextual factors. These include: an increased recognition of global, national and local inter-dependencies in tourism development; a blurring of the boundaries between the legitimate roles of government and business; declining resources in the public sector for tourism development; the growing call to involve stakeholders in sustainable tourism development; and the need to combine resources in development programmes.

However, there are also some significant potential obstacles to collaboration and partnership in tourism development. These obstacles include the essentially competitive nature of private sector tourism operators, bureaucratic (or democratic) inertia in the public sector, spatial and organisational fragmentation in the tourism industry, the difficulty of securing the participation of interests potentially opposed to tourism development, and the obstacles to securing partnerships between operators and agencies in neighbouring districts that have historically viewed each other as rivals and competitors (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Britton, 1991; Getz and Jamal, 1994; Gunn, 1988; 1990; Hall, 1994; Inskeep, 1994; Murphy, 1985; Pearce and Butler, 1993; Turner, 1992). It is unsurprising that these critical issues in tourism development partnerships have been identified as fruitful areas for research and that theories of organisational collaboration might usefully be applied in their study. However, it is surprising that such research did not appear earlier, that is before the mid-1990s when this type of study became more common in tourism research.

Selin and Beason (1991) appear to have been the first to publish a refereed tourism journal paper that makes explicit use of a theoretical approach to partnership research. In this paper, Selin and Beason focused on partnerships between outdoor recreation, tourism, and resource management interests in the United States. Their study involved an examination of organisational and environmental factors that might explain variations in cooperative relations. Their work was based on a conceptual framework drawn from the literature on organisational exchange and collaboration (Levine and White, 1961; Aiken and Hage, 1968; Rogers and Whetten, 1982; Gray, 1985; Gray, 1989; Waddock, 1989; and Gamm, 1991). Selin and Beason broke new ground in applying this literature to tourism. However, the emphasis of this early work was on bilateral, dyadic relationships rather than on network partnership arrangements.

The literature on tourism planning, development, marketing and industry structure that preceded the publication of Selin and Beason's 1991 study did at times include recognition of the existence or desirability of partnerships in the tourism industry or system. However, there had been no application of policy or organisational partnership theory in any rigorous sense (for example, Gunn, 1988).

Much of this earlier literature on organisational roles in the tourism industry was more concerned with describing structures and with pragmatic issues of planning and marketing than with analysing models of partnership and collaboration. For example, Gunn (1990:1), in an early publication on partnerships in tourism, makes reference to 'increased communication – and sometimes *even* cooperation and collaboration between the fields of recreation and tourism' (emphasis added). Gunn identifies inter-dependencies and a need for greater organisational links between tourism and recreation interests as important research issues, and he goes on to present a descriptive account of research collaboration between South Africa's government tourism agency and recreation association, but there is no theoretical discussion in this paper.

In a 1993 paper, Selin noted the need to focus on the organisational domain as opposed to dyadic inter-organisational relations in tourism. He defines 'domain' here as, 'the set of actors that become involved in a common problem or interest' (1993:223). He suggests that systems in tourism are under-developed and that inter-dependencies between stakeholders in tourism are not always recognised and understood. However, there is no specific research model proposed here, and the Gray and Wood (1991) theoretical framework for the study of partnerships is not referenced. However, Selin observes that the tourism partnership theme was beginning to attract significant research attention and was adopted as the major theme in the Travel and Tourism Research Association 1992 conference.

This growing research attention has developed since the early 1990s along the lines of viewing tourism partnerships as both a pragmatic management strategy and as a theoretical consideration. At a fundamental level, contributions have been made to the classification and categorisation of tourism partnerships. Such work has been valuable in helping to define a complex and diverse field. For example, Palmer and Bejou (1995) reviewed types of partnership in the context of tourism destination marketing. Their analytical categories were presented in terms of a partnership's:

- coverage (its functional competencies and geographical focus)
- form (from voluntary/non-equity arrangements to joint venture structures)
- mode (the nature of the relationship between members)

- cultural values (the seniority of participants and role of the convenor) and,
- motives (the underlying reasons for the creation of the alliance).

Other researchers have proposed models for researching partnership evolution. These suggest, for example, directing attention to:

- the antecedents to partnership formation (for example, recognition of a condition of crisis or opportunity, the existence or development of a legal mandate, the catalytic role of a broker, or following existing networks and leadership);
- problem-setting (recognition of inter-dependencies, issues and interests);
- direction-setting (identification of common goals and sharing of information);
- structuring (institutionalising and establishing frameworks, protocols and procedures);
- outcomes and feedback, emphasising the essentially dynamic and cyclical nature of partnership activities and development (Selin and Chavez, 1995).

Attention to *who* is involved in tourism development partnerships and ways of building collaboration, with particular attention to destination community involvement, has provided another research direction. For example, the development and use of consensus building and negotiation techniques has been the subject of some studies in the tourism literature (Getz and Jamal 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1994; Jamal and Getz, 1997; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Such studies have centred on the extent to which partnerships are inclusive and they present frameworks for analysing a range of issues. Issues considered in such studies include: approaches to collective learning and consensus-building; the identification of power imbalances and degrees of involvement by stakeholders; the scope of the collaboration; benefits and incentives for participants; the presence and role of a facilitator; pre-existing agreements on the issues to be considered; the intensity of the collaboration; partnership practices and processes; the degree to which consensus emerges; recognition of constraints; and methods of implementation and evaluation.

Securing a 'voice' for tourism interests in partnerships that are concerned with wide-ranging, broad planning and development programmes is a further emerging research direction. Tourism may be overlooked in some situations, or it may present a weak voice in the face of other industries or other central and local government departments. Williams, Penrose and Hawkes (1998) present a framework for the design and evaluation of shared decision-making processes in these situations. They suggest attention should be paid to government and participant support for the partnership process, as well as to representation and resources, process management and design, procedural and decision-making frameworks, and to partnership outcomes.

Some recent and emerging directions in the study of tourism partnerships are presented in Bramwell and Lane (Eds.) (2000). These research approaches include models that direct attention to partnership processes and patterns, and the politics and practice of partnerships that are broadly concerned with sustainable tourism planning and development. In this volume, the theoretically informed empirical studies of partnerships include the application of models that focus on process-based approaches to tourism planning, 'adaptive management' techniques, stakeholder identification, partnerships as development 'regimes', cultural dimensions of partnership practice, and collaborative learning processes.

2.4 Summary

This chapter has critically examined key areas of the policy studies, organisation studies and inter-organisational collaboration literature that are relevant to the study of tourism development partnerships. The chapter has also reviewed some of the tourism literature that deals with partnerships.

The first area of literature that was examined related to policy studies perspectives on partnerships. Many tourism development partnerships can be seen primarily as exercises in area economic development, diversification and regeneration. Hence, studies of partnerships for economic development were found to offer useful insights that may be applied to the study of partnerships for tourism development.

Experiences of partnership working in other fields, such as health, education, social services and housing, were also found to be useful in offering relevant contributions on issues that may apply in tourism development contexts.

The policy studies literature also provides perspectives on the rationales for partnership working. For example, Mackintosh (1992) suggests that typical arguments for promoting partnership working include the potential for synergies, the transformation of working practices and relationships, enlarging budgets, the possibility of unlocking land and development opportunities, enhancing place marketing and promotion, coordinating infrastructure and development, and the increased scope for building confidence and minimising risk.

The policy studies literature also offers perspectives on the local contexts that may help to explain partnership structures and processes and their evolution. These considerations include a partnership's mobilisation (such as 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches), the range and balance of power between the sectors that are represented in a partnership, and the scope and coverage of partnerships both in terms of their programmes and their geographical area. Bailey *et al* (1995) also suggest a relevant approach to the classification of partnership typologies from policy perspectives, and this was shown here in table 2.3 together with illustrations from tourism development contexts.

The policy studies perspective can also contribute to a critical view of partnership arrangements by focusing on their political and historical contexts. This perspective can draw attention to the changing role of the local state and of the public sector in the UK since the 1980s, and also to the arguments that partnerships may bring a new sense of urgency to area economic development and regeneration and that they may benefit from the leveraging of private sector resources and thereby make best use of public funds.

However, some critics from the field of policy studies argue that there are problems associated with the importing and application in the UK context of 'growth coalition' approaches from the USA (Logan and Molotch, 1987). Others drew attention to the involvement of local state or local class corporatist interests and elites in economic development and regeneration programmes (Shaw, 1993).

There are also conflicting views within the policy studies field on other factors that may influence the development of partnerships. These factors include the extent to which a partnership is able to exercise autonomy in its decision-making, for example in terms of a tourism development partnership being able to implement its strategy. The ability of a partnership to gain access to external resources is a further consideration as is its influence on national and regional organisations.

The review of the contribution of policy studies perspectives to this research also included a discussion of the application of a regime theory approach. The focus of a regime approach is on the decision-making behaviour of different organisational actors, the range of actors that are involved, formally and informally, in development strategies, the importance of place to various sections of the business community, and the implications of different forms of regime for patterns of resource distribution. This perspective was found to be applicable here, although there are similar reservations to related 'growth coalition' perspectives about its translation from US to UK contexts and in terms of its lack of methodological specification.

Political geography viewpoints were also highlighted in terms of their relevant emphasis on the specific territorial features that distinguish regions and local areas, as opposed to an emphasis on political processes underlying local partnerships. The potential contribution from political geography to the study of tourism development partnerships was shown in table 2.2.

The next section of the chapter examined the organisation studies literature, and in particular the development of the field from its functionalist origins to more pluralistic considerations to the study of organisations – including partnership relationships. The seminal contribution by Burrell and Morgan (1979) to the conceptualisation of the field in terms of paradigmatic positions was also highlighted. This section of the chapter also highlighted the contingencies and processes that lead to the emergence of inter-organisational partnerships, the management of exchange relationships, and the outcomes and implications of organisational partnerships for participants and for third parties. These perspectives are developed in chapter four in terms of the conceptual framework used in this research.

The final section of this chapter examined the tourism literature that has focused specifically on inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships in tourism. This section suggests that partnerships for tourism development emerged mainly from the 1980s, paralleling comparable arrangements in other sectors. This phenomenon was highlighted in the tourism research literature from the early 1990s, mainly in the form of descriptive case study accounts with little theoretical structure. However, there have been a number of more theoretically and methodologically informed research studies on aspects of partnership and inter-organisational collaboration that have appeared more recently, in particular from the mid-1990s.

Chapter 3 Research Methodology and Methods

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the methods used in this research. It does so by moving from a discussion of broad or 'macro' methodological considerations in the study of partnership arrangements for local tourism development to an account of the specific methods used in this research. The structure of this chapter follows a framework for discussing research processes suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1994). This framework, shown in Table 3.1 provides a useful guide to the key methodological issues in this study. These issues include the subjective, inter-personal considerations affecting this individual researcher (chapter section 3.1), the ideological and philosophical foundations and assumptions underlying the study (section 3.2), and also the strategic and tactical selection, implementation, and evaluation of the selected research instruments (sections 3.3 and 3.4).

Research issue	Analytical considerations
The researcher as subject (chapter section 3.1)	This researcher's approach to the study, his conceptions of the subject and the inter-personal and ethical aspects of the study
Methodological positions (chapter section 3.2)	This study's location in terms of applicable but competing theoretical and methodological positions
Research strategies (chapter section 3.3)	Study design and case study and qualitative approaches applied in this research
Methods of data collection and analysis (chapter section 3.4)	Interviewing, document, and textual analysis used in this research Criteria for judging adequacy, the art of interpretation, and the approaches to evaluation used in this research
Summary (chapter section 3.5)	

Table 3.1: The Research Process (adapted from Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:12)

Therefore, chapter Section 3.1 considers the particular circumstances and issues facing the researcher in undertaking this study. Section 3.2 discusses some alternative methodological philosophies and approaches that could inform the assumptions that underlie research on partnerships for local tourism development. This section also locates this particular study within its methodological context. Section 3.3 outlines some research strategies that may be used as the basis for the selection of particular methods for studying partnerships for local tourism development. This section also discusses the strategic approach adopted in this study and considers the sampling method used for the selection of the case studies that are the major focus of this research. The methods of data collection and analysis used in this study are presented and discussed in Section 3.4. There is also an examination here of the particular issues that are associated with the interpretation, presentation and evaluation of the findings of this research.

3.1 The researcher as subject

Some relevant material factors influencing the approach and experience of this researcher in defining the focus of this research are discussed here. This section also considers possible influences or biases on the findings resulting from these subjective factors. As Shipman (1997:119) puts it, 'the result of not revealing some autobiographical detail forces the reader to guess how the research ideas were generated.' The circumstances facing this researcher in doing the work are also significant influential considerations and these are also outlined here.

In summary, this researcher holds a position as a full-time lecturer in Tourism Management. Work on this study has therefore taken place on a part-time basis. This has had implications both for the timing of the fieldwork, determined by a semester sabbatical during 1995/6, and for the pace of the work which has inevitably been influenced by the growing demands associated with increased responsibilities in a full-time job.

This researcher is a white, professional class forty-six year old man from the South of England. This was probably not a major issue in terms of the subject of this research, as age, social class, ethnicity and gender were not the focus of the study. However, the 'outsider' position was apparent in some fieldwork encounters, particularly in the case of West Cumbria, where a southern accent did appear to be a 'marker' of socio-cultural position and status in some fieldwork encounters.

A further consideration is the researcher's 'posture' in the sense of the strategic positioning of the study and the selection of theoretical frameworks (Hamilton, 1994). Researchers assemble their theoretical assumptions and working practices from a marketplace of ideas, and making their posture explicit is helpful for the reader. In this case, the researcher's academic background is in Development Studies, with particular attention to the political economy of development. This background was influential in the initial identification of subject matter for this study. In terms of 'posture' towards the subjects of this research, this researcher assumes that partnerships for local tourism development, and the key actors involved in decision-making in these partnerships, have varying degrees of self-determination that are constrained by budgetary and organisational considerations and a comparative lack of regulatory and political power. This researcher agrees with Hamilton (1994:64) that the respondents in this study are, 'not so much free "from" conditions as free "to" respond to a multiplicity of circumstances... [and that there is] a range of possible responses and choices within a concrete situation'. In this view, respondents' subjective perceptions and reflexive interpretations of tourism development partnership policies and activities are important and legitimate areas of enquiry.

It is also assumed here that partnership processes involve the interaction of individuals and groups. For this reason, abstract, statistical, descriptive approaches to their study that are subject to theoretical 'laws' are judged to be inappropriate as a methodological foundation for this research. However, the Wood and Gray (1991) theoretical framework does provide a useful basis for organising the study, informing its aims and guiding empirical questions and fieldwork. Moreover, this theoretical framework has not been previously applied explicitly to the study of partnerships for tourism development.

This researcher recognises some particular methodological concerns that may be associated with his particular 'posture' and experience of conducting the study and interacting with its subjects. For example, there is an inevitable identification between the researcher and the researched subjects, as well as the development of working and professional, but nevertheless inter-personal relationships (Punch, 1994). A further consideration, put well by Punch (1994:84), is that any qualitative study is dependent on one person's perception of the field situation at any given point in time and that this perception is shaped both by personality and by the nature of the interaction with those researched. A personal identification by this researcher with the Development Studies background of the former Development Manager at one of the case study partnerships illustrates this point in terms of that respondent's priorities, ideologies and working practices. However, it is to be hoped that any such potential biases in analysing this case have been avoided or at least recognised.

Some particular issues might also be noted about possible factors that may affect the interview findings in this study. It is likely that 'distorting filters' may militate against the authenticity of some findings. This is particularly the case where, at the time of the interviews, partnerships were bidding for funds to continue in existence (West Cumbria Tourism Initiative and Discover Islington) or where there were competing interpretations of a partnership's past success or otherwise (Peak Tourism Partnership). Moreover, interviewees in this research were likely to be working together in future collaborations. In these contexts, it is unsurprising that there may have been a wish to avoid any controversial research findings and subsequent publications that highlight conflicts or even just differences of opinion. There was also an implicit, and in some cases explicit, obligation on this researcher to consult partnership members and particularly Steering Group Chairs and Programme Managers on written outcomes of the study involving 'their' partnership. In these situations, 'people [may] see themselves summarised and interpreted in ways that do not match up with their own partial perspectives of the setting' (Punch, 1994:88).

The interviewees in this study are seen by this researcher as, 'respondents, participants, stakeholders...[interviews were] based on avoidance of harm, fully informed consent, and the need for privacy and confidentiality' (Punch, 1994:89). However, in practice there are difficulties in subscribing to this principle when some interviewees were keen to have others' comments reported to them and where written work cannot readily disguise the identity of respondents. Furthermore, in studies of this kind there is a difficulty in establishing what is public or private information, what may constitute professional harm, and what the effects of the findings emerging from this research may be to respondents. These considerations will receive further attention in the discussion of the interview process, findings and documentary analysis in Section 3.4 below.

3.2 Theoretical paradigms and perspectives applied in this study of local tourism development partnerships

Several contrasting methodological approaches to social scientific research may inform and guide studies of local tourism development partnerships. These approaches are based on the differing assumptions of researchers about the nature and purpose of their research subjects. These fundamental assumptions will influence either explicitly or implicitly the design of a research strategy and the selection of particular methods. This section reviews these contrasting approaches to the study of partnerships for local tourism development and outlines some ways in which they might be applied. The section concludes by identifying the methodological basis for the methods used in this study.

The specification of the assumptions underlying the selection of research methodologies, strategies, and methods has often been lacking in tourism studies (Dann, Nash and Cohen, 1988; Dann and Cohen, 1991). For Pearce and Butler (1993:6), there is a '... need for tourism researchers to be more explicit in what they do. We should not take for granted the methods, concepts or data that we use but rather examine these critically, exploring, appraising, setting out and justifying underlying assumptions, theoretical considerations, technical factors and limitations in use'. The intention here is to do this in relation to the assumptions underpinning this research.

All researchers are informed by abstract philosophical principles, combining beliefs about ontology (the nature of the 'reality' that is being studied), epistemology (the theories of knowledge influencing the relationship between the researcher and the subject studied), and methodology (the ways in which researchers may gain knowledge about the subject). The positions adopted by researchers based on these assumptions will have important consequences for the practical conduct of research, as well as for the interpretation of findings. Differences in assumptions informing research cannot therefore be dismissed as being merely "philosophical". At the same time, however, researchers need to retain focus on the primary aims of their studies and be cautious where entering some of the more arcane and oblique philosophical debates in the social science methodology literature. In this research, for example, 'methodological position', "a basic set of beliefs that guides [research] actions" (Guba, 1990:17), is preferred to the more complex term 'paradigm'.

3.2.1 Methodological positions

Table 3.2 below presents an outline of 'ideal-type' methodological positions with examples of how these positions may be applied to the study of local tourism development partnerships. This table summarises the kind of criteria against which research may be judged in each of the methodological positions. It also identifies the forms of theory and the style of reporting that are commonly associated with these positions. It must be emphasised that there is considerable variation in each of these 'ideal-type' positions. There may also be overlaps between the positions in any given study. However, each methodological position does suggest particular research issues, emphases and approaches and these are outlined following Table 3.2.

Methodological Position	Research Criteria	Form of Theory	Type of Narration	Research Approach to Tourism Partnerships
Positivist	Internal, external validity	Logical-deductive, scientific	Scientific report	Descriptive, statistical analysis of a population of partnerships
Feminist	Lived experience, dialogue, caring, race, class, gender	Critical, standpoint	Essays, stories, experimental writing	Gender relations in tourism partnership structures and programmes
Ethnic	Community, lived experience, race, class, gender	Standpoint, critical, historical	Essays, fables, myths	Representations of communities and local histories
Marxist	Emancipatory, falsifiable, class	Critical, historical, economic	Historical, economic, socio-cultural analysis	The political economy of tourism partnerships within local, regional, national and global economic relations
Cultural studies	Cultural practices, praxis, social texts, subjectivities	Social criticism	Cultural theory as criticism	Image, commodification of cultural practices, discourse analysis
Constructivist	Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, confirmability	Substantive-formal	Interpretive case study, ethnographic	'Deep pictures' of individual case study partnerships informed by participants

Table 3.2: 'Ideal-Type' Methodological Positions for Research on Tourism Partnerships (adapted from Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:13)

A classical positivist methodological position as represented in Table 3.2 is traditionally associated with studies that seek to achieve 'scientific' rigour through the use of quantitative approaches to the collection and analysis of data. The emphasis here is on the validity of the data in terms of its consistency, both internally to a particular study, and externally in terms of the approach to research being capable of generalisation to other studies. For example, applications of a positivist position to studies of tourism partnerships might include, statistical descriptions of the membership characteristics of a 'population' of partnerships, and comparative analyses of their economic costs and impacts. This approach benefits from its claim to scientific rigour and objectivity. However, a positivist position may be accused of producing 'thin' and descriptive findings lacking in depth and detail about individual partnership cases and processes.

A feminist methodological position may also involve the use of quantitative techniques. However, this position is usually associated with studies that emphasise critically the lived experiences and gender relationships of its subjects in particular research contexts. In the case of tourism development partnerships, research from this position might include quantitative studies of gender representation and balance in partnership membership and marketing materials. A feminist perspective might also, for example, inform studies of the particular gender-related impacts of a partnership's programme in small business development, support and training. A feminist approach to research may be presented in the form a 'scientific' report, but is more usually associated with providing a 'voice' for disadvantaged women and men to express their lived experiences of the research subject in their own terms.

An ethnic approach to research methodology involves a concentration on the lived experiences of communities with particular attention to the race, identity, class and gender dimensions of a research subject. Ethnic methodological positions are akin to feminist approaches in terms of their adoption of a critical, historical theoretical emphasis. Applications of this position to the study of tourism partnerships might include analyses of the involvement and representations of ethnic and indigenous peoples in a partnership. The presentation of research may, again, involve the provision of a 'voice' for community groups and the elaboration of historical myths and images, for example, in their use in tourism partnership promotional materials.

A Marxist methodological position emphasises the class, political and economic relations of production and consumption in a given social system. Broadly, Marxist perspectives adopt a critical and historical socio-economic analysis with a view to identifying and promoting policy prescriptions that advance social welfare and reduce class inequalities. Tourism partnerships might therefore be approached from this position in terms of their connection with wider relations of production and exchange as part of local, regional, national, and global market capital systems.

Cultural studies as a methodological position and inter-disciplinary field is concerned with examining cultural practices and texts as experienced by individuals and social groups. It combines and incorporates an eclectic range of philosophical positions drawn from both the humanities and the social sciences. As a methodological position, researchers within the field share and include many of the elements of feminist, ethnic and Marxist approaches. A distinctive cultural studies approach to researching tourism partnerships might focus on, for example, analysing the discourses and media representations of partnerships and places.

All of the above methodological positions suggest legitimate lines of enquiry for research on tourism partnerships. However, the aims and objectives of the present study and the assumptions of this researcher about the nature of tourism partnerships are most closely connected with a constructivist methodological position. This research analyses why key actors participate in partnerships, their particular policy, development and management purposes, and also how these key actors participate and with what consequences. The emphasis of this study is therefore very much concerned with the constructions and roles of these key actors in particular partnerships. A justification of a constructivist stance in relation to the specific aims of this research follows.

3.2.2 Constructivist methodological position for researching tourism partnerships

The aims of this research are:

1. To develop, apply and assess an integrative conceptual framework for the study of local tourism development partnerships that draws from relevant theoretical perspectives.

The approach adopted here is to develop such a conceptual framework for and through the critical examination of particular cases of tourism development partnership arrangements. This approach allows for the development a 'thick description' of such partnerships. This is in contrast to a thin descriptive account of partnership arrangements that might emerge from a quantitative analysis based on a positivist methodological position.

2. To use the conceptual framework to examine the political, environmental and socio-economic influences which may affect local tourism development partnerships.

The conceptual framework allows for these local influences to be addressed here through the interpretations of key respondents represented both in interview findings and from documentary sources.

3. To use the conceptual framework to evaluate the differing stages of local tourism development partnership life-cycles.

The conceptual framework allows for these strategic and historical issues to be considered here in terms of the interpretations, or constructions of key respondents who are actively involved in the processes and outcomes in particular partnership settings, and who have informed views on partnership pre-conditions.

The constructivist methodological position to this research assumes a relativist ontology, meaning that there are multiple local and specific realities facing individual tourism partnerships and key actors within them, although elements of these realities may be shared by other local partnerships. Furthermore, constructions by respondents in this research about local tourism partnerships are not more or less “true” in any absolute sense, but are more or less informed and/or sophisticated. In this view, conflicting constructions are the products of different human intellects, upbringing and social conditioning and subjective pre-dispositions. These constructions may change, in part, for example, as respondents become more informed and experienced in partnership working. This study also assumes a subjectivist epistemology, based on the researcher and subjects creating understandings and findings, as opposed to an objectivist view that seeks an external reality.

A ‘naturalistic’ set of methodological procedures, involving a central role for interaction between the researcher and respondents ‘in the field’ is associated with a subjectivist position and informs the methods used in this study.

As far as research criteria are concerned, a constructivist position suggests terms such as *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability*, and *confirmability* as opposed to the usual positivist criteria of *internal* and *external validity*, *reliability*, and *objectivity* (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). The purpose of research here is seen as being concerned with constructing something that works cognitively as a credible model for researching tourism partnerships. The approach to this study should also be capable of handling new cases in other studies. It does not, however, claim any absolute but probably illusory external validity (Goodman, 1978:163).

The approach to researching tourism partnerships in this study involves the exploration of local, case-based meanings and constructions. These are typically excluded by the generalising positivist position, which also fails to address satisfactorily the theory- and value-laden nature of facts, the interactive nature of inquiry, and the fact that the same set of “facts” can support more than one theory. This study, for example, uses more than one theory in its examination of tourism partnerships, these theories being derived from Gray and Wood’s (1991) analytical framework on inter-organisational collaboration.

Some criticisms of constructivism must be acknowledged here. The specification of research criteria is less clear-cut than the positivist position. Defining 'trustworthiness', 'credibility', and 'confirmability' and identifying whether a study such as this is transferable is open to subjective interpretation. In privileging the views of local, key actors there is a risk of a lack of critical purchase in the study.

Moreover, the authoritative stance of the researcher inscribing meaning to data also involves subjectivity and selectivity. These concerns are addressed here to an extent by respondent comments on interview transcripts. This issue is discussed further in relation to the specific analytical methods used in this research in Section 3.4.

3.3 Research strategies

This section connects the constructivist methodological position that was considered in Section 3.2 with the presentation in Section 3.4 of the specific methods used in this research. Some alternative analytical levels and strategic approaches to researching tourism partnerships are outlined here. However, the design and strategy used in this study is the main focus of the section. There are a number of strategic issues in the design of this research and these are presented in Table 3.3 and examined in more detail subsequently.

Strategic research issue	Approach to the issue in this study
deciding between quantitative and qualitative research methods (3.3.1)	methods that 'best-fit' the aims of this research
deciding the level at which the research is undertaken (3.3.2)	identification of the level that has received comparatively limited research attention
selecting appropriate research strategies (3.3.3)	case studies and the selection of research sites and participants

Table 3.3. Key Strategic Issues in This Research

3.3.1 Quantitative and qualitative approaches in this research

The design of this study begins with a consideration of its particular research aims and questions and the identification of methods that would best address them. These aims and questions were discussed in section 3.2 in the context of a constructivist methodological position. In this study the research questions lend themselves to qualitative methods that investigate respondents meanings and interpretations of tourism partnerships. The methods selected here are also designed to examine tourism partnerships as social systems in particular local contexts. The intention here is to capture the histories, interactions, structures and lived experiences of tourism development partnerships during the period that fieldwork for this research was conducted, between 1994 and 1997.

Some relevant criticisms of quantitative approaches were taken into account in the design of this research. In this case, precise quantitative approaches focussing on selected variables would “strip” from consideration, through controls or randomisation, other contextual variables that might be revealed through interpretive, qualitative methods. The exclusion of such variables might greatly alter the study’s findings. Such exclusionary, quantitative research strategies may increase theoretical rigour, but they are also likely to detract from the study’s *relevance*. Qualitative data, in contrast, can provide such contextual information.

There is also a need in this study to understand the meanings and purposes attached by respondents to their partnership activities. The language of communication between the researcher and respondents therefore needed to be clear, relevant to the respondents, and free from specialist, theoretical terms. Strict adherence to theories that may have little meaning for respondents was therefore avoided. This allowed for discovery by the avoidance of rigid *a priori* hypotheses. However, Gray and Wood’s (1991) theoretical framework informed the research questions and in practice it proved to be relevant to the interests and experiences of respondents.

Some other characteristics and principles of qualitative research design are also pertinent to the aims of this study. These principles include the notion of 'holism', which here involves seeking to capture the 'large picture' of tourism partnerships in complex local contexts. Qualitative research strategies are also appropriate for studies of relationships within a system or culture that draw on personal, face-to-face communication. Understanding a given social setting rather than making predictions about that setting (Janesick, 1994:212) is also highly relevant to this study. Janesick goes on to suggest some 'rules of thumb' for qualitative studies that have informed this researcher's approach. These include looking for the meaning and perspectives of the participants in the study, considering the relationships regarding the structures, occurrence, and distribution of events over time, and examining points of tension in terms of, for example, conflicting points of evidence in the case. An additional consideration in this case, discussed in Section 3.1, is the role of the researcher as the research instrument and the importance of securing informed consent from respondents.

3.3.2 Levels of analysis

Local tourism partnerships might legitimately be studied at a number of levels ranging from the broad policy context affecting all such partnerships through to the actions of individuals within local organisations. A research programme may combine a number of levels. However, it is necessary to specify a primary focus in order to reduce the complexity and size of the task, and hence ensure that the research is manageable and coherent. A useful framework for the specification of levels of analysis is provided by Layder (1993) and is presented in an adapted form in Table 3.4.

Research Level	Research Focus
Context	<p>National policies for local economic development, tourism and for public/private partnerships.</p> <p>National tourism organisation and related policies.</p> <p>The consequences of the above for all local partnerships.</p>
Setting	<p>Regional economic development and partnership arrangements.</p> <p>Regional tourism organisation and related policies.</p> <p>Comparisons and contrasts within selected regions (e.g. partnerships within regional tourist board boundaries).</p>
Situated Activity	<p>Local economic development and partnership arrangements.</p> <p>Local tourism organisation and related policies as affected by the contexts and settings (above) and by individual dispositions (below).</p> <p>A focus on one, or a few local partnership organisations.</p>
Individuals	<p>The ideologies, motivations, working practices and morale of organisational actors as influenced by the above elements and as they interact with individuals.</p> <p>The individual member organisations within a partnership.</p>

Table 3.4: Research Levels in the Study of Tourism Partnerships (adapted from Layder 1993:72)

The elements in Table 3.4 are clearly not mutually exclusive, and they would require both recognition and discussion in most studies of local tourism partnerships. However, the identification of the *primary* focus of interest in this study was important in order to specify an appropriate research strategy and to select methods.

Tourism policy and organisation at international, national and, less so, regional levels have been the subject of a reasonably extensive range of research (Williams and Shaw 1991; OECD; Hall 1994; Davidson 1992; Inskeep 1994; Wheatcroft 1994). By contrast, research into the situated activity of individual local tourism partnerships has often been concerned with the pragmatic considerations facing organisational participants.

While this is a perfectly reasonable priority for participating and sponsoring agencies, a fuller understanding of partnership processes at this local level can be developed by the adaptation and application of theories from the field of inter-organisational collaboration, and a number of recent research studies in tourism have begun to apply some of these theories (Bramwell and Lane, 2000).

A research focus on the roles and inter-relations of individual organisational actors within partnerships has also been neglected in tourism studies and this is incorporated here in the interviews with key partnership actors. However, the situated activity of partnership organisations for local tourism development, informed by the influences of context, setting and individual actors is identified here as an appropriate and relatively under-researched level for this study.

3.3.3 Research strategy selection

The situated activity of tourism partnerships suggests the adoption of an intensive case study-based research strategy. This section discusses the nature of intensive research strategies, in contrast to extensive ones. It goes on to consider issues associated with case study research strategies. The section concludes with a discussion of the specific process used here for the selection of the case study partnerships in this research.

The distinction between 'intensive' and 'extensive' research is principally about scale or 'depth versus breadth'. However, Sayer (1992:240) suggests, 'the two types of design ask different sorts of questions, use different techniques and methods and define their objects and boundaries differently'. In intensive research the primary questions concern how some causal process works out in a particular case or limited number of cases. In contrast 'extensive research ... is concerned with discovering some of the common properties and general patterns of a population as a whole' (op. cit. p. 242). This distinction is related to the task of researching partnership organisations for local tourism development and an outline of the main features of these strategies is shown in Table 3.5.

	Intensive research strategies	Extensive research strategies
Type of groups studied	Specific partnership cases	Taxonomic groups, 'populations'
Type of account produced	Causal explanations of partnership structures and processes, though these are not necessarily representative	Descriptive 'representative' generalisations, lacking in explanation
Typical methods	Qualitative studies of individual actors in specific partnership contexts	Surveys and representative samples, using formal, standardised, quantitative approaches
Limitations	The patterns and relations may not be 'representative' or generalisable	The findings have limited explanatory power. There is a problem of 'ecological fallacies' in making inferences about individual partnerships
Appropriate tests	Corroboration	Replication
Research Questions	How does a partnership work in a particular case or small number of cases? What causes local changes? What are the roles of local actors?	What are the regularities, common features and differences among a population of partnerships? The distribution of processes and characteristics

Table 3.5: Intensive and Extensive Research Related to Researching Partnership Organisations for Local Tourism Development (adapted from Sayer 1992: 243)

It was concluded that an intensive research strategy is appropriate to the study of the situated activity of one or a few local tourism development partnerships, and that this is associated with the application of qualitative methods.

A further fundamental issue in the design of this research is whether the study takes theory or observation as the starting point – a deductive or inductive approach. As Blaikie (1993:131) puts it, 'does research start with observations or gathering data which are then used to develop explanations, or does it begin with a theory, a hypothesis or a model which is then tested by making observations or gathering data?' Following this, two sets of related and competing strategies can be identified.

A deductive research strategy moves from premises, at least one of which is a general or universal statement, to a conclusion that is a singular statement. In this context, theoretical propositions about inter-organisational collaboration would be tested against local tourism development partnerships and corroborated, amended or rejected according to the findings. The principle criticism of this classical deductive approach is that the strict adherence to rational procedures associated with the approach can lead to over cautious, inhibited findings. The deductive approach may also restrict the scope of the enquiry so that alternative explanations and issues can quite easily be missed.

The related, retroductive research strategy involves the building and testing of models of structures and mechanisms representing the research phenomena. The approach, as described by Blaikie (1993: 133), '... begins in the domain of the actual [for example, local tourism partnerships], with observed connections between phenomena [for example, the practice and process of inter-organisational collaboration]. The task is to explain why such connections or relationships occur. The second step is to postulate the existence of 'real' structures and mechanisms, which, if they existed, would explain the relationship [for example, theories of inter-organisational collaboration]. The third step is to attempt to demonstrate the existence and operation of these structures and mechanisms [for example, by testing theories and building models].'

In contrast, the inductive approach to research takes observation as the foundation of knowledge, with theory being *produced* from observation. As an approach to research it has been subjected to an extensive critique. The bases of the critique are that the transferability of observations to other settings is difficult to establish. As Blaikie puts it, '... there is no purely logical or mechanical induction process for establishing the validity of universal statements from a set of singular statements' (op. cit. p. 140).

The inductive approach may also be criticised for the difficulty of making decisions about when to stop making observations, decisions that may be arbitrary. A researcher using an inductive methodology also makes choices about which observations are made and which are not, these decisions by the researcher may result in the exclusion of key considerations. A further difficulty that is associated with an inductive approach is that the attribution of causation to observations is problematic.

Finally, all observations are themselves subject to interpretation, meaning that logically all observations are theoretically based, and a genuinely inductive approach to research is impossible.

The related abductive research strategy also involves constructing theory from data, usually from individuals' language, meanings and theories. 'Such research begins by describing these activities and meanings and then deriving from them categories and concepts that can form the basis of an understanding or an explanation of the problem at hand' (Blaikie 1993:163). Thus in this approach:

1. *Everyday concepts and meanings* provide the basis for -
2. *Social actions and interactions* about which -
3. *Social actors can give accounts* from which -
4. *Social scientific descriptions* can be made from which social theories can be generated, or descriptions may be understood in terms of social theories or perspectives (op. cit: 177).

The best known proponents of this approach are Glaser and Strauss (1968), whose Grounded Theory has been widely used in qualitative research projects. The detailed specification of the 'constant comparative' method within Grounded Theory has, in part, overcome criticism about the lack of a clear inductive/abductive research mechanism.

The approach to this research in terms of the collection and analysis of data approximates to an abductive strategy, particularly in terms of its exploration of partnership actors' meanings, interactions and accounts.

These are analysed both in terms of their 'everyday concepts and meanings' *and* in relation to 'social theories or perspectives', represented here by the Wood and Gray (1991) theoretical framework of inter-organisational collaboration. This framework provides the basis for the questions in this research, so to an extent theory is being both tested and built here.

This research uses exemplary case studies to examine the phenomenon of tourism partnerships. These case studies possess unique characteristics in terms of their individual membership, historical backgrounds, physical settings, and the presence and nature of the tourist attractions and of the tourism 'industry' in their areas. There are also other locally specific contexts, including economic, political and legal circumstances. However, in this research the case studies have been selected, as explained more fully below, partly because very similar and comparable partnership structures, processes and experiences may potentially be found in other settings. As such, the case studies are intended to be of instrumental interest, whereby they provide insights into issues or theory beyond their own immediate context. They are also of collective interest, as the instrumental approach used here can be extended to several other cases in order to better understand a still larger number of cases (Stake, 1994).

As far as the selection of case study partnerships is concerned, Lincoln (1985) proposes that purposive sampling might involve the selection of extreme or 'deviant' cases, of typical cases, of politically important, or of sensitive cases. Ultimately the selection of cases in this research was undertaken simply on the basis of where one might learn the most about tourism partnerships. In this instance, the cases represented quite contrasting areas and where there was also a willingness to participate in the research. However, the selection of cases was also constrained by the researcher's limited resources and the refusal of some partnerships to allow the researcher access to documents or interviews. It should also be noted that the consideration of case studies in this research as 'bounded systems' is not straightforward. As tourism development partnerships by definition are characterised by multiple stakeholder involvement, the identification of where a case study stops and the environment begins is therefore problematic.

The empirical focus of this research involves the selection of three contrasting local tourism development partnerships. The choice of three cases allows for an intensive analysis and also the comparison of three contrasting cases, including the use of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with all key inter-organisational actors and the analysis of the internal and published documents of partnership and member organisations. These methods are discussed in Section 3.4.

A sampling frame of eligible tourism partnerships was drawn up using the following procedure. First, the heads of development at all of the English regional tourist boards were contacted by letter in October 1994 and this was followed up in December 1994 and February 1995 by copy of the original letter where necessary. The letter requested details of tourism development partnership organisations that existed at that time within the boundaries of their regional tourist board. A pro forma to standardise the information provided by the heads of development was enclosed for return. Replies were received from all of the regional tourist boards, with the exception of the Heart of England. East Anglia returned a nil response, in spite of the researcher being aware of the continued existence of the Norwich Area Tourism Agency. The sampling frame is therefore not a comprehensive list of the population and may exclude partnership arrangements not recognised or those overlooked by the respondents. However, enquiries to the Development Department at the English Tourist Board indicated that given the substantially reduced role of the national board in local tourism development organisations, regional tourist board development officers were the best source of this information.

The responses were tabulated according to membership category, chronological order of foundation and, where known, termination dates. This information is presented in appendix A. Again, there may be some errors and gaps in the information provided. A further consideration is that local authority, regional tourist board and private sector involvement in these partnerships commonly includes multiple individual organisational membership.

Possible approaches to sampling in this research include the selection of the most recent and longest established partnership organisations. However, according to the responses received, as many as six partnerships were founded in 1994, although Discover East Kent appeared to be the longest established, dating from 1987. However, the date of foundation was itself not obvious owing to the existence of predecessor arrangements, for example at Kielder and West Cumbria. Those partnerships approaching termination in 1996/97, and those where the termination date was undecided or where the programme was described as ongoing, also narrowed the field of those available for selection.

Classification by membership category, breadth and range also offers an approach to selection. According to the data received from the regional tourist boards, North Lincolnshire, Islington and the Till Valley included the largest number of represented membership categories, while North Pennines Business, Surrey Hills, Lake District Traffic, Purbeck, and Discover East Kent had the most narrow range of members.

The approach preferred here was to include contrasting local and regional factors as the main element in sampling from those partnerships that were willing to participate in the research. The partnerships that emerged that best met these criteria were: the Peak Tourism Partnership, a former national pilot partnership with a programme focussed mainly on visitor management projects in areas experiencing significant visitor pressures; Discover Islington, a partnership based in an increasingly fashionable but socially and economically diverse inner-city fringe area of central London; and the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, a partnership based in an area experiencing significant social and economic difficulties on the fringe of the Lake District National Park. All of these partnerships represent interesting and diverse circumstances. They include highly contrasting areas, ranging from tourist 'honey-pot' locations in a national park, to urban districts and to relatively remote rural and post-industrial peripheral regions. Moreover, access to the key actors in each of these partnerships was granted.

3.4 Methods of data collection and analysis

The main methods of data collection used in this research, these being in-depth interviewing and the analysis of documents and texts, are discussed here. Qualitative semi-structured interviews were conducted between 1996 – 1998 with the key informants directly involved in the management of the case study partnerships and also with individuals who were less directly involved in these partnerships but who also possessed considerable expertise in a range of partnership programmes for local tourism development in England as a whole. In all, interviews were conducted with eleven individuals who had close involvement through programme management and steering group membership in the Peak Tourism Partnership. Twelve interviews were conducted with Discover Islington Board members, and thirteen interviews were undertaken with West Cumbria Tourism Initiative steering group members.

A further five interviews were completed with informants who possessed extensive experience with tourism development partnership programmes in England. Hence, forty-one individuals were interviewed in this research. These interviews are summarised in terms of their sequence and the interviewees' job titles in Tables 3.6, 3.7, 3.8, and 3.9.

Documents and texts analysed in this research include materials obtained from the then Development Department of the English Tourist Board, from the case study partnerships, and from their member organisations (see appendix C). The overall analytical approach to this documentary data and the interview transcripts collected for this research is discussed in section 3.4.2.

Partnership	Interviewees (<i>and transcript code</i>)	Dates
Peak Tourism Partnership	Former Project Manager, Peak Tourism Partnership (EIT 7)	24 October 1996
	Director of Planning, Peak National Park Authority. Chair of Steering Group 1992 – 1994 (EIT 1)	4 December 1996
	Director of Conservation and Land Management, Peak National Park Authority. Chair of Steering Group from March 1994 to programme termination (1996) (EIT 9)	4 December 1996
	Head of Development Services, East of England Tourist Board (telephone interview, no coded transcript)	17 December 1996
	National Farmers Union representative, former member of Peak National Park Authority, farm holiday accommodation owner (EIT 3)	6 February 1997
	Head Office Tourism Consultant, Rural Development Commission (EIT 10)	21 February 1997
	Senior Countryside Officer, Countryside Commission (EIT 2)	14 March 1997
	Farmer, Parish Councillor (EIT 4)	29 April 1997
	Managing Director, Center Parcs (EIT 8)	21 May 1997
	Public Relations Director, Severn Trent Water (EIT 6)	26 June 1997
	Group Leader, Planning, Policy and Economic Development, High Peak Borough Council (EIT 11)	7 August 1997

Table 3.6: Interviews Conducted with Peak Tourism Partnership Steering Group Members and their coded transcript reference

Partnership	Interviewees (<i>and transcript code</i>)	Dates
West Cumbria Tourism Initiative	Project Manager, West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (EIT 17)	23 February 1997
	Rural Development Programme Manager, Cumbria County Council (EIT 12)	19 March 1997
	Programme Manager, Economy and Environment, Cumbria County Council (EIT 18)	19 March 1997
	Chairman, West Cumbria Tourism Initiative and Copeland Borough Councillor (EIT 24)	14 April 1997
	Economic Development Officer, Copeland Borough Council (EIT 19)	14 April 1997
	Chief Executive, Whitehaven Development Company (EIT 21)	15 April 1997
	Regional Manager, Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council (EIT 13)	11 June 1997
	Economic Development Officer, Allerdale District Council (EIT 20)	11 June 1997
	Owner, Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre, representing the West Cumbria Tourism Trade Association (EIT 14)	12 June 1997
	Chief Executive, Maryport Developments Ltd. (EIT 15)	12 June 1997
	External Affairs Manager, British Nuclear Fuels Ltd. (EIT 22)	12 June 1997
	Chairman, West Cumbria Development Fund (EIT 23)	12 June 1997
	Chief Executive, Cumbria Tourist Board (EIT 16)	13 June 1997

Table 3.7: Interviews Conducted with West Cumbria Tourism Initiative Steering Group Members

Partnership	Interviewees (<i>and transcript code</i>)	Dates
Discover Islington	Chief Executive, Discover Islington (EIT 28)	22 April 1997
	Chief Executive, Rutland County Council (EIT 34)	29 May 1997
	Travel writer and publisher (EIT 26)	16 June 1997
	Property developer (EIT 33)	16 June 1997
	Head of Strategy and Policy, London Tourist Board (EIT 29)	17 June 1997
	Chief Executive, London Tourist Board (EIT 32)	17 June 1997
	Transport Researcher and Consultant, University academic, Discover Islington Chair from July 1997 (EIT 38)	17 June 1997
	Law practice partner (EIT 27)	18 June 1997
	Media production company owner (EIT 30)	18 June 1997
	Chair, Urban Regeneration sub-committee, Islington Council (EIT 25)	14 July 1997
	Former E.T.B. Board Member and retired Corporate Affairs Director of a major plc. (EIT 36)	14 July 1997
	Economic Regeneration Officer, Islington Council (EIT 31)	27 May 1998

Table 3.8: Interviews Conducted with Discover Islington Board Members

Contextual interviews	Interviewees (<i>and transcript code</i>)	Dates
	Development Manager, English Tourist Board (EIT 5)	21 February 1997
	Marketing Director, Norwich Area Tourism Agency (EIT 10)	10th March 1997
	Member of Ministerial Tourism Advisory Forum and B.T.A. Board Member (EIT 42)	18th June 1997
	Consultant to ETB Tourism Development Action Programmes (EIT 41)	14th July 1997
	Senior Policy Advisor on Tourism, Confederation of British Industry (EIT 43)	15th July 1997

Table 3.9: Interviews Conducted with Key informants on Partnerships for Tourism Development in England

3.4.1 Interviewing

This section discusses the approach used in this research to the process of conducting interviews with key respondents. It draws on a structure for the analysis of interview methods presented by Kvale (1996). His five-stage approach suggests attention to:

1. interview themes and design
2. ethical considerations in interviewing
3. the interview situation
4. interview quality and
5. the interview transcription process.

Kvale goes on to suggest two further stages in the analysis of interview methods. These stages involve the analysis of transcripts, and the reporting of interview findings. These latter considerations are addressed in relation to the wider analytical framework in section 3.4.2 below.

As Fontana and Frey (1994:364) note, 'there is no single interview style or design that fits every occasion or all respondents.' The degree of structuring in interview design for example ranges from the unstructured, where questions and answers are both left free within the bounds of relevance, to the fully structured where questions are proscribed and the possible range of answers is limited to a set range of alternative responses (Madge, 1985:166). The conception of the nature and purpose of the interview approach used here accords with Kvale's (1996:5) definition, where semi-structured interviews are defined as being, 'conversations with structure and purpose...the basic subject matter is not objective data to be quantified but meaningful relations to be interpreted' (Kvale, 1996:11). The central purpose therefore of the interviews in this research is to seek to understand participating individuals' informed perspectives on questions relating to the aims of this research. These aims are:

1. to develop, apply and assess an integrative conceptual framework for the study of local tourism development partnerships that draws from relevant theoretical perspectives,
2. to use the conceptual framework to examine the political, environmental and socio-economic influences which may affect local tourism development partnerships,
3. to use the conceptual framework to evaluate the differing stages of local tourism development partnership life-cycles.

The themes, questions and design of the interviews in this research are therefore based on the aims and objectives of the study which are elaborated in chapter one and on the conceptual and theoretical framework adapted from Wood and Gray (1991). This framework is discussed in chapter four.

Interview schedules and guides used in the pilot study of the Peak Tourism Partnership, as well as those developed for use with the other case study participants and with the external, contextual respondents are presented in appendix B.

These interview schedules are semi-structured in the sense that the questions are arranged and sequenced thematically in terms of the conceptual framework, but they are also designed to allow interviewees to elaborate on any particular aspects of their role in the case study partnerships. Questions were therefore set in the interview schedules. They did, however, allow for prompts and follow-ups of particular lines of questioning and answers. Suggested prompts were written in to the interview schedules and these were used in many of the individual interviews as evidenced on the recorded transcripts.

The approach to interview practice in this research subscribes to some particular and fundamental principles of design and process. These interviews seek to interpret the subjects' meanings and interpretations of their involvement in partnerships for tourism development. The interviewer records and attempts to interpret the meaning of what is said as well as how it was said. Interviews here seek qualitative knowledge expressed in the respondents' terms about their role in partnerships for tourism development. They do not aim at quantifying responses. Research design was undertaken with regard to obtaining findings related to the aims of this research and taking into account the ethical implications of the study. Interview questions are therefore based on the aims of the research but they are not a mechanical translation of the research aims into the interview guides.

These interviews also attempt to obtain open and nuanced descriptions of different aspects of the subjects' involvement with tourism partnership management. Descriptions of specific situations and perspectives and actions in relation to respondents' involvement in partnerships for tourism development are invited, not general opinions. Rather than having ready-made categories and schemes of interpretation, this interviewer sought to achieve openness to new and unexpected phenomena and responses during interview situations. However, these interviews are focused on particular and specific themes based on the aims of this research and its conceptual framework. They are therefore neither strictly structured with standardised questions, nor are they entirely non-directive.

It is recognised here that interviewee statements may sometimes be ambiguous, reflecting contradictions in the subjects' relationship with partnerships for tourism development in the context of their wider jobs, roles and responsibilities.

It is also recognised that the process of being interviewed may produce new insights and awareness for the respondents, and that the subject may in the course of the interview come to change his or her descriptions and meanings about a theme. It is also acknowledged that different interviewers may have elicited different statements on the same themes, depending on their sensitivity to and knowledge of the interview topic.

Moreover, the findings obtained here are produced through interpersonal interactions in interview settings. They are therefore subject to potential biases that may be associated with the relationships between the interviewer and interviewees as well as the location and timing of the interview (Kvale, 1996: 30-31). These considerations are addressed in the context of the analytical framework in section 3.4.2.

Ethical issues associated with interviews in this research involved attempting to secure confidentiality for respondents and considering the possible consequences of the study for the subjects. The difficulty of guaranteeing anonymity and disguising the identities of some respondents was openly acknowledged when negotiating access to interviewees. However, the purposes of the study and the aims of the research were made explicit and informed consent to participate in the interviews was obtained from all respondents. Agreement for the tape recording of interviews was obtained from all but one respondent. In this case, the Head of Development Services at the East of England Tourist Board was interviewed by telephone, as no convenient appointment for a face to face interview could be agreed. However, his responses were noted and transcribed with a copy sent to the interviewee. No changes to its content were suggested.

The accuracy of the transcriptions based on these tape recordings is also of key ethical importance. All transcripts were checked by the researcher against the taped recordings, which were generally of good aural quality. The transcripts were also returned to interviewees inviting further comments and clarification. The interviewees suggested no significant changes to the transcripts.

In terms of the sequence of interviews in this research, early meetings were sought with informants from the pilot case study, the Peak Tourism Partnership, and these were conducted in late 1996. These were followed up in early 1997 by interviews with key individuals with a national perspective on partnerships for tourism development in England. These interviewees included the then Development Manager of the English Tourist Board and the Marketing Director of the Norwich Area Tourism Agency. This latter interviewee was a personal contact of the researcher who had managed a tourism partnership for several years and who had also contributed to national conferences on tourism partnerships in England. These interviews were intended to provide valuable contextual data within which the case study partnership interviews could be situated.

Programme managers were the first individuals to be interviewed in each case study partnership. This was in recognition of the particular importance of their role and of their being best placed to comment on the overall partnership programme.

Interviews were conducted in the respondents' workplaces and ranged in duration from approximately twenty to ninety minutes, averaging around fifty minutes. The purpose of the interviews was made clear from the outset and the aims of the research were repeated before the dialogue commenced. The researcher attempted to perform a neutral role and create an atmosphere of 'balanced rapport' during the course of the interviews (Fontana and Frey, 1994: 364). He presented a casual and friendly stance while remaining directive and focused on the research aims and objectives. The interviewer also attempted to present a style of interested listening that 'rewarded' the respondent's participation but did not evaluate their responses. The researcher also sought to avoid mystification through the unnecessary use of theoretical language. Interviews opened with general questions before moving on to those of a more specific nature. Questions in the interview schedule were designed both to be thematically relevant and dynamic in terms of their logical sequencing. At the conclusion of the interview, an informal and off-the-record debriefing was conducted with each respondent. Analytical notes were written up in each case as soon as possible after the interview and usually on the same day.

An asymmetry of power in interview situations is acknowledged here. The interviewer defines the situation, introduces the topics of the conversation, and through further questions steers the course of the interview. On the other hand, the interviewee, as the source of the information sought by the researcher, can control access to data and may present a partial and unbalanced view of the subject.

According to Kvale (1996:145) further aspects of the quality of research interviews may be assessed in relation to:

- the extent of spontaneous, rich, specific, and relevant answers that are recorded from interviewees
- the balance between the interviewer's questions and the subjects' answers. In this regard the more time taken by interviewees' responses the better
- the degree to which the interviewer follows up and clarifies the meanings of the relevant aspects of the answers
- attempts by the interviewer to verify his or her interpretations of the subject's answers in the course of the interview
- the interview being "self-communicating" in the sense that it is a story contained in itself that requires little extra description and explanation.

Further key considerations in the quality of interviews are the relations between interviewees' accounts and whether such accounts are potentially 'true' or 'false' (Silverman 1993:90). Or, as Bulmer (1977:257) puts it, 'the correspondence between respondents' verbal statements and overt acts and between rhetoric and reality'. These key issues can to an extent be verified against other interviews and partnership documents. In this research, the quality of individual interviews is assessed against these criteria and is based on the recorded transcripts, as discussed in the case study chapters.

3.4.2 Documentary and textual analysis applied in this research

This section sets out the documents that were gathered in this research and the approach that was developed for their analysis. Documents assessed here include policy and strategy documents produced by and for case study tourism development partnerships and, where made available, from member organisations. A full list of these documents is provided in appendix C.

A further significant source of documentary materials was the then English Tourist Board (ETB) Development Department. The ETB at a national (i.e. England wide) level, was the single most important agency during the late 1980s and early 1990s in devising, monitoring and evaluating partnership programmes for local tourism development. It also, at that time adopted a key coordinating role in liaison with other partners at national and regional levels. The origins of the Tourism Development Action Programmes (TDAPs), for example, and other partnership arrangements, under a variety of titles, can be traced to the then Development Department at the ETB. Much activity in coordinating and arbitrating on applications for ETB support from regional and local initiatives took place here during the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, following the government review of tourism in 1992, resources for the ETB to coordinate local programmes on a national basis were removed and responsibility for existing programmes was devolved to the regional boards. Since then, the Development Department staffing has been substantially reduced and its remit largely re-focussed from area to product development.

During the fieldwork for this research the ETB Development Department remained an important repository of archive documentary material on tourism partnership programmes generally and the case study partnerships in this research specifically. Such materials included strategies and policy statements, minutes of relevant steering group and committee meetings, letters and memoranda. Access to these documents was negotiated following an interview with the then ETB Development Manager on the 21st February 1997. It was agreed then that the researcher could have access to the relevant filing cabinets during a visit to the ETB Development Department office on the 31st July and 1st August 1997 only.

Office space was made available on these dates and free access to the files was granted. It was, however, indicated that some form of confidentiality agreement might be necessary and that the ETB legal section was working on the draft of such an agreement. It was further agreed that a list of the records that were copied and noted would be provided to the interviewee, along with an indication of how such records might be used in the context of the research.

The ETB Development Manager's cooperation in allowing access to the records contained in the Development Department's files rather than to a selection placed in the library, as first agreed, was very much appreciated. However, some possible gaps in the collection of materials did become apparent during the search, and these are noted below.

The objectives and purpose of the two-day visit were agreed with the ETB Development Manager as follows:

- To establish the scope and range of the documentary materials on local tourism development partnerships in England held in the offices of the English Tourist Board Development Department and in the ETB library.
- To concentrate attention on any such documents held on the Peak Tourism Partnership, West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, and Discover Islington specifically. Files with a more general coverage of tourism development partnerships were of secondary interest. These included, Tourism Development Action Programmes, Local Area Initiatives, Strategic Development Initiatives, Tourism Renewal Schemes, Tourism Challenge and other programmes that involved a partnership approach to local tourism development.
- To make notes reviewing the content of such materials in terms of the aims of the research, and against an analytical and theoretical framework. It was anticipated that documents held at the ETB would be most pertinent in terms of policy analysis, strategic management, relationships with partner agencies, and local contexts.

Files that were made available in the ETB Development Department offices included the contents of four complete four-drawer filing cabinets, which were suggested as being those containing the most relevant documents for the purposes of this research. The contents of these cabinets are summarised in Table 3.10.

They included two complete cabinets containing files on a total of fifty local tourism development partnerships in England, including the case study partnerships in this research. The complete list of these local partnerships is contained in appendix C. Attention during the one and a half days allowed in the Development Department offices was concentrated mainly on these case study files.

The other two filing cabinets included minutes of the meetings of the then ETB Strategic Programmes Team and those of the Regional (Tourist Board) Development Managers. Time allowed for a brief examination and note taking on these records. The cabinets also contained records of notes and speeches made by ETB staff at a number of conferences and events, information and materials produced by other agencies and organisations with whom the ETB was then in contact, and 'records' files under the headings shown in Table 3.10.

File Title	Indicative Content
Local Area Initiatives	Records on a total of fifty local area initiatives (case study partnership records are examined in detail below)
Meetings	Files containing minutes of meetings of the Strategic Programmes Team and also of the Regional Development Managers
Conference Notes and Speeches	Records of notes and speeches made by English Tourist Board staff at a number of conferences and events
Agencies and Organisations	Information and materials produced by other agencies and organisations with whom the English Tourist Board was then in contact in a partnership context
Information	Records contained under the following headings: Product Development Area Development Special Projects Group TDAP Monitoring Regeneration Scheme Resorts Initiative Rural Tourism Initiative Visitor Management Initiative Visitor Management Programme

Table 3.10: English Tourist Board Development Department Filing Cabinet Contents 31st July 1997

Overall, the records were more substantial and extensive than anticipated. The files appeared to be very well maintained and, as the ETB Development Manager suggested, contained more material that was dated before the 1992 review following which responsibility for local area tourism development initiatives was devolved to the regions.

It was decided that, in view of the limited time available, attention would be concentrated on the Peak Tourism Partnership, West Cumbria Tourism Initiative and, Discover Islington files and the contents of these are listed in appendix C. These documents, along with the relevant interview schedules are discussed in the case study chapters in the context of the analytical framework that was developed for this research.

3.4.3 Analytical framework

The analytical framework that was developed for this research is based on an interpretive approach in the sense that, 'the researcher goes beyond what is directly said [and written] in order to work out structures and relations of meaning [that are] not immediately apparent in the text[s]. This requires a certain distance from what is said, which is achieved by a methodical or theoretical stance, recontextualising what is said in a specific conceptual context' (Kvale, 1996: 201). The 'conceptual context' in this research is the theoretical framework on inter-organisational collaboration adapted from Wood and Gray (1991) which is discussed in chapter four. The present section now goes on to discuss the 'methodical stance' that is used here in terms of the analytical approach to the research data.

The analytical framework used in this research is developed as an adaptation of the 'Framework' model devised by Ritchie and Spencer (1994). The approach here is also informed by other literature on the analysis of qualitative data, notably Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Feldman (1995), Flick (1998), Halfpenny (1979), Hammersley (1993), Maxwell (1996), May (1997), Shipman (1997), and Silverman (1993). Ritchie and Spencer developed 'Framework' for use in applied qualitative research on cases in social and community planning. It is a particularly applicable analytical model to the aims of this research as it provides a 'contextualising strategy' that is designed specifically for the analysis of case studies.

As such, the framework is used to connect statements and events into a coherent whole *within* a particular context. These 'particular contexts' are the case study partnerships in this research. A second stage in the framework allows for the categorisation of data that enables relationships of similarity and difference to be analysed *between* case studies (Maxwell, 1996:79).

Ritchie and Spencer (1994:174) suggest that there are four broad categories of research questions that can be addressed by the analytical framework: contextual, diagnostic, evaluative, and strategic. These categories of research questions are summarised in relation to this research in Table 3.11 below. Therefore, the documentary materials gathered for this research, including the interview transcripts, are analysed in relation to the template presented in Table 3.11. These analyses are combined to produce a synthesis of similarities and differences between the case study partnerships. This synthesis is presented in Chapter Eight.

Research question category as applied to the aims of this research	Relevant analytical issues based on the question category and the aims of this research
Contextual: identifying the form and nature of partnerships in a particular place and time	<p>The dimensions of attitudes or perceptions that are held towards a tourism partnership in a particular area and organisational / occupational context</p> <p>The nature of people's experiences with partnership working</p> <p>The elements operating within a local tourism partnership system</p>
Diagnostic: examining the reasons for, or causes of the local partnership form	<p>The factors underlying particular attitudes or perceptions that are held towards a local tourism partnership</p> <p>The reasons why decisions or actions are taken, or not taken</p> <p>The reasons why and how particular issues are prioritised in a local tourism partnership programme</p> <p>The reasons why and how particular partnership programmes are being used or not being used</p>
Evaluative: appraising the effectiveness of partnerships in particular local contexts	<p>The ways in which partnership and individual objectives are achieved or not achieved</p> <p>The factors that affect the successful or unsuccessful delivery of local tourism partnership programmes</p> <p>The ways in which partnership member experiences affect their subsequent working behaviours</p> <p>The constraints that exist to tourism partnership system operation</p>
Strategic: identifying new theories, policies, plans or actions for local partnerships	<p>Identifying the types of partnerships that are required to meet local tourism development needs</p> <p>Identifying the actions that are needed to make local tourism partnership programmes more effective</p> <p>Identifying the ways in which local tourism partnership structures and systems may be improved</p> <p>Identifying the strategies that are required to overcome newly defined problems</p>

Table 3.11: Research Question Categories in the 'Framework' Analytical Model and their Application to this Research

There are four key stages to the analysis of qualitative data involved in the adapted 'Framework' model as applied in this research. These are:

1. *Familiarisation* with the data that are gathered in the form of tapes, interview transcripts and documents. This stage involves the listing of key ideas and recurrent themes.
2. Identifying a *thematic* framework in terms of the abstraction and conceptualisation of key issues, concepts and themes according to which the data is examined and referenced. This stage includes the identification of *a priori* issues (i.e. issues introduced into the interviews that are informed by the original research aims and theoretical framework) as well as emergent themes. During this analytical stage, the researcher looks for theoretical concepts that encapsulate the diversity of experience, attitude, and circumstances represented in the data. Judgements are made here about the meaning, relevance, importance and connections within and between findings, involving both logical and intuitive thinking. This stage is also concerned with making sure that the original research questions are being fully addressed.
3. The data set is *charted* in order to build up an overall picture of the findings in a particular case study. Charts are devised from headings and sub-headings that are drawn from the thematic framework, from *a priori* research questions, and according to considerations about how best to present and write up the study. Charts are laid out both in terms of a thematic analysis (for each theme across all respondents), and by case (for each respondent across all themes) (Ritchie and Spencer: 183).
4. Data is *mapped and interpreted*. The researcher here reviews the charts and research notes, compares and contrasts the perceptions, accounts, and experiences, and searches for patterns and connections within and between the case studies and seeks explanations for these.

This analytical framework allows the researcher to provide some coherence and structure to an otherwise cumbersome data set while also retaining a hold on the original accounts and observations from which the data are derived (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:176). It also allows for the fundamental tasks of defining, categorising, theorising, explaining, exploring and mapping the data to take place. Other benefits of the analytical model are as follows:

- It is heavily based in, and driven by, the original accounts and observations of the people it is about. Findings are therefore *grounded in and generated by* the data.
- The framework is *dynamic* in that it is open to change, addition and amendment throughout the analytic process.
- The approach is *systematic* as it allows for the methodical treatment of all similar units of analysis.
- The framework is *comprehensive* as it allows for a full, and not partial or selective, review of the material collected.
- It allows access to, and *retrieval* of, the original textual material.
- It enables comparisons to be made *between* cases, and also associations *within* these.
- The analytic process is *accessible to others*, as it allows for the interpretations derived from it to be viewed and judged by people other than the primary analyst (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:176).

However, there are some general issues that are less certain in the analysis of documents and interview transcripts that must be acknowledged here. Notably, the adequacy and validity of the data are not guaranteed by following the prescribed procedure as set out here. Hence the relationships between the research findings and conclusions need carefully to be set against the 'real world' facing the partnerships and their members that are the subject of this research. In this way threats to the adequacy and validity of the data are addressed reflexively throughout the analysis of the case studies. These threats include:

- the incompleteness of *description* in the interviews and documents

- the researcher imposing his own framework or meanings on the *interpretation* of the findings, rather than '...understanding the perspective[s] of the people studied and the meanings they attach to their words and actions' (Maxwell, 1996:90).
- not considering alternative explanations or understandings of the phenomena that are the subject of the research. A failure to acknowledge 'discrepant' data may undermine the *theoretical* validity of the analysis (Maxwell, 1996:90).

More specifically, there may be problems associated with blocks of data being missing or inaccessible. Additionally, records of meetings, work programmes, policy and strategy documents will typically have been produced for instrumental rather than research purposes and hence, may not be readily amenable to theoretical analysis. Similarly, some interviewees may not be prepared to divulge information or they may, either consciously or unconsciously, misrepresent situations in their responses to questioning. Other potentially valuable informants may be unwilling to participate in research or they may be unavailable or unfamiliar with interviews originating from academic research interests. Apparent gaps in the data and in the quality of the interviews and documentary data sources will therefore be assessed throughout this research.

A further consideration is the 'authenticity' of documents and interview responses, in terms of the extent to which they provide an accurate and comprehensive record of events (Preece, 1994:84). Reports, for example, might '...suggest a greater tidiness in the sequence of events than was actually experienced' (Madge, 1985:93). They may also seek to justify actions and minimise failures and may not represent a consensus position on the issues addressed. The analytical framework used here allows for a discussion of the sources and authors of documents and also the ideologies and value systems expressed in the language used in the documents and interview transcripts. The analysis of documents in this research also considers changes in content and emphasis over time, the relationship between a document's source and its content, and the intended audience for the document and the extent to which this may have influenced variations in style, language and themes. Documents are examined here in terms of the reasons why a document may have been produced, taking account of the social and political motives of the author(s).

The extent to which policy, programme and strategic objectives expressed in the document have actually been implemented is also taken into account.

In terms of the analytical framework used here, documentary materials may or may not be corroborated in relation to relevant interview findings. In this research the documents are analysed both in terms of their manifest content, 'the physical or non-inferential material that makes up an archive,' and their latent content, 'the inferred, underlying or hidden meaning in material that makes up an archive' (Dane 1990:177). The analysis of available documents in parallel with interviews therefore provides opportunities for the corroboration of data.

The cross-case analysis used here also extends the external validity of this research. As Huberman and Miles (1994:435) put it, '...looking at multiple actors in multiple settings enhances generalisability. The key processes, constructs and explanations in play can be tested in several different configurations and each configuration can be considered a replication of the process or question under study. Multiple cases also identify configurations (of actors, of working arrangements, of causal influences) that hold in some settings but not in others.'

However, this researcher is aware that, 'there is a danger that multiple cases may be analysed at high levels of inference, aggregating out the local webs of causality and ending with a smoothed set of generalisations that may not apply to any single case' (Huberman and Miles, 1994:435). The aims of this research are concerned centrally with identifying and comparing these 'local webs of causality' and these are a key component of the analysis and synthesis of the case studies in Chapter Eight.

In summary, the trustworthiness of the data analysed in this research is assessed against four criteria throughout the case study and synthesis chapters:

1. the *credibility* or internal validity of particular findings
2. the *transferability* or external validity of the research findings in terms of their applicability to other settings
3. the *dependability* or reliability of the data in terms of the consistency of the results and the extent to which they might be reproducible

4. the *objectivity* of the findings in terms of whether they are reflective of the informants and the inquiry, and not a product of the researcher's biases and prejudices (Decrop, 1999).

3.5 Summary

This chapter has set out the methodology that has been developed for this research. It has done so by moving from a broad or macro review and discussion of methodological choices that exist for the study of partnership arrangements for local tourism development to a consideration of the specific methods and analytical techniques that are used here.

The chapter concludes by presenting an analytical framework that is applicable in this research on the basis of the purpose, aims and topic of the study, and on the nature of the interview materials. The generalisability, reliability, and validity of the documentary sources and interview findings are considered and discussed. The findings of the study and the methods applied are reported in a form that responds to scientific criteria and takes ethical aspects of the investigation into consideration.

Chapter 4 The conceptual framework for the analysis of tourism development partnerships

4.0 Introduction

The following sections develop and apply to this research a conceptual framework that is proposed for the study of organisational partnerships. The framework incorporates six theoretical perspectives (Gray and Wood, 1991; Wood and Gray, 1991). Research questions emerging from each of the six perspectives are highlighted. The theoretical perspectives incorporate concepts and approaches to the subject of organisational partnerships from Strategic Management, Institutionalism, Economics, and Policy Studies. Other relevant theory, for example from the Political Geography and Planning literature, although not referenced by Wood and Gray, is implicit in their framework.

The extent to which the six perspectives are distinct is questioned here. It is contended that the perspectives are not mutually exclusive, and instead they are presented as components of an integrative analytical framework that can offer valuable theoretical and practical insights on partnerships. A central purpose of this research is to examine the extent to which the six perspectives identified by Gray and Wood may be integrated coherently and consistently in order to arrive at a more comprehensive theory of organisational partnerships in the context of local tourism development.

4.1 The background to the conceptual framework

Wood and Gray's conceptual framework is based primarily on the literature that is concerned with the study of organisations. This subject literature was reviewed in relation to the current research in chapter two. The purpose here is to outline the rationale for the conceptual framework, discuss its components, review its potential applications, and propose an adaptation of the framework for the study of tourism development partnerships.

Wood and Gray argue that the orientation of much research in the organisational studies field has been on individual entities, such as a firm, an agency, or a government department. However, they suggest that organisation theories, particularly those dating from the 1960s (Astley and Brahn, 1989; Benson, 1975; Emery and Trist, 1965; Freeman, 1984; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978), do generally acknowledge that complexity and uncertainty in the operational and strategic environments are central concerns facing organisations (and non-organisational stakeholders). There is, Wood and Gray suggest, a recognition that organisation theory and analysis needs to be extended to address considerations in the wider domain(s) and networks within which individual organisations operate, including formal and informal partnerships (Wood and Gray, 1991:155). They also suggest that, 'collaboration [partnerships] shows promise for solving organisational and societal problems, provides some extraordinarily intriguing research settings, and is sufficiently underdeveloped as a field of study to inspire creative conceptual contributions' (Gray and Wood, 1991:4). It is this conceptual contribution that is considered here.

Some organisation theorists suggest that partnership arrangements are entered into with the primary aim of reducing and controlling environmental uncertainty (Emery and Trist, 1965; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). The case studies that apply the Gray and Wood conceptual framework provide evidence to support this contention. However, it is also suggested that some features of partnerships may *increase* complexity and uncertainty in an organisation's environment. This may arise, for example, from the creation of new institutions and inter-dependencies, the establishment of policy priorities that do not serve an individual organisation's interest, and the identification and promotion of new and untested possibilities for action and interaction. Partnerships may also have the effect of providing a platform to stakeholders who had not previously been directly involved in the management of the domain.

For Wood and Gray, environmental uncertainty is a key issue to be addressed by research on partnerships. They suggest that, 'central questions to be answered by a general theory of collaboration...are these: To what extent do stakeholders of a domain enter into collaborations intending to reduce environmental complexity and enhance their control over environmental factors, and to what extent are such objectives actually met?

Furthermore, if collaboration actually increases environmental complexity, what does it offer to stakeholders in exchange for this undesirable effect?' (1991:156). They go on to suggest that the theories that make up the conceptual framework 'fit together' in an examination of these key questions.

Several of the theoretical perspectives outlined here suggest research questions on the issues of partnerships and environmental complexity. Strategic management theory, for example, has a clear focus on individual organisations seeking to control and direct resource supplies, with partnerships representing a potentially viable strategy to secure the necessary resources. Furthermore, partnerships may provide a means of enhancing competitive advantage for individual organisations.

From a political perspective, Wood and Gray suggest that environmental complexity makes pluralistic political processes and structures necessary in order to reconcile conflicting interests, to bring together stakeholders or to identify routes to the agreement and achievement of goals. Access to influence, and the representation of places and industries to politicians and electorates, are other political considerations in the study of partnerships.

Wood and Gray argue that an institutional theory perspective on partnerships is centrally concerned with securing legitimacy as a resource, and with responding to institutional pressures for conformity. However, this is a fairly narrow reading of an institutional approach, with some commentators claiming a more positive interpretation of institutionalism in advancing the case for stakeholder involvement and for challenges to the *status quo* (Healey, 1997).

The efficiency of resource use is the central concern of a microeconomics approach to partnership research (a concern that is also found in resource dependence theory and strategic management theory). For example, Selsky (1991) argues that the involvement of non-profit community service agencies in a partnership can be designed to help these agencies lower their resource acquisition costs by collectively negotiating favourable terms with suppliers. Fleisher's (1991) analysis of industry federations also suggests that such arrangements can reduce the transaction costs of the agency relationships of each participating organisation.

However, in their review article, Wood and Gray argue that partnerships may 'sometimes increase transaction costs for organisations, introduce them to new bilateral or multilateral relationships to which they must attend, require them to learn new skills and abandon or reshape old ones, and make them more explicitly and perhaps uncomfortably aware of the relationships among stakeholders that do not involve them but may affect them' (1991:158).

The extent to which shared rules can be understood, agreed, and established can be another way to assess a partnership's contribution to reducing environmental uncertainty. 'Negotiating the order' within a particular domain and a participant's relationships with others and with domain level issues provides another theoretical perspective on partnerships and environmental complexity.

The research on partnerships cited by Gray and Wood was mostly published in the late 1970s and 1980s and is based primarily on case studies on a range of subjects and in a variety of business and policy fields at that time. While these case studies usually lack an explicit theoretical structure, they make a contribution by identifying the array of settings in which partnerships can be developed. They also highlight the complex problems that organisations face and the inability of single organisations to solve them. These case studies also make a theoretical contribution by helping to identify:

- the need for partnerships;
- the steps involved in creating and developing partnerships;
- the potential offered by partnerships for ameliorating the negative consequences of complex problems;
- factors related to the success (or failure) of partnerships in promoting innovation;
- factors related to the success (or failure) of partnerships in resolving disputes and;
- the evolution of partnerships.

In sum, 'case studies of collaboration have highlighted the theoretical and practical importance of the topic, identified areas for research, and raised critical questions for theoretical debate and further empirical investigation' (Gray and Wood, 1991:5).

Gray and Wood suggest that the papers on collaborative alliances presented in the two special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, and the conceptual framework that provides a synthesis of them, move on from simple descriptive case studies. Instead, they contend that they are, '...designed to move beyond pragmatic descriptions to a deeper, more systematic understanding of the theoretical issues involved in forming and maintaining collaborative alliances' (1991:4). Papers for the special editions of the journal were selected if they, '(a) demonstrated the contributions of existing theories in new collaborative settings, (b) provided critical reviews of the limits of existing organisational theories to explain collaboration, and/or (c) pushed the theoretical frontier to provide clarity and depth of understanding or inspired new perspectives' (1991:5).

In short, the intention of the papers and the summary and synthesis of them was to answer questions about why actors in organisations or outside them participate in partnerships that have particular policy, development and management purposes, and also how they participate and with what consequences.

The next section examines the six theoretical perspectives that Gray and Wood suggest could make a significant contribution to researching partnerships.

4.2 Elements of the conceptual framework

Gray and Wood use six theoretical perspectives in the development of their conceptual framework. These are theories of:

- resource dependence,
- corporate social performance / institutional economics,
- strategic management / social ecology,

- microeconomics,
- institutionalism / negotiated order, and
- political theory.

It is not clear whether these theoretical perspectives were identified *a priori* by Gray and Wood or whether they were themed guidelines to the authors of the papers published in the two special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*. The perspectives suggest useful questions that may be posed in research on partnerships, but other possible theoretical approaches, such as political geography and planning, are not mentioned. This may have reflected the theoretical orientation of the journal, or of Wood and Gray, or of the authors of the papers, or all of these.

There is also some overlap between perspectives. Resource dependence, strategic management, and microeconomics have notable inter-connections in terms of their business and management emphasis. The distinctions between institutional economics, institutionalism, and political theory are also not clear. In addition, Wood and Gray do not discuss methodological issues associated with the application to empirical research of these theoretical perspectives and of the resulting conceptual framework.

However, Wood and Gray raise questions and suggest preliminary answers to them, based on a synthesis of the findings of the articles in the journal. They suggest that the end result is progress toward a more comprehensive theory of collaboration and partnership, but they do not themselves put forward a model of such a comprehensive theory.

4.2.1 Resource dependence

This approach examines how individual organisations might reduce environmental uncertainty in their domain by seeking (and contributing) external resources. The kinds of resources that are relevant might be material, human, political, structural, or symbolic. It is suggested that interdependencies occur because different organisations in a domain have different access to some resources, and that partnerships are one mechanism for securing access to them.

Hence, analysis of resource interdependencies within a domain, such as tourism development, may contribute to an understanding of why partnerships develop and which resources partners seek out and which they are able to contribute.

For an individual organisation Gray and Wood suggest that the focus of a resource dependence approach is commonly on how dependencies on others can be minimised and on how an organisation's autonomy can be maintained, while recognising that inter-organisational relationships may be necessary in order to acquire scarce resources. This is based on the traditional assumption in organisation studies that individual agencies wish to retain autonomy and self-determination. Logsdon (1991) suggests that organisations may also be motivated to participate in partnerships for reasons of efficiency, stability, legitimacy, reciprocity, and asymmetry. Whatever the motivation, resource dependence theory suggests that organisational partnerships have implications for the identification, distribution and use of resources (and vice versa). It is the nature and patterns of these inter-dependencies that is the focus of the resource dependence approach.

At the domain level, the resource dependence perspective might contribute to an analysis of why and how stakeholders form or join partnerships (or decide not to do so), and the patterns of interdependencies within a domain that result from resource exchanges. Analysis might also include consideration of resources that are not identified by partners, or are unavailable to them, or resources that substitute or duplicate for others. Therefore, the focus of research changes, '...from a single organisation's resource configuration to the overall allocation of resources in the inter-organisational field, among all players in the domain' (Gray and Wood, 1991:7).

Logsdon (1991), in a paper from the special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, adopts the resource dependence approach to examine the circumstances behind the formation of partnerships concerned with regional transport in Silicon Valley, California, U.S.A. and also with developing health and safety regulations for chemical storage tanks. She suggests that the primary reason for the partnerships to be established was recognition of resource inter-dependencies by organisations with a stake in these issues. Logsdon concentrates on the nature of the stakes of the potential partnership members together with their perceived interdependence in order to address the issues. This is presented as a simple 2 x 2 matrix:

Stakes for the potential participant		Perceived interdependence with other parties	
		Low	High
Low	Neglect	Free rider problem	
High	Reliance on individual responses	Collaborative potential	

Figure 4.1: Preconditions for organisational participation in cross-sectoral social problem-solving partnerships (Source: Logsdon, 1991:27)

Logsdon's paper is therefore about the recognition of resource interdependencies and the development of organisational commitment to partnerships in 'social problem-solving' contexts. The emphasis is on the preconditions leading to partnership formation, and there is less attention to processes and outcomes. There is also no identification and discussion of the specific resources that partnership members' lacked, sought or contributed in the cases discussed.

Issues in the context of the present research that emerge from a resource dependence perspective include:

- the interests or stakes that actual and/or potential partnership members may have in tourism development;
- the circumstances and recognition of resource inter-dependencies which may encourage stakeholders in tourism development to adopt partnerships; and
- the patterns of inter-dependencies that result from resource exchanges between partners in a tourism development domain.

4.2.2 Corporate social performance / institutional economics

Some of the complexities of partnerships may be captured using theories of corporate social responsibility and performance (for example, Carroll, 1979; Preston and Post, 1975; Wartick and Cochrane, 1985; Wood and Gray, 1991), and of stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984). These theories focus on organisational relationships in the context of the responsibilities of organisations to communities, shareholders and to other stakeholders. This perspective therefore focuses on stakeholders defining and achieving (or failing to achieve) social and institutional legitimacy for their collaborative actions (Carroll 1979; Preston and Post 1975; Freeman 1984). The Corporate Social Performance approach thus moves beyond narrow organisational concerns to examine wider, societal consequences of partnerships. Within this context the perspective may be used to analyse who is involved in a partnership and why, the extent to which stakeholders inform a partnership's agenda, and how partnerships communicate with stakeholders who are excluded from direct involvement.

Gray and Wood suggest that Pasquero's (1991) paper in the special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* employs a corporate social performance framework to examine participant motivation in local and regional 'round tables' for sustainable development in Canada. Pasquero's paper, however, does not make explicit use of the term 'corporate social performance' although principles of shared responsibility are discussed. The theoretical concepts that he does use include negotiated order/institutionalism at the organisation level and institutional economics in terms of the domain. He describes negotiated order theories as being concerned with, 'approaches [to social policy issues] that involve processes of interactions, through which stakeholders gradually come to shared definitions of the situations they collectively face' (Pasquero, 1991:40).

Institutional economics is presented as being a theoretical approach that aims to explain economic behaviour in context. 'Unlike regular economics, institutional economics presents itself as descriptive, pragmatic, anti-rationalist and reformist. It is anti-reductionist and trans-disciplinary, drawing its insights from a broad range of disciplines, including economics, sociology, biology, anthropology, political science, history, and psychology' (Pasquero, 1991:43). Institutional economics assumes that social and economic problem-solving can only occur through participative institutional change.

This provides a highly relevant theoretical base for the study of 'systemic' (Waddock, 1991) policy-orientated partnerships, such as the Canadian round tables for sustainable development (and those for tourism development).

Research issues from corporate social performance and institutional economics perspectives in a tourism context include:

- how social and institutional legitimacy might be defined, agreed and achieved by the members of a tourism development partnership;
- the roles that individual organisations and partnerships might play as social institutions in relation to tourism development, in seeking to promote good employment practices, or access for disadvantaged groups; for example,
- how individual organisations and partnerships control and respond to their stakeholder networks in setting and implementing the agenda for tourism development;
- the allocation of responsibilities for social issues involved in tourism development among partnership actors;
- the ways in which tourism development partnerships mediate between the interests of their participant organisations and those of the wider environment.

4.2.3 Strategic management / social ecology

This perspective is traditionally concerned with independent organisations charting courses of action to gain competitive advantage. In general, strategic management theory has little room for collective action or collaborative alliances, although Astley and Brahn (1989) have adapted strategic management approaches at an inter-organisational level. More recent work has also examined various forms of collaboration as strategic tools for competitive advantage (for example, Huxham, 1996).

Gray and Wood suggest that research that emphasises the benefits of collective strategy for organisations facing collective problems entails a shift in the theoretical perspective from strategic management for individual organisations to a 'social ecology' approach that emphasises the inter-connections and dependencies in an organisation's environment.

A key area of enquiry from a strategic management viewpoint is the ways in which partnership members might regulate their self-serving behaviours so that collective gains can be achieved. Westley and Vredenburg (1991), for example, discuss the impact of an environmental pressure group's endorsement of a range of supermarket products on the strategies of both organisations: They analyse the partnership in terms of 'strategic bridging', defined as an arrangement that, 'spans the social gaps among organisations and constituencies to enable coordinated action' (Westley and Vredenburg, 1991:67) They draw attention to the particular problems that can be faced by organisations involved in 'strategic bridging'. These include finding mechanisms to integrate organisations that may be very different in terms of, for example, wealth, power, culture, language, values, interests, and structure. The level and extent of dialogue between 'bridging organisations' and the dynamics of the specific context are further considerations that may be explored in a strategic management / social ecology framework.

Issues that emerge from this perspective that are relevant to the present research include:

- the extent to which members in a tourism development partnership can reduce threats and develop opportunities in relation to their shared and conflicting interests;
- the trade-offs between collective and individual benefits and costs for members of a tourism development partnership;
- the ways in which a shared tourism development strategy can be reconciled with individual member strategies.

4.2.4 Microeconomics

Applications of microeconomics theory to organisations offer another theoretical perspective to inform research on partnership structures and dynamics. The emphasis of a microeconomics approach to partnerships has typically focused on ways in which inter-organisational partners might overcome impediments to efficiency in their bilateral financial transactions. This would include, for example, ways of reducing the costs of information, training, staff, office accommodation and other resources, with this considered from the perspective of individual organisations involved in partnership relationships.

Wider questions at the domain level would involve an examination of the overall resource use within a partnership and any impediments to economic efficiency and resource contributions that may exist. An example is the issue of 'free-rider' effects, where stakeholders benefit from a partnership without contributing to it. Connections with a resource dependence approach are apparent and any conceptual distinctions between these perspectives are not made clear in Gray and Wood's framework. Such distinctions might start from the basis of microeconomic theory that suggests attention to single organisations (the 'economics of the firm'). A 'dependence' theory, on the other hand, implies a research focus on at least bilateral relationships.

Fleisher's article in the journal issue edited by Gray and Wood is the main paper illustrating a microeconomics approach to research on partnerships. However, Fleisher also makes explicit reference to resource dependence theory in his assessment of economic efficiency in the contexts of the costs and rigidities of a range of industry federations. His focus is on industry sector associations that are principally concerned with representing their members to policy makers, the media and the public ('systemic' partnerships in Waddock's 1989 typology). This category falls outside the definition of ('programmatic') development partnerships that is the focus of this research.

Issues from a microeconomics perspective relevant to a tourism partnership include:

- (in)efficiencies in financial transactions between tourism development partnership members;
- the financial costs and returns for members involved in tourism development partnerships.

4.2.5 Institutionalism

For Gray and Wood, the central premise of institutional theory for research on organisational partnerships is 'that organisations seek to achieve legitimacy from institutional actors by structurally adjusting to institutional influences. Organisations may do this by complying with institutional directives, by copying others' responses to institutions, or by conforming to institutional norms and rituals' (1991:10). This adjustment in order to achieve legitimacy may take the form of a partnership arrangement that involves the 'institutional actors' in a particular domain. Therefore, this perspective focuses on the institutional environment within which partnerships operate including the norms, practices, and ideologies present, and the ways in which partnerships might adjust to or seek to influence these institutional forces (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983). The research emphasis is on the context within which the partnership has emerged, developed and operates with particular attention to the institutional demands placed on partnership members by governments, the professions, business, and communities. These institutional forces originate from more or less organised constituencies that can exert pressure on organisations to comply and adjust to institutional rules or practices in exchange for the conferral of legitimacy, resources and participation. Strong institutional forces can cause organisations in particular domains to adopt similar structures, procedures, and norms (isomorphism) (Di Maggio and Powell, 1983). In sum, institutional sanctions and incentives may represent significant constraints and encouragement for particular forms of partnership to emerge and survive. An arguably positive example is the many government and quasi-government economic development programmes that require partnership arrangements to be in place.

Sharfman *et al.* (1991), for example, in their paper in the special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, analyse the competitive and institutional forces that supported and impeded a partnership that devised a training project involving private sector garment manufacturers, a college, development corporations, and government funding agencies.

They highlight the industry participants' perceived need to improve the collective image of the sector among local communities, potential employees and politicians, a perceived need that would be recognised by many in the tourism context.

Gray and Wood suggest that negotiated order theory is a 'slightly different application of institutional theory' (1991:10). It focuses on the symbolic and perceptual aspects of inter-organisational relationships, particularly on the evolution and negotiation of a shared understanding based on conflicting interests among institutional stakeholders, with the understanding relating to a partnership's structure and processes, and also its limits and potential. Nathan and Mitroff (1991), for example, in their paper in the special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, map the extent to which organisations collaborating to address the problem of product tampering share a common understanding or 'negotiated order' of how to handle this problem as well as their relationships to one another. They note how a negotiated order can develop from both formal and informal elements of the formation and development of partnerships. Negotiated order theory complements institutional theory as a framework for the analysis of stakeholder perceptions and of the broader institutional context to partnerships. It suggests attention to individual agency as well as structural factors in partnership development.

Research issues relating to tourism development partnerships from institutionalist and negotiated order perspectives include:

- the particular structural arrangements adopted by tourism development partnerships, for example in terms of the possible replication of partnership forms (isomorphism);
- the means by which tourism development partnerships may achieve legitimacy among stakeholders;
- how tourism development partnerships interact with institutional environments;
- the degree to which tourism development partnerships are shaped by institutional environments, or vice versa; and
- stakeholder and member perceptions of the purposes and priorities of a partnership.

4.2.6 Political theory

Access to power and resources and their distribution are central concerns in the application of political theory to partnerships. Major research issues in this context include questions of accountability, democracy, legitimacy and the pattern of winners and losers resulting from partnerships. For Gray and Wood, the relevant issues from a political theoretical perspective for research on partnerships are, 'the power dynamics and the distribution of benefits within a network of stakeholders in a problem domain' (1991:11).

Golich (1991), for example, uses a political theory approach to consider the possibility of multilateral international collaboration to manage a global common property resource, the airways for international communication. She considers political, economic and legal principles that apply to this case and the barriers to international collaboration and goes on to discuss the international governance regime that was emergent in this domain in the early 1990s. Roberts and Bradley (1991) provide a further example from a political perspective in examining collaboration for policy innovation and implementation in the context of an alliance formed to generate recommendations for changes in educational policy for a U.S. state. In doing so, they also draw on institutional concepts in terms of the involvement of diverse stakeholders in informing policy formulation. The connections between institutionalism and political theory are close in these articles and in Wood and Gray's summary which all emphasise relations between stakeholders in a problem domain.

In the context of this research, relevant issues from a political theoretical approach include:

- the degree of access to and the distribution of power and resources that affect tourism development partnership members
- the distribution of costs and benefits within a tourism development partnership and in the wider domain.

4.3 Common concerns in the theoretical framework: preconditions, process and outcomes, and the roles of individual partnership members

The previous sections have identified the kinds of research issues that are associated with each of the six theoretical perspectives that contribute to a framework for the study of partnerships. Connections between some of the perspectives have also been outlined. In setting out to apply these theories as part of a framework for the study of partnerships, a fundamental consideration is the timing of the study in relation to the stage of its subject's life cycle. Put simply, research on partnerships may take place before, during and/or after a partnership is established and operational. Different theoretical approaches suggest different questions in researching partnerships at particular stages in their emergence, development and termination. Some theoretical perspectives offer more insight than others do at these different stages and some may be combined.

This section outlines the contribution of the theoretical perspectives within the framework according to the stage of a partnership's existence. Theories are combined where they address comparable issues. Theoretical insights on researching partnerships before, during and after their establishment are summarised in table 4.1. Following Gray and Wood, this section uses the terms, 'preconditions', 'process' and, 'outcomes' to describe these stages.

Partnership phase	Theoretical perspectives based on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based on political and institutional considerations
	<i>Resource dependence theory</i> <i>Microeconomics</i> <i>Strategic management /Social ecology</i>	<i>Corporate social performance / Institutional economics</i> <i>Institutionalism /Negotiated order theory</i> <i>Political theory</i>
Preconditions	<p>Recognition of stakes and inter-dependencies in a domain</p> <p>Recognition that a partnership may maximise efficiencies and reduce transaction costs</p> <p>Fit with organisation strategy</p>	<p>Social, political and institutional conditions encouraging involvement</p> <p>Achieving a shared understanding of and response to a problem</p> <p>Enhancing institutional legitimacy</p> <p>Protecting political interests, and need for governance rules in a domain</p>
Process	<p>Gray and Wood suggest that process is not well addressed by these theories <u>but</u>:</p> <p>Identification of how interdependencies, economic relationships and strategies may change over time</p>	<p>Ways in which understanding of the issues, responsibilities and accountability are negotiated, agreed and shared</p> <p>Re-alignment of partnerships with dynamic environments</p> <p>Explicit member roles and responsibilities, joint decision making, agreed rules, interactive processes</p>
Outcomes	<p>Extent to which problems are solved by combining resources and strategies</p> <p>Partnership structure may lead to different problems and efficiency outcomes</p>	<p>Ways in which risks, costs and benefits are distributed</p> <p>Extent to which shared strategy is enduring and based on shared understanding</p>

Table 4.1: Theoretical perspectives and common concerns of partnership research (adapted from Gray and Wood, 1991)

4.3.1 The pre-conditions that may give rise to organisational partnerships

The stage that precedes the establishment of a partnership suggests research attention to those factors that make a partnership possible and that encourage (or discourage) potential member involvement. These factors include individual, organisational, structural, and political incentives (and disincentives) that exist in the domain for partnership formation. The historical relationships between partnership members and the history of the problem domain are further considerations. Analysis of pre-conditions would also involve attention to the various definitions by members of the context and the issues that the partnership may address.

Recognition of organisational stakes and inter-dependencies within a problem domain is a feature of resource dependence theory. The identification of the nature and sources of the various resources that are required by participants may also assist in an examination of why particular partnership forms emerge. Microeconomic analysis, focusing on financial incentives, opportunities and barriers to collaboration complements a resource dependence approach.

The theoretical framework also highlights the social, political and institutional conditions that encourage partnership formation in particular contexts. These conditions include issues of representation, accountability and equity in addressing problems associated with the domain. The extent to which an understanding of these issues is shared by participants and how this shared understanding may influence partnership form, policy and strategy is a further consideration.

4.3.2 Partnership processes

This operational stage suggests a research focus on the nature, structure and management of the partnership arrangement and the processes by which stakeholders interact to accomplish their objectives. The language and discourse involved in the partnership process and its statements and publications are further research topics under this heading.

Gray and Wood suggest that only three of the six theoretical perspectives address partnership processes in a systematic way; corporate social performance / institutional economics, institutionalism, and political theory. Gray and Wood suggest that they do so in a dynamic, longitudinal manner in terms of, for example, changes in 'the alignment of a partnership with its environment over time', the organisation of decision making, the duration of the partnership, and the institutionalisation of partnership structures.

The institutionalist thread stands out as a common theoretical base for research on partnership processes. Indeed, Gray and Wood pose the question (which they do not answer), 'if we want to construct a comprehensive theory of collaboration, are we limited to only three theoretical perspectives (institutional/negotiated order theory, political theory, and institutional economics) for explicating the process of collaboration? If so, are these approaches sufficient?' (1991:18). In reply, it may be acknowledged that the papers based on resource dependence, microeconomics, and strategic management theory in the special editions of the Journal of Applied Behavioral Science do not address issues of partnership process. However, other studies based on these theoretical perspectives could explore how, for example, the patterns of resource inter-dependencies, financial relationships and strategy development and implementation change during the operation of a partnership.

4.3.3 The outcomes of the partnership

The identification of product and/or policy outcomes following the termination of a partnership programme may also be addressed from each of the theoretical perspectives presented by Gray and Wood. As with preconditions and process the research emphasis varies according to theoretical orientation. Issues might include whether problems were solved, whose problems were solved and, whether shared and agreed norms were realised. The definition of a partnership's success or failure and the specification of any succession arrangements that may be devised to follow the end of a partnership programme are further common concerns. The issue of whether outcomes may have been achieved in the absence of a partnership or in a different partnership form is another theoretical consideration under this heading.

4.3.4 Individual partnership member roles

A partnership will typically involve a number of key individual members. These will include, in many cases, a programme manager and steering group chair. The roles that these members and managers play may comprise an important element of research on partnerships, whether focused on preconditions, processes or outcomes. Their priorities, practices and ideologies provide a further dimension that may be addressed in terms of the theoretical framework, providing insights on individual agency as well as on structural and institutional factors affecting partnerships. Wood and Gray discuss this issue to an extent in their consideration of the role of a partnership 'convenor'.

They suggest that, 'a general theory of collaboration must be able to articulate the role of the convenor in establishing, legitimising, and guiding the collaborative alliance' (1991:149). The issue of individual roles in partnerships might also go beyond the convenor or programme manager to an analysis of the contributions and positions of other partnership members, particularly where a partnership manager is an employee accountable to a chair and/or steering group. The views of these individuals are likely to be particularly significant in a partnership's strategy, priorities and programme of work.

For Gray (1989:71-72), a partnership convenor must have the following:

- "convening power, that is, the ability to induce stakeholders to participate"
- legitimacy among the stakeholders, who must perceive that the convenor has the "authority to organise the domain"
- an unbiased, even-handed approach to the problem domain, to prevent the convenor losing credibility in the eyes of the stakeholders
- appreciative, envisioning, and processual skills, meaning that the convenor must appreciate the potential value of collaborating, and must be able to "envision a purpose to organising the domain" and establish a collaborative process and context

- the ability to identify all relevant stakeholders, who must have legitimacy and thus “be perceived by others to have the right and capacity to participate” in the partnership.

Wood and Gray suggest that this definition leaves some questions unanswered.

These include the basis of the convenor’s (or other partnership member’s) influence, and the difference that influence makes to the role played by the convenor, and whether all stakeholders need to be identified and included for a partnership to proceed. Resource dependence, strategic management, institutional and political theory may each offer insights on analysing these questions.

The papers presented in the special editions of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* identify several types of partnership convenor. These are:

- from a resource dependence perspective, a small, previously assembled alliance of industry representatives that established secondary partnerships (Logsdon, 1991; Selsky, 1991)
- from political and institutional perspectives, multilateral, national and local government officials (Golich, 1991; Logsdon, 1991; Pasquero, 1991)
- from a strategic management perspective, a bilateral arrangement to convene a partnership between an environmental group and a private business (Westley and Vredenburg, 1991)
- from a negotiated order perspective, a specialist university research centre (Nathan and Mitroff, 1991)
- from an institutionalist perspective, a single concerned individual (Sharfman *et al*, 1991).

The diverse backgrounds, degrees of authority and influence, and the occupations of partnership convenors suggest that they may use a variety of tactics, formally and/or informally, to exert influence over stakeholders and the partnership process. Wood and Gray suggest that this influence may be categorised as being based mainly on *legitimation* (where the convenor is perceived by partners as being fair), a *mandate* (where the convenor has power), *facilitation* (where partners trust the convenor), and *persuasion* (where the convenor is credible). Convenors may, of course possess several of these positions of influence to varying degrees from the viewpoints of some, if not all, stakeholders. The absence of such positions of influence is likely to be associated with partnership dissension or failure.

The following section adapts and applies propositions associated with the theoretical perspectives on partnerships to the context of tourism development. Preconditions, processes and outcomes of tourism partnerships are also considered, as are the roles of individual partnership members.

4.4 Integration and application of the conceptual framework to the study of tourism development partnerships

All of the theoretical perspectives reviewed by Wood and Gray contribute to the development of a conceptual framework for the analysis of partnerships in tourism. Some broad research questions that arise from each perspective at the levels of individual partnership members and the tourism development domain are outlined in table 4.2.

Resource dependence	How can uncertainties in the operational and strategic environments in tourism be reduced without increasing dependence?	When and for what reasons do stakeholders become involved in partnerships for tourism development?
Corporate social performance /institutional economics	How does a partnership member control and respond to its stakeholder network in the development of tourism?	What is the role of the partnership member as a social institution in relation to tourism development?
	What is the partnership member's role in addressing social issues associated with tourism development?	How are responsibilities for addressing social issues associated with tourism development allocated among partnership members?
Strategic management	How can partnership members reduce threats and develop opportunities in relation to their interests in tourism development?	How do partnership members regulate their behaviours so that collective gains may be achieved?
Microeconomics	How can a partnership member achieve efficiencies in its transaction with other partnership members?	How can partnerships overcome impediments to efficiency in their transactions?
Institutionalism	Why do tourism development partnerships adopt particular structural arrangements?	How do tourism development partnerships interact with institutional environments?
	How do tourism development partnerships achieve legitimacy with stakeholders?	Are tourism development partnerships shaped by institutional environments or vice versa?
Political	Who has access to power and resources that affect the partnership member?	Who has access to power and resources that affect the domain?
	Who does and does not benefit from the distribution of power and resources that affect the partnership member?	Who does and does not benefit from the distribution of power and resources within the domain?

Table 4.2: Research questions based on theoretical perspectives reviewed by Wood and Gray (1991) at the tourism partnership member and domain levels

In the context of tourism development in England, limited budgets in the public sector and the small scale of many operators in the private sector highlights the importance of resource inter-dependencies in, for example, place marketing campaigns. Whether these interdependencies are recognised and their implications for partnership members may be examined from a resource dependence perspective before, during or after a partnership programme.

Achieving tourism development, which is sustainable in economic, environmental and community terms, is commonly high on the agenda of tourism partnerships, particularly in securing the participation of the private sector in sustainable tourism policies and programmes (Hunter and Green, 1995). A corporate social performance approach is therefore highly relevant in this context.

The extent to which tourism partnerships can mediate between their members in reconciling potentially conflicting strategic objectives would also be a relevant approach in the context of local tourism development. The issues involved with the development of a corporate partnership strategy would also be open to analysis from a strategic management perspective.

Improving transaction efficiencies within local tourism domains and bilateral relationships in, for example, training and technology initiatives would also be a legitimate line of enquiry in terms of microeconomics theory. Addressing 'free rider' and other impediments to economic efficiency in the tourism development domain is a further dimension of this approach.

The institutionalist and negotiated order perspectives may also be used in an examination of the norms and ideologies which are dominant within the tourism 'policy community' and how they may change as a consequence of tourism partnership membership. The interactions between tourism development partnerships and the wider institutional environment and the achievement of legitimacy are further issues that may be addressed by this theoretical perspective.

Achieving an equitable distribution of power, resources and benefits both within tourism partnerships and spatially, within a partnership programmes' geographical boundary, is also a highly relevant research issue in this context. Political theory offers a useful conceptual framework for the study of these issues.

The perspectives briefly reviewed above provide the basis for a more comprehensive theory of inter-organisational collaboration in the case of local tourism development partnerships. Previous research on tourism partnerships has not attempted an analysis based on such a wide range of theory. The templates provided in tables 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5, which identify some specific research questions based on the theoretical perspectives at the preconditions, process and outcome 'stages' suggest a coherent framework for such an analysis.

Resource dependence	Reasons for involvement (may be examined in terms of each perspective)	Resources contributed	Resources sought	Pre-existing constraints on tourism development	Local resource interdependencies
Corporate social performance	Social issue(s) identified that may be addressed by partnership	Understanding of 'sustainable tourism'	Extent to which partnership is intended as an exercise in sustainable tourism	Partnership member's role in local communities (personal and organisational)	
Microeconomics	Projected financial costs and benefits of involvement				
Institutionalism	Member interpretation of the tourism development issues	Identification of local stakeholders			
Political Theory	Decisions on representation	Political positions on tourism development	Policy options for tourism development		
Strategic management	Fit between member organisation and partnership strategy	Nature of anticipated adjustments to corporate behaviour			

Table 4.3: Research questions by theoretical perspective at the preconditions stage of tourism development partnerships

Resource dependence	Changes in resource dependencies during course of the partnership			
Corporate social performance	Partnership practice in social objectives	Partnership influence on member social performance		
Microeconomics	Financial transactions during course of the partnership	Ways in which partnership addresses financial constraints		
Institutionalism	How agreement over issues is negotiated	Ongoing relationships with institutional environment	Emerging and dynamic roles of individual members	Partnership influence on working practices
Political Theory	'Rules of the game'	Development of policy positions and options		
Strategic management	Adjustments to strategy during course of the partnership			

Table 4.4: Research questions by theoretical perspective at the process stage of tourism development partnerships

Resource dependence	Patterns of dependencies following the partnership programme	
Corporate social performance	Partnership effects on social performance	
Microeconomics	Financial outcomes	
Institutionalism	Partnership effects on institutional environment for tourism development	Changes to member perceptions of tourism issues
Political Theory	Tourism policy outcomes	Distribution of costs and benefits – spatial and by sector and domain
Strategic management	Partnership effects on member and overall tourism strategy	Succession arrangements

Table 4.5: Research questions by theoretical perspective at the outcome stage of tourism development partnerships

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of inter-organisational collaboration in the case of the Peak Tourism Partnership (PTP). This case study was originally conceived as being the pilot for the wider research, and for this reason some of the interviews analysed here were conducted first in the fieldwork process, commencing in October 1996. However, based on the fieldwork experience and respondent feedback it was found that only minor adjustments to the methods were necessary. Therefore, the PTP was retained as a full case-study chapter within the research.

Data here are drawn from the interview transcripts and documentary sources relating to the partnership that were identified in chapter three. The presentation of the findings in this chapter coincides with the conceptual framework discussed in chapter four. Comments made by respondents are referenced according to their coded transcript number (*EIT1 - EIT 11* inclusive), with an additional numbered reference for the specific question and response. The analytical process that is brought to bear on these data was also set out in chapter three. In summary, this analytical process involves the identification of key ideas and recurrent themes in the data, and the conceptualisation of these key issues in relation to the aims of the research and the theoretical framework.

This chapter is organised into three main sections that focus respectively on the PTP's *pre-conditions*, *processes* (including the roles of individual partnership members), and *outcomes*. This is based on the conceptual framework as discussed in chapter four and summarised in table 4.2. The theoretical perspectives on inter-organisational collaboration are combined in two categories within each section of this chapter. One category includes the theoretical perspectives that are mainly concerned with *resource* considerations, interpreted here as relating primarily to the Peak District's physical characteristics and tourism products, and funding issues in the case of the PTP. Theoretical perspectives that are combined and applied in this resource category are those of resource dependency, microeconomics, and strategic management. The second category includes the theoretical perspectives that mainly focus on *political* and *institutional factors*, these being the perspectives of corporate social performance, institutionalism, and politics.

The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the key themes that emerged from the data and makes connections between the two inter-related categories of theoretical perspectives. These are summarised in table 5.3.

5.1 Partnership pre-conditions

Consideration is given here to the context and pre-conditions within which the PTP was established. These pre-conditions include the factors that made the partnership possible and that encouraged (and discouraged) potential member involvement. Attention is also paid here to the individual, organisational, structural, and political incentives (and disincentives) that existed in the domain that encouraged the formation of the partnership. The historical relationships between partnership members and the history of the tourism development domain are further considerations. The analysis of pre-conditions also involves an assessment of the various definitions offered by the partnership's members of the context, as well as the identification of the various issues that the partnership addressed.

5.1.1 Resource perspectives on the Peak Tourism Partnership's pre-conditions

The interviews and documentary sources drew attention to the physical and organisational resources of the Peak District that influenced the establishment of the PTP and the specification of its work programme. These organisational resources are discussed in section 5.1.2 in relation to political and institutional theoretical perspectives. This section reviews briefly the area's resource characteristics in terms of the nature of tourism in the Peak District and of how these characteristics encouraged the partners to become involved in the PTP.

The Peak District is a region of upland countryside, small towns, villages and farms in central England. The area comprises the central section of the Pennine Hills and it encompasses dramatic moorlands, craggy limestone dales and gentler rolling hills and valleys. Much of the area is designated by Act of Parliament as a National Park. This designation is significant in terms of the local importance of the Peak National Park Authority and the planning regulations and guidelines covering the area, as well as in relation to the policy and strategic balance that is sought between conservation, community interests, economic development, and tourism.

The Peak District includes, but also extends a little beyond, the boundaries of the Peak National Park. The area covered by the PTP is shown in figure 5.1.

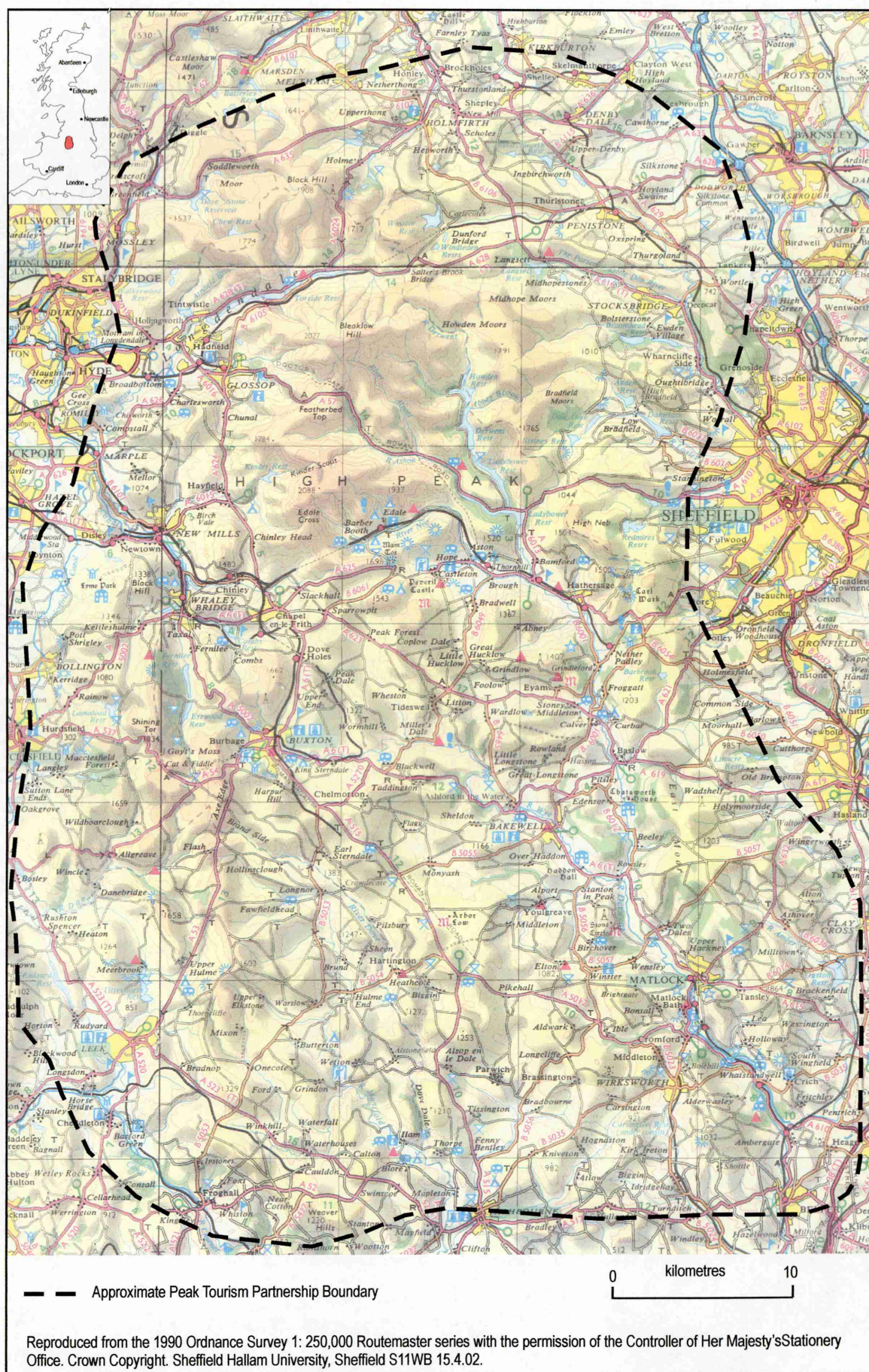


Figure 5.1 The Peak Tourism Partnership Area

Much of the region is an established tourist and day visitor destination, with considerable attractions for touring, sightseeing, walking, and more active outdoor pursuits, such as climbing, caving and cycling. When the PTP was established in 1992 it was estimated that there were 18 million visits each year to the Peak National Park, the vast majority being day visits (EMTB, 1992). Of all the national parks in England and Wales, the Peak District receives by far the most day visitors, resulting in severe visitor pressure at some key recreational access points, routes and locations during peak periods (EMTB, 1992). This issue was emphasised by the Programme Manager who contended that tourism in the Peak District has, '*a structural problem, where the industry is geared largely for the needs of day visitors.*' (EIT1: 15). The imbalance between staying and day visitors in favour of the latter is mainly a consequence of the region's accessibility as a day visit destination from many centres of population in the English north and midlands, such as from Sheffield, Manchester, Derby and Stoke-on-Trent. This locational characteristic is a key influence on the nature of tourism in the Peak District. A representative of the National Park Authority on the PTP steering group considered that this structural problem has in some cases resulted in, '*inappropriate development, unsympathetic to the environment, generating too many visitors as well as environmental problems like footpath erosion, and demand for car parking.*' (EIT2: 14). Nevertheless, tourism continues to be recognised by local, regional and national agencies as a fundamental part of the Peak District's economy, providing jobs for local communities as well as support for farm incomes and local services. Jobs in tourism are a significant proportion of all employment in the area (EMTB, 1992:2.3).

Resources for tourism in the Peak District include attractive upland, moorland and dales scenery, and towns and villages that act as important centres for tourist activity. Attractions in the region include historic houses (most notably Chatsworth House), accessible caves and caverns (e.g. the 'show' caves in and around Castleton), local events (e.g. country shows and antique fairs), traditions (e.g. decorative well 'dressings' in commemoration of the plague), produce (e.g. souvenirs and jewellery manufactured from local minerals, farm shops and local foods), outdoor activities, touring routes and centres, and provision for hiking, climbing, cycling, caving and horse-riding. The area also includes a range of tourist accommodation, although as noted previously staying tourists are less significant than day visitors for the area's tourism industry.

The Peak District experiences a significant seasonal concentration of tourist and day visitor demand, with much vacant capacity in its accommodation and attractions during the winter, spring and autumn, as well as on weekdays for most of the year. Indeed, most attractions and much of the accommodation closes during the winter months (EMTB, 1992:2.6). Because of the Peak District's ease of access from surrounding centres of population and its long-established, traditional patterns of recreational visitors, many of the area's more popular destinations and routes can suffer from severe visitor pressure during peak periods. Footpath erosion is a serious problem in a limited number of places, while a few routes and destinations experience traffic congestion, parking problems, overcrowding, and disruption to local residents (EMTB, 1992: 2.6). A recognition by local and regional authorities and agencies that tourism in the Peak District is characterised both by economic benefits and localised environmental and social costs provided a significant impetus for the establishment of the partnership, for the identification of its visitor management projects, and for the National Park Authority's involvement. As the Park Authority's Director of Planning and founding Chair of the Partnership put it, *'the sheer complexity of tourism in the national park and the National Park's early experiences of working in local areas encouraged our participation in this initiative'* (EIT3: 8).

The 'core' budget allocated to implement the PTP's work programme over its three-year period was £287,500. The relative contributions of the different partners in the PTP are shown in Table 5.1. This 'core' budget represented the base financial commitment to the initiative by partner organisations. This base funding could be supplemented by further expenditure by the partners on specific activities if they agreed this. Private sector contributions to the partnership were sought through sponsorship, through participation in specific projects within the work programme, and through in-kind support. Hence, private sector funding was expected to be additional to the 'core' budget. This reflects a recognition that the private sector might be more willing to support specific projects with identifiable outcomes rather than contribute to a partnership's 'core' budget.

Source of funding	Contribution to the 'core' budget	Percentage of the 'core' budget
English Tourist Board	£52,500	18.3
Countryside Commission	£52,500	18.3
Rural Development Commission	£52,500	18.3
Peak National Park	£45,000	15.6
Local authorities	£40,000	13.9
Training and Enterprise Councils	£15,000	5.2
Private sector	£30,000	10.4
Total 'core' budget	£287,500	100.0

Table 5.1: Peak Tourism Partnership Core Funding (Source: EMTB, 1992)

Correspondence between the East Midlands Tourist Board and English Tourist Board (ETB) noted the difficulty of securing these core budget contributions. This letter also noted that the Countryside Commission's contribution had been reduced from £52,500 to £30,000, although, 'consideration would be given to additional funding for specific projects'. The Rural Development Commission's contribution was also reduced from £52,500 to £49,500, 'in line with its ruling that government funding should represent no more than 50% of the budget of a programme which they are supporting.' Furthermore, local authority target contributions had been reduced from £40,000 to £30,000, 'in view of budgetary restrictions and the failure to involve the more peripheral authorities'. More positively, there were private sector commitments of £30,000 from Center Parcs and £10,000 from Severn Trent Water, and these figures had exceeded the original overall target of £30,000 (letter from the Development Manager at the East Midlands Tourist Board to the Head of the ETB Development Department, 19/4/93). The letter made no reference to any change in core budget support from the ETB, National Park Authority and Training and Enterprise Councils, and it is assumed here that these commitments were met. However, these figures do equate with a reduction of the core budget from £287,500 to £262,500. The ETB attempted to make up this shortfall by an approach to the then Sports Council, but this was unsuccessful (Memo from the ETB Head of Development to the ETB Chief Executive, 27/4/92).

The partnership's ability to 'lever' additional resources for the development of the area's tourism in spite of these moderate difficulties in securing contributions to the core funding should be noted. The PTP proposal was a unique and unprecedented opportunity to bring resources together in pursuit of visitor management and sustainable tourism development objectives for the area. In addition, the partnership's position as "*an innovative national project*" (PTP, 1995), helped individual partners to justify their involvement in specific projects and also for their financial and 'in-kind' contributions to the Partnership's programme.

5.1.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the pre-conditions for the Peak Tourism Partnership

There has been a continuing history of problems of coordination and communication between the multiplicity of agencies, organisations and authorities in the public, private and voluntary sectors with interests in tourism in the Peak District (SCOSPA, 1987; PTP, 1995). At the time of the establishment of the PTP, the area included thirteen local authorities, four Regional Tourist Boards, the Peak National Park Authority, as well as parts of the then Derbyshire and Staffordshire Rural Development Area, all with varying and inter-relating degrees of policy, planning and marketing responsibilities for the area's tourism. The nature of the region's tourism industry, which mainly comprise a large number of small-scale and widely dispersed independent businesses, also poses problems for coordination within the private sector and between the private sector and public sector agencies (EMTB, 1992). The PTP programme manager suggested that, *'prior to the partnership being established, there was a local background of competition, poor coordination and lack of cooperation between some agencies and authorities'* (EIT1: 15). This view was elaborated upon by another steering group member, who commented that coordination and communication, *'were problematic in the Peak, where relationships between the National Park Authority, local communities, the tourism industry, and local authorities were weak, poor or non-existent'* (EIT9: 14). For example, Derbyshire County Council's lack of involvement in the Partnership was noted by yet another steering group member, who attributed the County Council's absence to its 'confused' policy at that time on tourism (EIT7: 13).

Therefore, a key issue for any new partnership for tourism development in the Peak District was to attempt to foster and provide a mechanism for collaboration among the various relevant organisations in pursuit of their mutual interests and a shared policy agenda (memo from the Development Manager, West Country Tourist Board reviewing the PTP proposal, 17/3/92; memo from ETB Head of Development to ETB Chief Executive commenting on the draft submission for the partnership, 1990; Peak District Tourism Conference, 1991).

The background to the proposal for the establishment of the PTP can be traced to the 1987 ETB 'Tourism Action Programme' report on the designated Rural Development Area of Derbyshire and Staffordshire. This report included a recommendation that all of the authorities and agencies concerned with tourism in the region should work together to coordinate their marketing programmes and to develop a brand identity for the Peak District (ETB, 1987). As a result of this recommendation, the Peak Tourism Forum (PTF), comprising professional, officer representation from nine of the thirteen local authorities in the area, the Peak National Park, and three Regional Tourist Boards, was established in 1988 with a brief to develop a joint marketing campaign. The Peak District Tourism Conference was also set up, which consisted of elected member representatives of the authorities involved in the Peak Tourism Forum and which acted as a body advising on its work.

The field of activity of the Peak Tourism Forum involved the coordination of the region's marketing activity, including promotional print materials, advertising, and attendance at exhibitions. However, it was recognised by the members of the Forum that coordination of other aspects of tourism in the Peak District, including visitor management, community participation and tourism product development was desirable. However, it was also recognised that there would be limits to the Forum extending its remit beyond marketing coordination without there being additional dedicated staff resources and organisational structures. A bid for funding to engage in this wider range of activity was made in 1990 to the ETB's Area Initiatives Appraisal Group, and this bid met with support 'in principle'.

However, the decision of the Appraisal Group included requirements that the private sector and also local community representatives should be involved, and that a mechanism for securing such support had to be in place before a final submission could be made for support from the ETB (letter from ETB Head of Development to the Development Manager at the East Midlands Tourist Board, 8/10/91). A 'Bridging Committee' was established to consider this argument, and in 1991 it concluded that a joint public-private sector organisation (incorporating the Peak Tourism Forum and Peak District Tourism Conference) would provide this mechanism and should be a key project within the wider tourism development partnership for the Peak District (Bridging Committee meeting minutes, 1/10/91).

The publication in April 1991 of the findings of the Government's Task Force on Tourism and the Environment provided another impetus to the notion of local partnerships being established in order to tackle visitor and resource management issues and also to involve the community in tourism development (ETB, 1991a). In its response to the Task Force findings, the ETB suggested the establishment of a series of nationally significant pilot visitor management programmes throughout the country (ETB, 1991a). The Peak District represented an excellent candidate for such a programme. Furthermore, the National Park Authority had been closely involved in the Task Force investigation, with the then National Park Officer having chaired its Countryside Working Party. For these reasons, the interim submission to the ETB for a tourism partnership for the Peak District was re-orientated somewhat towards sustainable tourism activity in the Peak District, with in particular an increased emphasis on visitor management. The National Park Director of Planning suggested that the strength of the Peak District case for funding was assumed to be that, *'the Peak District was under such pressure, and because it had so many particular things that were absolutely central to the Tourism and the Environment report, it was treated as a natural follow-up'* (EIT3: 2).

As presented by the founding PTP steering group chair, the National Park Authority's position on tourism was that they sought to influence tourism policies and marketing by taking an active coordinating role. This interviewee recalled how at a travel trade fair in the late 1980s he had seen seventeen different brochures from local authorities and other agencies that promoted the National Park area.

This observation highlighted the National Park Authority's wish to play a part in influencing the messages that were being communicated to visitors about the Park and as far as possible to contribute to the ways in which particular sites and areas within the Park were being represented (EIT1: 4).

The proposed PTP was intended to be a three year programme of sustainable tourism initiatives involving a partnership between four regional tourist boards, eleven local authorities, the Peak National Park Authority, local Training and Enterprise Councils and other tourism-related bodies. The local private sector and also three national agencies - the ETB, Countryside Commission and the Rural Development Commission - were also identified as founding partners.

The Peak National Park Authority and the eleven local authorities comprising the Peak Tourism Forum all supported the initial establishment of the partnership. The four Regional Tourist Boards that included the Peak District within their boundaries also supported the partnership bid. These were the East Midlands Tourist Board, the Heart of England Tourist Board, the Northwest Tourist Board, and the Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board. They also agreed that the East Midlands Tourist Board, which included the largest area of the Peak District within its boundaries, would coordinate the regional tourist board involvement as well as manage the partnership programme on behalf of the English Tourist Board (PTP, 1995). The ETB favoured an RTB taking this direct management role in the partnership because of their existing close working relationships with agencies and authorities based in the Peak District and with the local tourism industry.

Very early on in the process of establishing the new partnership, a number of community consultation exercises were conducted by consultants in order to encourage interested local people to become representatives on the PTP (BDOR, 1993). One representative recruited to the partnership steering group in this way was active in the National Farmers Union, was a Parish Councillor, had formerly been a member of the Peak National Park Authority, and also had commercial interests in tourism as an owner of farm holiday accommodation. He commented that the consultation exercise for the Partnership, *'seemed like a golden opportunity for local people to get involved in a plan for sustainable tourism.'* (EIT4: 5).

Considerations that encouraged the public sector agencies to contribute to the new partnership included the attractiveness of their agency being involved with a prominent national programme that focussed specifically on the sustainable development of tourism. For example, the Countryside Commission representative suggested that their earlier participation in partnership programmes concerned with 'recreation' had often carried connotations of costs and loss-making provision, whereas 'tourism' implied economic benefits and profit. This representative also highlighted the convergence in the agendas of the Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission and ETB in relation to tourism development. In his view, there were, *'few points of disagreement. The pressures associated with rural tourism in England are comparatively limited'* (EIT2: 9). Moreover, the tourism partnership model was seen by the Countryside Commission as having been broadly successful in bringing together the various institutional stakeholders and acting, *'as a 'bridge' or broker in improving relations, although this may only be short-term.'* (EIT2: 11). The institutionalisation of public sector working within partnership arrangements was also emphasised as an incentive for the involvement of public agencies with the Countryside Commission representative suggesting that, *'partnerships are part of the culture of working now. They are a politically correct and necessary term in local and regional tourism and development strategies.'* (EIT2: 14).

The complexity of the institutional environment within which the new partnership would be operating was a further contextual factor. Community representatives on the steering group expressed a degree of scepticism about the extent to which the partnership could be effective in these circumstances. As one community representative argued, *'there is a large number of agencies with interests in this area. Officer meetings are that thick on the ground that you can't get a room anywhere for anything else, and nothing much happens at the end of the day!'* (EIT3: 7).

However, agreement was reached on the objectives for the new partnership following a series of meetings between representatives of the partner agencies, and these objectives were:

- To give further impetus to previous joint working in the Peak District, with particular emphasis on increased private sector involvement.
- To develop a programme of ongoing activity to ensure sustainable tourism activity in the Peak District, including an integrated approach to visitor management throughout the whole area.
- To raise the contribution which tourism makes to the local economy, while giving full recognition to the need to protect the environment and to safeguard the interests of local residents (Peak District Tourism Conference, 27/4/92; memo from the ETB Head of Development to the ETB Chief Executive, 12/11/91).

5.2 Partnership processes

The focus of this section is on the implementation of the PTP's work programme and the processes by which stakeholders interacted to accomplish the partnership's objectives. There is also discussion of the reasons for individual member participation and for their respective roles in the partnership. This section first focuses on the partnership's work programme in relation to insights from resource and then from political and institutional theoretical perspectives. It then goes on to discuss the implementation of the programme in relation to the same theoretical categories. The section concludes with an analysis of individual member roles in the partnership process.

5.2.1 Resource perspectives on the work programme of the Peak Tourism Partnership

The interview and documentary sources in this case study suggest that the area's physical character and tourism resources influenced the partnership processes, notably how the work programme was prioritised and managed. This section applies resource theoretical perspectives to three of the PTP's six main areas of activity. These three areas – visitor management projects, mechanisms for securing funds from visitors and farm tourism – are identified as being significantly concerned with physical resources and tourism products. However, there are also political and institutional dimensions to these aspects of the partnership's work programme, and these are discussed in section 5.2.2. Attention is also given in section 5.2.2 to the other three areas of the partnership's activity – establishing a private-public sector coordinating mechanism, marketing, and public relations.

The first partnership activity considered here were three pilot *visitor management projects*. These were aimed at lessening the negative impacts associated with tourism and at enhancing the visitor experience in areas affected by visitor pressures. Several possible projects were considered during the development of the submission for partnership funding. Following recommendations by consultants, the three that were selected comprised two local area projects and one project covering the whole of the Peak District. The two local area projects were intended to demonstrate what could be achieved to improve visitor management at sites already experiencing significant visitor pressure during peak periods, these being the Castleton / Hope Valley Visitor Management Strategy and the Roaches Management Scheme. The Peak District- wide project – the Peak District Interpretation Strategy - involved the development of an interpretation and visitor information strategy for the whole area. The work programme of each of these three pilot projects is now examined in turn in relation to resource considerations.

The first pilot project was the Castleton / Hope Valley Visitor Management Strategy. The village of Castleton lies at the western end of the Hope Valley, and it is a major focus for visitor activity in the Peak District. The position of the village at the head of the Hope Valley and also close to the popular Edale Valley, was a key factor behind the area's selection as a strategic pilot project for approaches to visitor management.

A major road bisects the village and links two 'show caverns' that are major visitor attractions as well as a scenic area around the 'shivering mountain' of Mam Tor. These sites attract over one million day visits each year and as a consequence the area experiences difficulties at peak periods due to traffic and pedestrian congestion and insufficient car and coach parking (EMTB, 1992; PTP, Draft consultants brief for a Visitor Management Plan, 29/6/93). At the same time, tourism is a major sector of the local economy and is vital for the area's economic well being.

The partnership project in Castleton involved four broad activities. First, research on the issues affecting the area, which included consultation with funding partners and local interests and also a review of previous studies undertaken in the area. A second activity was the formulation of a visitor management strategy, including recommendations for traffic management, car parking provision, access to public transport, improved information and interpretation, and measures to alleviate footpath erosion. The visitor management strategy was then promoted to relevant funding bodies, including the use of appropriate lobbying and negotiation activity to ensure its implementation. Finally, the implementation of the strategy was monitored (BDOR, 1993; PTP, 1993; 1994a; 1995).

The second pilot project was the Roaches Management Scheme. The Roaches Estate, situated to the north of Leek in Staffordshire, comprises moorland, rough pasture and woodland and it is dominated by distinctive rock outcrops. The Peak Park Board has owned the estate since 1980. It is a popular excursion destination for visitors, many of who climb the ridges to gaze at the panoramic views over Cheshire, Staffordshire and the western edges of the Peak District. The rock outcrops are nationally renowned climbing sites, and the whole estate is popular for other recreational uses, including walking, mountain biking, hang-gliding and orienteering. Some of these activities can result in traffic, parking and visitor pressures at peak times (*EIT4*: 2; PTP, 1994b). The Roaches are also considered to be of significant conservation importance.

Before the partnership was established, the management of the Estate had concentrated on 'non-promotion' and on controlling access through limits on the capacities of car parks. However, at the time of the foundation of the partnership, pressures from recreational uses were perceived as further increasing, so that new, more positive approaches were seen as necessary to reduce the problems associated with parking, congestion and erosion (EMTB, 1992).

The Parish Councillor and farmer who served on the Partnership Steering Group as Chair of the Roaches Visitor Management Plan emphasised these concerns about recreational patterns in his reflections on why the Roaches had been selected for a pilot project. *'I think it was because we were having problems with parking locally, and we'd been making noises that we had problems. In my mind that was the reason we were picked out. Also, we were told it was a different area to the Hope Valley – they are two quite different areas' (EIT4: 2).* Moreover, *'the Parish Council had made representations about parking problems to anyone that would listen, including the County Council and Peak Park' (EIT4: 38).* This interviewee also considered that the project had a role to play in educating visitors to the site. As he argued in quite graphic terms, *'it's an area of special scientific interest and if it was a farmer that was causing the disruption that tourists cause, we'd be in trouble. But, basically, because there are so many of them (visitors), short of calling the army out, how do you cope with them? There's a big education job to be done' (EIT4: 11).*

The geographical area included in the Roaches Management Scheme included the Roaches Estate and also its surrounding area, both within and outside the boundaries of the National Park. Within its boundary was the Tittesworth Reservoir, owned and operated by Severn Trent Water, with this organisation being a private sector member of the PTP. The development and promotion of recreational use on the reservoir was seen as an opportunity to divert visitor pressure away from sensitive sites within the Roaches Estate itself (EIT6; PTP, 1994b; EMTB, 1992: 4.10). The Roaches project specifically included research on the area's carrying capacity in relation to the different recreational activities, as well as on the development of a management scheme in consultation with the funding partners and local interests, with this scheme including such issues as car parking, traffic and visitor management, and information and interpretation for visitors. The project also involved the scheme's promotion on behalf of the funding partners in order to ensure it was implemented, as well as monitoring and evaluation of the scheme (EMTB, 1992: 4.10).

The third pilot visitor management project was the Peak-wide interpretation strategy. The broad intention of this strategy was to provide a framework for a more integrated approach to visitor management in the Park, and this entailed examining areas under pressure from visitor numbers at peak times and other areas with potential to accommodate more visitors.

The strategy involved the development of circular walks centred on focal points, such as villages, churches, heritage sites or country pubs, and of trails and touring routes by car, bicycle, foot and horse. These tended to entail linkages between villages, attractions, accommodation establishments, and public transport. There was also provision for the interpretation of heritage sites, viewpoints and landscapes, as well as for village interpretation. Finally, consideration was given to guided walks and to farm trails and farm interpretation (East Midlands Tourist Board, 1992: 4.12; Centre for Environmental Interpretation, workshop on Interpretation and Visitor Management, 21/4/93; CEI, 1993). It was envisaged that the strategy would be implemented through a combination of direct action by the partners and encouragement to others to do the interpretive work. A grant aid scheme for interpretation projects was suggested as one means to implement the strategy. Competitions were also suggested in certain cases, such as for village interpretation, and sponsorship opportunities were also investigated by the partnership (Centre for Environmental Interpretation, workshop on Interpretation and Visitor Management, 21/4/93).

A second main area of activity involved the partnership examining and implementing *mechanisms for securing funds from visitors*. This was considered to be an important priority in order to support the conservation work and visitor management schemes. It was also a high priority because the partnership was a prominent national pilot for new thinking and because it was considered to meet local needs (EMTB, 1992; PTP, 1994a: 1994b; 1995). Public sector funds for conservation and visitor management work in the Peak District were limited, and it was felt that visitors (and particularly day visitors) ought to make a contribution to the conservation of the resources that they had come to enjoy. It was also felt that the majority of visitors may well be pleased to be able to make some form of financial contribution, yet there was no mechanism for them to do so (EMTB, 1992).

Consequently, it was decided that the partnership would investigate various mechanisms to secure funds from visitors. The core funding submission document suggested that the establishment of a 'Friends of the Peak' or 'Peakland Trust' charity, was seen locally as offering the best potential, this being a voluntary membership scheme to which the public and the tourism industry could subscribe (EMTB, 1992: 4.19). However, it was considered that such a charitable organisation would need to be run on a commercial basis, offering a range of benefits to encourage subscription, if it was to generate significant amounts of funding.

Possible membership benefits included the publication of regular newsletters and maps, discounts on admission prices to attractions and other offers or discount vouchers. It was also suggested that the newsletter could be used to feature areas less pressurised by visitors, including walks and trails away from 'honey-pot' areas, as well as details of events, conservation activities and of the work of the partnership (CEI, 1993; PTP, 1995).

A third main area of activity was the development of *farm tourism*, which had a background of being actively pursued in the area before the foundation of the Peak Tourism Partnership. However, the partnership was charged with considering the potential to secure further farm diversification opportunities. In particular, farm attraction and interpretation projects were seen as having much unexplored potential (EMTB, 1992: 4.29; *EIT 1*; *EIT4*; letter from ETB Head of Development to the Development Manager at the East Midland Tourist Board, 8/10/91; Memo from the ETB Head of Development to the ETB Chief Executive, 27/4/92). It was also recognised that there was a need to strengthen the performance of existing farm tourism operations. The partnership programme thus included assistance for existing farm tourism operators to identify new markets and development opportunities and to find other ways of improving their business performance. This assistance would take the form of a series of advisory seminars and training courses, as well as other support services for farm operators, with these being facilitated through the then Government Agricultural Development and Advisory Service (ADAS), the local Training and Enterprise Councils and the Agricultural Training Board (EMTB, 1992: 4.30).

5.2.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the Peak Tourism Partnership's work programme

This section discusses the PTP's three main areas of activity that were clearly and significantly affected by political and institutional issues – these being the setting up of a private-public sector coordinating mechanism, marketing, and public relations. However, political and institutional influences on the three broad activities discussed in the previous section should also be acknowledged. Resource issues also influenced the three activities discussed in this section.

In relation to the *visitor management projects*, the National Park Authority together with other partners had adopted a strategy for interpretation in the National Park as early as 1991, and this strategy had outlined broad principles for good practice. However, budget constraints had limited its implementation, and the National Park Authority saw the prospect of the PTP funding as an opportunity to revive the strategy. The National Park Authority and Castleton Parish Council had also in 1991 made recommendations for traffic management measures in the Hope Valley, and the High Peak Borough Council had already accepted these. However, these recommendations had not come to fruition before the establishment of the PTP. Hence, the tourism partnership was seen as an opportunity for a further, independent re-appraisal of the traffic management issues and as an additional stimulus for action (BDOR, 1993). Therefore, the PTP's visitor management project work represented a further opportunity for local organisations and representatives to highlight their own concerns and priorities to other policy-makers and agencies with funding resources.

Improving private- and public-sector liaison and joint working was a key objective for the PTP, and the programme included the specific activity of *establishing a private - public sector coordinating mechanism*. Private sector operators had not been directly involved in the work of the Peak Tourism Forum and their involvement in joint working with the local authority officers through the PTP was seen as being very desirable (Peak District Tourism Association, 12/11/91). However, the fragmented nature of the local tourism industry and the small scale of most of these businesses were acknowledged as major challenges limiting the extent of joint working (EMTB, 1992). A proposal for the establishment of a joint private-public sector Peak District Tourism Association (PDTA) had been approved in principle in 1991 by the Peak District Tourism Conference (PDTC), the body comprising the local authority members in the Peak District. This proposal was to be given greater attention following the appointment of the PTP Project Officer.

Marketing was also identified as an area of activity for the PTP. Prior to the establishment of the PTP, the marketing programme operated by the Peak Tourism Forum in 1992 was based on a total budget of £24,000. This budget was used for the publication of the main holiday guide for the Peak District (coordinated and funded by the East Midlands Tourist Board), leaflets and fliers in support of the guide, and a group organiser's manual, national advertising and attendance at travel trade exhibitions (EMTB, 1992: 4.24). These activities were all that was possible within the limits of the resources allocated for marketing by the Peak Tourism Forum.

Several additional marketing activities were seen as desirable in support of the new PTP programme if further funding was made available. These included the use of marketing to support visitor management and off-peak activities, the development of an activity holiday product, and work to evaluate the effectiveness of the existing marketing work (PTP, 1993). However, the submission for core funding suggested that the PTP Manager would have limited time to dedicate to the implementation of marketing work at least in the early stages of the partnership. Therefore, it was suggested that the Peak Tourism Forum's marketing work should be integrated from the outset within the PTP programme, with the PTP Manager becoming a member of the Peak Tourism Forum in order to achieve this integration (EMTB, 1992: 4.26).

A *public relations* campaign for the PTP was planned to maximise the impact of the partnership, to maintain support for it, as well as to keep all the affected stakeholders informed of its progress. The development and implementation of this campaign was the responsibility of the Programme Manager, in consultation with the partners. The campaign also included an official launch of the partnership in July 1992. It was also proposed that the partnership should implement a wider media and public relations campaign within the Peak District and surrounding population centres, aimed at raising awareness of the issues associated with sustainable tourism (EMTB, 1992: 4.31).

5.2.3 Resource theoretical perspectives on the implementation of the Peak Tourism Partnership programme

The partnership's anticipated work programme, together with its indicative schedule for implementation, is shown in table 5.2. However, it was expected at the time of the submission for core funding that the partnership's priorities would be refined within and between the main areas of activity, and that subsequently this might affect the implementation of specific projects (EMTB, 1992: 4.33).

Partnership Activity	Year one 1992/93	Year two 1993/94	Year three 1994/95
Visitor management projects			
Castleton/Hope Valley Visitor Management Strategy	X	X	X
Roaches Management Strategy	X	X	X
Peak District Interpretation Strategy	X	X	X
Mechanisms for securing funds from visitors			
'Friends of the Peak/Peakland Trust'	X	X	X
Establishing a private-public sector coordinating mechanism			
Peak District Tourism Association	X	X	X
Marketing			
Off-peak marketing		X	X
Activity holidays programme		X	X
Review of current marketing activity		X	
Farm Tourism			
Research study of farm tourism potential	X		
Farm tourism advisory services and training		x	X
Public Relations			
Partnership launch	X		
Partnership PR campaign	X	X	X
Sustainable tourism PR campaign	x	x	X

Table 5.2: Anticipated Work Programme and Implementation Timetable for the Peak Tourism Partnership (Source: EMTB, 1992: 13)

This work programme was very ambitious given the time and resource limitations facing the partnership. Initially, the steering group took the decision to develop projects across a broad front on the basis that some would develop more quickly than others by a process of 'natural selection' (PTP 1995). However, as the initiative progressed, the steering group came to an agreement that priority would be given to the visitor management, communications, and heritage trust and interpretation projects, with less attention being given to the marketing and farm tourism work and the establishment of a Tourism Association (PTP, 1995).

The ambition of the work programme was an issue for some steering group members, who argued that the partnership sought to undertake too many projects and activities. For example, a private sector steering group member suggested that, *'it [the Partnership], started off with a lot of energy and that energy quickly became dissipated by it taking too many things on and being over ambitious in what it was trying to do. It wound up not having much of a focus and it was trying to win arguments with sceptical people within the National Park on too many fronts. I think if anything that was what drove it into the sand'* (EIT 6: 5). Another private sector representative made a similarly pointed remark about the partnership trying to engage in too many projects. *'I don't think that we ended up defining the brief and outlining a series of objectives which could be practicably delivered within the three resources of time, money and people. It was at times just a talking shop. You had this interchange of ideas, not conflict but getting close to it sometimes, and you would break up with very little having been achieved'* (EIT 7: 7).

This need to focus and rationalise the programme was also remarked on by the second chair of the steering group, who was Director of Conservation and Land Management at the National Park Authority. *'To start with, the PTP took on a challenging set of things to do. By the time I became involved it was recognised that none of them were easy and straightforward and that they had to focus their energy. Where could we most effectively get something tangible to happen? So quite consciously we set aside the Tourism Forum, which was very difficult to set up. Forget it, we tried, but it's not getting anywhere. But I'd been involved with Castleton, Edale and Hope for 20 years and some of the issues there are very difficult to crack. This was seen as bringing a different light to shine on well known problems, illuminating them and providing new ways to solving them, and in due course that may happen'* (EIT 8: 35).

This comment also highlights the view that the partnership was over-ambitious in seeking to resolve issues that were beyond its resources of power and influence. Indeed, implementation of the programme was not formally in the original brief for the partnership, although there was an implication that it would deliver projects. One interviewee argued that this *'danger of over ambition'* was associated with, *'a need to set objectives to meet the interests of funding agencies, which can result in programme 'drift' where there is a large number of partners'* (EIT2: 9). This observation highlights a difficulty that may be faced by tourism development partnerships in reconciling and meeting the possibly competing agenda and priorities of funding partners.

The partnership was also dependent on external resources to implement its programme and this resulted in concerns about the management of expectations of the programme's outcomes, both among the funding partners and local communities. As one steering group member argued, *'we hadn't remotely thought through the financial costs of implementation. It became a bigger problem later on in the local context when people assumed the partnership was going to implement the programme'* (EIT1: 10). Another steering group member made specific reference to an expectation that the partnership was in a position to deliver improved tourist information facilities in Castleton. *'We all know it [tourist information] is necessary, but the Planning Board has no money. High Peak Borough Council has no money and the Tourist Board has no money, so why did we all sit there for three years writing reports about making it happen?'* (EIT3: 17). The same steering group member considered that the partnership programme did try to tackle the right issues but, *'I always had my doubts that anything would come of it. It seemed that there wasn't the finance behind it. We put recommendations forward, but there was neither the will nor the finance to carry them through'* (EIT3: 20).

Another resource consideration, relating in this case to programme implementation was a concern expressed by several steering group members that the resources devoted to partnerships by its members were sometimes disguised and additional to core budgets but went unacknowledged. Such resources included staff costs, overheads and time devoted to partnership activities, and steering group members wanted more recognition of these other contributions to the partnership's work (EIT2; 5; 10; 11).

There were other unanticipated resource issues during the PTP's period of operation. Notably, budget cuts in member agencies during the course of the partnership programme had not been expected or planned for at the programme's outset. These cuts particularly affected the local authorities, tourist boards and other public sector agencies. Fortunately, private sector sponsorship and European Union Development Fund Objective 5b designation subsequently largely made up for the core budget funding gap. However, there was a need to make some minor adjustments to projects in order to qualify against Objective 5b funding programme criteria (PTP, 1995: 7).

A final resource consideration affecting the delivery of the partnership programme was the need to plan for its implementation following the termination of the partnership funding in 1994. The Partnership's objectives had focused on what would be achieved during its three year funding period without attention being paid to the important longer-term considerations related to its implementation. This is ironic for a partnership programme that was concerned primarily with the sustainable development of tourism.

5.2.4 Political and institutional perspectives on the implementation of the Peak Tourism Partnership programme

A steering group was established to oversee the partnership, comprising representatives from the core funding partners (ETB through an East Midlands Tourist Board representative, Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission and the Peak District National Park Authority). In addition, the steering group drew members from the Peak Tourism Forum (represented by a High Peak Borough Council member), the private sector (represented by Severn Trent Water and Center Parcs), as well as from parish councillors from areas encompassing the Castleton and Roaches pilot visitor management programmes.

It was agreed that the Chair of the partnership would be allocated to a Peak National Park Authority representative. The decision to allow the National Park Authority to act as the PTP chair was partly based on their unique remit for the whole area covered by the partnership. It was also in line with advice from the ETB, which was based on their experience of the Dartmoor Tourism Development Action Programme, also located in a national park with a powerful national park authority (Letter from the Development Manager, West Country Tourist Board to ETB Chief Executive, 17/3/92). Working Groups comprised of public and private sector representatives were also established as necessary for each project. However, community representation on these working groups was not specified in the partnership's submission document, which is perhaps a surprising omission given the partnership's central focus on sustainable tourism development.

A programme manager, or project 'convenor' who reported to the steering group and to the East Midlands Tourist Board was appointed to manage the work programme. The responsibilities of the post included the management of the partnership's programme, coordination of the working group activities, and liaison with the Peak Tourism Forum, the Peak District Tourism Conference and with the private sector (draft job description for Project Manager, 1992). The partners agreed that the East Midlands Tourist Board would act as managing agents for the partnership, which included responsibility for the partnership finances and employment of staff, including the programme manager.

The partnership was seen as a valuable means of strengthening previous joint working in relation to tourism in the Peak District. Most of the many agencies involved in tourism development, management and marketing acknowledged the need for them to work together more closely. For example, these agencies had previously demonstrated a willingness to work together and expand their collaborative activities through the Peak Tourism Forum. However, budgets were limited and the partnership was seen as a way of establishing a firm foundation for continued joint working that would continue beyond the life of the partnership. The partnership was also seen to represent a unique opportunity to involve the private sector in a coordinated way in the marketing, development and management of tourism in the Peak District. In isolation the public sector agencies lacked the resources to provide coordination for the area's fragmented, diverse and geographically dispersed tourism industry.

Therefore, the partnership was seen as a potential vehicle to 'pump-prime' such a coordination process (EMTB, 1992).

While there was community involvement in the PTP's steering and working groups, there was no acknowledgement of the importance of community representation in either the submission and evaluation documents for the partnership. This contrasts sharply with the repeated references to the importance of private sector involvement, indicating a clear bias to business interests (East Midlands Tourist Board, 1992; PTP, 1995). In addition, there was a conspicuous absence of any consideration of the potential representation in the partnership of voluntary associations representing Park conservation interests, such as the Friends of the Peak District, the local branch of the Council for the Protection of Rural England, or local civic and town trusts, or of Park recreational user groups, such as the Ramblers' Association or the Cycling Touring Club. Hence, a range of significant interest groups, which would be directly affected by the partnership's work, was excluded.

The physical and organisational separation of the partnership office from the National Park Authority headquarters was institutionally important as a symbolic demonstration that the Authority did not dominate the partnership. For several steering group members, local mistrust of the National Park and poor relationships with local communities made it necessary for the partnership to demonstrate a degree of independence. As one community representative argued, *'locally a large number of people saw this project as an extension of the Peak Park Planning Board, because the faces were very similar including mine as an ex-member!'* (EIT3: 8).

The sensitivity of the partnership's overt and covert relationship with the National Park Authority was a significant institutional and political issue in this case, both for the Authority itself and for other partners. One respondent suggested that the National Park Authority's culture had changed during the course of the partnership project from being "officer driven to member led" (EIT3), and in their view, the partnership's second chair was, *'pressurised by the politicians to make the partnership tow the line'* (EIT3: 9). Other steering group members suggested that elected members of the Authority believed that they had not been sufficiently involved or informed about partnership activities.

The first steering group chair makes this case very clearly, *'the politics of the Partnership were very sensitive. It was a conscious decision to have an officer steering group because many of the agencies effectively didn't have members to put forward. You're not going to get a Countryside Commissioner or member of the ETB to come and therefore had the National Park and the other local authorities put members on to it, it was felt that it would have changed its character. It was meant to be a professional working group, now with hindsight that was one of the major errors of the exercise.'* There was thus a, *'dislocation between officers and members who didn't feel ownership of it.'* (EIT1: 4). Moreover, these members felt a responsibility to ensure that the partnership was following policies complementary to those of the Authority.

Another perspective on this issue was that the presentation of the partnership's achievements and its prominence in the media resulted in some concerns from local politicians and particularly National Park Authority members about accountability and recognition. More cynically, this could be expressed in terms of local politicians being jealous of the partnership's profile. For example, a community representative argued that, *'I genuinely think there was some kind of envy on the part of the authorities, "who are these people getting write ups in The Sunday Times and the Daily Mail and the Express and Independent and television interviews? We've got a full time paid Press Officer for that and we can't get half the space you get in", and they got jealous basically and they got cross about it.'* I think that the [National Park Authority] members became aware of the activities of the Partnership other than through their own officers and I could see there was going to be a bit of a problem. I don't know what the internal politics were, how they were resolved and so on, but I know there were some very senior level meetings and I wonder if that was something to with [the first Chair's] exit. No, I don't think the members of the National Park were aware of what was going off until it was actually well into its run' (EIT3: 9).

The local political sensitivity about the partnership's public relations and communications through the media and with partner agencies were also significant process issues. One community representative on the steering group suggested that there had been, *'some wild, speculative journalism... "visitors will have to pay to come to the National Park." "There would be a gateway here, a barrier there, and only certain people will be able to get through." This was probably an understandable reaction locally but it did concentrate minds on exploring solutions'* (EIT3: 18). This steering group member went on to suggest that this local prominence was also not well received by some of the elected members of the National Park Authority.

5.2.5 The roles of individual partnership members

The roles adopted by partnership programme managers and other individual steering group members are a key consideration in the conceptual framework that is applied in this research. A number of key issues emerge from the interviews in this case and these are highlighted here.

The first major consideration in relation to *the programme manager's role* was the considerable degree of *autonomy* that was associated with the position. There had been no predecessor in the post and work systems had to be devised by the programme manager based on his previous experience of managing a tourism partnership in rural Cumbria. Moreover, the East Midlands Tourist Board as line manager for the programme manager lacked experience in managing a partnership of this nature. This resulted in the programme manager being able to manage the partnership as if it was, in his words, *'a small business with very few staff'* (EIT7: 4).

However, this considerable degree of self-determination within the role relates to a second consideration. This is a potential concern that a programme manager may *lack sensitivity and awareness of local concerns and relationships*. This was a particularly contentious issue for some PTP steering group members, with one prominent member suggesting that, *'If this thing is repeated anywhere again, the choice of project manager needs to be very carefully considered. You need to have somebody who really does know not just the way to run a project like this, which I think he had been fairly experienced. But you're also dealing with parochial issues and parochial people here and you need to consider every sentence very carefully.'* (EIT3: 10).

This last remark highlights a third consideration in the programme manager's role, this being the *management of messages about the partnership's work communicated via the media and at public meetings*. A steering group member argued that in the case of the PTP the programme manager had managed some communications poorly. In his view, through his approach to communicating about the partnership's work the programme manager had, *'incurred the wrath of people who he could have done with being friendly with later on in life'* (EIT3: 10).

A fourth consideration in connection with the programme manager's role that is supported by the interview evidence for the PTP was the recognition that *there are relatively few people with appropriate experience for the programme manager's job, and that expectations on them could be too high*. There had been few formal partnership arrangements for tourism development in England that had employed a programme manager before the PTP. Therefore, there were few individuals with direct experience of partnership programme management who might have applied for the post. The post also required diverse and sophisticated management skills, but only attracted a limited salary and was only a fixed-term appointment, features that would severely limit the number of appropriate potential candidates. The person appointed is thus expected to lead an 'initiative' involving senior local authority officers, experienced political members, and successful local business people.

A fifth issue that is associated with the view that expectations on partnerships may be exaggerated is the suggestion that *participating agencies may 'hide' behind partnership projects and transfer responsibilities to them*. In this event responsibility for the implementation of (or failure to implement) particular projects is delegated to a partnership, which may assume accountability without possessing the necessary powers and resources to deliver these projects. One steering group member suggested that this had been the case in the PTP, *'because agencies like to think that by setting up a project they can resolve problems that they haven't been able to resolve themselves in the past'* (EIT2: 7). These resource and institutional issues resulted in the Programme Manager devoting increasing periods of his time to preparing bids for funding packages from external sources. This activity increased in the later stages of the partnership programme, at a time when projects should have been approaching completion (EIT7; PTP, 1995). The consequence of this was that on termination of the PTP, the work programme had not been as advanced as had been anticipated on its foundation.

A final, more positive consideration in relation to the role of partnership managers that is highlighted in this research is the advantages associated with the *unique position of the partnership manager's post, in terms of its relative independence from any individual agency or interest group*. For example, the PTP programme manager suggested that his position resulted in his, *'being able to talk to a wide range of interests, communities and agencies in the region without the 'stigma' of being directly attached as an officer of the National Park' (EIT1: 4)*. This was seen as being particularly helpful in view of the suggestion that the National Park Authority had a relatively poor reputation among some local communities and interest groups.

The role of the private sector in tourism development partnerships was also highlighted in this case. In theory, private sector involvement in the PTP provided them with opportunities to demonstrate the sector's commitment to a development programme that appeared to be socially, economically and environmentally responsible. The partnership's corporate steering group members included Severn Trent Water and Center Parcs, and these members may be interpreted as being motivated primarily by a desire to secure public relations benefits through association with the Partnership's work (EIT6; 8). For example, Severn Trent, in common with other water companies, had been privatised during the late 1980s. The privatisation of these agencies had been controversial and there had been considerable adverse political comment on their substantial profit margins, senior manager salaries, and returns to shareholders. Severn Trent's reservoirs and land holdings are prominent and attractive resources for recreational activities in the Peak District and provide excellent opportunities for the company to communicate very positive messages about its corporate policies and environmental performance (Severn Trent Water, 1994; 1996). As the company's representative on the Steering Group put it, *'we are very keen on getting large numbers of people to visit our properties and telling them about what the company does. We have between four or five million visits to our properties each year, which is a very significant number compared to our customer base. A lot of those were repeat visits, so we tend to get between one and one and a half million different visitors. We are keen to get people coming because we have done research that shows it is a successful experience and people are by and large impressed with what they see and go away thinking better of us, or at least they are better informed' (EIT6: 4)*.

This private sector representative clarified their organisation's interest in tourism as follows, *'we are in visitor attractions not as an end in themselves, we are trying to create a better impression of the company. We are there to enhance the image of the company basically. Which is why we put a lot of emphasis on information, interpretation exhibitions and the quality of visitor care. Because unless those things are right you can't even start to build up the perception of the company'* (EIT 6: 7). He went on to suggest that Severn Trent had, *'a productive relationship with the Peak Park in other partnerships'* (EIT6: 11), and that they were keen to continue developing these relationships. There was also a personal motivation on the part of the company director who had initiated Severn Trent's interest in the partnership. As the company's representative put it, *'[the Director's name] certainly bought into the vision and saw this as a real chance of doing some pioneering work. I forget his words in our annual report of a few years ago, but it was cast in terms that this is going to attract European attention, that it is a whole new approach and everything else. I think he personally wanted the Company to be part of that'* (EIT6: 9).

However, the Severn Trent representative did acknowledge that the company had probably failed to receive any significant corporate benefits from its involvement with the Partnership. *'I could not put my finger on one [benefit from involvement]. That was the disappointing thing about it really. By the time it finished the Director had probably forgotten all about it, but if he had ever sat us down and said, "right, what did we get for our £10,000?" we would have pointed to our name on a few newsletters and [the Director's] face meeting the Minister and stuff like that. I don't reckon a great deal else really'* (EIT6: 13).

Center Parcs' representative on the steering group also suggested that, *'the private sector failed to secure public relations benefits commensurate with their contributions'* (EIT8: 6). The involvement of Center Parcs and Severn Trent Water had given rise to some local suspicions about their motivations and the partnership's ultimate purpose and objectives, including concerns that it could be a 'back door' means for these companies to develop more tourist facilities, potentially in the Peak District. These local concerns that there might have been a hidden agenda about these companies membership had created some difficulties in managing messages about the partnership's work and Center Parcs' involvement. However, the Center Parcs representative argued that his company had agreed to be involved because of its corporate commitment to environmental and design quality in its 'holiday village destinations.'

The company representative suggested that, *'Center Parcs has a track record of environmental sensitivity. One of the major concerns of the Peak District is the perennial dilemma of tourism, and that is not to destroy the very element and appeal of the product itself. We believe that tourism should contribute to the quality of life of the community and not throw up cheap products where the development is totally at odds with its environment'* (EIT8: 4).

One community representative on the steering group suggested that local people were concerned about, *'Center Parcs [being] linked to a project where it had no apparent direct involvement... because the natives are becoming very suspicious. I said [to the Center Parcs Chief Executive] "listen, they might be silly minded to you being a big high flying executive, but these people are worried that you're going to come in and create a Center Parcs in the Hope Valley." "Not my intention [he replied]." I said, "put it in writing, give me a letter that I can put out." I had a hell of a job to get it out of him but anyway those were the sort of things we had to go through because people were suspicious'* (EIT3: 11).

The public sector agencies also sought to emphasise their commitment to social and environmental responsibility through their involvement in partnership programmes generally and the PTP in particular. For example, the Countryside Commission representative suggested that there was a *'need for rural tourism partnerships to be more aligned with what visitors and residents want from rural areas rather than what the agencies want to provide'* (EIT2: 6). In his view, partnerships such as the PTP were a useful attempt to profile this priority and demonstrated the concerns of public sector agencies to be associated with this priority.

A final consideration related to the role of individual partnership members that was highlighted in this case study was *the role and professional position of the steering group chair*. In this case, some interviewees argued that the chair should not have been drawn from the National Park Authority, given that the Authority had significant problems with its image and reputation for some local communities and interest groups, and given that the position of the chair was susceptible to political pressure from members. Indeed, it was suggested that the founding chair had resigned from that position as a consequence of such pressure. On the other hand, it was also acknowledged that the National Park Authority possessed a unique remit for most of the Partnership's area and that it was hard to identify a viable alternative to take on the chair of the steering group (EIT3; 5; 7; 9).

5.3 Partnership outcomes

The product development and policy outcomes that had resulted up to the termination of the PTP are discussed in this section. Issues here include whether the problems that were associated with the sustainable development of tourism in the Peak District were solved or at least ameliorated by the partnership, and whether shared and agreed expectations were realised between partnership members. Differing interpretations of the partnership's 'successes' and 'failures' are further outcome considerations. The issue of whether the same or similar outcomes may have been achieved in the absence of the partnership or through a different partnership form is a related theoretical consideration that is discussed here. This section is also sub-divided according to resource and also political and institutional issues and also to their related theoretical perspectives. Data for this section are drawn mainly from analysis of the PTP steering group's final report (PTP, 1995) and of the interview transcripts.

5.3.1 Resource perspectives on the outcomes of the Peak Tourism Partnership

Several of the outcomes of the PTP may helpfully be considered from resource theoretical perspectives. A first consideration from that perspective is the suggestion that the PTP secured positive *financial outcomes, including good prospects for generating additional resources*. In fact, in addition to securing £260,000 from its partners during its three years of operation, the partnership raised a further £80,000 for individual projects. However, the steering group estimated that to be implemented in full, the various projects required approximately £1.5 million of funding between 1995-2000. In this respect, the PTP was successful because through bids to the European Union and by identifying matching funding from other sources, by the end of the partnership over £1 million of this funding had been 'identified' (PTP, 1995: 7). However, the PTP final report does not make clear whether this funding was accessed for the implementation of the individual projects.

These prospects for future funding give rise to a second consideration from a resource perspective - *the timing of the evaluation of partnership outcomes*. In this case, there was recognition locally that the evaluation of the effectiveness of the programme in quantitative terms would be difficult without commissioning expensive and probably inconclusive research.

It was also recognised that a definitive evaluation of the partnership programme would be difficult to achieve in the short term as many outcomes take a long time to mature. Therefore, the PTP steering group's final report suggested that the PTP's 'success' or otherwise would ultimately be a function of the effectiveness of the individual projects within its work programme over an extended period of time (PTP, 1995). However, and in contrast to this long-term perspective on programme evaluation, the PTP steering group did adopt criteria for the programme's monitoring and evaluation during the PTP's period of operation. The steering group's final report suggested that the effectiveness of the programme in achieving its stated objectives was monitored both during and after the termination of the programme by the submission of quarterly progress reports from the programme manager to the steering group. It was also claimed that individual projects within the work programme were monitored against targets and feedback from partners, the local tourism industry and other local stakeholders (PTP, 1995).

The steering group's final report also suggested a number of ways by which the *effectiveness of the partnership* might be judged. For example, the report argues that as a national pilot programme, the success of the partnership should be judged in relation to awareness of its work in the Peak District and of the importance of visitor management and sustainable tourism initiatives more generally. According to the interviewees and the steering group's final report, the most successful element of the programme in resource terms was the contribution made by the partnership to improving physical resources for tourism in the Peak District. In particular, the visitor management work in the Roaches and Hope Valley and also the local community interpretation work were seen by interviewees as largely having been achieved and as the most significant outcomes of the Partnership.

The steering group report also suggests that the *introduction of a mechanism to support the conservation and physical improvement of the region's resources* was a positive outcome of the partnership. This positive outcome was highlighted in particular through the launch of the Peak Tourism and Environment Fund. This project was developed from the second year of operation of the partnership and it was launched in August 1994. Operated by an independent trust, the Fund collected voluntary donations from visitors at car parks in Castleton, Edale and Hope and since May 1995 at over 100 accommodation and other tourism businesses throughout the Peak District.

In its first year of operation, the Fund raised £5,000 and grant-aided a teacher's information pack for Castleton, footpath improvements and interpretation panels (PTP, 1995: 4). While this generation of direct income was initially small, establishing the principle of visitors contributing through voluntary payments to conservation work was seen by several interviewees as a major achievement for the partnership and a model for similar schemes to be developed elsewhere (EIT1: 2; 7; 9). However, one community steering group representative who had direct experience of the operation of the scheme did express some scepticism about the value of this project, arguing that, *'it can't do anything, there's no money in it, all things need money and there is no money. The idea was to promote environmental schemes in the area - wonderful idea, absolutely brilliant. I've got little boxes in my own cottages, I pick them up and rattle them, what's in there? I would love to say I would give £10 out of every booking that I get towards it, but what will it achieve at the end of the day? What will £5,000 buy you when you've got a walling scheme - ten yards? That's about it. You ask the National Trust, ask them what it would cost to reinstate their footpaths'* (EIT3: 23).

There were also contrasting views about the extent to which the partnership had *succeeded in raising the profile of sustainable tourism within the Peak District*, a key objective that was implicit in all elements of the partnership programme. From the Programme Manager's perspective, the project had some success in this regard. However, in his view the partnership's concentration on short-term considerations and to local consultations, combined with local authority tourism officer misunderstanding of the concept of sustainable tourism, had constrained the implementation of genuinely sustainable projects (EIT7: 25).

A final consideration from a resource perspective was the failure of the PTP to allocate the resources necessary to deliver its programme following the termination of the PTP. As one steering group member argued, *'it didn't have an exit strategy. It just kind of folded, basically because the funding stopped'* (EIT9: 13). Another steering group member supported this view, suggesting that, *'one of its [the PTP's] shortcomings was the fact that it [an exit strategy] wasn't clearly mapped out, and public expectations were still up there when the thing actually finished. We should probably have identified more clearly the steps that would be taken'* (EIT3: 17).

5.3.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the outcomes of the Peak Tourism Partnership

Elements of the PTP's outcomes may also be considered from political and institutional theoretical perspectives. For example, the steering group's final report acknowledges that securing positive outcomes was constrained by difficulties due to the *ambitious scope of the original objectives and work programme*, and also due to the *constraints on public sector finances*. *Unrealistic and exaggerated expectations* about how much the partnership might realistically achieve that were held by some steering group members, as well as other local and national stakeholders, was an associated issue. The PTP steering group's final report is somewhat defensive on this issue, suggesting that because of its relatively short three-year life span it was always the intention that the partnership would concentrate on developing new processes and plans and on creating longer-term funding packages and mechanisms for project implementation (PTP, 1995: 8-9).

As the founding Steering Group Chair put it, *'there was an expectation nationally and locally that we were going to solve all of our tourism problems in three years*. There was also an, *'underestimation of the time needed to try to achieve consensus about the way forward, which was meant to be one of the guiding principles of a partnership approach. We started on the basis that we'd have a year to do that, a year to get it underway and a year to get it up and running'* (EIT1: 9).

The production of a *strategic statement on environmental interpretation* was also claimed as a positive outcome that had achieved a key founding objective of the partnership. The partnership's Peak-District wide Interpretation Group, consisting of representatives from local authorities, regional agencies and tourism businesses involved in interpretation, had produced a statement that has since been adopted by many of the Peak District authorities as a measure of good practice. A Peak District Interpretation Officer post was also proposed by the Partnership and agreed by the National Park Authority. In addition, an Environmental Education Group was formed, linked to the Castleton-Edale-Hope interpretive plan (PTP, 1995: 4-5; CEI, 1993). This Group brought together the local schools and college, tourism businesses, regional and local agencies and the Losehill Hall National Park Study Centre. Following a schools survey, an information pack was produced aimed at helping teachers to better prepare their visits to highlight visitor management issues.

A key issue affecting the Partnership's outcomes and commented on by several interviewees involved *local suspicions in the pilot project areas of the roles and motivations of some partnership members*. These concerns were directed specifically at the National Park Authority, which was seen by some local residents and tourism business operators as the planning authority that stifles business and rejects development applications (EIT1; 3; 4; 7; 9). Another local perception was that the Park Authority had a background of involvement in programmes that were not seen through to implementation. The Director of Planning of the National Park and first Partnership Chair acknowledged that this perception existed and was difficult to overcome (EIT1). In this context, this steering group member argued that it was vital that respected local farmers had chaired the pilot visitor management projects. However, the Partnership did *'let local people meet the officers and it did establish useful contacts between the councils and agencies'* (EIT3: 9).

The steering group's final report and interviews also highlighted the *aspects of the partnership's programme that were not achieved*. These included objectives for improved coordination on marketing and the establishment of a Peak District-wide tourism association. Reasons suggested for these failures were that the area was too large to bring about such coordination and agreement and that tourism industry operators did not relate to a Peak District wide geographical scale (PTP, 1995: 5-6; EIT5; 6; 7; 8).

A further consideration affecting the outcomes of the partnership was the issue of *raised expectations and a relative lack of tangible outcomes that could be claimed by the partnership*. This was a particular concern for some steering group members, notably those representing communities in visitor management project areas. As one of these steering group members argued, *'getting people motivated is hard enough but letting them down is a lot harder, when they realise that things that they've worked hard to achieve are probably never going to happen'* (EIT 3: 20). This interviewee went on to suggest that on a personal level he had been de-motivated by his experiences serving on the steering group and that he felt less inclined to participate in other comparable partnership arrangements in the future. As he put it, *'we're back to where we were before we started in terms of public co-operation. We talk to one another a bit more but we've not drawn it all together. If it ever came up again I would run a mile. I wouldn't have anything to do with it at all!'* (EIT 3: 20).

However, he did acknowledge with the benefit of hindsight that while the partnership was unable realistically to make major long-term changes in its programme areas during its period of operation, it was able to develop pilot demonstration projects and move the debate about tourism up the agenda. At the same time, bringing people together in strategic groups had also proved to be worthwhile (PTP, 1995; *EIT1*; 3; 7; 11).

A further consideration in terms of the partnership's outcomes was the *distribution of benefits between partners*. Some interviewees suggested that the National Park Authority and the local authorities had secured benefits that were disproportionate to their comparatively limited contributions to the partnership's funding. However, it was also suggested that the local authority priorities of marketing and establishing a tourism association had slipped down the agenda in favour of visitor management and the interpretation strategy (*EIT1*; 5; 7; 9).

The private sector had also arguably failed to secure the public relations benefits commensurate with their contributions and they had felt frustrated by the slowness and political character of public sector working practices (*EIT6*; 8). The partnership had also failed in its objective to secure the involvement of the private sector more generally, and in particular small-medium scale operators to any great extent (*EIT1*: 14). While the establishment of a Peak District Tourism Association involving public and private sector organisations had been a Partnership objective, in practice there had been no strong desire from the private sector to create such a body due to their local rivalries and competitiveness. One steering group member suggested that this was a consequence of the difficulty of involving the tourism industry in partnerships generally: '*partnerships are an alien state for much of the tourism industry that sees everyone else as a competitor*' (*EIT10*: 8).

5.4 Summary

The major themes that have emerged from the data in this case and that may be analysed in the context of theories of inter-organisational collaboration are summarised in table 5.3. These findings are further considered in chapter eight, where the commonalities and differences in comparison with the other case studies in this research are drawn out.

	Theoretical perspectives based on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based on political and institutional considerations
Chapter section	<p>←</p> <i>Resource dependence</i> <i>Microeconomics</i> <i>Strategic management</i>	<p>→</p> <i>Corporate social performance</i> <i>Institutionalism /Negotiated order</i> <i>Politics</i>
1.1 reconditions	<p>Importance of tourism in the Peak District, but complex patterns of benefits and costs</p> <p>Difficulty of securing 'core' budget contributions for the PTP, but the ability of the partnership to 'lever' resources</p>	<p>Past attempts at improving historically poor coordination between the large number of agencies with interests in tourism in the Peak District resulting in the PTF, but its limited scope constrained its work</p> <p>Impetus from National Park Authority's leading role in the 1991 task force on Tourism and the Environment, with its emphasis on visitor management</p> <p>Steering group composition and process to recruit community representation</p> <p>Institutionalisation of partnership working</p>
1.2 Processes and the roles of individual partnership members	<p>Programme activities primarily concerned with physical resources – pilot visitor management projects, securing funds from visitors for conservation, farm tourism</p> <p>Suggestions that the programme was over-ambitious, was not in a position to implement its programme, and failed to manage expectations</p> <p>Disguised resource contributions</p> <p>Unanticipated cuts in member budgets</p> <p>Failure to consider post-partnership strategy for implementation</p>	<p>Programme activities primarily concerned with political and institutional factors – coordination, marketing, PR</p> <p>PTP as stimulus to progress previously agreed actions</p> <p>Role of communities and special interest groups not emphasised in contrast with the private sector</p> <p>Importance of the PTP's physical separation from National Park offices</p> <p>Political sensitivities and Park Authority member perceptions about lack of accountability</p> <p>Programme Manager autonomy</p> <p>Private sector member role</p> <p>Position of the steering group chair</p>
1.3 Outcomes	<p>Timing of the evaluation and criteria</p> <p>Visitor management, interpretation and mechanisms for securing funds from visitors claimed as partnership successes</p> <p>Raised profile for sustainable tourism development</p> <p>Lack of an 'exit strategy'</p>	<p>Positive financial outcomes and prospects for generating additional resources</p> <p>Unrealistic and exaggerated expectations</p> <p>Strategic statement on environmental interpretation</p> <p>Local suspicions about some members motivations</p> <p>Lack of progress on marketing and tourism association</p> <p>Distribution of benefits between partners</p>

Table 5.3: Summary of Theoretical Perspectives on the Inter-Organisational Collaboration in the Peak Tourism Partnership

This chapter has examined the inter-organisational collaboration that existed in the case of the PTP in terms of its pre-conditions, processes and outcomes. The discussion here is based on an analysis of the primary data drawn from interviews with all members of the partnership's steering group between 1996-1997, as well as from key documentary sources. These data have been categorised in terms of their key themes and the conceptual framework used in this research. A number of critical issues relating to the nature of this particular partnership have emerged from this analysis. These issues, which are summarised below, are of interest both in terms of a critical understanding of this unique case and for their implications for the analysis of other tourism development partnerships.

The nature of the partnership that emerged in the Peak District in terms of its membership, objectives and priorities was strongly influenced by the relationships between tourism and the area's physical environment. This relationship included perceptions that pressures associated with tourism were damaging to physical environments in some locations. However, tourism was also recognised as being highly significant for the local economy. Therefore, the PTP sought to 'maintain a balance' in its programme between conservation and economic objectives – a difficult balance to achieve in practice.

The complex political, administrative and organisational characteristics of the area, involving a large number of local authorities, statutory agencies and private sector interests, also created a difficult milieu for a new partnership agency charged with the sustainable development of tourism. Before the establishment of the PTP, tourism in the Peak District had been characterised more by competition between authorities and locations than by cooperation and co-ordination, although there had been some attempts at joint working between local authorities and the National Park through the Peak Tourism Forum and Peak District Tourism Conference. However, these initiatives had enjoyed limited success. Attempts at community consultation and involvement in the work of the PTP also met with mixed success. On one hand, community representatives on the steering group welcomed the opportunity to debate issues of concern associated with tourism development. However, there were also significant frustrations that the PTP did not live up to their expectations, although these were probably raised unrealistically.

A further consideration for public sector representatives on the PTP steering group was that their financial positions were not always conducive to their maintaining budgetary contributions to the partnership. This was particularly so in terms of budget cuts that were unanticipated by the public sector partners at the time of the launch of the PTP.

The PTP's work programme proved to be too ambitious for its three-year period of funding, and clearly there had been a need to re-prioritise the programme's objectives and work during the three-year period. The partnership also experienced difficulties in managing its public relations and media messages. Local suspicions were raised about the motives behind the involvement of the private sector in the partnership and the possibility of there being a 'hidden agenda'.

Peak National Park Authority members were also concerned about the PTP's activities as reported in the local press, raising tensions with the Park Officer representatives on the PTP steering group. These issues highlight important questions about the ways in which a partnership such as this may negotiate local democratic legitimacy in its relationships with local communities and elected members at different levels of government.

The private sector partners in the PTP also reported mixed benefits and costs associated with their membership. Severn Trent Water and Center Parcs were each unable to identify specific returns on their financial and in-kind contributions to the PTP's work. In contrast, there were local suspicions about the motivations behind the involvement of Center Parcs in the partnership.

The implementation of the PTP programme's six main areas of activity also met with mixed success. Research was commissioned and public consultation exercises were conducted on the three pilot visitor management projects. The PTP may be credited with making an authoritative contribution to addressing many problems in the locations included in the area-based projects, that is in Castleton and the Roaches, but the implementation of the resulting recommendations was beyond the PTP's scope. However, work on the interpretation strategy did result in the appointment of a dedicated Interpretation Officer at the National Park.

The foundation of the Peak Tourism and the Environment Fund was also as a result of the PTP's work on the programme objective of proposing mechanisms for securing funds from visitors to support conservation projects, although there was some scepticism from members about its prospects for success. However, no long-term private / public sector coordinating mechanism resulted from the partnership's work, and the marketing and farm tourism objectives received lower priority as part of an ongoing need to focus and rationalise the very ambitious programme set for the PTP. The partnership did achieve some prominence in terms of press coverage, but this was not always well received by some local audiences, and particularly from some members of the National Park Authority.

The management of the Steering Group required 'tact' and 'diplomacy' in order to balance conflicting agendas and interests. The Programme Manager played a key role in this regard, but his background and position as an 'outsider' to the Peak District arguably influenced his ability to perform the job. Political pressures on the Park officers who chaired the steering group were highlighted in several interviews with steering group members. Concerns about the management of the steering group were also raised in connection with its local accountability, as well as its ability to implement projects having raised expectations locally.

More positively, the PTP's designation as a unique and nationally prominent pilot project in sustainable tourism development had helped partner agencies to make their cases for resources. The Countryside and Rural Development Commissions also believed that the experience of their involvement with the PTP helped their working relationships with both the ETB and local authorities in the area, as well as contributing to the achievement of their own strategies. However, while bearing in mind that this research was conducted following the termination of the PTP, members believed with the benefit of hindsight, that the partnership had lacked a plan for post- programme implementation, and that the absence of a 'hand-over' 'exit' strategy to guide local authorities and other agencies in the delivery of the programme was a major shortcoming.

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of inter-organisational collaboration in the case of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (WCTI). The approach here is consistent with the presentation used in chapter five for the analysis of the Peak Tourism Partnership and in chapter seven for Discover Islington. Data in this chapter are drawn from the interview transcripts and documentary sources relating to the WCTI that were identified in chapter three. The presentation of the findings in this chapter coincides with the conceptual framework discussed in chapter four. Quotations from interview transcripts are referenced according to the coded transcript number (*EIT12 - EIT 24* inclusive) with an additional numbered reference for the specific question and response. The chapter also draws on notes made in February 1997 on materials held at the offices of the Development Department of the English Tourist Board (ETB) and on publications of the WCTI and its partner agencies. The analytical process that is brought to bear on these data was set out in chapter three. In summary, this analytical process involves the identification of key ideas and recurrent themes in the data, and the conceptualisation of key issues in relation to the aims of the research and the theoretical framework.

This chapter is organised into three main sections that focus respectively on the WCTI's *pre-conditions*, *processes (including the roles of individual partnership members)*, and *outcomes* (up to 1997). This structure is based on the conceptual framework as discussed in chapter four and summarised in table 4.2. The theoretical perspectives on inter-organisational collaboration are combined in two categories within each section of this chapter. One category includes the theoretical perspectives that are mainly concerned with *resource* considerations, interpreted here as relating primarily to West Cumbria's physical characteristics and tourism products, and funding issues in the case of the WCTI. Theoretical perspectives that are combined and applied in this resource category are those of resource dependency, microeconomics, and strategic management. The second category includes the theoretical perspectives that mainly focus on *political and institutional factors*, these being the perspectives of corporate social performance, institutionalism, and politics.

The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the key themes that emerged from the data and makes connections between the two inter-related categories of theoretical perspectives. These key themes and connections are summarised in table 6.1.

6.1 Partnership pre-conditions

Consideration is given here to the context and pre-conditions within which the WCTI was established. These pre-conditions include the factors that made the partnership possible and that encouraged (and discouraged) potential member involvement. Attention is also paid here to the individual, organisational, structural, and political incentives (and disincentives) that existed in the domain and that encouraged the formation of the partnership. The historical relationships between partnership members and the history of tourism development in West Cumbria are further considerations. The analysis of pre-conditions also involves an assessment of the various definitions offered by the partnership's members of the context, as well as the identification of the various issues that the partnership addressed.

6.1.1 Resource perspectives on the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative's pre-conditions

The interviews and documentary sources make frequent reference to the physical and organisational resources of West Cumbria influencing the establishment of the WCTI and the specification of its work programme. These organisational resources are discussed in section 6.1.2 in relation to political and institutional theoretical perspectives. This section reviews briefly the area's resource characteristics in terms of the nature of tourism in West Cumbria, and how these characteristics encouraged the partners to become involved in the WCTI.

The area defined as 'West Cumbria' for the WCTI (and for other sub-regional economic development programmes in the area) extended to the part of the county of Cumbria located to the west of the Lake District National Park. This area, which is shown in figure 6.1, included Cumbria's Irish Sea and Solway Firth coasts and incorporated parts of Allerdale and Copeland district councils.



Figure 6.1 The West Cumbria Tourism Initiative Area

The West Cumbria area may be described in terms of its physical and economic character as including a northern zone around the small towns of Allonby, Cleator Moor and Silloth and extending to the Solway Firth coast. This is an area that is broadly of a pleasant if unexceptional coastal and rural character. Moving south, there is an industrial central zone based around the former West Cumberland coalfield, including the coastal towns of Workington and Whitehaven, the Sellafield nuclear re-processing facility, some large-scale, manufacturing and processing firms, and some mining and industrial heritage sites. This area includes much evidence of dereliction along the transport routes and in the main settlements. The WCTI boundary also included a smaller Lake District/coastal southern zone around Ravenglass, Eskdale and Wasdale. This area is a natural extension of the Lake District and is the most established visitor destination within West Cumbria (Pieda, 1988). The West Cumbria area as defined for the tourism initiative did not include the Furness Peninsula to the south of the county, which was the subject of a separate tourism development programme – the Furness Initiative, centred on Barrow-in-Furness.

West Cumbria is characterised by its relative remoteness and physical isolation. Historically, there has been a lack of inward migration and indigenous entrepreneurial activity in the area (Beckett, 1981). Local populations and settlements are comparatively small and hence local markets are weak and provide limited stimulus for economic growth and employment. There are also proportionally fewer professional and 'white collar' residents and more partially skilled and unskilled people than the national and regional averages, again substantially reducing the area's economic potential (Cumbria County Council, 1995; 1998; 1999). Once, the ports of Workington and Whitehaven were centres of trade and commerce on a par with Liverpool, Bristol and Glasgow. During the 17th and 18th centuries there was a substantial trade through these towns shipping coal to Ireland and importing rum and tobacco from the Americas. However, the region remained over-dependent upon its coal industry and associated industrial development, with Beckett (1981:202) describing the then West Cumberland as, 'an early starter on the road to industrialization that failed to stay the distance', with significant adverse economic consequences.

Given its physical isolation and limited economic development, West Cumbria in the 1990s was little known outside the region. If it was known, then it tended to be for its nuclear re-processing facility operated by British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) at Sellafield (a fact that the Cumbria Tourist Board - CTB - has not always acknowledged on tourist maps of the region, possibly reflecting a concern that its presence may be more a deterrent than attraction). Temporary inward migration for work at Sellafield had arguably benefitted the local economy in the southern and central part of West Cumbria, with temporary residents dominating bookings at local tourist accommodation establishments. However, much of the large-scale construction work at Sellafield was completed during the WCTI's period of operation (WCTI, 1997).

This degree of economic dependence on BNFL as a major employer made the area vulnerable to a downturn in the fortunes of the nuclear industry, plant and company, factors that were largely beyond local control. For example, the central government decision in 1997 not to allow the company to proceed with experiments on underground nuclear waste disposal highlighted the area's inability to control developments at Sellafield. Furthermore, specific investments at the plant resulted only in short-term gains to the area. For example, the construction of the Thermal Oxide Re-processing Plant (THORP) resulted in the creation of 6,000-7,000 temporary jobs which disappeared on completion of this facility (Cumbria County Council, 1998; *EIT17*). On the other hand, BNFL, through a fund that it had established to support local regeneration projects (the West Cumbria Development Fund – WCDF), was a major long-term contributor to economic development initiatives in West Cumbria generally and to the WCTI in particular (*EIT22; 23*). Moreover, the visitor centre at Sellafield was a major local and regional tourist attraction (CTB, 1990).

Steel and chemicals were other major employment sectors in the area, and these had lost many jobs, particularly from the late 1980s. There had also been a run-down of full-time employment at BNFL, the end of the Trident nuclear submarine building programme at Barrow-in-Furness, and the closure of the Royal Air Force Maintenance unit at Carlisle. While these last two examples are outside West Cumbria, they had knock-on effects on the local economy in terms of reductions in employment and spending power. There were also continuing job losses into the 1990s associated with the high value of sterling and the loss of export markets.

There were however, job gains reported for West Cumbria during the 1990s in services, leisure, recreation and tourism (Cumbria County Council, 1999). In the agricultural sector, the area supported hill and sheep farming, although many of these farm enterprises were marginal in economic terms (Cumbria County Council, 1995).

Therefore, the WCTI area had over a period of years experienced significant structural socio-economic and also related environmental problems. The coastal strip in particular had seen a decline in its industrial base, with the official unemployment rate there being 12.2% in March 1996, 2.8% higher than the national average and 2.99% higher than the Cumbria average. Some wards in this coastal area had unemployment rates in excess of 30% (WCTI, 1997). Furthermore, the dominant appearance of several of the coastal towns, particularly Workington and Maryport, was one of dereliction associated with former industrial sites, a weak retail sector and poor quality housing.

Given this local context of economic, social and environmental problems it is unsurprising that tourism, based on the area's resources of coast, countryside, heritage, industry and agriculture, had been highlighted by local authorities and development agencies as having the potential to create new jobs and encourage social, economic and environmental regeneration (Pieda, 1988; CTB, 1990; 1991; ECOTEC, 1998; WCTI, 1997). Tourism had been presented locally as benefitting from comparatively low barriers to entry for new businesses and a low cost of public funding compared with the jobs created, albeit with some concerns over job quality and external costs associated with congestion (Cumbria County Council, 1998 and 1999). However, there was also a pragmatic recognition that most tourism attractions and employment in Cumbria were concentrated in the more established destination to the immediate east of the area, in the central Lakes, and that this was likely to remain the case (CTB, 1990; *EIT* 12; 16; 17; 24).

Comments made by the Rural Development Programme (RDP) manager for Cumbria were reasonably representative of the view of WCTI steering group members that tourism was important for West Cumbria largely as a vehicle for the area's economic development. Her suggestion was that, *'tourism is perceived as one of the main job creators in West Cumbria, bearing in mind the decline of the traditional industries etc. Certainly the coastal areas are not agricultural areas, and therefore I think the potential of tourism development is seen as one of the main job creators'* (EIT12: 10). Given this context, it was unsurprising that there was a strong local agenda for the use of tourism for economic development and diversification, and that the WCTI was primarily an exercise in local economic development, employment creation, regeneration and environmental enhancement through tourism (WCTI, 1996).

The WCTI Programme Manager emphasised this interpretation of tourism development, suggesting that *'whenever we talk about tourism here [in West Cumbria] we are talking about economic and environmental improvements for local people. Whatever advancements are made under the title of tourism, actually for the most part, the greater benefits are for local people'* (EIT17: 7). Therefore, from a resource perspective the primary pre-conditions and rationale for a tourism development initiative for the area were the socio-economic and environmental circumstances facing West Cumbria and the consequent need to encourage local economic initiatives and diversification as well as environmental enhancements. Furthermore, compared with other de-industrialising regions, and partly as a consequence of its relative remoteness, West Cumbria had been less able to attract other manufacturing and processing based inward investment (Cumbria County Council, 1998). In these circumstances, a focus on the potential represented by the development of tourism was unsurprising.

West Cumbria's proximity to the popular tourist attractions of the Lake District was also seen as being a potential (if arguable) advantage for tourism development (Pieda, 1988). The area also possessed some tourism potential in terms of its industrial heritage and some attractive and less well-known rural and coastal areas.

West Cumbria included some established visitor attractions, although these mainly attracted small numbers of visitors compared with the more popular destinations in the central Lakes. The Ravenglass and Eskdale Railway and Sellafield Exhibition Centre were the only visitor attractions in west Cumbria that regularly attracted more than 100,000 visitors *per annum* (WCTI, 1996). However, both were primarily day visit excursion attractions frequented by people staying in the central Lakes (Pieda, 1988; WCTI, 1997). The railway attraction was also situated in the southern zone of West Cumbria, and was effectively part of the Lake District. Sellafield was also a special case in that it offered free admission and had benefitted from a large public relations and advertising budget from BNFL (*EIT22*). Other attractions located in West Cumbria such as historic houses, gardens, castles and museums were seen as being 'unexceptional' and drew far fewer visitors (WCTI, 1997).

Less promising for tourism was the fact that several of the towns and other settlements in West Cumbria were considered 'unattractive', with much evidence of de-industrialisation, dereliction and poor quality housing. For example, the consultants report on the potential for tourism development in West Cumbria suggested that the Workington to Maryport coast road contained industrial sites and landscapes that would 'deter many visitors from stopping' (Pieda, 1988).

However, Whitehaven, which developed as one of the first planned towns in England since the Middle Ages contained some good Georgian buildings and streets unspoiled by 1960s planning blight (Whitehaven Development Company, 1997; *EIT21*). There had also been investment in physical regeneration of the central area of the town and the harbour (Whitehaven Development Company, 1997; *EIT21*). In a smaller way, Maryport also possessed some interest for visitors in the area around its harbour. Cockermouth, the central 'gateway' for road access to West Cumbria, was an attractive market town including the Wordsworth birthplace museum, shops and market, and it was already popular with visitors. Other recognised attractions in West Cumbria included outdoor activity centres, remote and attractive coastal scenery in the north - including the Victorian resort of Silloth, industrial and mining heritage, and country fairs, events, shows and festivals. However, overall, there was little in the way of outstanding attractions to draw the staying visitor (WCTI, 1997).

The stock of tourist accommodation in West Cumbria was also limited in range, with as many as 51% of bedspaces being at camping and caravan sites. Much of the serviced accommodation in the area was of average or lower than average quality and establishments catering for site workers and business travellers dominated the central zone around Sellafield, Workington and Whitehaven (Pieda, 1988; WCTI, 1997).

Several WCTI steering group members also argued that there was a substantial degree of scepticism among local communities about whether tourism represented a realistic option for economic development in West Cumbria. For example, the RDP representative on the steering group argued that, *'there are many local people who don't accept tourism as a viable development option. I think that the culture of the local people makes it hard for them to take it on board'* (EIT12: 8).

6.1.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the pre-conditions for the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

In terms of its institutional context, the WCTI was fragmented administratively between Allerdale and Copeland Borough Councils and Cumbria County Council. A number of other socio-economic and environmental development and regeneration initiatives operated in the area, including the Maryport and Whitehaven Development Companies and the area-wide West Cumbria Development Agency. Hence, West Cumbria was not a homogeneous administrative region and a number of public sector agencies and local authorities had an interest in the area's tourism development. In this respect West Cumbria was comparable with the Peak Tourism Partnership, as discussed in chapter 5.1.2.

The whole of West Cumbria, excluding Workington and Whitehaven, was at the time of the WCTI programme designated as a Rural Development Area and the development strategy for this area included a significant tourism dimension (Cumbria County Council, 1995; EIT12). The entire area was also eligible for European Union (Regional Development) Structural Fund (ERDF) Objective 2 support, this being support for regions suffering from industrial decline. This ERDF funding was identified as a potential incentive for developers seeking tourism-related site development opportunities (Pieda, 1988).

The case for a 'tourism initiative' for West Cumbria was first made in a report by the consultants Pineda in 1988. This study had been commissioned by the ETB, as part of its then Strategic Development Initiative programme, and by Allerdale and Copeland Councils. The consultant's report concluded that potential existed for the development of tourism in West Cumbria and that a partnership type organisation was needed to bring about such development (Pineda, 1988). The ETB, local authorities and other agencies in Cumbria accepted this recommendation, and the WCTI was established in 1989. The WCTI was based initially as a department of the West Cumbria Development Agency (WCDA), with this agency itself having been set up to encourage economic development as part of a wider regional development programme in England. The WCTI programme manager was employed initially by the WCDA with the job title of Tourism Development Manager.

The WCDA restructured and reduced its activities following a review of its operations in 1992/93, with the Tourism Department being closed down and the Tourism Development Manager being re-deployed as the WCDA's Business Development Manager (*EIT17*). Nevertheless, the WCTI steering group stayed in place and it lobbied for additional funding from local authorities, the ETB and other agencies (Letter from the Economic Development Officer, Cumbria County Council to Chief Executive, ETB, 3/11/93). Commitments were secured for the partnership to continue, including funding from the region's ERDF Objective 2 Programme, and the partnership was re-launched as the WCTI in October 1994 for an initial three-year period.

Steering group members did not reveal the breakdown of funding contributions between partners and it is not contained in WCTI documents or in ETB Development Department sources. However, the three-year core budget that was committed for 1994-1997 was £296,000, including a 'significant' contribution from the West Cumbria Development Fund (financed mainly by BNFL) and a grant of £180,000 from the ERDF, indicating the significance of these sources of funding (WCTI, 1997). It is notable that this sum exceeded the core budget of £262,500 that was agreed for the Peak Tourism Partnership, a national pilot partnership programme.

The WCTI steering group mainly comprised of representatives from the core funding partners: Copeland and Allerdale Borough Councils, Cumbria County Council, Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council, CTB, the Rural Development Commission, BNFL, the Maryport and Whitehaven Development Companies, and the West Cumbria Tourism Trade Association. This latter association was the only steering group member that did not contribute to the partnership's core funding, having only recently been established and it was not in a position to make any financial contribution to the WCTI. It was agreed that the chair of the steering group would be taken by a Copeland Borough Councillor, a prominent local politician who was also deputy chair of the CTB. Other steering group representatives included economic development officers from Allerdale and Copeland Borough Councils, with the officer from Copeland effectively being the Programme Manager's line manager. Cumbria County Council was represented on the WCTI by its Head of Programmes, Economy and Environment, and by the RDP Manager, with the latter officer also acting as Rural Development Commission representative. Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council and CTB were represented by their respective chief executives. The Maryport and Whitehaven development companies were represented by their managers. The Chair of the Tourism Trade Association (a locally based walking holidays operator) and the Manager of External Affairs at BNFL (also representing the West Cumbria Development Fund) provided the private sector representation.

The WCTI also had a marketing group that included representation from BNFL, a small-scale tourism operator based in West Cumbria, the marketing officer from the CTB, and the tourism officer from Allerdale Borough Council. There was no representation on either the steering or marketing group from local community groups and associations, conservation bodies or trade unions, indicating that these partnership organisations had a very limited membership. There was strong public sector involvement and also commercial sector participation, but local community and environmental non-governmental organisations were not involved.

The objectives agreed for the WCTI reflected those recommended by the Pidea report, and these were to:

- co-ordinate and expand the marketing of tourism in the area
- improve business performance through the provision of business advice and the development and promotion of training programmes
- raise the awareness nationally of West Cumbria as a tourism destination and secure greater involvement and awareness of the local community about tourism
- encourage inward investment in major existing and new tourism projects and support development projects that are already under way (WCTI, 1996).

The WCTI's early organisational arrangement as part of the WCDA highlights an institutional consideration concerning *the management and organisational affiliation or base of a new partnership*. This was an important issue for some steering group members. For example, the WCDA's role was valued by the representative from Copeland Borough Council who suggested that there were advantages associated with the partnership originally being based in a well-established agency with a broad remit for economic development. In his view, *'there are a number of activities that do suggest a west Cumbria approach rather than a more fragmented district approach and one of the benefits of the agency was that it was seen as a west Cumbria agency'* (EIT19: 4). However, he went on to suggest that in spite of its initial advantages, the involvement of the WCDA became, *'a bit of a millstone because it [the WCDA] was time limited and therefore it [tourism development] was difficult to fit into the budgetary forecasting of the agency'* (EIT19: 5).

Another institutional 'pre-condition' affecting the establishment of the WCTI was the *lack of a tradition of partnership working* between the local authorities and public sector agencies with responsibilities for economic development in West Cumbria (EIT12: 9). It was hoped that the WCTI would develop new forms of partnership that would help to break down barriers between these agencies and authorities. For example, some steering group members suggested that a strong local tradition of identification with local areas and competitiveness between locations in West Cumbria was a barrier to partnership working.

The CTB representative on the WCTI steering group even suggested that, *'none of us are from Cumbria. People ask, "Are you from Lancashire, Cumberland or Westmoreland? Or are you from Whitehaven or Maryport?'" (EIT16: 9)*. The Whitehaven Development Company representative argued that this local competitiveness could impose costs on development initiatives. *'I have to fight for funds to get tourism into Whitehaven. I am not aware that any of this [local] competition has been detrimental, but I would argue that competition brings about added costs rather than added value from the management side' (EIT21: 13)*.

6.2 Partnership processes

The focus of this section is on the WCTI's work programme up to 1997 and the processes by which stakeholders interacted in their attempt to accomplish the partnership's objectives. Fieldwork for this research was conducted during 1997, at a time when the WCTI was seeking funding to continue its programme beyond the termination of ERDF support at the end of 1998. Therefore, interviewees tended to be pre-occupied by the WCTI work programme that was current at that time, as well as with the partnership's future. Furthermore, the documentary sources that were made available also focused mainly on the prospects for the partnership, including for example its business plan for 1998-2000, and a consultant's report on the value and impacts of tourism in West Cumbria (WCTI, 1996b; 1997; ECOTEC, 1998).

However, these interview and documentary sources also included reflections on the WCTI's work programme and processes up to 1997, and these are discussed here in relation to resource, and political and institutional perspectives. There is also a discussion of the reasons for individual member participation and for their respective roles in the partnership. This section first focuses on the partnership's work programme in relation to insights from resource and then from political and institutional theoretical perspectives. The section concludes with an analysis of individual member roles in the partnership process.

6.2.1 Resource perspectives on the work programme of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

Based in Cockermouth, the WCTI employed a full-time, fixed-term contract programme manager. Following the closure of the WCDA Tourism Department in 1994, the post holder was re-employed directly by the WCTI for an initial three-year period. Programme management and administrative support for the partnership, including financial, technical, personnel and mail systems, was based in the CTB from 1994-1996, but this responsibility was transferred to Copeland Borough Council in July 1996. The *organisational resources* for administration and management were transferred to Copeland Borough Council mainly as a consequence of the CTB being ineligible to underwrite European Union funded programmes, a position that was within the powers of local authorities (EIT16: 17; 19; 20). However, the transfer of the programme management to Copeland Borough Council resulted in some difficulties. The Copeland Council steering group representative, who was formally the WCTI Programme Manager's line manager, suggested that, *'there were practical problems in computer systems and I think that she [the Programme Manager] found our financial management system a lot more rigorous than the Tourist Board system, which has meant that financial transactions are time consuming, and that's an on-going issue'* (EIT19: 14). There was no suggestion that these operational considerations were particularly serious issues in this case. However, the period of time that may be necessary for a partnership to make adjustments to new working practices and reporting mechanisms following a transfer of management responsibility is a consideration where a partnership programme is time-limited.

A further issue resulted from Copeland Council being both 'manager' of the WCTI and an accountable body for ERDF funding. This issue was that the council sometimes had to act as 'banker' for applications for WCTI-related activity that came from other public sector agencies and authorities. For example, the Programme Manager observed that, *'the European [ERDF] application was put in by Allerdale Borough Council, but Copeland are my bankers, so when we put in the claims working closely with my colleague in Allerdale, the money then goes to Copeland and the cheques are made out to Copeland. In terms of the Rural Development Commission - through the Rural Development Programme - again the cheques are made payable to Copeland Borough Council.'* (EIT17: 17).

These complex accountancy practices did not necessarily give rise to difficulties, but they do indicate the potential hidden costs and delays that may result from financial arrangements that are put in place for partnerships in order to meet the requirements of external funding sources.

During 1996-1997, the Programme Manager's stated priority was the commissioning and production of feasibility studies into tourism development projects (*EIT17*). This was partly as a consequence of the delayed receipt of ERDF monies for this purpose and the short deadlines by which these funds had to be spent. The ERDF funding had also been used during 1996-1997 to employ a Marketing Assistant, giving the Programme Manager time to concentrate on strategic development projects.

The WCTI's marketing work during 1996-1997 involved ongoing market research to monitor and measure visitor numbers, nights and spending in both West Cumbria as a whole and in specific towns. In view of the partnership's economic development emphasis, it is significant that this work also involved estimates of the jobs created in tourism in West Cumbria. Other marketing work included the design and production of advertising and promotional print materials, the hosting of familiarisation visits to the area for press and travel writers and for coach and tour operators, and attendance at travel trade exhibitions.

The work programme during 1996-1997 also covered the delivery of business advice and training – a particular emphasis of the Training and Enterprise Council (TEC) and of CTB members. This work included the organisation of conferences for tourism businesses, the promotion of membership of the West Cumbria Tourism Trade Association and of the CTB, and support for National Vocational Qualification and in-house training programmes. These initiatives were developed and delivered in collaboration with the TEC and the Cumbria Business Links agency. The TEC representative on the steering group emphasised her close involvement in this work and noted the value of the WCTI, *'as a means for the TEC to contact the very fragmented local tourism industry SMEs and to identify their training needs'* (*EIT13: 3*).

Tourism development projects that were the subject of feasibility studies or that were being developed with the support of the WCTI in 1996-1997 included the 'The Rum Story' visitor attraction in Whitehaven, facilities for wind surfers at Allonby, and an 'Industrial Centre' and 'Coastal Environmental Centres' at unspecified locations. Feasibility studies and recommendations for the development of new projects were also planned or underway for Millom, Egremont, Eskdale, Cleator and Cleator Moor, Silloth, and Maryport. Work was also planned for the development of existing attractions, namely, the Wordsworth Centre in Cockermouth and Florence Mine in Egremont. Improvements to tourist signage were also included under this development objective.

The *balance between the development and marketing components* of the work of the WCTI, with its considerable emphasis on development projects, was a contentious issue for some steering group members. The Programme Manager defended the emphasis on development work, arguing that *'we probably spend more money on marketing, but I feel that the development work is much more important. I think that it is very important not to over-market an area. It is important not to raise expectations and to tell the truth about an area because otherwise you can generate disappointment and of course disappointed visitors go away and then they are spreading a message about the area that we wouldn't necessarily want: a negative opinion about the area'* (EIT17: 12).

The CTB Chief Executive also suggested that the timing of the feasibility and research work during 1996-1997 was inappropriate given that the WCTI was facing the possibility of the termination of its programme. She argued; *'I am a little bit concerned that here we are at this stage of the project and we are still doing some fairly fundamental and basic research. Now the project could potentially disappear in early 1998. What happens to that research? It just seems as though it is completely at the wrong stage in the cycle to be doing that work. It is fine if we get another three years of funding, but that's not guaranteed'* (EIT16: 14).

This comment about the lack of guarantees for the continuation of funding highlights the WCTI's *dependency on external financial resources*. In addition to core funding, the WCTI programme was heavily dependent on funding support from the ERDF and the Cumbria RDP. It also required close working collaboration with planning authorities and other development agencies within the region.

This dependency on external resources was emphasised by the Programme Manager, who suggested that, *'we are totally dependent on other organisations for funding. We have our core funding and we apply to the ERDF for matching funding. We also work very closely with the private sector on projects. So, for example, particularly on marketing for our accommodation guide, our attractions brochure and events lists and going to exhibitions, we require their support in order to do that work'* (EIT17: 16).

This dependency on external resources also resulted in the Programme Manager having to *dedicate significant amounts of scarce time to preparing bids for funding*. She argued that, while individual steering group members were extremely helpful with such bids, she nevertheless found herself spending increasing time as *'a fundraiser to keep this operation going. And writing applications, proposals and business plans is very much part of that'* (EIT17: 17). She also went on to comment very frankly that bids were sometimes, *'tweaked to meet the objectives of a funding body. So sometimes there are variations on the [WCTI] business plan, perhaps highlighting those projects which would be of more interest to a particular funding partner'* (EIT17: 17). There was no evidence to suggest that the WCTI business plan was significantly compromised by its adjustment to meet funding body criteria. However, this raises a general resource perspective issue in relation to the emphasis of the work of a partnership potentially being changed because of the need to raise resources from external sources.

Some steering group members drew attention to the *specific nature of their resource contributions* to the WCTI. For example, one steering group member, the RDP Manager, expressed a concern that additional contributions to specific projects may result in the partnership receiving *dual funding* on occasions. She suggested that, *'the Rural Development Commission supports the WCTI in two ways. The first is core funding for the Initiative itself to take care of salaries, overheads and essential funding. The other way is through independent project funding that isn't accounted for in the core funding. Examples of independent project funding include a study about signage in West Cumbria. Another one was to put together a tourism strategy for Millom. Two more will be coming through in the near future to put together a tourism strategy for Egremont and another one to look at rural tourism'* (EIT12: 4). This highlights the inter-related character of resource activities in a partnership and the potential importance of acknowledging this in order to credit fully the contribution of the partners.

CTB and Cumbria County Council representatives also raised concerns that resources provided to the WCTI sometimes duplicated other sources and occasionally competed with their agency's own programmes (EIT16: 18). However, the Programme Manager disagreed with these views, arguing instead that efficiencies had been realised by the partnership reducing the duplication of effort between agencies. Thus, *'what we have done is pool, in terms of tourism development, all three councils (Allerdale, Copeland and the County Council) together. For example, Copeland's Economic Development Officer would be aware of a project way outside of his own area and vice versa. Obviously all of the marketing is for the destination as a whole. In specific projects, for example, I've got a feasibility study underway at the moment, looking at tourism signage throughout both areas, and so there is awareness and we have avoided duplication by covering the whole of West Cumbria. Training is another example'* (EIT17: 24).

Another specific non-financial resource contribution to the partnership was highlighted by the County Council representative, who suggested that their involvement had brought *credibility* to the work of the WCTI and helped it to attract external resources. As he put it, *'what we generally find is that organisations feel more secure in supporting initiatives if the County Council is involved. Quite often we are recognised as being honest brokers within these initiatives. It also means that with our resources in terms of finance and project management that projects are administered and delivered in a businesslike way and so organisations that have funding to bring are given that sort of security in the knowledge that we are involved'* (EIT18: 15). These comments indicate the importance of including the key stakeholders in a partnership who lend it wider acceptability.

The *significance* of their financial contributions to the WCTI's overall budget was also an issue for some public sector members. For example, the Copeland Council representative commented that, *'£10,000 a year is the core funding support we provide [to the WCTI]. £10,000 in real terms per year is a significant chunk of the council's revenue budget. Our grant budget has been pulled back all the time, so although it doesn't sound very much, for a small local authority it is actually quite a significant chunk'* (EIT19: 8). The financial contribution of a partner may be substantial for that organisation even if it is only a part of a partnership's budget. However, it was acknowledged that the Copeland Council contribution helped to draw in substantial additional resources.

As the Copeland representative went on, *'first of all it gets jolly good value for money because, although I say £10,000 is a lot for the local authority to put in, it pulls in a lot more core funding as a result. Initially it was something like £130,000 in total. That's gone down but it's still somewhere between £65,000 and £90,000 core funding available for the next three years. So that's the first benefit, for our £10,000 we get at least £90,000 worth of activity, and if we can draw down European funding on that of course that's more, maybe £180,000 even'* (EIT19: 8). Hence, issues of wider funding leverage from a partner's contribution are also an important resource consideration.

It was also seen as necessary for the wider *returns from resource contributions* to be visible. This issue was emphasised by the Allerdale Council representative who argued that, *'when you have a strategy to which the whole of the area subscribes, then at least people can see where their resources are going. They can understand that they are putting their money into something that forms part of a wider framework that is delivering the targets of that initiative'* (EIT20: 14).

The *hidden costs of partnership membership* that are additional to budget contributions were also highlighted in this case, with some steering group members suggesting that these could be significant, if difficult to calculate and to balance against the positive returns. For example, the Cumbria County Council representative argued that these costs included, *'officer time, travel costs - that in itself takes two hours [Carlisle to Cockermouth return] - transport costs and so on. But then is it an additional cost or would we be doing it anyway? There are marketing costs, there is development work that goes on, but we would incur that anyway, whether the Initiative existed or it didn't'* (EIT16: 14).

The Copeland Council representative argued that there were additional costs associated with being the 'accountable body' for the external ERDF funding and, *'the attendant bureaucracy that comes with the ERDF means that we do spend a lot of time putting together the claims'* (EIT20: 14). This position of responsibility also involved some degree of risk for Copeland Council on behalf of the partnership. Their representative suggested that, *'the complication of the ERDF is that if you don't spend the money or spend the money correctly, then there is claw back at the end of it, which makes you particularly careful and it is time consuming'* (EIT20: 14).

A further resource issue highlighted in this case concerned a situation where the *public sector members were themselves only funded for limited budget periods*. This resulted in some members having difficulty committing long-term financial support to the WCTI and to other development partnerships. For example, the TEC representative observed that their funding was only agreed on an annual basis and that, *'this is sad for any local initiative, because my view is that the normal time for results to come through is five to ten years, not one to three years. Nothing is definite after such a short time. I don't think that it's fair to these initiatives at all'* (EIT13: 8). In this respect, The CTB Chief Executive regarded the partnership as being in a 'privileged position' as regards eligibility for relatively long-term funding support. As she put it, *'when you look at European and other funding they are in a very strong position, and they also have BNFL on their doorstep!'* (EIT16: 9).

In the case of the WCTI the nascent private sector tourism industry in West Cumbria has clearly benefitted *from resource contributions provided by the partnership*, both for its marketing activities and in relation to business development. However, the Programme Manager was keen to stress that the WCTI did not wish to be seen as a funding source for private sector operators, *'because for the most part we are not a grant making body and don't want to be. We receive grants so we shouldn't be giving grants in return. But to kick-start certain projects or support some local events or locally produced brochures, then we will certainly encourage those through some financial support, a guide for a village or some maps to encourage networking amongst communities and businesses within the private sector'* (EIT17: 18). Funding support to the Tourism Trade Association was cited by the Programme Manager as being the main example of how the WCTI through its resource contributions had helped to bring about such networking. Hence, the partnership sought to pump-prime economic activity and networking without providing substantial long-term funding on its own part.

The Tourism Trade Association representative supported the view that the WCTI had been crucial in supporting the emerging private sector generally and a specific development with which she was involved in particular. This steering group member was owner of the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre in Cockermouth. The Centre had been developed as an attraction and retail outlet alongside a 'gateway' tourist information centre for West Cumbria.

This steering group member argued that, *'it was the backing of the Development Agency [WCDA] and the Tourism Initiative that was the real help and the driving force to get it through planning. It would have been a lot more difficult if we didn't have their backing (EIT14: 10)*. However, the development of the Centre had been controversial locally, as it had received planning permission outside the recommendations of an earlier local land-use plan, a consideration that also suggested a possible conflict of interest for this representative.

There was a number of *'free riders'* on the WCTI - organisations or locations, notably some town and parish councils, that benefited from the existence of the partnership without contributing to it. The Programme Manager also suggested that these *'free-riding'* local councils did not recognise the economic contribution that increased tourism was making in their areas, and she argued that this reflected the partnership's failure in drawing sufficient attention to its work. In her view, it was, *'unfortunate that we don't, [draw attention to the WCTI's programme] because obviously this secures funding for the future. We need to send town and parish councils the results of our monitoring which would help them to appreciate that they have had an increase in visitor numbers to their village or town, and that has meant that the local shop, pub and other businesses have benefitted' (EIT17: 19)*. This comment also suggests that the WCTI faced ongoing difficulties in meeting its objective of raising awareness of the potential benefits of tourism development in local communities.

6.2.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the work programme of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

From an institutional perspective, *the extent of partnership working* among agencies and authorities in West Cumbria was for several steering group members a particularly important reason for their involvement in the WCTI's work programme, and for their participation as members. For example, the RDP Manager was enthusiastic that the RDP programme, *'is itself a partnership. There are eight or nine members including representatives from TEC, Business Link, the Tourist Board, voluntary sector, social services, MAFF, Rural Development Commission, and the Lake District Special Planning Board' (EIT12: 3)*.

The institutionalisation of this partnership working was recognised and endorsed by the Cumbria County Council representative. He also observed that there was a familiarity in the working relationships in Cumbria in respect to both the organisations and the individuals involved in economic development programmes. As he put it, *'there is a limited number of organisations involved in economic development in West Cumbria and you know them all anyway. You tend to meet them for other reasons, so it's quite a close knit network in West Cumbria and you go to a meeting, let's say about rural development, and you find the same faces there'* (EIT18: 5). A similar remark was made by the steering group member from Allerdale Council, who noted that, *'it is a fairly small pool in West Cumbria and it is a question of the same faces turning up at meetings and wondering which hat they are wearing today'* (EIT20: 12).

However, the proliferation of economic development partnerships drawn from a 'small pool' may in this case also have resulted in some communication difficulties. For example, the Whitehaven Development Company representative argued that, *'there are partnerships that exist here at different levels. I do think that there are too many agencies here, and it can appear to be confusing and we cannot send out a confused message from Cumbria, particularly from West Cumbria'* (EIT21: 14). The Allerdale Council representative agreed with the view that there were simply too many partnerships in Cumbria. He also argued that these partnerships were effectively competing for funds, resulting in *'...endless confusion! We spend an awful lot of our time networking to try and reduce the amount of confusion. To the man in the street it must be desperate to try to remember who does what. To the elected member it is desperately difficult to know who does what'* (EIT20: 14). This indicates that there are potential disbenefits from working in a dense, overlapping network of agencies and organisations with several partnership forums sharing membership.

The weakness of the private sector in tourism in West Cumbria was also identified by some members of the WCTI as a significant institutional concern. For example, the Copeland Council representative argued that, *'we haven't got good private sector representation on the Initiative. We have the Tourism Trade Association represented, but that's not a particularly strong body, although they have an enthusiastic person on the committee. In a way that's because the private sector, the commercial membership of the tourist board in West Cumbria, is very poorly developed. But I do think it would be good if we could find someone who was fairly altruistic and prepared to act in the interests of the industry in West Cumbria. That would be a plus'* (EIT19: 17).

The Trade Association representative acknowledged its own weakness and its difficulty in developing as a strong industry body. In this regard, she observed that, *'there is no benefit in being a member of the Trade Association. It is more of a social outlet to meet other people and discuss your problems. But you can do that through the Tourism Initiative, which is getting government funding. So the Tourism Trade Association is finding it difficult to recruit'* (EIT14: 13). In an industry where the private sector is the key player, the weakness of West Cumbria's existing industry acted as a handicap for the partnership. This institutional weakness was seen by WCTI steering group members as a constraint on tourism development in West Cumbria and also a disadvantage for the WCTI due to the limited private sector representation and leadership. In this respect, comparisons were drawn by the WCTI partners with the neighbouring Furness Tourism Partnership, which had been chaired by a private sector representative and was seen by some of the partners as having been very successful. The RDP Manager had also suggested that a greater degree of private and community involvement in the WCTI would have been particularly welcome in balancing the local authority representation on the WCTI steering group (EIT12: 19).

The WCTI Programme Manager's priorities for the work programme and her views about the programme can also usefully be considered from institutional and political perspectives. For example, the Programme Manager on her own initiative had devoted significant time in 1997 to the development of local 'tourism action groups' as a means of developing community awareness about the value of tourism. For example, together with interested local people she had started the Silloth Tourism Action Group, and this researcher attended and observed one of this group's meetings. These local groups were intended to provide a key vehicle to encourage local community involvement in tourism development and support for the industry.

This approach to the work of the WCTI was not well received by some steering group members. For example, the RDP Manager questioned the way in which such local groups had been established elsewhere in Cumbria. As she put it, *'there has been a tendency to start local tourism groups off, and then to back out and let them carry on. Voluntary Action Cumbria [an advisory body and network of community-based voluntary groups] has taken on a role recently to help develop tourism groups of this nature. I'm not convinced that the expertise is there. The idea is good, but I'm not convinced that Voluntary Action Cumbria has the expertise itself to be able to help these groups develop, because you're trying to help them with certain commercial issues and that expertise is certainly not available in Voluntary Action Cumbria'* (EIT12: 14). While these examples were not part of the WCTI programme, these remarks highlight some concern about sustaining encouragement and support for local community tourism action groups, when the WCTI was a time-limited partnership programme.

However, 'securing greater involvement and awareness of the local community about tourism' was an objective for the WCTI and the development of local tourism action groups was one approach to achieving this end. The difficulty of communicating the potential benefits of tourism and the work of the WCTI to local communities was highlighted as a significant concern for several steering group members. One view on this from the RDP Manager, based on her experience of involvement with several partnerships, emphasised that at least part of the problem lay in poor communication on the part of the partnership. As she put it, *'I think the majority of [development partnership] programmes are extremely jargonistic. We all speak this language and it's very difficult to interpret that at grassroots level, which is where we want the ideas and action to come from. There are several intermediary organisations that assist with the process of translation, encouragement etc. But I don't believe that there is a general understanding as to what can be done or what funds can be given. I think there is a lot of work that still can be done at grass roots level'* (EIT12: 14).

The Cumbria County Council representative emphasised the need to involve local communities more directly in partnership programmes in order to encourage a 'sense of ownership'. However, while arguing that *'the importance of having the community on board is becoming increasingly realised'*, he did not identify any mechanisms by which this was being achieved by the WCTI (EIT18: 14).

For other steering group members, the difficulty of achieving the objective of 'securing greater involvement and awareness of the local community about tourism' was linked mainly to the existence of marked local scepticism about whether the development of the tourism sector in West Cumbria was a realistic option. For example, the CTB Chief Executive suggested that, *'In parts of Cumbria, tourism hasn't been seen as a real industry and it still isn't. The last thing people would want to do would be to put any weight on the tourism industry as an economic saviour. I am originally from West Cumbria and I can remember as a child seeing hotels in Eskdale, and places like that, thinking, "why on earth does anyone come and stay in a hotel here?" I couldn't understand it (EIT16: 4).*

This local scepticism about the attractiveness of West Cumbria as a tourist destination was also identified as a problem by the Tourism Trade Association representative. She was particularly concerned to note how difficult it was to persuade local people of the value of employment in tourism. For example, in terms of her own business she explained how, *'we cannot find the staff. We are not the only ones. It is difficult to find staff because: a) they are the families that have been used to heavy industry, not catering; and b), catering is not, as far as a lot of people are concerned, a qualification or a good job. It is something that students do or people do to pass the time. It is not a career. We are involved with the Tourist Board and Cumbria TEC to try and address the problem to get people to change and not just say, "I can't do that, I would rather be unemployed than work in tourism' (EIT14: 8).*

These problems were compounded for this interviewee by local people's expectation that employers would bear the cost of providing transport for staff, as is the practice of large manufacturing firms in the region. Competition from operators in the Central Lakes who pay higher rates of pay during the peak season was a further issue. The Copeland Council representative supported these views and argued that there was also a local suspicion that the WCTI programme, which emphasised tourism development in West Cumbria, was a substitute for attracting and supporting better paid jobs in manufacturing or processing industries. As he put it, *'there is tremendous suspicion amongst local people of tourism because this is an area that has traditionally been dependent upon large employers providing a job for life. There is a complete change in the way people have to think about jobs and the security associated with any of those jobs. It's frightening!'* (EIT19: 18). Hence, the WCTI had to work hard to overcome such ingrained prejudices against tourism employment.

The extent to which the work of the WCTI was genuinely an exercise in sustainable tourism development and was perceived as such locally may also be examined from political and institutional perspectives. For example, the Programme Manager conceded that the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre, which received support from the WCTI, was seen by some in the region as an inappropriate development due to its potentially adverse environmental impacts (EIT17: 20). This controversial development contrasted with the approach adopted by the partnership in the Eskdale Valley, an area designated as particularly sensitive by the National Park Authority. Here the WCTI worked with National Park officers to promote greater use of the Ravenglass to Eskdale narrow gauge railway as well as walking and cycling modes of transport generally regarded as more sustainable. In this case, the Programme Manager suggests that, *'this could become a very fine example of sustainable tourism and we have similar projects in mind for other sensitive areas'* (EIT17: 21). However, unlike the Peak Tourism Partnership, the WCTI objectives make no reference to enhancing environmental sustainability or to promoting improved visitor management at sensitive sites. The WCTI may be seen as being concerned largely with promoting sustainable *economic development*, with an emphasis on jobs and enhanced facilities and environments for local communities, particularly in the urban settlements. The emphasis of the WCTI on economic sustainability and employment creation was emphasised by the Allerdale Council representative: *'I think that we pay lip service to sustainability quite honestly. We are trying to promote tourism in West Cumbria at the moment and that is hard enough, as tourism is not seen as providing proper jobs. If you start trying to put the environmental tag on it as well, it would turn off people in droves. It would also turn off some of the elected members. I think the way the Tourism Initiative has gone so far; we have looked at perhaps more of a mass market tourist attraction like the aquarium, the Sheep and Wool Centre and things like that'* (EIT20: 10).

From a corporate social performance perspective, involvement with the WCTI potentially provided opportunities for member organisations to *demonstrate their wider social and environmental concerns and commitment* to West Cumbria. The only steering group member to acknowledge this aspect of their involvement was the BNFL representative, who agreed that its contribution to core funding through the West Cumbria Development Fund and its WCTI steering group membership provided a means to enhance its image among local communities in the region (EIT22).

A further political consideration highlighted in this case was the *relations between the two borough councils* within the geographical area covered by the WCTI. Some steering group members indicated that conflicts sometimes emerged between the two councils and that this had been detrimental to the WCTI. For example, the RDP Manager argued that, *'there seems to be authority conflict between Copeland and Allerdale from time to time, even to the extent of arguing about where the Initiative should be based. I find this frustrating and a little bit difficult for funders to come to terms with because we just want things to happen. That's why we're putting our money in, we're not putting it in for political debates and I sometimes wonder if we could get rid of these constraints, whether or not it would work better'* (EIT12: 13). Of course, such competition and even conflict between neighbouring local authorities is not unusual.

Copeland Council's wish to see the WCTI's office relocate to within its geographical boundaries had been a contentious and distracting issue for the Programme Manager. While in 1997, Copeland Council had offered 'in principle' support for the continuation of the partnership beyond 1998, the Programme Manager suggested that this support and its continuing financial contributions were conditional on the partnership moving its office to within the Copeland area. As she put it, *'it's almost an ultimatum, which makes me feel quite sad because we are here [Cockermouth], we are known to be here, the trade knows we are here and business visitors know that we're here. It is a central spot. It is accessible to West Cumbria in the main in terms of road access. It has been suggested that we operate out of Cleator Moor, because premises are available there. I think that such a change would actually take resources and not only take resources in terms of finance but would be an upheaval, whereas I would like to see a seamless continuation at the end of 1997. So I hope that efforts are being made at the moment to convince people that this is the right place, the right location, for the Tourism Initiative'* (EIT17: 29).

Another illustration of the competition and suspicion between the two local authorities was that Copeland Council members had raised concerns that the balance of the WCTI's programme had favoured projects located in Allerdale. The Programme Manager argued that in her view this was not the case, and she went on to suggest that, *'if we were to analyse my work pattern and the time spent on the project it would be 50/50, if not actually slightly more emphasis on Copeland. If we were to look at my current work, we would find that it is probably more like 70% to Copeland and 30% to Allerdale because we have established Cockermouth now as the gateway centre and so now the emphasis is on Whitehaven, Egremont, Millom, and the Eskdale Valley. So the emphasis has changed, and that's inevitable. I think that for the most part there is an understanding, an appreciation of that'* (EIT17: 29).

The steering group chair and council officer representatives were reluctant to comment on the political rivalries between the two authorities, preferring to stress the positive effects of the partnership on their joint working. The Copeland Council representative emphasised the practical examples of cooperation between the two authorities. He illustrated this cooperation noting the example of Copeland officers working on ERDF applications for the entire West Cumbria area. In his view, *'the local government boundaries are artificial in the eyes of the public. We are a single labour market, and a single market in terms of tourism and visitors. So my view is that a job in West Cumbria is a job for a West Cumbrian'* (EIT19: 8). However, he went on to acknowledge that, *'there are obviously some political tensions between the two authorities at different levels'* (EIT19: 8). The Allerdale officer representative also expressed the view that he had a good working relationship around the WCTI programme with his counterpart Economic Development Officer at Copeland. However, he did recognise that difficulties had arisen with local politicians in Copeland who had argued that the WCTI should have focussed more attention on their area rather than on Allerdale. He explained how *'there is an issue at the moment that the Copeland members would prefer to see the Initiative based in Copeland for the next three years. It is their right to make that statement. However, my job as an officer is to either make that work if my members agree with that, or put up arguments that it shouldn't happen if members want justification for it not to happen. There are spin-offs but in terms of day to day working at officer level we get on extremely well'* (EIT20: 14). These comments suggest that he tried to work professionally and to maintain good working relations despite the rivalries that were evident in the sphere of local politics.

Other steering group members suggested that the WCTI had generally served to enhance communication between the two authorities. As the RDP Manager put it, *'some of the issues that come up through the Initiative give rise to a debate between the two authorities, who sometimes use the Initiative as a mechanism [for communication]. The personality of the programme manager has helped as well. She certainly plays a major part in being able to smooth things over although I think that she's got an extremely difficult role'* (EIT12: 15). Such comments suggest that the partnership, and the role of the partnership convenor as an 'honest broker' had helped to overcome some of the more general rivalries between the two authorities.

There was a considerable *degree of political support for the priority given to tourism* development in West Cumbria from both the CTB and Cumbria County Council representatives. As the CTB Chief Executive put it, *'there is much more of a political will to embrace tourism as a serious generator of income to the area and a serious creator of jobs than there used to be. The next step is to really persuade the workforce as well that there are real jobs, real careers and decent salary levels etc.'* (EIT16: 7). Cumbria County Council's Programme Manager for Economy and Environment agreed with this view, observing that the Council's committees were, *'always very supportive of our involvement in tourism'* (EIT18: 3).

However, it was suggested that there were difficulties persuading the UK Government Office for the Northwest, which is based in Manchester, to support tourism projects in West Cumbria. Their doubts about tourism projects were a source of frustration for the WCTI Programme Manager, who argued that, *'this is designated as a Regional Selective Assistance (RSA) area. This is a designation by the Department of Trade and Industry, and it is very difficult trying to impress on the government officers in Manchester the importance of tourism in terms of economic development when trying to get regional selective assistance. If a new factory with 30 jobs were proposed, there would be absolutely no problem with getting a grant. If it's a hotel with 30 jobs, there is absolutely no chance, or maybe a 2 or 3% chance of getting any money. It's very difficult and I think it is a major problem'* (EIT7: 23). These comments by the Programme Manager were echoed in the view expressed by the Tourism Consultant for the Rural Development Commission who was involved in West Cumbria, that tourism in government departments was not equated with economic development (EIT6: 7).

Another local political consideration was the relationship between tourism development and other substantive policy domains, such as transport, rural development, conservation and other forms of inward investment. For example, in Maryport the WCTI Programme Manager contributed to meetings of the Maryport Partnership, despite tourism development not being prominent on their agenda. This researcher attended one of these meetings, and it was evident that, while tourism had some bearing on the Maryport Partnership programme, it was mainly concerned with improving the town's physical image, community social regeneration and measures to reduce crime and the fear of crime.

6.2.3 The roles of individual partnership members

The discussion now focuses on the roles, working styles and influences of the members of the WCTI steering group. The analysis is based mainly on the interview sources, although reference to the particular role of the steering group chair is also contained in the ETB Development Department records.

A key influence on the WCTI Programme Manager's role and how she performed that role was her previous *career background*. Her previous employment had been related to overseas development projects with Oxfam. This experience had strongly influenced her approach to managing the WCTI, and in particular her emphasis on 'bottom-up' or 'grass-roots' community involvement in local tourism development. As she put it, *'...it was a personal commitment because I have worked in development overseas and know that you can't have a trickle down approach. You have got to work at grass roots upwards. That is just a natural way for me to work. Maybe someone else would have dealt with it in an entirely different way. It doesn't matter whether you are working in a small village with landless labourers in India or whether you are working with unemployed people in St. Bees, it is exactly the same'* (EIT17: 14-15). The result of this philosophy was that she spent considerable time organising meetings in village halls presenting the case for tourism development as a realistic and viable option for the local area, as well as encouraging the development of community and tourism trade associations. The origins of community associations, such as those in Silloth and St. Bees, and the West Cumbria Tourism Trade Association can be traced directly to this activity by the Programme Manager.

A second potential personal influence of the Programme Manager was the fact that she was a *native of West Cumbria* and this might have helped her fulfill aspects of the work. The Programme Manager drew attention to her local background helping her to communicate positive and convincing messages about tourism development to sceptical local audiences. She explained how she had regularly encountered comments like, *"don't be daft lass, why would anyone want to come here!"* (EIT17: 13). However, she believed that being of West Cumbrian origin had been helpful in overcoming such scepticism as her presentations on tourism development came from somebody who had roots in the region rather than from an outside 'expert'.

A third aspect of the WCTI Programme Manager's role was that she sought to *encourage community involvement in the work of the partnership* through the feasibility studies that were underway during 1996-1997. She cited the example of Millom, where consultants had been commissioned to produce a five-year tourism strategy for the town, and where her view prevailed that *'it's been very important to get the local community on board. And we asked the town council to make a small contribution of £500 towards the cost of this £9,000 feasibility study. The reason for doing that was to try and get their involvement. We also requested that as a funding partner, a representative from the town council should be on the working group. It's quite right, that we get local people's involvement.'* (EIT17: 6).

The role of the WCTI Steering Group Chair was also significant, not least through his *political lobbying on behalf of the partnership*. The chair was a member of Copeland Borough Council, a senior union representative at Sellafield, and also a prominent member of the Copeland Constituency Labour Party, and in all of these positions, he advocated the benefits of tourism for economic development, job creation and skills training.

According to records in the files at the ETB Development Department, following the ETB's rejection of the initial bid for funding for the WCTI, he successfully lobbied for political and financial support for the subsequent establishment of the partnership (background briefing paper by ETB Head of Development for ETB Chief Executive, 24/4/97; letter from the MP for Copeland to ETB Head of Development, 1994; letter from the Chair of the WCTI Steering Group to the ETB Chairman). The Programme Manager also suggested that the steering group chair had used his position as Vice-Chair of the Cumbria Tourist Board to profile and promote the WCTI at the county level (EIT17: 10).

A second aspect of the role of the WCTI steering group chair was the view of some members that it was *undesirable for an elected council member to have a leading role in the steering group*. For example, the TEC representative argued that she, *'understand [s] why there have to be elected members [involved in the WCTI] because of political reasons. But you spend an awful lot of time educating them in things that are fairly basic to the rest of us. That is not being rude, it is just simply that life is so complicated with European social funding, European development money and various money that comes from the TEC and millennium funding and god knows what!'* (EIT13: 15). This raises wider questions about the comparative merits of having a partnership chair with political influence compared with professional experience and expertise.

A third and related consideration was that issue of *partisanship and parochialism may become a concern where a local politician chairs a partnership* (EIT16; EIT21). Several members argued that in principle a partnership steering group chair is best drawn from the private sector, with the neighbouring Furness Tourism Initiative being seen as a good example of where this had worked well in practice (EIT12; 14; 16; 21). This is because a private sector chair would not be seen as being aligned with any single local authority and might be better placed to secure wider private sector confidence in the partnership. However, it was acknowledged that it would have been inappropriate to have a private sector chair in the case of the WCTI tourism businesses in West Cumbria were so weakly organised.

The roles of the County Council and two borough council representatives on the steering group were also important for the WCTI. All these representatives were firmly of the view that their membership was essential because of their respective *professional responsibilities* for economic development policies, with the WCTI seen as a key mechanism to implement their work. Their policies were described both in terms of direct economic benefits from increased tourism and also in terms of enhancing West Cumbria's image as a favourable location for other inward investment (Cumbria County Council, 1995; *EIT18*). It is notable that the representatives of the three councils on the steering group were all *senior officers with strategic responsibilities for economic development and regeneration*, and they were not the local authority tourism officers. In fact, the participation of the tourism officers was restricted to their contributions to specific operational and marketing work. The programme manager suggested that the involvement of senior economic development officers reflected the WCTI's emphasis on regeneration and the importance that was attached to such regeneration by the councils (*EIT17: 13*). This situation has wider implications for other tourism partnerships where the emphasis is on economic regeneration and where tourism officers in the public sector often concentrate largely on marketing activities. It also reflects the inter-sectoral character of partnerships for tourism development.

A further consideration in connection with the Copeland Council representative's involvement was his role as the *line manager of the WCTI Programme Manager*. He suggested that his approach to this position involved, *'trying to keep it to a strategic role, ensuring that the initiative is on the right track through the steering committee, delivering the programme and the business plan. What I try to avoid is managing the programme manager any more than anybody else on the steering committee, because I think there is a danger [that] what it mustn't become is Copeland's tourism initiative any more than anybody else's (EIT19: 7)*.

A consideration in connection with the role of the CTB Chief Executive was that she had *'appointed herself'* to membership of the steering group as she believed her involvement was *'important strategically for tourism in the County. So rather than have a development officer or a marketing officer who is only ever going to see things from one point of view, I prefer to be involved directly myself' (EIT16: 4)*. Her 'self-selection' also resulted from her view that the tourist board had not previously been adequately involved in the partnership's activities and that she was personally keen to redress this.

'I remember distinctly having an impression that we weren't rigorously attending [WCTI meetings], which suggested to me that we weren't actually using it properly strategically. We weren't making sure that it was part of the overall tourism offer in the County and that it provided something other than just a duplication of the regional tourist board at a more local level' (EIT16: 8). It might also be questioned whether this participant was concerned that local stakeholders recognised and valued the role of the regional tourist board, after all the tourist board depended on funding and membership subscriptions from local authorities and the commercial sector. Such issues of the responsibilities and funding sources of participants are essential considerations when examining partnerships.

One influence encouraging participation by the Whitehaven Development Company (WDC) representative was that he had identified the WCTI as *a useful 'conduit' to channel information and views between the WDC and the Cumbria and English Tourist Boards*. The WDC had identified tourism as a major component of its development strategy and this was a key reason for his personal involvement. This illustrates the importance of communication and networking for economic development agencies in tourism partnerships where economic development is a primary objective.

A key consideration for one private sector representative was *the difficulty experienced by business people attending partnership meetings compared with public sector agency representatives*. For example, it was explained how *'[the Chair of the Tourism Trade Association] is a one-man band. If she is at a meeting, then she is not taking people for guided walks. She is losing income. Whereas if a public body employs you, you still get your wage at the end of the week regardless of whether or not you've attended meetings' (EIT14: 6)*. By contrast, the BNFL representative was less concerned about being unable to attend partnership meetings. However, she was sensitive to any perception that they might have wished to 'take over' the WCTI, even though they were core funding partners of it through the West Cumbria Development Fund (EIT22). These comments reflect important resource issues for different types of participant in the WCTI. Private sector representatives also have far less incentive to participate when all businesses in the area will benefit and not just their own, and large-scale organisations may have significant concerns about their local image, particularly where aspects of their operations be politically contentious.

A consideration for several steering group members, particularly those in the public sector, was their *involvement in other local partnerships and the considerable resource demands of such work*. For example, the RDP Manager observed that she had been, *'...involved in Objective 5b, Leader [a European Union rural development programme for Cumbria], the Community Development Fund, and Cleator Moor Business Partnership. I have also been involved in the North Pennines Tourism Partnership and the Furness Tourism Partnership' (EIT 12:12)*. However, this interviewee also raised the consideration that involvement with several partnerships was actually a cost-effective means of *fulfilling the work of the RDP*. As she put it, *'it's only through networking that I am able to do this [prepare bids for funding] and attending a steering group of this nature is sometimes more productive and cheaper than arranging a series of meetings with half a dozen different people. It's more productive and it's more cost effective and it gives me a wider perspective and more of an overview as to what's happening in a particular area' (EIT12: 13)*.

The CTB Chief Executive made explicit comparisons between her experience of the WCTI and other tourism development partnerships in Cumbria. *'They all seem to have quite different emphases and that might be a reflection of their origins. It might be a reflection of the tourism product that they have. So, for example the Alston partnership is a much more "hands on" type of operation and is much more concerned about sustainability and environment. That might purely be a function of the tourism product that's up there. The Furness and Cartmel Initiative is much more "hands on", they are quite "up and at 'em", they have set themselves some very clear goals that would fundamentally change the Furness and Cartmel peninsula. They are major contributors to that part of the world and in fact to Cumbria as a whole. So they are really coming from a slightly different angle if you like. Furness and Cartmel have many of the same sorts of problems as west Cumbria. They have got much work to do on raising the quality of the tourism product, particularly in places like Barrow. They seem to be talking more to local groups and getting them involved in precisely that, so that they seem to be carrying local people, possibly with the exception of Barrow, along with them rather more (EIT16: 17)*. It may be that partnerships are often compared, perhaps unfairly, with other similar partnerships in neighbouring areas or in other policy sectors in the same geographical area.

A final consideration here is whether *representation on the WCTI steering group should have been extended to other tourism-related stakeholders* in the area. However, most steering group members suggested that the main parties with interests in tourism development in West Cumbria were represented on the steering group. Nevertheless, these members did suggest participants from other sectors that might have been more closely involved. For example, the CTB Chief Executive suggested that attractions and accommodation providers in the area could have been invited to join the steering group. She also expressed the view that the WCTI and other tourism development should try to find ways of involving potential and actual visitors in their programmes, although she recognised that the mechanisms for bringing about such involvement would be difficult (*EIT16: 14*). Other representatives suggested that participants from the voluntary sector, and in particular from the West Cumbria Groundwork Trust's Solway Rural Initiative, might have been useful as members. This programme had been in place from 1991 and sought to foster the diversification of the local economy, in part through tourism (*EIT12; 17; 18; 19*). These comments do suggest that there was potential to extend participation in the WCTI to a wider range of types of stakeholders.

6.3 Partnership outcomes

The product development and policy outcomes that had resulted from the WCTI programme up to 1997 are discussed in this section. Issues here include whether tourism development in West Cumbria was advanced by the partnership up to 1997 and whether shared and agreed policies had been realised between the partnership members. Differing interpretations of the partnership's 'successes' and 'failures' are further outcome considerations. The issue of whether the same or similar outcomes may have been achieved in the absence of the partnership or through a different partnership form is a related theoretical consideration that is discussed here. This section is also sub-divided according to whether the issues are primarily those of resources or of politics and institutional arrangements. Data for this section are drawn mainly from analysis of the interview transcripts and of the WCTI documents (WCTI, 1996a; 1997; ECOTEC, 1998).

6.3.1 Resource perspectives on the outcomes of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

The budgetary dependence of the WCTI on substantial contributions from the West Cumbria Development Fund and ERDF Objective 2 sources was noted in section 6.1.1. The breakdown of funding contributions from the partners was unspecified by the interviewees or in the WCTI documents. The three-year core budget of £296,000 for 1994-1997 was supplemented by a grant of £180,000 from ERDF (WCTI, 1997), so in 1997 the replacement of the ERDF monies following the end of the European programme for West Cumbria in 1998 was a major issue for the future of the partnership. The need to secure adequate funding commitments for the continuation of the WCTI meant that the programme manager, the steering group chair and representatives sought to demonstrate and promote to the potential funders the positive outcomes of the partnership's work for the area's tourism.

An important issue here is the extent to which it was reasonable to have expected a time limited partnership to have delivered on a set of long term development objectives in an area that had experienced considerable socio-economic and environmental problems, as well as lacking a strong tourism product and significant commercial sector. Nevertheless, the WCTI had existed for eight years (including its time within the WCDA), a comparatively long time for partnerships of this kind. Hence, it is reasonable that its performance should be monitored and particular strategic objectives reviewed and evaluated. So what were the positive outcomes of the partnership?

The first positive outcome that could be attributed, at least in part to the WCTI's programme was that the partnership had *commissioned, analysed and disseminated a range of original research on the economic impacts of tourism in west Cumbria and on visitor patterns and trends*. This work was seen by participants in the partnership as being vital in making a convincing case for the first time that tourism was significant for the local economy (WCTI, 1996). Secondly, the partnership's related work with *individual project feasibility studies* had also provided important support in bringing forward investment in major local tourism developments, such as the Beacon Centre in Whitehaven (a visitor attraction that interprets the town's history and also contains a climatic theme), Maryport's aquarium attraction and marina, and Cockermouth's Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre and Western Lakes Motor Museum all of which opened in 1996.

The WCTI was also involved in the development and promotion of the coast to coast (C2C) cycle route, which also opened in 1996. This route starts or finishes in Whitehaven and has attracted more staying visitors (WCTI, 1997). However, In terms of accommodation supply in west Cumbria, the number of bedspaces registered with the CTB actually *declined* by nearly 9000 between 1992 -1997 in Copeland and Allerdale. The reasons suggested for this decline were that static caravans which formerly counted as tourist accommodation were re-classified as residential accommodation and that some of the establishments that serviced construction workers at Sellafield had closed (ECOTEC, 1988).

A potential third positive outcome of the WCTI was that it claimed that it had dramatically *increased the marketing of the region and thereby had raised awareness of West Cumbria as a tourist destination* both within and outside the region (WCTI, 1998; EIT16; 17; 18; 24). For example, it was suggested that the development of the 'Cumbria Western Lakes and Coast' brand, covering both Allerdale and Copeland districts, would probably not have occurred in the absence of collaboration through the WCTI (EIT16; 17; 18; 24).

A potential fourth positive outcome was the WCTI claim that it had *assisted in improving tourism business performance through its co-ordination of business development and training events* in the area. It was claimed that this activity would probably not have happened without the part played by the WCTI in devising and promoting the events in partnership with the TEC and Business Links (WCTI, 1996; EIT13). An additional and related outcome was that the WCTI was seen by its steering group members as having been *better placed than the local authorities to secure funding for business development purposes*, such as support for training initiatives for the private sector from Cumbria TEC. As the TEC representative put it, *'I think there is more faith by certain funding partners in a body that is specifically for tourism, and they would be more likely to give a grant to this body than to a local authority department'* (EIT17: 13).

A fifth positive outcome claimed by the Programme Manager and some steering group members was that the partnership had raised *awareness within the local community about the potential represented by tourism*. In fact, the discussion in section 6.2.2 suggests that there were mixed views about the extent to which this objective had been achieved. However, the Programme Manager had few doubts that progress had been made, arguing that, *'I think the message would have got across, but it would have taken much longer. Because of a concentrated effort through the Tourism Initiative, that message has got over loud and clear. We have had the resources to ensure that message has been put over, as well as a personal commitment on my part to community development'* (EIT17: 18). The Allerdale Council representative supported this view, and also suggested that the partnership had given tourism development *a much higher profile within the council*. As he put it, *'It has been a very high profile organisation locally and it has gone a long way towards overcoming some of the prejudices in what is a traditional heavy industrial area that tourism jobs are not proper jobs. Tourism development is now seen as a growth industry and it makes our life that much easier when we are justifying resources during the budget round of the council. There is an x percent increase in visitor numbers to West Cumbria and new attractions as a result of the Initiative as [the programme manager] has been proactive and high profile and members can relate to that. It certainly makes my life easier that way'* (EIT20: 12). Such new prominence and credibility for tourism among policy-makers would indeed have been a significant contribution by the WCTI.

However, there were other *less positive evaluations of the partnership's outcomes* up to 1997. The first difficulty for the WCTI was that its *role in bringing forward and encouraging new tourism development projects* was controversial. As mentioned in section 6.2.1, the Programme Manager's priority during 1997 was devising and commissioning feasibility studies, but the WCTI's role in the implementation of projects in partnership with private developers and planning authorities was very contentious in the case of the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre and the 'Gateway to West Cumbria Exhibition' and visitor centre in Cockermouth. This project was intended to provide a 'gateway' tourist information centre for the region and this function was funded in part by the commercial development of a visitor attraction, a shop and a hotel. However, the design and siting of the development was very controversial, compounded by the fact that the project went ahead in spite of contravening the recommendations of the local structure plan (WCTI, 1997; ECOTEC, 1998; EIT14; 17; 18; 20).

Moreover, according to the Cumbria County Council representative, *'the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre definitely wouldn't have happened had not the tourism initiative been established, because it was a direct consequence of the programme'* (EIT18: 15).

A second difficulty for the WCTI was that in 1997 it found it problematic to *attribute specific tangible outcomes to its work*. Indeed, the RDP Manager even suggested that in comparison with other partnerships in Cumbria with which she had been involved, *'the area [west Cumbria] has worked somewhat slowly in producing tangible results'* (EIT12: 14; see also letter from the Director, Cumbria Action Team to the ETB Head of Development, 25/10/93). The private sector representative on the steering group also argued that local people were not convinced about the partnership's achievements. As she put it, *'if you had a survey round here and asked people, "The Tourism Initiative has spent £ x, do you think it was justified?" People would say they want to know how it was spent, because there is not enough to show how the money has been spent. The number of staff in the Tourism Initiative is going up every year, but people at grass roots will still ask, "What are people getting from that money?"'* (EIT14: 16). These comments suggest that some people were not greatly impressed by the specific outputs resulting from the WCTI.

A third difficulty for the WCTI in 1997 was that some steering group members were *arguing for a more detailed review of the partnership's strategy* before they might support the continuation of its programme beyond 1998. The Programme Manager acknowledged that the WCTI strategy had its origins in the ETB Strategic Development Initiative of 1987-1988 and that it had not changed since then (EIT17: 22). However, she argued that the WCTI's strategic objectives were still broadly appropriate to the needs of the area. But, other steering group members suggested that a review of possible alternative objectives and their prioritisation was timely. For example, the RDP Manager suggested that, *'it needs to take stock now. We're at the end of its three-year cycle and now is the time for it, not to put together yet another business plan or development plan. It really needs to have another look at these three things that we've mentioned: economic development, environment issues and also the many social problems.'* (EIT12: 14).

This steering group member argued that if this review did not take place then there was a danger of 'strategic drift': *'I have concerns that it will just roll on. It will look for funding to continue with virtually the same programme. The wider issue and debate as to what form the Initiative should continue in and what should be its main priorities have not been adequately debated'* (EIT12: 14). This steering group member felt more generally that, *'some WCTI projects had not been thought through strategically. Her perspective on this was that, 'it has caused us some concern that many projects have been developed before a town or area strategy has been put together. Millom is an example. We have had requests for funding for environmental improvements. Now, the Millom tourism strategy has not yet come to fruition and the same goes for Egremont too. I think perhaps that the approach has not been as strategic as it might have been'* (EIT12: 16).

A fourth consideration was the view of many participants in the WCTI that it needed to develop an exit strategy as well as re-focus its work priorities. These issues were highlighted by the CTB Chief Executive, who argued that, *'it cannot continue in its present form. They can't afford to invest such a significant proportion of their resources in premises and equipment and staffing. They need to find a different way of working and I think that it would be quite good if they could start making moves towards that now, because that is more likely to secure those investments and income when European funding does disappear'* (EIT16: 21). This difficulty has wider relevance for other partnerships considering their 'exit strategy', when this might be in a climate of reduced external funding.

6.3.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the outcomes of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

One institutional issue emerging from the WCTI programme up to 1997 was that it provided an opportunity for *agencies operating across Cumbria as a whole to raise their profiles and gain credibility in West Cumbria*. This was particularly the case for the CTB, which had been concerned about its reputation that it was more concerned with promoting tourism in the central Lake District rather than in West Cumbria. The CTB's Chief Executive acknowledged that this view was widely held in West Cumbria, and she attributed it to the large number of commercial members of the CTB who were based in the central Lake District. As she put it, *'we are a membership organisation and if you look at the pattern of that membership across the County, there is a far greater dominance of membership in the central lakes, which is the major attraction to the area after all' (EIT16: 12)*. She went on to argue that she wanted to redress the balance of the CTB's work. She had been a recent appointment to her position in 1997, and she observed that, *'I can see that in the short time that I have been around, that there is a lot of self-interest amongst that group [commercial members from the central Lake District]. They are happy to set pricing policy and strategy and so on at a level that is convenient to them but not necessarily convenient to peripheral areas, and we will have to double our efforts to make sure that we can balance that' (EIT16: 12)*.

However, these apparently critical remarks about Board members from the central Lakes were balanced by a defence of the CTB's own priorities. *'The reality is that [criticism of the CTB's priorities] is a very easy fallback position for anyone who wants to challenge the Cumbria Tourist Board. The reality is that the officers of the Cumbria Tourist Board have spent far more time out on the periphery than they ever do in the central lakes because that is where the potential is and the opportunities lie. But we will never persuade people on the periphery that is the case because they don't want to be persuaded' (EIT16: 12)*. This institutional issue highlights the importance of the equitable treatment of partnership areas by the member agencies themselves in locally competitive conditions.

A second institutional consideration was that the WCTI's strategy for tourism development could sometimes conflict with the strategies of the organisations involved in the steering group. For example, the RDP Manager argued that, *'the RDC tries to keep a careful watch on the balance within the [Rural Development] Programme as to each of the aims. Tourism is a part of the diversification aim. We have to balance it in comparison with the community and social projects. We are always conscious that from time to time we get a glut of community and social projects, but we still have to keep in mind the development of the economy and job creation. Therefore, this is something the [RDP] executive group looks at in total rather than small projects in isolation. The balance between social and community projects and economic development is unwritten. It depends upon the priorities identified in the strategy'* (EIT12: 15). Hence, the RDP's priorities were less strongly focused on tourism and economic development.

A third institutional issue was the difficulty that the partnership could duplicate the work of member agency's programmes. The Cumbria Tourist Board Chief Executive raised this problem, arguing that, *'the Initiative has looked at what the Tourist Board does and has tried to replicate that at a local level. They have brought in things like inspection schemes, publications and brochures. I would prefer to have seen them working in a different direction. If they were going to spend money on inspection, for example, I would have preferred them to use it to help operators offset the costs of the formal inspection schemes that are known and understood by the consumer, so it isn't just a little local scheme that means nothing to a potential customer. From the publications point of view we should be working more effectively together to make sure that we meet the needs both locally and regionally. I think as long they are concentrating on producing leaflets and doing research and going into exhibitions and doing inspections and so on, then they are not going to have that big an impact. That is my major concern because I think that using regeneration to turn around the economy is the best approach of all. I am just concerned that they are being side tracked'* (EIT16: 18). Of course, these views may well reflect the concerns of the Cumbria Tourist Board that its role was not overtaken by the work of the WCTI. Tourism partnerships often are concerned with co-ordination work, and this often relates to avoiding duplication.

The CTB representative also expressed significant criticisms of the partnership's marketing work, again suggesting that effectively the WCTI was taking on activity that was best done by the CTB. Her argument was that, *'we could achieve results more effectively by working together and trusting one another. For example, I am not sure that the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative should necessarily be at the World Travel Market or at the British Travel Trade Fair. If the Cumbria Tourist Board was representing them properly in those venues then they don't need to be doing that. There is much more important work that they could be doing on the ground'* (EIT16: 18). In sum, the tourist board felt that much of the WCTI's work had duplicated the CTB's marketing activities at the expense of attention to its development objectives. In the opinion of this interviewee, there should have been, *'much closer work on the ground with operators. I think the biggest problem that the West Coast faces is the development of tourism products and raising the quality standards of that tourism product. I think that new operators need advice. I also believe that what west Cumbria needs is somebody who is agitating at local authority level and generating European funding for infrastructure improvements, so that we can get rid of the downbeat appearance of villages and towns in that area. At the end of the day if we don't do that no visitor is going to come along and feel that they are in a holiday area'* (EIT16: 20).

The CTB Chief Executive also felt that it was *difficult to persuade the other steering group members about her views*. She argued that because she was a relatively new participant in the steering group the *'others feel that they've been around longer and they know best and they're on a route that they have been on for three years and more. So it is a fairly well trodden path for them, and to get recognition of the need for change isn't going to be seen overnight'* (EIT16: 20). This reflects the problem of participants that do not get involved in a partnership from the outset, as late entrants often find the broad agenda has already been set and it is difficult to expect other members to change direction.

A fourth political consideration relates to *the implementation of the WCTI work programme*. On this issue, the CTB Chief Executive suggested that it may be necessary to accept the reality of the competition that existed between the local authorities and that this may entail returning the project to them so that they can work separately on project implementation. She argued that *'perhaps for West Cumbria I should be thinking about two project managers, one for Allerdale and one for Copeland. Maybe the exit strategy should be that local delivery goes back into the local authorities' (EIT16: 23)*. *I think because of their particular success, as opposed to other industries, there is little doubt that the Initiative will get a further two years funding, because they are seen to be strategically very important and they are seen to be successful. But I think there is some complacency that just might mean that one or two individuals come unstuck' (EIT16: 15)*. Again, it might be argued that it may suit the tourist board if the WCTI were to return to the local authorities as the WCTI might have been seen to develop as competition to the CTB.

6.4 Summary

The major themes that emerged from the data on the WCTI and that may be analysed in the context of theories of inter-organisational collaboration are summarised in this section, and these themes are also outlined in table 6.1. The arrows in the figure emphasise the connections that exist in this case between the resource and institutional and political theoretical perspectives. Arrows are also used to show that there are strong links between the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of the WCTI. The process and outcome categories were particularly difficult to distinguish from one another in this case, as the programme was still continuing at the time of the research. These findings are further considered in chapter eight, where the commonalities and differences are drawn out in comparison with the other case studies.

	Theoretical perspectives based on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based on political and institutional considerations
Chapter section	<i>Resource dependence</i> <i>Microeconomics</i> <i>Strategic management</i>	<i>Corporate social performance</i> <i>Institutionalism /Negotiated order</i> <i>Politics</i>
6.1 Preconditions	<p>Relative remoteness and isolation. Some degraded environments and significant socio-economic problems. Area known principally for BNFL. Lacking in notable tourist attractions and recognition, but with some potential and proximity to the Lake District. Significant financial resources available from the WCDF and ERDF for economic development programmes. WCTI primarily an exercise in economic development.</p>	<p>A number of public sector agencies and local authorities with interests in tourism development.</p> <p>RDA and ERDF eligibility.</p> <p>WCTI established following ETB SDI review – initial base in the WCDA.</p> <p>Local competitiveness and a lack of a tradition of partnership between authorities and agencies</p>
6.2 Processes and the roles of individual partnership Members	<p>Transfer of WCTI management from CTB to Copeland Council. Programme emphasis during 1996-1997 on feasibility studies for development projects – contentious for some members. Dependency on external resources. Some concerns over dual funding. Specificity and significance of partner resource contributions. Hidden costs of membership. Public sector partner budget insecurity. Resource contributions to the emerging tourism industry. Some 'free-riders' on the WCTI</p>	<p>Significant extent of partnership working in Cumbria – resulted in some confusion. The weakness of the private sector in tourism. Development of local 'tourism action groups'. Difficulty of 'securing greater involvement and awareness of the local community about tourism'. Relations between Copeland and Allerdale Borough Councils – conflict or consensus? Political support for the prioritisation of tourism. Difficulty persuading Government Office for the Northwest to support the WCTI. Programme manager's local origins and career background. Political activism of steering group chair – controversial for some members. Steering group membership a part of the professional responsibilities of public sector agency officers. Senior positions of council officer members. Difficulty for private sector members to find time for steering group work</p>
6.3 Outcomes	<p>Need to demonstrate positive outcomes in order to secure resources for continuation Original research on the state of tourism in West Cumbria. Feasibility studies for specific projects. Marketing activity. Business support (well placed to secure funds for this purpose Raised awareness within the local community about the potential represented by tourism? Higher profile for tourism in councils. Difficulty of attributing outcomes. Need for a review of strategy.</p>	<p>Agencies operating Cumbria-wide able to gain credibility and raise their profiles in west Cumbria through participation in the WCTI (particularly CTB). Some conflicts between WCTI and member agency strategies. Duplication of CTB's work. Difficulty for the CTB Chief Executive to convince other steering group members of her views. Return programme to local authorities for implementation?</p>

Table 6.1: Summary of Theoretical Perspectives on Inter-organisational Collaboration in the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

The nature of the WCTI programme was strongly influenced by the need to encourage economic development and regeneration in an area that had experienced significant socio-economic and environmental problems. The area is geographically remote and lacks notable attractions for visitors. However, potential for tourism development was identified in a consultant's report and this report was influential in making the case for ETB and other funding for the establishment of a partnership to promote such development (Pieda, 1988). Potential advantages for tourism development claimed for the area included its proximity to the central Lake District and the availability of significant financial resources for economic development programmes through the ERDF and the West Cumbria Development Fund sponsored by BNFL.

The area covered by the WCTI contained parts of Allerdale and Copeland Borough Councils and was wholly within the county of Cumbria. There were several other economic development and regeneration programmes in West Cumbria prior to the establishment of the tourism partnership. Among these programmes were the Maryport and Whitehaven Development Companies, the area-wide WCDA, and RDP administered by the County Council on behalf of the Rural Development Commission.

A number of constraints for the WCTI were identified in the previous analysis. Some of these were affected by the complex organisational history of this partnership. The WCTI was launched initially as a department of the WCDA; but it became a 'free-standing' partnership following restructuring at the WCDA and successful lobbying for funds to secure its independence. Line management for the WCTI following its separation from the WCDA was allocated to the CTB. However, this was soon changed to Copeland Borough Council, because the Council was an 'eligible body' in terms of applications for ERDF funding. There were some suggestions that the WCTI Programme Manager had experienced some difficulties adjusting to this transition, though these do not appear to have been serious problems.

A related constraint suggested by some respondents was that local competitiveness between towns and areas was a feature of the West Cumbria area, and that this had acted against the emergence of effective local partnerships. However, evidence was mixed in this regard, with some steering group members suggesting that there was widespread partnership working, to the extent that there was some confusion and overlap between partnership programmes and with the strategies of member agencies. Others argued that there were tensions associated with the competition between Copeland and Allerdale Councils and that these were sometimes played out through the WCTI programme. Issues here included the location of the WCTI's offices, the balance of the work programme between the two authorities, and Copeland's role as 'banker' to the partnership as a result of its line management and ERDF functions. By contrast, some other respondents argued that the WCTI had enhanced communication between the two authorities and that working relationships between the officers involved with the partnership were very good.

A further constraint on the development of tourism-related partnership working in West Cumbria that was suggested by steering group members was the weakness of the commercial tourism sector locally which provided only a narrow basis on which to expand the tourism industry. Respondents also argued that there was also considerable scepticism among local communities about the prospects for tourism to the area. It was also suggested that there was a strong local view that investment in tourism development was at the expense of efforts to attract inward investment in manufacturing and processing industries. Set against this, the position of the Programme Manager and of the steering group chair as strong, local advocates for tourism development, provided some local credibility for the WCTI's work.

One controversial aspect of the WCTI's work was the Programme Manager's involvement with local 'tourism action groups'. This work perhaps helped the WCTI to meet its objective of 'securing greater involvement and awareness of the local community about tourism'. This work was also consistent with the Programme Manager's belief – based on her experiences of overseas development projects – that local communities should be involved in development plans, based on a 'bottom-up' approach. However, some steering group members argued that this approach was inappropriate, suggesting that there were difficulties in connection with the extent to which a time-limited partnership could provide support to such groups.

A second controversial aspect of the WCTI's programme during 1996-1997, its last year of partnership funding, was the Programme Manager's emphasis on commissioning feasibility studies and research projects. The CTB representative was particularly critical of this emphasis, arguing that such work was being done too late in the partnership programme and at a time when there was no certainty that the partnership would continue beyond 1997. There were also criticisms from the same source and from the RDP Manager that the WCTI had duplicated elements of their work programmes.

More positively, there were suggestions that the WCTI had achieved favourable outcomes in terms of its business and marketing support for the fledgling tourism industry in West Cumbria. It was also argued that some significant development projects would not have gone ahead without the support of the partnership, although in one particular case – the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre in Cockermouth – the development had been controversial.

The WCTI Programme Manager and steering group members were keen to demonstrate positive outcomes for the partnership programme up to 1997. This was particularly important in their attempts to justify continuing funding support for the partnership beyond the end of the ERDF programme in 1998. However, it was recognised that there were some difficulties in conclusively attributing outcomes to the WCTI's work programme. A more fundamental review of the partnership's objectives was also suggested, along with consideration being given to an exit strategy and the possible return of projects to the local authorities for implementation.

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of inter-organisational collaboration in the case of Discover Islington (DI). The approach here is consistent with the presentation used in chapter five for the analysis of the Peak Tourism Partnership and in chapter six for the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative. Data here are drawn from the interview transcripts and documentary sources relating to DI that were identified in chapter three. The presentation of the findings in this chapter coincides with the conceptual framework discussed in chapter four.

Interviews for this case study were conducted between April-July 1997. Quotations from interview transcripts are referenced here according to the coded transcript number (*EIT25 - EIT39* inclusive), with an additional numbered reference for the specific question and response. Interview respondents included the DI Chief Executive and twelve of the fourteen members of the Board of Directors (hereafter the Board). Of the two Board members who were not interviewed, one was on the point of retiring from his position and was not prepared to allow time for an interview. The second, the then leader of the majority political group on Islington Borough Council, also refused to be interviewed because of lack of time. The DI Board was re-elected on the 8th July 1997, towards the completion of the interviews, with the Chair allocated to a representative from the University of North London who was a Tourism Management lecturer, researcher and consultant. The interview with this Board member was recorded before he was aware that he would be appointed Chair. Other interviews that were particularly relevant to this case included the Chief Executive of the London Tourist Board (*EIT 32*), the Chief Executive of BAA plc and Chair of London First (*EIT 42*), and the Confederation of British Industries (CBI) Senior Policy Advisor on Tourism (*EIT 43*).

This chapter also draws on notes made in February 1997 on materials held at the offices of the Development Department of the ETB, and on publications of DI and its partner agencies.

The analytical process that is brought to bear on these data was set out in chapter three. In summary, this analytical process involves the identification of key ideas and recurrent themes in the data, and the conceptualisation of key issues in relation to the aims of the research and the theoretical framework.

This chapter is organised into three main sections that focus respectively on DI's *pre-conditions*, *processes (including the roles of individual partnership members)*, and *outcomes* (up to 1997). This is based on the conceptual framework as discussed in chapter four and summarised in table 4.2. The theoretical perspectives on inter-organisational collaboration are combined in two inter-related categories within each section of this chapter. One category includes the theoretical perspectives that are mainly concerned with *resource* considerations, interpreted here as relating primarily to Islington's physical characteristics and tourism products, and funding issues in the case of DI. Theoretical perspectives that are combined and applied in this resource category are those of resource dependency, microeconomics, and strategic management. The second category includes the theoretical perspectives that mainly focus on *political* and *institutional factors*, these being the perspectives of corporate social performance, institutionalism, and politics. The chapter concludes with a synthesis of the key themes that emerged from the data and makes connections between the two inter-related categories of theoretical perspectives. These key themes are summarised in table 7.2.

7.1 Partnership pre-conditions

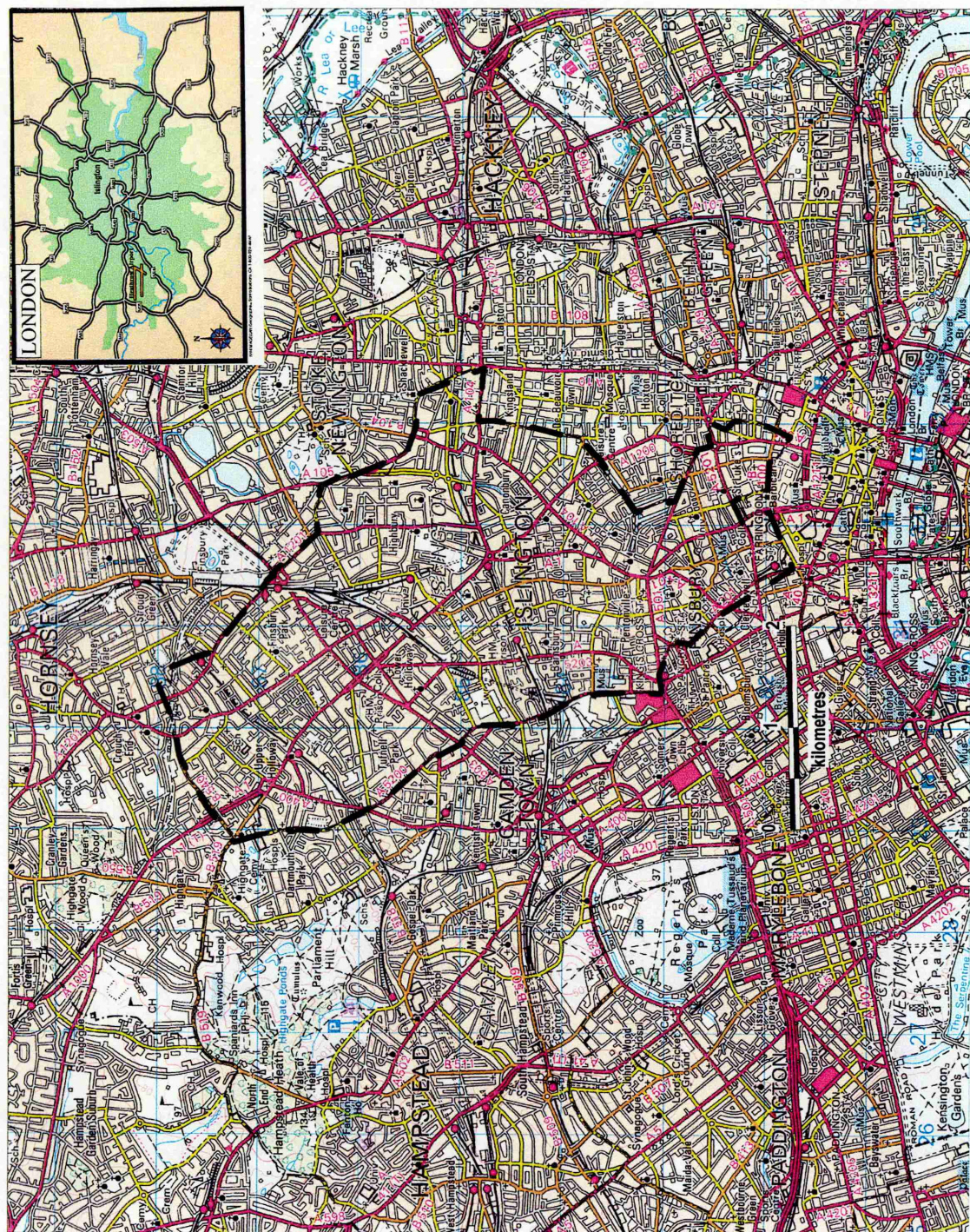
Consideration is given here to the context and pre-conditions within which DI was established. These pre-conditions included the factors that made the partnership possible and that encouraged (and discouraged) potential member involvement. Attention is also paid here to the individual, organisational, structural, and political incentives (and disincentives) that existed in the tourism development domain and that encouraged the formation of the partnership. The historical relationships between partnership members and the history of the tourism development domain are further considerations. The analysis of pre-conditions also involves an assessment of the various definitions offered by the partnership's members of the context, as well as the identification of the various issues that the partnership addressed.

7.1.1 Resource perspectives on Discover Islington's pre-conditions

This section briefly sets out the broad context of tourism resources in London in 1997 before moving on to a review of the resources for tourism that existed in the Islington area at that time. The section also includes a discussion of the funding arrangements that were put in place for DI.

Tourism is a major sector in the London economy. It was estimated that it accounted for 8% of London's gross domestic product and sustained around 200,000 full time equivalent jobs in 1996/1997, which was approximately 10% of total employment in the capital (Bull, 1997; Bull and Church, 1996; Evans and McNulty, 1995; LTB, 1997). London Tourist Board (LTB) estimates suggest that £7,710 million was spent by 13.3 million overseas and 10.4 million domestic visitors to London on goods and services in 1996, with £6,775m from this total being spent by overseas visitors, a significant proportion of all spending by overseas tourists to the United Kingdom (LTB, 1997:3).

London exhibits many of the issues and difficulties associated with the development and management of tourism in major cities (apart from the administrative complexity that is discussed in section 7.1.2). A key issue is that tourism attractions and accommodation are concentrated in the central areas. Another concern is that visitors contribute to the considerable transport pressures experienced by the city's residents and commuters. In response to these concerns there has been a policy emphasis at least since the early 1990s on promoting the development of tourism in fringe areas of the city, including the formation of partnerships to encourage this development (LTB, 1993; LTB, 1997). DI provides an example of this attempt to spread tourism in London to the city's fringe areas. The DI area is shown in figure 7.1.



— — Discover Islington Boundary

Kilometres

— — Discover Islington Boundary

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Figure 7.1 The Discover Islington Area

The London Borough of Islington is situated to the north of London's main financial district ('the City') and borders the boroughs of Camden, Hackney and Haringey. An estimated five million people live within a ten-mile radius of Islington, and the City financial district receives a huge weekday influx of office workers and business visitors, along with a large number of tourists (LBI, 1997). For example, four million 'visitors' to the Borough were estimated in 1998 (Carpenter, 1999).

Much of tourism in London is concentrated in the central areas that are adjacent to Islington. For example, St. Paul's Cathedral is only half a mile from the Clerkenwell area of Islington, and there are five visitor attractions receiving more than one million visitors per year within two miles of the Angel underground station (a major southern gateway to Islington). Public transport connections to and within Islington are extensive, if often crowded and subject to delays. Four underground and three overground rail lines cross the Borough linking Islington to the City financial district, the West End entertainment district, the rest of London and beyond. King's Cross rail, underground and bus interchange, although located in the neighbouring Borough of Camden, is particularly significant as a gateway to Islington.

Just under 60% of London's tourist accommodation bedspaces were situated in the neighbouring boroughs of Camden and Westminster at the time of DI's establishment in 1992 (Beioley, 1993). This concentration was identified at an early stage of the DI partnership programme as an opportunity to attract more visitors to the Borough in its own right, particularly for specialist attractions, activities and interests (DI, 1992a; Beioley, 1993). There had also been growth in investment in tourist accommodation in Islington during the 1990s. This investment included the opening of the Stakis Hotel near the Angel and of Jury's Hotel in Pentonville Road in 1998 (Carpenter, 1999). However, budget accommodation within the Borough during the 1990s was limited but improving, with a 'Bed and Breakfast initiative' introduced by DI encouraging local residents to offer low-cost rooms to tourists (DI, 1992a).

The visitor attractions that existed in Islington during the 1990s were situated mainly in the south of the Borough, and particularly in the Angel and Clerkenwell districts. These attractions included clusters of retail and gallery outlets specialising in antiques, crafts and art and designer products, such as the Camden Passage antiques market. There were also attractions based on the area's heritage and historical associations.

The architecture and ambience of parts of the Borough, as well as sport, including Arsenal Football Club's stadium at Highbury in the north of the Borough, were further attractions. Parts of Islington, again most notably in the Angel and Clerkenwell districts, had also become fashionable among residents, visitors, City employees and the media during the late 1980s and early 1990s as places to live, eat, drink and be entertained. There were many well-known restaurants, public houses and entertainment venues including the Screen on the Green art-house cinema, the Kings Head pub/theatre and other small-scale theatres (DI, 1992a; Beioley, 1993).

Investments in Islington's tourism product and infrastructure in the early to mid 1990s included: the creation or refurbishment of attractions such as the Design Centre, Crafts Council, and Sadler's Wells Theatre. The Angel underground station had also been redeveloped, and tourism-related regeneration partnership strategies had been launched in the King's Cross transport interchange and the City Fringe areas (the latter being the area immediately surrounding London's financial district, including parts of Islington).

In socio-economic terms, Islington in 1992 was broadly characterised by a north/south divide, with the southern wards generally more prosperous than those in the north of the Borough. This pattern was also reflected in the areas that were seen as possessing actual or potential attraction for tourism. For example, the 'Angel Trail', a walking route devised by DI, was centred on the Angel district, the canal side and the Upper Street area to the south of the Highbury and Islington underground station, a generally prosperous part of the Borough. The increasingly fashionable Clerkenwell and Farringdon districts, bordering the City of London, were also focal points for tourism development. In contrast, the poorer northern wards within the Borough were seen as having relatively little to draw tourist interest, beyond visits to friends and relations, with the notable exceptions of Arsenal Football Club's stadium at Highbury, and certain musical events such as the annual Fleadh Irish Music Festival staged in Finsbury Park.

Islington Council's work in the promotion of tourism to the Borough prior to the establishment of DI in 1991-1992 had involved the production of interpretation and information leaflets on specific themes that were mainly related to 'heritage'.

The Council had also funded advertising in conference and exhibition directories, attendance at trade shows, and the provision of a visitor information centre at the Clerkenwell Heritage Centre. This centre was set to close in 1992 as a result of unspecified 'management issues' and this closure presented an opportunity to produce a review of visitor information provision. This review was undertaken at an early stage of DI's existence and resulted in the opening of DI's own information centre in Duncan Street, close to the Angel underground station.

Prior to 1992, the Council had also been involved in a limited amount of tourism development work in the Borough. This work included the commissioning of a number of feasibility studies for the re-development and marketing of both existing historic buildings and sites and for new tourism products. The Council had also established new semi-independent 'arms-length' agencies funded under the government's Urban Programme for inner-city regeneration and development purposes. The Council had included DI as an example of one of these agencies, with the Urban Programme being the source of council funding for DI. Other examples of these agencies with a tourism dimension and that had an 'arms-length' relationship with the Council included the Islington Theatres Association and the Union Chapel heritage attraction.

A critical review of the Council's tourism development activities was produced in 1990. This review document suggested that there was a lack of strategic co-ordination underpinning the Council's work in tourism. The absence of a marketing strategy was seen as having been a particular issue. Much of the Council's work that had been described as 'marketing' was limited to the production of publicity and information materials, i.e. promotional activity, and there had been little attention to strategic elements of the marketing process (LTB, 1990). There was also some criticism in the review document that the existing promotional literature was too narrow and specialised with little available for the casual visitor. The report also criticised the Council's feasibility studies for tourism development, which were described as having been '*ad hoc* and opportunist'. It was suggested that these studies had limited connections with improving the local infrastructure, environment and training provision. The absence of monitoring and of the evaluation of individual projects was noted with no measurable targets and mechanisms for assessing performance in relation to costs (LTB, 1990). In addition, there was no overall strategy for the Borough to balance the needs of the resident community with those of visitors (LBI, 1997:8).

However, and in spite of these criticisms of the Council's earlier work, tourism in the early 1990s was receiving increased recognition from the Council as being an emerging and important economic sector for the borough. This recognition also encouraged new thinking about how the Council's support for the sector might be re-organised (LBI, 1997:7).

A bid to the ETB for Tourism Development Action Programme (TDAP) status for Islington and funding for a tourism development partnership initiative was first recorded in the minutes of the Council's Economic Development Sub-Committee meeting held on 20th September 1990. This meeting also noted the Council's past activities in support of tourism dating from the early 1980s as well as their limitations. The minutes went on to record that the aim of a new partnership for tourism in Islington would be, *'to develop the Council's tourism initiative so that, with the private sector participating directly, it generates new projects and attracts investment from new sources, including grant aid from the ETB. By this means, it is considered that the Council's economic development objectives can be greatly enhanced over the next few years'* (LBI, 1990). The Council recognised that direct involvement by the private sector in a new partnership was a pre-requisite for TDAP designation, and they had accordingly agreed support from a number of private sector organisations with operations in Islington. These included the Business Design Centre, Thames Water, Barclays Bank, British Airports Authority (Hotels Division), and the British Waterways Board. As a result of these discussions, the total sum pledged by the private sector for the TDAP bid was around £60,000 in cash or services in kind. The Economic Development Sub-Committee minutes noted somewhat cryptically that some of this private sector support was *'conditional on future decisions relating to land use issues'*, although the nature of these decisions was not specified (LBI, 1990). This observation highlights the significance of resource (and political) issues for the analysis of tourism development partnerships, with evidence here that private sector organisations were expecting specific returns on their financial contributions to the partnership.

The TDAP bid document suggests that the £60,000 private sector contribution was intended to be used to lever an additional £150,000 from commercial sources in the partnership's three years of operation from 1992-1995. This would supplement the Council's contribution of £300,000, providing a total income of £510,000. This estimated income was set against anticipated project costs of £570,000, resulting in a shortfall of £60,000.

It was this shortfall that was sought from the ETB through the TDAP programme (LTB, 1990). These budget projections were notable in that they greatly exceeded the anticipated three-year funding that was put in place for both the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (£296,000), and for the Peak Tourism Partnership (£262,500).

In the TDAP bid document a series of recommendations is put forward to address the acknowledged shortcomings of the Council's earlier work in tourism and to establish parameters for the TDAP strategy. This document concludes by setting out strategic headings, associated action points, the division of responsibility for their delivery between the proposed new partnership and the Borough and the timing of initiatives between 1992-1995, a classic type of strategic planning framework linked directly to resource implications for the participants. The plan outlines a series of strategic headings, broadly linked to the major objectives

Firstly, the strategy aims to *reach new markets* by formulating a marketing and public relations plan. This work would include the design and implementation of an antiques marketing campaign, devising other new marketing initiatives, exploring the potential for new short break packages, establishing an arts and events festival, promoting tourism to the local community and media, fostering relationships with local business, and identifying sources of sponsorship and advertising. Secondly, the strategy includes the aim of *developing the tourism resource*, initially through an audit of existing attractions and facilities. This work would then involve encouraging the development of the local accommodation sector, guide network and tour routes. Improving access to existing attractions is also seen as being necessary and this would include working with Thames Water and British Waterways on developing the visitor element of the River Head site and Regent's Canal, and promoting public transport for leisure visitors. Thirdly, the strategy seeks to *improve the visitor experience*. This element would involve reviewing and developing information, interpretation and infrastructural provision, implementing specific projects (in for example, improved signage), liaising with the private sector to promote small scale environmental improvements, identifying training needs, and encouraging access improvements for people with disabilities. Fourthly and finally, the strategy aims to *promote investment in tourism* through identifying and promoting sites for hotel developers, pub conversions incorporating bed and breakfast accommodation and new attractions, and encouraging the upgrade of existing facilities and attractions (DI, 1992a).

The DI Chief Executive observed that the Islington bid for TDAP status and funding at the end of 1991 was, *'near the tail end of the whole series of those TDAPs, and it was probably also the only one where the area with which the TDAP was concerned was exactly contiguous with one local authority which was a very unusual state of affairs'* (EIT 28: 3). This comment reflects the fact that the majority of earlier TDAPs had involved a partnership between several local authorities and other agencies with development interests and responsibilities in their areas. However, there were precedents for TDAPs to be located in single urban districts, such as in Bristol, Portsmouth and Leicester, so the Islington application was unusual rather than unique. ETB records at the time suggest that this 'unusual' application was successful largely as a result of the London Tourist Board backing the proposal because it was strongly supportive of its strategy of spreading tourism within the city (LTB, 1993). The evidence of private sector support and indications of financial support from the Council were other important contributory factors in the bid's success, given the ETB's emphasis on private sector participation and a positive financial contribution from the partners (letter from ETB Head of Development to Islington Council Chief Executive, 15/1/92).

In connection with the TDAP bid, there is evidence contained within the ETB records that Islington Council may have attempted to renege on its commitment to the new DI partnership by seeking to reduce its financial contribution. For example, the ETB Head of Development noted in a letter to the Council Chief Executive dated 4th March 1992 that, *'I have to say that the ETB would not have approved their grant of £20,000 p.a. unless they were satisfied that the sum mentioned in the bid document relating to the Borough's contribution was realistic.'* This point was made even more strongly in a memo dated 28th February 1992 from the ETB Chief Executive to the ETB head of Development, and this is worth quoting at length. In this document he suggests that, *'while agreeing with your sentiments that we can, on the gearing front, justify the continuation of funding, I feel that the question is should we continue on a point of principle? [emphasis in the original] The whole logic of the TDAP approach is one of partnership, a concept that implies that all parties will act in good faith. This is clearly not the course of action being pursued by the Borough. I remember clearly being assured that the £100,000 p.a. would be available for direct support to the TDAP; indeed had this not been the case, the bid would have failed [emphasis in the original]. I obviously do not want to see the initiative, which has shown some encouraging success, fail due to this sort of pettiness. However, we must be mindful of value for money considerations in the face of ever decreasing budgets.*

Should we run short on available funds, as we are very likely to do in the coming financial year, we will have to look very closely at this sort of situation and ask the question, "Is there a more worthwhile, deserving and honest partnership into which we should direct the funding?" During the interviews the Discover Islington Board members either stated that they were unaware of these circumstances or else said that they did not wish to comment on this issue with them (EIT 25, 28, 29). Again this statement highlights the crucial prominence given to the commitment of financial resources behind this type of partnership working.

Nevertheless, the funding bid was successful and DI was launched as a TDAP in 1991, with its Chief Executive appointed in November of that year. DI was unique in that it was the only TDAP to have been based in London and one of only a few nationally to have been located within the boundaries of a single Borough.

The aims of the new partnership were based on recommendations made by consultants to the Borough's Economic Development Sub-Committee, and these were to:

- improve perceptions of the area;
- enhance local facilities and infrastructure and help create job opportunities through increased revenue from visitors; and to
- balance the benefits from tourism to those living and working in the area (LBI Economic Development Sub-Committee minutes of a meeting called to discuss the TDAP bid, 20/9/90).

The action programme set out in the initial TDAP strategy for Discover Islington was concerned primarily with marketing, public relations and promotional work to encourage the recognition of tourism as a very significant element of the local economy (DI, 1992). The development of events, packages and products based on the district's attractions was a further emphasis of the partnership's initial programme. The action programme also identified and aimed to develop the range of 'Tourism Projects' that were already planned or underway in Islington for the financial years 1991/2 and 1992/3 and before DI was founded (DI, 1992).

In 1997, following the termination of ETB funding, DI re-defined its strategic aims for the period 1996-1998 to include objectives that were more explicitly concerned with the sustainable development of tourism in Islington. These included securing a long term, stable, and adequate financial base for the organisation itself, the delivery of 'locally responsible' tourism, and the demonstration of good practice and innovation. These changes reflected the need for DI to attempt to secure its continuing funding from the council following the end of the ETB financial support.

The membership of the Board of DI in 1997, when ETB funding ended included representation from Islington Council (the Chair of the Urban Regeneration Sub-Committee, and the Leader of the Labour Party Group - the majority party at the time - who was set to retire from the DI Board later that year). The private sector was represented by businesses whose firms were located in the borough and business people who were resident in the borough (from the media, design, legal and property sectors). The LTB was represented by its Head of Strategy and Policy (the only Board member who was a specialist tourism professional). Other Board members were the Chief Executive of Rutland County Council (a former senior officer from another inner-London borough), a former ETB board member known for his experience in retailing and town centre management, and a local university Tourism researcher, lecturer and consultant, who was elected chair of the Board from 1997. The Board contained no representation from Islington Council officers or from local community groups. This representation contrasts with the Peak Tourism Partnership and West Cumbria, where the steering groups included council officers, with the Peak Tourism Partnership also including community representation.

Membership of the Board in 1997 had changed significantly since the establishment of DI in 1991-1992, with only two members still in place who had served on the founding Board, these being the LTB representative and a private sector lawyer. The most notable difference between the Board at the start and in 1997 was the absence in 1997 of any representation from major private sector companies. There had been three such representatives on the original Board, with a further three advisors from major plcs. This change in private sector representation also reflected a decline in private sector funding support for DI between 1992-1997. This had resulted in the partnership becoming increasingly dependent on the Council for these financial resources.

These changes reflect wider considerations about the difficulty that tourism development partnerships may have in maintaining continuity, balance and seniority in board or steering group membership. In addition, this may also reflect the difficulty of partnerships involved in tourism development in retaining a commitment from the private sector. The commercial interests may lack the time to be involved, may find the process excessively slow and bureaucratic, and may not see direct returns to their individual business. This raises wider resource questions related to the problem of the 'free-rider' business in tourism destinations, that is the business that benefits from partnership initiatives without itself assisting the partnership in terms of resource commitments.

7.1.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the pre-conditions for Discover Islington

The management and planning of tourism in London is administratively fragmented and complex. In 1997, the thirty-two London Boroughs and the City of London Corporation fulfilled key planning roles, with guidance provided by the London Planning Advisory Committee, and the Government Office for London (LPAC, 1994; GOL, 1996). Apart from the local authorities and various partnership initiatives, other more specific bodies involved in London's tourism included: the LTB (the official regional tourist board for London); London Arts Board; London Regional Office of the South East Museums Service; London Tourism Manpower Project; and a range of transport, accommodation and attraction operators in public, private and voluntary, not-for-profit sectors. The London First Visitors Council was also involved in informing tourism policy in 1997. This consultation group consisted of private sector members. It existed to promote London and to encourage improvements in tourism product quality, and it had been active since 1993. There was also a concern in 1997 that tourism in London was growing less quickly than it was in competitor cities both in the UK and overseas, which was considered disadvantageous to London and also to Britain's tourist industry, as London is the "gateway" city to the country for many overseas visitors. The London Focus Initiative, announced by the London First Visitors Council in 1996, aimed to address this concern by improving the city's share of world tourism by projecting a more cohesive and positive image (LTB, 1997).

At the time of the appointment of DI's Chief Executive in 1992, responsibility for Tourism within Islington Borough Council and the staff dedicated to it resided in an Economic Development Unit. This unit was wound up soon after the establishment of the TDAP as part of a wider cost-cutting review of Council services. The Borough then no longer employed staff with specific, direct responsibility for tourism, this area being effectively devolved to DI as an 'arms-length' agency. In fact, the status of the new partnership in relation to the Council, notably in relation to its then Tourism Officer and to the Economic Development Unit appeared to have been very uncertain following the appointment of the DI Chief Executive in November 1991. As she put it, *'I came into a situation which I felt was somewhat unclear. Not least how the Tourism Officer expected our roles to be complementary or divided. It was far from clear, the whole thing, and if I tell you that 12 months after I started, by that time there was no Tourism Officer in the local authority and the whole thing had been restructured and there wasn't even an Economic Development Unit, then you will understand that it was a period of some significant change in the whole approach to handling tourism at local level'* (EIT28: 3).

The new institutional arrangement for tourism in Islington following the establishment of DI was advocated by the Council's representative on the DI Board who suggested that *'it seemed appropriate to us, then as it does now, to have an organisation whose purpose it is to recognise that one key aspect of being in Islington is that we have culture, tourism and heritage. I think quite wisely we decided that it should be managed and run in a sort of distant way but with us still being there as partners'* (EIT25: 7). This Board member also suggested that she saw no case for bringing tourism back into the Council's mainstream urban regeneration activity, arguing that as an aspect of Islington's cultural industries, tourism was best dealt with by a dedicated agency. However, this issue of DI's relationship with Islington Council does highlight general considerations about how a tourism development partnership may relate to other relevant areas of a member agency's work and responsibilities, such as a local authority's planning and regeneration functions. It could be debated whether the devolving of responsibility for tourism development functions to an 'arms-length' agency is likely to increase or reduce the prominence given to this function by the organisation previously responsible for it.

A related institutional consideration was the working relationships that developed between DI staff, Council employees and external organisations. In this regard, the DI Chief Executive also advocated the 'arms-length' relationship that existed between the partnership and the Council, arguing that, *'it has worked for them [DI staff] because people would recognise them as not being part of the Council but working on behalf of the Council, so therefore their relationship with other colleagues in different Council departments would be easier'* (EIT25: 8). Such a comment may reflect the natural desire of the partnership "champion" to be solely responsible for tourism policies, and to avoid the "muddy waters" of fragmented responsibility and the related problems of co-ordination. It may also reflect a belief that a partnership agency can have greater "credibility" with some parties, including public sector employees, than a public sector organisation. These comments also suggest a general issue of the quasi-independent status of the staff of a tourism development partnership in relation to their external professional relationships. However, the nature of the 'arms-length' relationship that existed between DI and the Council also raises questions about the limited extent to which DI could influence those Council policies that affected tourism development in the Borough. In this connection, the DI Chief Executive suggested that this was a concern *'because there are policy matters where it is the domain of the local authority to take the lead [e.g. planning, economic development]. So, it doesn't mean that we necessarily can lead, but we can certainly influence [policy]*. However, she went on to argue that this position also had some advantages for the increasingly prominent position of tourism and DI within the Council. In this connection her observation was that, *'we can most certainly be proactive and have a status for tourism which is way higher in peoples' perception than it would otherwise be if the same sum of money that we get as grant aid from the local authority were spent on however many staff in a tourism unit'* (EIT28: 4).

A political consideration in connection with the Council's work in tourism and the difficulty of sustaining private sector support for DI was the Council's reputation from the late 1980s for adopting radical policy positions and it is pertinent to consider whether this reputation had damaged the potential for partnership working with the private sector locally. Indeed, the Council representative on the Board did acknowledge that *'they [the private sector] are wary of us'*, and she suggested that a key reason behind the Council establishing arms-length companies was precisely because this provided a mechanism for engaging with the private sector.

'We use that mechanism to say to partners, "you are dealing with us [the Council] in this partnership, and we are there as a partner equal to you, so forget the baggage that you have heard about us, let us work specifically on this", and I think that has helped partners' (EIT25: 7). Hence, there is evidence that the partnership was seen as a means to disconnect tourism policies from the council in the eyes of the commercial business sector due to the political reputation of the council. However, the Council's representative on the Board went on to argue that the Council's policies for tourism development within the wider context of urban regeneration were regarded by the private sector as having been comparatively uncontentious. She felt that most of criticisms from the private sector had been directed at the Council's poor reputation for the direct provision of services, and this had relatively little relevance for the tourism sector.

7.2 Partnership processes

The focus of this section is on the implementation of Discover Islington's work programme and specifically on how the stakeholders interacted to undertake it. There is also discussion of the reasons why individual members participated in the partnership and an assessment of their respective roles in the partnership. This section focuses first on the partnership's work programme in relation to insights from resource and then from political and institutional theoretical perspectives. The section concludes with an analysis of individual member motivations and roles in the partnership process.

7.2.1 Resource perspectives on the work programme of Discover Islington

DI's work programme was based on an assessment of the opportunities and constraints facing tourism development in Islington (LTB, 1990; DI, 1992). The issues to be addressed by the partnership included: the physical environment of the Borough; transport links; visitor gateways; perceptions and images of aspects and areas of Islington; and its existing visitor attractions and facilities, in terms of accommodation, interpretation and information points and centres, and guided walks. The extent to which DI had the power and influence to secure real changes in relation to these issues, and in particular in relation to planning priorities and considerations, was not discussed in the TDAP bid document or in DI's strategy and work programme.

DI's annual reports covering the four years 1992-1996 were made available to the researcher. These documents report on the partnership's achievements under the strategic headings of markets, tourism resources, visitor experience, and investment. A summary of DI's main activities during this period and under these strategic headings is provided in Table 7.1. The annual reports also contain details of Board membership, staffing, and the financial statement for the year in question. They demonstrate that in practice DI was able to secure the continuing funding from the Council needed for it to remain in operation beyond the termination of ETB TDAP funding in 1995 and in spite of the reduction in private sector financial support.

Year	Market Development	Tourism Resource Development	Experience (Research)	Tourism-related Investment
1992-93	Antiques market publicity Specialist literature for group tour operators Conference and exhibition pack Specialist shopping guide	Tourism strategy and programme Audit of attractions, facilities and accommodation Visitor survey Introduction of IT systems	Consultants report commissioned on information, interpretation and visitor management	Enhanced relationships between DI and local accommodation providers Promotion of infrastructural improvements at Angel underground, Islington Museum Gallery and the London Canal Museum
1993-94	Various new publications Existing publications monitored Developing media relations	Performance monitoring systems for visitor information centre Staff development activities Database development	Pedestrian signage proposal developed following consultants report (Beioley, 1993)	Continuing work to encourage increased accommodation provision
1994-95	Various new publications Ongoing monitoring of marketing work Promotion of service route with Leaside Buses Web-site development	Business network established Growth in visitor centre turnover and activity	Mapping project with London Underground at Angel station Signposting scheme design work completed	Continuing work to encourage increased accommodation provision Stakis Hotel development announced
1995-96	Extensive international media coverage	Continuing growth in visitor centre turnover and activity Involvement in tourism development aspects of SRB programme work Growth in Business network membership	New signposting installed	Developing external partnerships, e.g. City Fringe, King's Cross

Table 7.1: Summary of Discover Islington's Annual Work Programme and Outputs
(Sources; based on the partnership's strategic headings as shown in the DI Annual Reports, 1992-1996)

Following the termination of TDAP funding and at the time that this research was conducted in 1997, DI had re-defined its mission in terms of 'generating economic benefit and civic pride by promoting and developing local tourism in partnership with the public and private sector.' This re-definition of DI's purpose was aimed at securing long-term Council support and led to a re-orientation away from an emphasis on marketing towards a focus on the sustainable development of tourism in the Borough and on the long-term future of the partnership itself. The strategic objectives identified for the revised mission in DI's 1996 Annual Report were to:

- create a long term, stable and adequate financial base for the partnership;
- deliver tourism services, for example tourist information;
- deliver locally 'responsible' tourism;
- demonstrate good practice and innovation;
- ensure a reputation for excellence for the organisation;
- maintain a regular high profile; and to
- develop the full potential and quality of the contribution by all staff to the achievement of the mission (DI, 1996).

These objectives were not necessarily presented in order of priority in the DI 1996 Annual Report. However, it is notable that first place on the list was given to securing resources for the long-term survival of the agency itself. The absence of any specific reference to marketing is also notable, although marketing activity is specified in the working targets, as discussed below. The final four objectives were also concerned with securing DI's reputation as a professional and innovative organisation. Thus, the focus of the partnership had changed from its founding aims towards an emphasis on the long-term prospects for DI as an organisation as opposed to a short-term, three-year focus on a tourism development programme that was characteristic of ETB-sponsored TDAPs. This indicates that to a certain extent this organisation had retrenched from its earlier outward-looking focus on the wider tourism issues to a somewhat more inward-looking and insular perspective on organisational survival and operations. This might partly reflect the stage of the partnership's development and the concerns that often arise in the potential 'closure' phase of a partnership initiative, but it could also be influenced by a shifting emphasis in the public sector toward demonstrating organisational efficiency and value-for-money.

DI's 1996 Annual Report contains specific operational targets for the period September 1996 - March 1998. These targets include elements that were part of the 1992-1995 TDAP phase of the partnership namely: managing the provision of visitor information, retail sales, accommodation bookings and ticket sales and; the identification of target markets and the production of marketing plans, priorities and annual targets. However, the 1996-1998 operational targets also contain reference to new areas of activity for DI. For example, it was envisaged that DI would be involved in the development of new partnerships for local economic development in the Borough, with DI becoming a key facilitator for the implementation of Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) bids that included tourism development elements. This new work was also related to another target for DI to demonstrate added value in project funding, as well as to generate more income, with a target of doubling revenue by March 1998.

The 1996-1998 operational targets also suggest that it was necessary for DI to achieve a higher profile for tourism within the Council, as well as to secure renewed grant aid for the partnership from the Borough. The Council's view of DI being involved in tourism initiatives outside Islington was also seen as a key concern that required clarification. These targets suggest that there was some uncertainty about DI's relationships with the Council at the time of the research.

In practice, the implementation of DI's work programme during 1992-1996 and for 1996-1998 was affected by a number of resource constraints and opportunities. These included, firstly, *the significance of 'Urban Programme' funding for 'tourism projects' between 1991-1993*, this being provided by central government through the Department of Environment (DoE). This funding regime covered the period of DI's first full year and it was the source of 75% of Council's contribution towards the TDAP budget (DI, 1992). DoE support for these 'tourism projects' was part of a wider Urban Programme for Islington at this time. This dependence on core funding for DI from government regeneration programmes obtained via the Council continued up to 1997, although the annual reports are not specific about the exact proportion of DI's funding that was attributable to central government regeneration sources after 1993.

Secondly, *DI also remained heavily dependent on continuing financial support from the Council*. For example, the annual report for 1995-1996 made reference to core funding from the Council of, 'just over £100,000', which had levered in, 'over £80,000 from a combination of revenue generating activities in the Visitor Information Centre, sponsorship, financial support from training and enterprise councils, the King's Cross and City Fringe Partnerships and [unspecified] other sources' (DI, 1996: 15). A third and related resource consideration, was *the uncertainty and insecurity that this financial dependence on the Council engendered among DI staff and Board members*. This was a particular concern for some in connection with the difficulty that DI had experienced in maintaining private sector contributions. As the LTB representative put it, '*without the subsidy from the Borough of Islington and bits and pieces from the TEC, it is difficult to see how it can actually continue because the private sector won't fund it to cover the operating costs*' (EIT29: 12). This dependence on a single main funding partner was highly significant in the case of the DI partnership, and it may also be a consideration for other tourism development partnerships, given the reluctance of private sector businesses to fund destination-based tourism partnerships which tend to help all businesses equally within the partnership's geographical area.

A third resource consideration in the development of the post-TDAP strategy and work plan for 1996-1998 was the *specialist support and advice* that was available to the DI Chief Executive and Board. For example, the Chief Executive of Rutland County Council, who advocated that the partnership should seek to develop its work beyond the Islington Borough boundaries, provided such expertise when DI's post-TDAP strategy was being formulated. At first sight, this person's professional position as Chief Executive of a rural local authority made her an unlikely candidate for Board membership of a tourism development partnership in Islington. However, she had previously been in a senior officer position at the London Borough of Tower Hamlets, and this experience of local government in London had proved valuable in advising the DI Chief Executive on the drafting of strategic objectives. This ability of DI to draw upon expert advice from Board members who had indirect connections with Islington, and who otherwise had limited involvement with the partnership, was an unusual characteristic of this case study partnership.

Fourthly, the *emphasis on DI seeking to develop work outside Islington* may be understood in relation to the partnership's increasing dependence on resources from the Council after the termination of TDAP funding in 1995, as well as in the context of the difficulties DI experienced in maintaining private sector financial support. This dependence made DI highly vulnerable to any changes in Islington Council policy on tourism, and it understandably resulted in the partnership seeking resources from outside the Borough. As the DI Chief Executive observed: *'we are dependent on core grant aid from the local authority, which has gone up significantly from when it started. We are increasingly now dependent on further resources coming in from the two SRB programmes which affect us. There's Kings Cross and also the City Fringe Partnership which takes in Spitalfields and Tower Hamlets, Hoxton; Shoreditch and Hackney, Clerkenwell and Islington and bits of the Corporation of London area, including where the Barbican is located'* (EIT28: 11). These comments highlight the potential that some tourism development partnerships may have to secure their long-term survival by extending their activities to geographical areas beyond their own boundaries.

These observations also highlight the fifth resource consideration, this being *the time devoted by the DI Chief Executive to working on bids for funding packages* to maintain the partnership's survival. The Chief Executive argued that working on such bids was *'certainly a priority. In a way I suppose you make a virtue out of something that is a necessity. From some points of view it hasn't done us any harm, but there are other ways in which I think it is fundamentally very difficult. It's hugely insecure. The staff team here is excellent. We are, from some points of view, not a sustainable organisation because everybody is underpaid, and that's a big concern'* (EIT28: 13). This pre-occupation with seeking sources of funding was identified by the LTB representative as being a characteristic of all tourism development agencies in London. Indeed, he explained that even *'the London Tourist Board is in the same situation. We did actually get a four-year commitment from the London boroughs to support the Tourist Board. Before that, it was on an annual basis. From one year to the next we didn't know what the budget would be. So yes, they [DI] have a similar problem in that way'* (EIT29: 12). In fact, these comments reflect the short-term precarious funding position of many public sector tourism development partners in England.

7.2.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the work programme of Discover Islington

The interview findings and documentary evidence highlight several issues that affected DI's work programme and may helpfully be viewed from political and institutional perspectives. The first of these issues was a general agreement among Board members that there was considerable *consensus among the partners about DI's strategy and work programme*. For example, the Islington Council Chair of the Urban Regeneration Sub-Committee drew on her experience of involvement in several arms-length development agencies in suggesting that DI's strategy had been agreed in a corporate manner that was singularly lacking in contention or dissent. In her view this was *'rare, because you will find it [controversy] a feature in most aspects of our work, but not here'* (EIT25: 14). Such a degree of consensus may well not be a general feature of other tourism development partnerships, and these comments suggest a fruitful avenue for comparative analysis.

A second institutional and political consideration that may have worked in DI's favour was that *DI reported to a Council Policy committee as opposed to a Council Service committee*, being a higher level of local government committee and with the former perhaps less susceptible to Council financial cutbacks. This factor was emphasised by the Chair of the Urban Regeneration Sub-Committee, who argued that *'It would be a different organisation if it came out of one of the service committees, because it would not be so protected. But I think our structure is unusual in that urban regeneration does not stand as a service committee. It is a policy committee. So it is very difficult for any strategy or any strategic direction that we are embarked on to change that radically. They may be tempered, whereas, if it was part of a service committee, it could be chopped and it could die a death'* (EIT25: 16). Hence, the issue of the organisational level of the local government committee that takes responsibility for a tourism development partnership, and to which it reports, is potentially a significant consideration.

The fact that *DI sought to extend its role by becoming involved in new partnerships that geographically extended beyond Islington* was discussed in section 7.2.1 in the context of the partnership's need to secure additional resources to continue in existence. However, this activity may also be viewed as a third political and institutional issue.

Securing long-term financial security had become a priority for DI by 1997 and its involvement as a consultant in other tourism development projects in London that geographically went beyond the boundaries of Islington was an important means for the partnership to remain in business. Hence, DI's contribution to the work of the King's Cross and City Fringe Partnerships was noted in positive terms in the annual report for 1995 -1996. Both of these major re-generation programmes included Islington within their boundaries, along with several other London Boroughs. However, a critical consideration was the view of DI's single major core funder, Islington Council, on the partnership's involvement in programmes and projects that were partly focussed elsewhere. In fact, the Council Board member suggested that the Council was not concerned about DI being involved in this work, arguing that *'we have very fluid boundaries anyway, and we are involved in partnerships. So that if Discover Islington was to be working with Kings Cross they would be working with Camden. They are already engaged with the City Fringe as a partner, so they are already working with the City and Hackney'* (EIT25: 12).

Nevertheless a very different view was expressed by the LTB representative who argued that DI extending its work beyond Islington potentially was a contentious and divisive issue. As he put it: *'the debate will occur when Discover Islington might seek to gain income and step outside its original concept, which has occurred, particularly with the King's Cross Partnership SRB programme and the City Fringe, where Discover Islington has acted like a consultant to them. This is slightly askance from what it was set up for. But I think there are equal benefits for them to be involved in those processes. The initial discussion has suggested that these are issues that merit Discover Islington's involvement'* (EIT29: 17). This strategic re-direction in the role of the partnership, with it assuming a wider consultancy and research role based on its expertise in the development of tourism in the urban fringe, was also reflected in the appointment of the University representative to the Chair of the DI Board.

The *degree of accountability* that existed between DI and Islington Council was a fourth institutional and political consideration. The DI Chief Executive suggested that the partnership's accountability to the Council was assured by DI's dependence on Council funding, *'because all they've got to do is to block our grant aid and we'll be in a bit of a mess'* (EIT28: 14). The LTB representative, who also believed that DI was vulnerable to the annual budgetary process within Islington Council, supported this view.

The Islington Council Board member of DI suggested that accountability to the Council was also secured through the active involvement of senior Council elected members and by the tabling of DI's annual reports to the Council sub-committee that she chaired. The particular role of Council elected members was described as being *'part of our ideology. I believe that it is a political issue as well. It is a means of how we take politics out into our activities with other bodies'* (EIT25: 12). Hence, the general issue of the extent of involvement of elected local politicians in tourism development partnerships is highlighted here. For example, partnerships with public sector participants might involve either elected members or public sector officers, or a combination of members and officers. This issue raises clear questions of accountability and of the extent to which political concerns are prominent.

A fifth political and institutional consideration affecting DI concerned *the seniority of the Council member representation on the DI Board*. In 1997, both the Leader of the Council and the Chair of the Council's urban re-generation sub-committee were represented on the Board. Nevertheless, the existence of a specific target in the 1996 -1998 DI work programme to raise the profile and increase awareness of the value of tourism within the Council suggested that such activity was still necessary, in spite of the prominent positions of the Council's representatives on the DI Board. Hence, the involvement of very senior local government representatives on a partnership board may not reflect the real priority given to a partnership by local government.

A sixth political and institutional consideration was *DI's strategy of concentrating attention on those geographical areas within its boundaries with a clear potential for tourism development rather than on the areas suffering most from urban deprivation*. While at first sight, this strategy appears to be logical from a tourism perspective the issue of how the partnership might have focused instead on the tourism potential of the more deprived wards in the Borough was an issue in 1997. This political issue may help to explain why DI's support for the Islington Festival was presented in terms of its encouraging local communities from throughout the Borough to participate in an event that was also seeking to attract tourists. Furthermore, the marketing targets for 1996-1998 contained a specific reference to encouraging the 'tourist' activity of local residents from within the Borough (DI, 1996: 4). Ultimately, whether this could be achieved comes down to how 'tourists' and 'visitors' are defined in terms of, for example their place of residence and length of stay.

The partnership's name, 'Discover Islington', did not in itself suggest exclusive attention to the needs of visitors from outside the Borough and it is unusual for a UK local tourism development partnership not to contain the word 'tourism' in its title. The Chair of the Urban Regeneration Sub-Committee highlighted the sensitivity of the issue of urban inequality for the partnership explaining that she was concerned by *'the tension between great wealth and great poverty living side by side. For me as a Councillor I cannot just deal with one aspect of the borough. So you said earlier about, "could Discover Islington favour one part of the borough rather than the other?" and that is something that I will be watching. I will be watching that it doesn't disadvantage any sector. We can do that in terms of its values. That any organisation that we are involved in match those that we aspire to. The downside is maintaining and watching that balance, because there is this great entrepreneurial spirit. But clearly there are twenty percent of people who are disadvantaged and have not moved away from their council estates of origin, where their grandparents lived. So you have always got to be watchful that they are benefiting from it'* (EIT25: 6). These comments reflect how political pressures around geographical patterns of inequality might influence the geographical focus of a tourism development partnership.

A related seventh political and institutional issue was the extent to which DI *involved local communities* in its strategy and work programme. The Council's 1997 sustainable tourism strategy discussion document suggests that 'the principle of sustainability implies that local communities are central to the development of tourism in Islington. This will necessitate new approaches to involving local people in the tourism sector' (LBI, 1997: 2). The discussion paper went on to suggest that the 'close involvement of Neighbourhood Forums (particularly Angel and Clerkenwell, as the areas experiencing the most tourism) will be critical in developing the strategy' (LBI, 1997: 2). However, the neighbourhood forum mechanism had not been used at the time that the research was conducted. The DI Chief Executive suggested that there were numerous amenity and voluntary societies within Islington and that it was simply impossible practically for the partnership to engage with all of these groups. Indeed, her remarks on this issue were somewhat dismissive of such community groups. For example, *'we are known amongst all of the "town hall groupies", and we sell stuff that some of them produce. The local history society's library has got various local books and postcards and things that we sell, so they are benefiting financially from us. We sometimes put things into their membership mailing list and pay a token amount towards what that costs to reach people.*

All of us at different levels go to quite a lot of different meetings and we have got a Discover Islington network that is local businesses, a membership organisation. We've been running events for them almost monthly and those actually sell different aspects of Islington that we feel people working in the area may very well not be aware of (EIT 28: 22). Hence, the actual steps taken to involve community groups appear to have been modest at best, and in practice this does not appear to have been a priority in this case study.

In relation to relationships between the partnership and the wider community of residents, the DI Chief Executive did suggest that it was an emphasis on *'making sure that we carry those people [amenity associations and local groups] along with us and that we don't have those organisations at the more community end feeling that we are acting counter to local interests. I would be very worried if I was starting to get that kind of feeling from people. Obviously there are major issues, particularly about late night opening and licensing for clubs. Cheek by jowl we've got eating and drinking and residential areas and there aren't that many development sites in Islington'* (EIT28: 34). The partnership's work in encouraging local people to develop bed and breakfast accommodation was a further example given by DI Board members of how the partnership sought to engage with the local community. The Council representative suggested that this work, *'must be engaging with residents across the borough'* (EIT25: 5). However, it was unlikely that many such establishments would be located in poorer neighbourhoods given both a likely shortage of capital for necessary investments and a low desirability of these areas for many potential tourists. The Islington Festival's broad appeal across the community and Discover Islington's involvement with it was presented as another example of how DI engaged with the Borough as a whole, and not solely for the benefit of the residents, businesses and attractions that were located in the more prosperous and commercial areas of the Angel and Clerkenwell.

The relationship between the strategies and policies of DI and of the LTB was an eighth political and institutional consideration. The LTB representative argued that there was no conflict between the local approach to tourism development in Islington and that adopted by the LTB for tourism development in London as a whole. He also suggested that DI had been part of the Forum that helped to draft the LTB's strategy. DI was also presented by the LTB as an example to other London boroughs of how they might approach the organisation of tourism development in their own areas.

DI was also depicted by the LTB and others as helping to provide, *'a local focus to some of the issues which face us in London generally. Things like encouraging more hotel developments and giving that a local focus'* (EIT29: 11). DI also enabled the LTB to reach, *'some of the private sector at the local level that are involved in tourism issues [and] who wouldn't normally be involved at a London wide level. So it is quite useful in that [business] community focus'* (EIT29: 12).

These responses from the regional tourist board to the partnership's role in co-ordinating local level tourism development are similar to the views expressed by the Chief Executive of the Cumbria Tourist Board, as discussed in chapter six in the context of the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative. They reflect a regional-scale endorsement of local-scale attempts to co-ordinate the development of the tourism industry.

The LTB representative also recognised that there were concerns that the LTB's London-wide tourism strategy may have been seen as favouring the interests of central London, where the bulk of the LTB's commercial members have their businesses. A similar concern was expressed in West Cumbria that the Cumbria Tourist Board needed to be seen to be helping a local area where they had relatively fewer commercial members in order to demonstrate their even-handedness. However in the view of the LTB representative, the reality remains that *'in marketing terms the person who pays the most gets what they want. So, if it is a commercially based operation or a promotional campaign we're doing and if it is funded by Forte or Mount Charlotte Thistle, clearly the emphasis will be on their properties which tend to be in the centre of London'* (EIT29: 15). It does seem likely that such commercial and political realities in relation to the geography of tourism development will affect most local tourism partnerships.

The question of the degree of complementarity between the DI and LTB strategies was also a concern for the University representative on the DI Board, who argued that *'the 'cool London' theme [promoted by the LTB in 1997] is unsustainable...a bandwagon, ephemeral. Unfortunately, Islington is very much associated with that image. The composition of the LTB Board is also likely to influence their direction. We do need a strategic view over all of London. But clearly it might well be pulled away from what we would like both in terms of geography and in terms of sector. It is part of the strategy of the LTB to encourage decentralisation geographically and also in terms of diversification of sectors. However, I am not sure that the emphasis on policy and the resources that they put into that side of things is proportional to where you are going to get the immediate spin-off in terms of promoting Central London. So I think that there might be a mismatch of what the policies might say and where the resources are really directed. Local authorities have, by their nature, a vested interest in the long-term welfare of their area, its economic welfare, its social welfare, much more of a remit than any tourist board could have. So, therefore, it is understandable that some of the peripheral areas might feel that their policies don't match with those of the LTB'* (EIT38: 9). These comments highlight the potential relevance of the degree of complementarity or conflict between the objectives of a tourism development partnership and those of its member organisations.

Despite the comments of the University representative, the LTB representative, perhaps inevitably still emphasised the positive contribution that his organisation made to DI. Although the LTB was no longer in a position to provide financial assistance to the partnership, the LTB representative suggested that he contributed important professional expertise on tourism development to the partnership, and that DI also benefitted from training support from the LTB for its tourist information centre staff. He also suggested that *'they are treated as members of London Tourist Board in that the boroughs are all members and we treat Discover Islington as a member. They take part in some of our policy debates. They are also members of the Joint London Tourism Forum - the group we have to discuss policy issues'* (EIT29: 8). In his view the benefits for DI of the LTB's Board membership had been reciprocal in the sense that it had *'in some respects'* assisted the tourist board's dealings with Islington Council.

7.2.3 The roles of individual partnership members

The discussion now focuses on the specific roles and responsibilities of the DI Chief Executive and the members of the DI Board. This section also highlights some theoretical considerations about the positions, roles and perspectives of Board members. Much of this analysis is based on the opinions expressed during the interviews with the Chief Executive and Board members.

This case study contrasts with the others examined previously in that the DI Board included only *a comparatively small number of professional officers* from local government or from statutory agencies and also comparatively few officers who had responsibilities for tourism development. With the exception of the DI Chief Executive, the only professional tourism specialist on the Board was the Head of Strategy and Policy for the LTB.

The Chief Executive of Rutland County Council was a special case. Her contribution to the DI Board mainly involved her providing advice on partnership working in a local government context, based on her own past experiences as Chief Executive of the London Borough of Tower Hamlets. The small number of professional Council officers and of tourism specialists on the DI Board was highlighted by the LTB representative as issues that had not been resolved following re-organisations and personnel changes within the Council between 1992-1996. As he put it, *'the Chief Executive of the Borough used to be involved and he hasn't been replaced yet. What happened is that the person who used to be most involved with it was actually made redundant - the chap who helped to set it up [the Council's former Tourism officer]. He wanted to create Discover Islington, but then it became an organisation that usurped his own job'* (EIT29: 5). While in his view the prominent positions of the Council elected member representatives had served to balance the absence of senior officers on the DI Board, he felt that there was still a deficit in specialist tourism expertise among the Board members.

Despite the reservations of the LTB representative, the DI Chief Executive argued that the composition of the Board was appropriate and balanced. In defence of this position she explained that *'I inherited people who were around when it started who were brought to the table by the then Tourism Officer, some of whom are still Board members. The chair of Discover Islington at that time unfortunately died in '93, and the current chair is somebody from the Chamber of Commerce, because in our Memorandum and Articles of Association we have one representative from London Tourist Board and one representative from Islington Chamber of Commerce. The rest are, in various ways, from the education and private sector'* (EIT28: 7). A different gap in representation on the DI Board – that is, *a lack of direct representation from local community groups* - was highlighted by a private sector representative, who argued that such representation would have been desirable, although he acknowledged that this might have been difficult to achieve in practice as the local population tended to be transitory (EIT 36:4). These observations highlight the general issue of representation on the board or steering group of a tourism development partnership. Participants in the Peak Tourism Partnership and West Cumbria Tourism Initiative made similar remarks on imbalances in representation, including the desirability of community representation, and these issues were discussed in chapters five and six.

Another private sector representative on the DI Board argued that attendance at Board meetings was usually poor and he suggested that a smaller, perhaps six-member Board would have been more appropriate and efficient in carrying forward the partnership's work. These observations also raise general questions about how partnerships might achieve a balance between widening participation on their boards or steering groups, while also retaining efficiency and effectiveness in decision making and operations.

Several DI Board members were also particularly concerned by *a lack of commercial sector involvement* in the partnership, and essentially in participation from large-scale private sector organisations. The Royal Bank of Scotland was criticised specifically for its lack of support given to DI when it had its head office in Islington. In the view of several Board members, the economic viability and long-term prospects for DI were compromised by this lack of representation from large-scale private sector organisations that operated locally.

In 1991-1992 the founding Board had included members from British Waterways, Arsenal Football Club, Barclays Bank and Grand Metropolitan Estates, but this representation from major plcs had not been sustained. The university representative argued that the private sector appeared to favour specific projects where benefits and returns could be clearly demonstrated, as distinct from a more complex and diffuse partnership initiative. An example of a highly specific project within DI that was industry-sponsored was the bus company Cowie's work in promoting a particular route in partnership with DI. The involvement of major commercial businesses in a partnership arrangement may have both symbolic as well as financial benefits, and DI was unable to benefit substantially from either.

The LTB representative also argued that the Chair of the DI Board ideally should be drawn from the private sector and, *'the fact that it has tended to come from the Chamber of Commerce seems to me sensible'* (EIT29: 5). His argument in support of this view was that, *'they can give that private sector look at things, and they are less bureaucratic than if it was totally directed through a London borough'* (EIT29: 5). There may indeed be merit in having a commercial tourism operator as the chair of a local tourism development partnership as this may overcome private sector concerns about the public sector being bureaucratic and too concerned about party political issues.

It is notable that the general issue as to whether a tourism development partnership is in principle best chaired by a private sector representative was also an issue for respondents connected with the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, as discussed in chapter six. In the case of DI, several private sector representatives had been invited by DI's former Chair (and Chair of the Islington Chamber of Commerce) to serve on the Board as representatives of prominent, if small-scale, and locally based service businesses. These representatives suggested that their DI Board membership provided opportunities for them to demonstrate their civic pride and commitment to Islington. One such representative had at the time of the interview recently won a Chamber of Commerce award for the best shop front in Islington and was prominent in the local business community. This interviewee described himself as being an, *'enthusiast for the area.'* His involvement had also been motivated by, *'an irritation with the negative media that Islington had experienced and a desire to contribute to the enhancement of the area's image'* (EIT35: 1).

The local civic pride that is evident in these comments suggests a general issue for other tourism development partnerships, where local private sector organisations may be in positions to act as 'champions' for their area and for their tourism partnership in business forums such as chambers of commerce. A related consideration was that some private sector Board members believed that their role in the DI Board might have also had business benefits, for example through contacts made as a consequence of their involvement. For example, the steering group Deputy Chair, a freelance travel writer had approached the DI Chief Executive, in his professional capacity, '*out of interest in the concept*' of the agency, as well as for its potential for generating travel writing work (*EIT26: 1*). In turn, he had also been able to assist DI in securing international media coverage. These apparently mutual benefits for partnerships and individual Board members are further general issues.

A distinctive feature of the DI Board in 1997 was *the involvement of Board members who performed an expert advisory role*. These members were called on to advise on specific issues, and they tended not to be highly involved in the long-term in the Board's proceedings. The example of the role played by the Chief Executive of Rutland County Council in advising on the drafting of DI's post-TDAP strategy was discussed in section 7.2.1. This Board member identified her specialist knowledge about local government management as being her main contribution to the work of the DI Board. Another specific contribution by her during 1997 had been the development of an internal review procedure with defined targets and outcomes (*EIT34: 6*). This respondent also acknowledged that she had no background or experience of working on tourism development. However, she saw DI Board membership as being a useful personal learning exercise about tourism development, and that she might transfer her experience of tourism issues gained in this way to her new position in Rutland (*EIT34: 8*).

A second example of DI making use of the expertise of Board members expertise was the advice provided by the former Corporate Affairs Director from Marks and Spencer, in relation to the design and layout of the visitor information centre operated by DI. His reputation as an expert on Town Centre Management schemes and his former position as a Board member of the national tourism organisation, the ETB, may also have been useful to DI. This representative had received an invitation to join the DI Board when the DI Chief Executive approached him for advice on the retail element of the partnership's work following his appointment to the ETB's Retail Initiative in 1993.

In this context he had also been able to enlist the assistance and advice of the Islington Marks and Spencer branch manager (EIT36: 1). This Board member actually felt that he might have been consulted rather more during his time on the DI Board than was the case in practice (EIT36: 5). He also argued that his other contacts might have been useful to DI, although these had not been called upon. These included contacts in the media, with politicians and training and enterprise councils, and relationships associated with his past chairmanship of the Westminster Chamber of Commerce, the Oxford Street Retailers Association and London First's Retail Section (EIT36: 2). Other Board members, including a City solicitor, a property consultant, media professionals, and the university representative had provided similar specialised support to DI. Their expertise had been drawn on by DI to advise on the legal aspects of DI's organisational arrangements, to search for new premises, to make contact with international media and travel writers, and to secure student placements. However, the comments from the former Corporate Affairs Director from Marks and Spencer do highlight the general consideration of whether or not tourism development partnerships take full advantage of the contacts, networks and expertise of their steering group or Board members, and of the reasons why this may not happen.

Two significant issues are connected to the role of the *DI Chief Executive*. The first of these is the significance of her specific job title as 'Chief Executive', rather than the more usual designation in tourism development partnerships of Programme Manager (or Officer). This issue was highlighted by the DI Chief Executive herself, who suggested that there was a particular reason why the post had this designation: *'originally my title was 'Director', but, for technical reasons to do with getting clarity about what my function is within the organisation, it was changed. I am not a director. I'm more a Company Secretary. It was changed to Chief Executive a year or so ago [in 1996]. It actually helps enormously if you want to have dialogue with, on an equal footing, chief officers in a local authority, not to mention every other conceivable player: public, private, voluntary sector. It helps, the mere title* (EIT28: 5). The status suggested by the Chief Executive designation, presumably due to its more commercial or business world associations, and its possible value in dealing with external agencies is a consideration that may be applied to equivalent posts in other tourism development partnerships. It again highlights the symbolic value of the trappings of commercial titles and of business associations for public-private sector partnerships

The second consideration in connection with the Chief Executive's role was *the complexity of the job of balancing relationships between multiple stakeholders*. This complexity was associated with the range of relationships that existed between the DI Chief Executive, Islington Council officers and elected members, the officers of other agencies and the private sector. In this regard, the DI Chief Executive argued that *'because tourism fits in all sorts of different boxes and ultimately not very well totally in one, you have to have an equal quality of relationship with chief officers in a lot of different domains at once. There may well be all sorts of internecine battles going on that you may or may not be fully aware of. There are also almost psychological disciplinary boundaries that stop people treating certain subjects holistically. If your starting point is identity and place, it's bound by the nature of it to bring together the core issues whether you are applying it from a private, voluntary or public sector perspective. Additionally, the whole planning process comes from two positions, the pro-development versus the control development approaches. So if you sit as one of the players, but not clearly identified as being in the pocket of any one of them, then it's actually quite a good place to be if you want to bring in people to facilitate dialogue and movement forward. It doesn't mean we necessarily have or do the facilitating or have the skills, but we know that's what we need to do'* (EIT28: 5). These views highlight the balance that was required of the DI Chief Executive in attempting to reconcile the multiple political, inter-departmental and professional agendas within a single local authority and also beyond. The other case studies in this research are arguably even more complex in this regard, with programme managers having to operate within frameworks that involved several local authorities, as well as statutory agencies, the private sector and local communities.

Islington Council was the most important funding partner in DI. Therefore, the particular role and views of the Council's representative on the DI Board are significant. This representative – an elected member who was also the Chair of the Council's Urban Regeneration Sub-Committee *highlighted the changing nature of Islington Council's relationship with DI*. She suggested that Council member representation on the Board of DI had changed several times since the partnership's establishment due to the representative assuming new positions, such as Mayor, and adopting new interests. In fact, the issue of *maintaining continuity in the involvement and support from Council representatives* was a key issue for DI.

A related and also significant consideration was the need for DI to *improve the level of understanding of tourism development issues and of the work of the partnership in the Council*. However, the Council member of the DI Board argued that maintaining continuity in Council representation was not a particular issue *'because some say it is almost like we are cloned!* Her point was that there was considerable degree of unanimity in Council members' views on partnership working. She went on though to contradict this argument by suggesting that, *I think I am going to be the most pro-business partnership member* [compared with Council representatives on other partnership boards], *if only because of how I know my colleagues* [other elected Council members]. *But there would be other councillors that have one specific aspect of tourism that they are interested in. I haven't got an aspect of tourism that I am interested in. I think the whole borough is a wonderful place to explore. My concern is that the economic viability of Discover Islington can be maintained to support that work'* (EIT25: 3). These comments and her earlier and conflicting remarks about political unanimity raise general considerations about the implications of the balance of a council's political characteristics for tourism development partnerships.

The views of the LTB's representative on the DI Board as the only tourism professional officer are also significant. This respondent highlighted the issues that were associated with DI's relationships with the LTB and the particular role of the LTB representative on the DI Board. In his view, the tourist board was committed to DI as *'the Tourist Board had helped to set it up in the first place and the fact that the English Tourist Board gave it £60,000 over three years required us to have a role in overseeing its operation'* (EIT29: 2). In relation to his personal role, the LTB representative did not see DI Board membership as involving an additional work burden for him, *'because it is part of the job to liaise with the London boroughs. There are ways of doing that and these partnerships are one mechanism'* (EIT29: 5). Furthermore, *'it costs my time, but that is partly my function anyway. So it is not an additional cost item that is incorporated into the Board's activities'* (EIT29: 5). The question of the role that might be played in a partnership board or steering group by a partner organisation that is no longer in a position to provide funding support is highlighted in this case by the regional tourist board. The LTB financial and political support for the initial TDAP bid for Islington had been crucial in its success in 1992. However, the TDAP funding for DI had terminated in 1995, and while the LTB continued to be represented on the DI Board, it was possible that its views had become more marginal to the work of the partnership.

A similar position may apply in other tourism development partnerships, where organisations continue to be represented without being able to contribute financially. However, such organisations might be able to contribute in other, specialist but non-financial, ways.

The representation from a University academic specialist on Tourism, Planning and Transport Studies on the DI Board is a distinctive feature of this case study, and the issues associated with this role are the final considerations addressed in this section. This representative was also appointed to the Chair of the DI Board soon after the interview with him was conducted in June 1997, although the researcher or the respondent did not know this fact at the time. DI's Chief Executive had made the initial approach for him to join the DI Board in 1994. At that time DI was turning its attention to a possible role in the King's Cross SRB regeneration programme, and a new DI Board member with expertise in transport and planning was seen as being desirable by the DI Chief Executive. This invitation to Board membership highlights the general issue of whether other tourism partnerships might be able to benefit from the presence of board or steering group members who possess, at least in theory, an objective, 'academic' perspective on the work of the partnership

The university's policy of being involved with the local community was a further consideration in this representative's interest in seeking Board *membership* (EIT38: 2). He also argued that he was '*able to offer an objective view as someone who does not live or run a business in Islington*' (EIT38: 4). Given this representative's particular expertise in strategy and transport he had developed a project with the Cowie Bus Company on the promotion of a night route and had also advised on DI's relationships and involvement with the Kings Cross SRB programme and the City Fringe partnership. These contributions do suggest ways in which other tourism partnerships might benefit from the background and experience of academic representatives on their boards or steering groups.

7.3 Partnership outcomes

The tourism development and policy outcomes that had resulted from the DI programme up to 1997 are discussed in this section. Issues here include whether tourism development in Islington had been advanced as a consequence of the partnership's work at that time and whether shared and agreed policies had been realised between the partnership members. Differing interpretations of the partnership's 'successes' and 'failures' are further considerations in relation to the partnership's outcomes. The issue of whether the same or similar outcomes may have been achieved in the absence of the partnership or through a different partnership form is a related theoretical consideration. This section also examines whether the partnership outcomes were affected primarily by resource issues or by politics and institutional arrangements. Data for this section are drawn mainly from analysis of the annual reports and strategies of DI and the LTB and of the interview transcripts.

7.3.1 Resource perspectives on the outcomes of Discover Islington

The extensive nature of the objectives of DI and the fact that the partnership was not solely responsible for the implementation of its work programme resulted in some difficulty in attributing tangible outcomes specifically to the partnership itself. For example, the enhanced profile claimed for tourism and DI within the Borough may have been more a consequence of the growing prominence of Islington as a destination for visitors than of the work of DI, with the Borough being represented in the media during the 1990s as a fashionable and up-market area. However, this image might partly have been as a consequence of DI's work with the media, and this work did feature prominently in the partnership's annual reports. There had also been some significant environmental and infrastructural improvements in some parts of the Borough during the 1990s, but it is unclear the extent to which this could be claimed as a direct or even indirect result of DI's programme.

The DI Chief Executive was being honest about the wider context: *'ten years ago Upper Street was not renowned across the capital as being a place to come to eat out. But as a result of the Business Design Centre opening in '86, plus the Angel underground station being much improved and various other major pieces of investment coming together to create a feeling about this part of London which has considerable scope for further development'* (EIT 28:5).

However, the partnership did highlight in its annual reports the growth in turnover and enquiries at the Visitor Information Centre that it operated, presumably claiming a share in the credit for this. This Centre had opened for business in August 1993. In its first year of operation, it set up systems to plan, control and measure its revenue generating activities, such as the commission earned on accommodation bookings and the sale of merchandise. In 1994-95 the Centre reported an increase in turnover of 84% and gross profit of 106%. The number of enquiries and users also recorded increases of 48% and 26% respectively. However, no baseline for comparison is noted in the annual reports and the Visitor Centre's financial performance cannot be distinguished from DI's other sources of revenue. However, the 1995-96 Annual Report does present details of gross monthly takings ranging from around £2000 in February to £6000 in August of that year. Enquiries from the public showed a lower seasonal variation and ranged between 1500-2500 per month. This performance was judged to be 'poor', with a contributory factor believed to be the 'major disruption on the Northern Line City Branch throughout this period' (DI, 1996:11). It may also be suggested that the Centre's Duncan Street location, away from major pedestrian routes, was another influence on its 'poor' performance.

Another outcome that could be claimed by DI was a greater degree of co-ordination and a more strategic focus for the area's tourism marketing work than had been the case with the previous Council arrangements for tourism (LTB, 1990; DI, 1992; 1993; 1994; 1995; 1996). DI's annual reports do indicate that the partnership successfully devised a more systematic and targeted approach to marketing, including the introduction of monitoring and evaluation arrangements for new print materials and for media coverage of Islington. The support of Board members with media industry backgrounds was reported to have been particularly helpful in securing this coverage (EIT26: 28).

DI's work to develop community networks and the involvement of these networks in tourism development was claimed by the partnership as a further successful outcome. A key objective for DI was the fostering of a strong sense of local identity and of civic pride within the local business community (DI, 1995). In this context, a Business Network was launched in February 1995 in an attempt to strengthen the local identification of the business community, and a series of events was held each month during the course of 1995 and 1996 that highlighted venues and attractions in the Borough. These events attracted around 250 participants each year and there was a Network membership of 80 businesses (DI, 1996). Increases in local accommodation provision may also be attributed in part to DI's promotion of business links and of business development, with thirteen new establishments added to the local list of accommodation establishments up to 1996 (DI, 1996). However, evidence does not exist to support a claim that these establishments opened as a direct consequence of DI's work.

7.3.2 Political and institutional perspectives on the outcomes of Discover Islington

Following the termination of TDAP funding from the LTB in 1995, DI had become increasingly dependent on financial support from Islington council. The partnership in 1997 was keen to reduce this dependency by seeking additional resources from its involvement in regeneration programmes and consultancy work that were, at least in part, focussed outside the Borough's geographical boundaries. This new work had significant implications for the partnership's relations with the Council and for DI's future work programme. How far the Council was prepared to countenance DI engaging in activities outside of the Borough was a key issue in 1997. However, the two external regeneration programmes that involved DI - the City Fringe and Kings Cross SRB programmes - did include Islington Council as a member, a point that was emphasised by several Board members, including Islington Council's representative.

Nevertheless, DI seeking to extend its activities beyond Islington was seen as being a potentially controversial issue for some DI Board members. For example, the Chief Executive of Rutland County Council argued both generally and in specific relation to DI that conflicts can and do arise in situations where a local authority is the main funding partner of a partnership but where it does not exercise complete control over a partnership's activities. In this connection, good working relationships between tourism partnerships and local government elected members and officers were seen by her as being crucial. In the case of DI the prominent positions of the Council's member representatives on the DI Board were seen as being helpful. However, the lack of any direct involvement from Council officers did highlight a possible weakness in communication between the partnership and professional officers. However, for the Chief Executive of Rutland County Council, such representation on partnership boards was inappropriate as conflicts of interest may arise, and it is important to stress that the views of this Board member on working relationships between DI and the Council were particularly influential. However, this view does perhaps exclude a potentially key professional level of support for the partnership's activities. This issue of the role of professional local government officers in tourism partnerships may be contrasted with questions of conflicts of interest that arose in the cases of the Peak Tourism Partnership and the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative as discussed in chapters five and six.

A further and related political consideration for DI at the time of the research was the limited extent to which the partnership had been able to influence policies in other areas of Council responsibility that were relevant to the partnership's work. These policy areas included aspects of social and economic re-generation that related to tourism development, as well as policies for leisure, the arts, heritage, and environmental services. Again, this lack of influence exhibited by DI may be attributable in part to the lack of direct involvement by Council officers in the work of the partnership. It also highlights the possibility of a general difficulty for tourism development partnerships in overcoming an image within local government of their being relatively marginal in comparison with the more 'mainstream' areas of local government policy.

Wider considerations about the changing political and institutional landscape that is faced by tourism development partnerships and their implications for members' continuing involvement are also highlighted in the case of DI. The future prospects for local government in London following the 1997 UK general election was a key issue for Islington Council's representative on the DI Board at the time of the research. She argued that uncertainties about the central government's intentions for local government in London contributed to Islington's Council's uncertainty about its involvement with local partnerships, including DI. As she put it, *'I am totally confused. I don't understand what our regional development agency is going to look like and do. Will it have tourism there? I don't know about an elected mayor. What are they going to do? Are they going to have a function or department or what?'* (EIT25: 10). While these concerns relate to the specific context of institutional change in London in 1997, they do raise general issues of local government and public sector agencies having confidence in their long-term commitments to tourism partnerships – a particular consideration where partnerships are pursuing an explicit agenda for sustainable development.

A final political and institutional consideration relating to DI's outcomes in 1997 related to the partnership's relationship with the LTB. The tourist board's representative suggested that DI had assisted the LTB in understanding 'grassroots' issues in the Borough, an understanding that could then be reflected in wider LTB policies and strategy for London's tourism as a whole. Involvement in DI was also seen as helping the LTB in the local delivery of its marketing strategy for tourism in London. These positive outcomes are comparable to the views expressed by the Chief Executive of the Cumbria Tourist Board on the benefits of this regional tourist board's involvement with the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative as discussed in chapter six. However, in that case it was also suggested that tensions existed around possible duplication of effort and responsibility between the regional tourist board and the local partnership's work.

7.4 Summary

The major themes that emerged from the data on DI and that may be analysed in the context of theories of inter-organisational collaboration are summarised in this section, and these themes are also outlined in table 7.2. The arrows in the table emphasise that connections exist in this case between the resource and institutional and political theoretical perspectives. Arrows are also used to show that there are strong links between the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of a partnership. The process and outcome categories were particularly difficult to distinguish from one another in this case, as the programme was still continuing at the time of the research. These findings are further considered in chapter eight, where the commonalities and differences between the three cases are drawn out.

	Theoretical perspectives based on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based on political and institutional considerations
Inter-organisational collaboration	<p>←</p> <p>Resource dependence Microeconomics Strategic management</p>	<p>→</p> <p>Corporate social performance Institutionalism /Negotiated order Politics</p>
Initial conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Islington's proximity to major attractions in central London, as well as attractions within the Borough Investment in accommodation and transport infrastructure, although both were still limited North-South socio-economic divide in Islington and in terms of tourist attractions Some limited Council work on tourism before 1992, but this was criticised for its lack of strategic focus Need for private sector funding for a tourism partnership recognised by the Council TDAP bid for a strategy based on developing markets, resources, experience and investment. Suggestions that the Council attempted to renege on its financial commitment to DI. Reduction in private sector involvement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fragmentation and complexity of tourism planning and development in London. LTB policy emphasis on the development of tourism in fringe areas of London. Establishment of 'arms-length' agencies in Islington following the winding up of the Council's Economic Development Unit. Growing recognition within the Council of the importance of tourism. Some initial confusion about the relationships between DI and Council staff. Council's reputation was problematic, particularly with the private sector, although Council's DI Board member suggested that these criticisms were mainly concerned with service delivery
Process of the development of inter-organisational relationships	<p>↓</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revision of DI's strategy in 1997 with a new emphasis on sustainability, not least for DI itself Increased emphasis on working with partnerships beyond Islington Increased dependence on Council funding Specialist support and advice from Board members Time required by the Chief Executive for working on bids for funding Significance of 'Chief Executive' job designation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consensus among Board members on DI's strategy and work programme Reporting to a Council <i>Policy</i> committee, as opposed to a <i>Service</i> committee Whether DI should seek to extend its role and remit to involvement in new partnerships beyond Islington The degree of accountability that existed between DI and the Council The seniority of Council member representation on the DI Board Strategy of concentrating attention on areas with a clear potential for tourism development Limited contacts with the local community Relationships between DI's and the LTB's policies and strategies.
Outcomes	<p>↑</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficulty of attributing outcomes directly to the work of DI e.g. Islington increasingly fashionable during the 1990s and environmental improvements had made the Borough more attractive Growth in turnover and enquiries at the TIC Greater degree of co-ordination and strategic focus for marketing work Community networks 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political implications of DI's work outside the Borough for the Council were key in 1997 DI's ability to influence related Council policy areas was doubtful Uncertainties around local government for London following the 1997 general election DI's contribution to the LTB in improving its relations and communications with Islington Council

Table 7.2: Summary of Theoretical Perspectives on Inter-organisational Collaboration in Discover Islington

The nature of DI's work programme was strongly influenced by the LTB's policy of extending tourism to areas outside of central London. Islington's proximity to the major tourist attractions in central London, as well as the existing attractions within the Borough, made the area particularly eligible for a programme to encourage tourism dispersal within the city. New investment in accommodation and transport infrastructure had also occurred in the Borough during the 1980s and 1990s, although there remained scope for further such investments, and DI was charged with encouraging this activity. There had also been some limited Council work on tourism marketing and development before the establishment of DI in 1992, but this work had been criticised in an internal Council review for its lack of strategic focus.

As part of this review of the Council's tourism work, the Council report argued that there would be a need for ongoing private sector funding and involvement in a new partnership arrangement for tourism development work in the Borough. This funding commitment would also be needed to support any bid that the Council hoped to make for TDAP funding from the ETB. Subsequently, funding commitments for this bid were secured from some of the major companies with operations in Islington, although ongoing private sector funding and involvement in the DI Board proved hard to sustain in the longer term, beyond the participation of some smaller, locally based businesses. Hence, the partnership became increasingly dependent on financial support from Islington Council, with the Council itself relying on the central government urban regeneration programmes for these financial resources.

The bid to the ETB for TDAP funding in 1990 was successful in spite of suspicions expressed by senior ETB staff prior to awarding TDAP status that Islington Council had attempted to renege on its financial commitment to the new partnership. Nevertheless, DI was launched at the end of 1991 with a strategy and work programme aimed at the development of tourism markets and resources, the transfer of experience and best practice and the encouragement of investment in tourism sectors. The strategy was revised in 1997, with a new emphasis on the sustainable development of tourism in the Borough, including a reference to the need to sustain DI itself as the body that would take forward this work. The new strategy also included an increased emphasis on DI taking on consultancy work concerning tourism development in the London city-fringe, which encompassed areas that were outside Islington.

Several critical issues affecting this partnership were concerned with DI's relationship with Islington Council, on whom it was dependent for much of its funding. The first of these issues was the initial confusion about the working relationships between DI and Council staff, a confusion that was never entirely clarified. The DI Chief Executive suggested that this uncertainty partly resulted from changes in the Council's departmental structures, including the establishment of 'arms-length' agencies and the winding up of the Council's Economic Development Unit in 1992. The changes in Council representation on the DI Board may have also contributed to this sense of uncertainty about working relationships. A related consideration was the observation made by several respondents that DI was not in a strong position to influence Council policy areas that were related to tourism development, such as planning and economic development. The future for local government in London following the 1997 general election added yet another related uncertainty about the future relationships between the partnership and the Council.

A second key issue, which may have been a factor in the difficulties that DI experienced in sustaining private sector involvement, was that Islington Council had a problematic reputation among many commercial businesses in Islington. It was suggested that this poor reputation was as a consequence of the Council's radical left-wing image, which was the subject of much media criticism during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the Council's representative on the DI Board argued that these criticisms were mainly focused on the Council's direct delivery of services, as distinct from its broad policy-making, and that DI benefitted from its being an 'arms-length' agency that reported to a Policy Committee where it was less vulnerable to cuts in Council funding.

The implications for DI's relationship with the Council of the partnership increasingly seeking work outside of the Borough was a third key consideration, and this was highlighted by several Board members. The Council's representative suggested that seeking such work was not a concern at the time because this work included contributions to urban regeneration partnership programmes in the City Fringe and Kings Cross, and these partnership programmes included Islington Council as a member. However, other Board members expressed the view that this work was distracting DI from its core business of tourism development in the Borough of Islington, and that in time this would result in political difficulties between DI and the Council.

However, for some of these Board members, these potential difficulties could be overcome by DI's accountability to the Council, which was helped by the seniority of the representation of Council members on the DI Board.

A fourth major issue again was related to DI's relationship with Islington Council. This was that DI concentrated its work programme on those geographical areas within the Borough that possessed a clear potential for tourism development. While this strategy may have made good sense because of the 'north-south' divide in the distribution of tourist attractions in the Borough, there was a concern that this focus may have reinforced socio-economic inequalities in the Borough, with businesses in the more prosperous south benefitting disproportionately and poorer areas gaining relatively little. A related criticism of DI's work was that contacts between the partnership and the local community were largely limited to its Business Network and to a few local amenity and special interest associations.

A fifth key issue was that there had been many changes in the representation of the partners on the DI Board between 1992 – 1997. This contrasts with the Peak Tourism Partnership and West Cumbria Tourism Initiative, where the steering group membership remained more constant. In the case of DI participation from large, private sector organisations on the Board had not been sustained, and representation from Islington Council members also changed regularly. There was also no representation on the Board from Council officers as distinct from elected members, and there was only one specialist tourism development professional apart from the DI Chief Executive. However, the provision of specialist support and advice for DI from its Board members, such as on financial, legal, media, retail, local government management, research and higher education matters was a distinctive feature of this case, although these members did not regularly attend Board meetings.

This chapter has also shown that attributing direct and tangible outcomes to the work of DI is not straightforward. While Islington had become an increasingly fashionable area during the 1990s, and environmental and infrastructural improvements over this period had made parts of the Borough a more attractive place to visit, it is doubtful that these changes could be claimed to have been substantially affected by DI's work. However, the partnership could point to some achievements between 1992 – 1997. These included a greater degree of co-ordination and a more strategic focus for the tourism marketing of the area, and a measurable growth in turnover and enquiries at the tourist information centre. The partnership had also commissioned and conducted some original research on the tourism potential of the area and it had forged new relationships between various tourism-related businesses. DI had also been helpful as a means for the LTB to consult on its strategy within the Islington area. The tourist board also considered that DI exemplified some potential new ways of working for tourism development in the context of the administratively complex and fragmented city of London.

8.0 Introduction

This concluding chapter is presented in two main sections. The first section follows the conceptual framework developed in chapter four in discussing the conclusions from the empirical findings from this research. The implications of these findings for other tourism development partnerships are also drawn out in this section. This research also contributes to the development of theoretical perspectives that can be applied to the study of tourism development partnerships elsewhere, as well as methodological approaches to this subject. These contributions to the development of theory and method, as well as suggestions for further studies and the limitations of this research, are discussed in section two of this chapter.

Two main approaches to the investigation of inter-organisational collaboration in partnerships for tourism development in England were used in this research. First, the use of semi-structured interviews with key participants in three contrasting case study partnerships, and second, the analysis of documentary materials sourced from the partnerships themselves and their member agencies, as well as from materials made available from the relevant files held at the ETB's Development Department. The intention in using these two main methods was to obtain complementary perspectives on partnership working in the case study settings, to enable comparisons to be made between these partnerships and to draw out the implications of the findings for the development of theory, methods, and practice in relation to this subject. These methods, which were discussed in chapter three, were designed to address the research aims identified in chapter one. These research aims are:

1. to develop, apply and assess an integrative conceptual framework for the study of local tourism development partnerships that draws from relevant theoretical perspectives,
2. to use the conceptual framework to examine the political, environmental and socio-economic influences which may affect local tourism development partnerships,

3. to use the conceptual framework to evaluate the differing stages of local tourism development partnership life-cycles.

In addressing its aims this research also discussed some generic critical issues in relation to partnership working arrangements for tourism development in England. These critical issues were drawn from the empirical findings in the research as well as from the theoretical literature on policy and organisational dimensions of partnerships, including but not limited to those concerned with tourism, as well as from literature on the practice of tourism development partnerships. These critical issues, which may also apply to tourism development partnerships beyond England, were:

- the management of uncertainties and dependencies in the operational and strategic environments that faced tourism development partnerships,
- the reasons for stakeholder involvement in partnerships for tourism development and the extent to which different stakeholders were involved,
- the ways in which partnership members represented their stakeholder networks and also responded to their views about the development of tourism,
- the ways in which individual partnership members contributed to the work of partnerships,
- how members of partnerships regulated their behaviours so that collective gains were achieved,
- why tourism development partnerships adopted particular organisational and procedural arrangements,
- the ways in which tourism development partnerships interacted with the agendas of local, regional and national agencies and authorities and,
- the distribution of resources, power, benefits and costs that was associated with tourism development partnerships.

These critical issues were illustrated in the results obtained from the interviews with the case study partnerships' steering group and board members and from the documentary sources, and these findings were discussed in chapters five, six and seven.

The results and their implications for tourism development partnerships generally are now considered in relation to the conceptual framework that was developed for this research.

8.1 Summary and comparison of results

The findings from each case study partnership are presented here in relation to the conceptual framework used in this research. The background, development and components of the framework were discussed in chapter four. The framework incorporates six theoretical perspectives on researching partnerships (Gray and Wood, 1991; Wood and Gray, 1991). The theoretical perspectives incorporate concepts and approaches to the study of organisational partnerships that are adapted from the strategic management, organisational and institutional studies, economics and, policy studies literature. These perspectives are particularly relevant to addressing the aims of this research and for guiding the study of partnerships more generally. The theoretical perspectives are grouped into two categories in this research according to whether they are concerned primarily with resource or political and institutional considerations. Research issues and questions that are associated with each of the six perspectives alongside the 'phase' of a partnership in relation to its pre-conditions, processes and outcomes are suggested by Wood and Gray and these issues and questions are adapted here in the context of researching tourism development partnerships. The conceptual framework is summarised in table 8.1.

Partnership phase	Theoretical perspectives based primarily on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based primarily on political and institutional considerations
	<i>Resource dependence theory</i> <i>Microeconomics</i> <i>Strategic management</i>	<i>Corporate social performance / Institutional economics</i> <i>Institutionalism /Negotiated order theory</i> <i>Political theory</i>
Preconditions	Pre-existing stakes and inter-dependencies in a tourism development domain The extent to which a partnership may maximise efficiencies and reduce transaction costs in tourism development The degree of fit between a partnership's and member organisations' strategies	The social, political and institutional pre-conditions that encourage (or discourage) partnership formation The extent to which there is agreement on partnership aims The institutional legitimacy of a partnership and its members in tourism development
Processes	The extent to which the interdependencies between partnership members changes over time Changes in members' economic relationships and strategies and their implications for a partnership	How an understanding of the issues, responsibilities and accountability are negotiated, agreed and shared between partnership members The development of explicit member roles and responsibilities, joint decision making, agreed rules, interactive processes
Outcomes	The extent to which problems are solved or development opportunities are realised by combining resources and strategies How a partnership's outcomes may result in new development problems and opportunities	How risks, costs and benefits are distributed between the members of a partnership The extent to which a partnership strategy is enduring and based on agreement between members Exit and succession arrangements

Table 8.1: The conceptual framework and related key research issues (adapted from Gray and Wood, 1991)

The characteristics and inter-relationships of the six theoretical perspectives and the pre-conditions, process and outcome 'stages' in the framework were discussed in chapter four. It was contended that the theoretical perspectives are not mutually exclusive, rather they are conceived best as components of an integrative analytical framework that offers valuable theoretical and practical insights on partnerships. It was also recognised that the distinctions are not always straightforward between the pre-conditions that existed *before* the establishment of a partnership, the processes that took place *during* the course of a partnership's operation, and the outcomes that could be attributed directly or indirectly *after* a partnership's activities.

However, it was contended that incorporating a temporal dimension in the conceptual framework was helpful in organising the research and in analysing the evolution of partnership programmes in terms of their stages. This was found to be particularly useful in researching three contrasting case study partnerships that were in different stages of their 'life-cycles'.

In this conception, the 'pre-conditions' phase is defined as the period that precedes the establishment of a tourism development partnership. Research attention here was concerned with those factors that encouraged (and discouraged) partnership formation and potential member involvement. These factors included individual, organisational, structural and political incentives (and disincentives) that existed in the partnership's domain. The historical relationships between partnership members and the history of tourism development in the case study areas were further considerations. Analysis of pre-conditions also involved attention to the various member interpretations of the context and the issues that the partnership was set up to address. The 'processes' phase was conceived here as being the period encompassing a partnership's operational 'phase'. This suggested a research focus on the nature, structure and management of the partnership arrangement and the processes by which stakeholders interacted in an attempt to accomplish their objectives.

The 'outcomes' phase involved the evaluation of the product and/or policy outcomes or outputs that could be attributed to a partnership that was either ongoing at the time of the research or that had been terminated. Research issues here included whether partnership programme objectives were achieved and whether shared and agreed member expectations were realised. The definition of a partnership's success or failure and the specification of any succession arrangements that may have been devised to follow the end of a partnership programme were further considerations. The issue of whether outcomes may have been achieved in the absence of a partnership or in a different partnership form was another research issue in this phase.

The findings from the case study chapters are now summarised in relation to the components of the conceptual framework. It is suggested here that each of the key considerations arising from these findings carry implications for the theory and practice of tourism development partnerships in other contexts. Therefore, they may usefully be applied to the study of partnerships elsewhere. These key considerations are presented here in italic script, with illustrations from each case study partnership.

8.1.1 Resource perspectives on partnership pre-conditions

The rationale for tourism development in the case study areas was a primary and obvious consideration in the specification of each partnership's aims and work programmes. These rationales were primarily conceived in terms of the case study area locations and their accessibility for tourist markets, as well as the local social, economic and environmental factors that were seen as being relevant to tourism development. The nature of tourism in the case study areas that pre-existed the partnership's establishment, and opportunities for its development were further factors. Resource theoretical perspectives are therefore particularly relevant to the analysis of the rationale for a tourism development partnership programme.

In the case of the Peak Tourism Partnership (PTP), the rationale for the partnership programme was based on a recognition that the area experienced severe visitor pressure and congestion at some key recreational locations during peak periods (EMTB, 1992). There was also an imbalance between staying and day visitors in favour of the latter. The area's accessibility as a day visit destination from many centres of population in the English north and midlands was a further locational characteristic that was a key influence on the nature of tourism in the Peak District. Nevertheless, tourism was and continues to be recognised by local, regional and national agencies as a fundamental part of the Peak District's economy, providing jobs and business opportunities for local communities as well as support for farm incomes and local services (EMTB, 1992:2.3). Given these pre-conditions, it is unsurprising that the PTP programme was conceived partly in terms of visitor management projects in areas that experienced significant visitor pressure and congestion. The sustainable development of forms of tourism that encouraged staying visitors and local community involvement was also emphasised in the PTP programme.

This conception of the tourism development issues in the Peak District provided a significant impetus for the establishment of the partnership as a national pilot programme in sustainable tourism development, for the identification of its visitor management projects, and for the National Park Authority's involvement.

From a resource perspective, the primary pre-conditions and rationale for a tourism development partnership initiative for West Cumbria were the generally poor socio-economic and environmental circumstances that the area faced during the early 1990s and the consequent need to encourage local economic initiatives and diversification programmes, as well as environmental enhancement schemes. In contrast to the Peak District's proximity to major centres of population, the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative's (WCTI) area is relatively remote and physically isolated. West Cumbria in the 1990s was little known outside its region, and the local tourism industry was limited. In this context, tourism had been presented locally by public sector development agencies and authorities as a development opportunity that benefited from comparatively low barriers to entry for new businesses and a low cost of public funding compared with the jobs created in other sectors (Cumbria County Council, 1998 and 1999). Given these preconditions, it was unsurprising that the WCTI was conceived primarily as an exercise in local economic development, employment creation, regeneration and environmental enhancement through tourism (Cumbria Tourist Board, 1990; 1991; 1994; Piedad, 1988; ECOTEC, 1998; WCTI, 1997).

West Cumbria's proximity to the Lake District was also seen as being a potential advantage for tourism development in the area, as visitors to the Lake District represented potential markets for attractions in West Cumbria (Piedad, 1988). However, and in contrast to this view, there was also a pragmatic recognition that most tourism attractions and employment in Cumbria would continue to be concentrated in the central Lakes (CTB, 1990; *EIT* 12; 16; 17; 24). This issue of the relationship between a tourism development partnership's area and neighbouring areas that are more established tourist destinations is an important theoretical consideration. An emphasis on tourism development that raises the prospect of competition for visitors between neighbouring areas may raise tensions for agencies with responsibilities and constituencies in both areas. In this research, this consideration particularly applied for the regional tourist boards in Cumbria, as well as in London in the case of DI.

The rationale for a tourism development partnership programme for the London Borough of Islington was comparable with West Cumbria in that there was also a policy emphasis on 'spreading the benefits' of tourism to areas seen to be peripheral to centrally located tourist destinations within a regional tourist board area. However, in contrast to West Cumbria, parts of Islington had become fashionable during the early 1990s, and there was a local recognition that potential existed for the further development of tourism through a partnership programme focused on improved marketing and facilities for visitors, and on encouraging investment in tourism.

A further, somewhat opportunistic rationale for the establishment of a tourism partnership in Islington was the prospect in 1990-1991 of *levering additional financial resources* for this purpose from the English Tourist Board's Tourism Development Action Programme (TDAP) and from the private sector. These resources would enable Islington Council to reorganise its services for tourism development - services that had been sharply criticised in a 1990 internal review of its earlier work in this area. Comparable opportunities for the leveraging of additional financial resources for tourism development were also evident in the cases of the PTP and the WCTI. The PTP was able to exploit its area's vulnerability to visitor pressure in its successful application for national pilot status and funding as a visitor management programme. Parts of the PTP area were also eligible for project funding from the European Union (EU) Regional Development Fund (ERDF) Objective 5b programme. The WCTI was also able to capitalise on its area's eligibility for EU funding support, in this case ERDF Objective 1. The WCTI also benefited from financial support from the West Cumbria Development Fund, established by the largest major employer in its area – British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL). The PTP and WCTI also included areas within their boundaries that were eligible for central government Rural Development Programme (RDP) funding. Therefore, a complex pattern of funding regimes is evident in each of the case study areas in this research. This observation highlights the theoretical issue of *the extent to which a tourism development partnership may need to compromise on its founding objectives in order to meet the changing and specific funding criteria of particular agencies and/or development programmes*. There were suggestions that such compromises had occurred in West Cumbria and in Islington.

A further resource consideration relating to the initial funding of tourism development partnerships is *the effect on the partnership programme of member organisations being unable or unwilling to maintain their planned financial commitments*. This issue applied in the case of the PTP, where central government cuts in the budgets of partner agencies resulted in their reducing financial contributions to the partnership. In the case of DI, there were serious accusations that Islington Council had attempted to renege on its initial financial commitment to the new partnership shortly before its launch.

The *pre-existing resources for tourism in the case study areas in terms of attractions and accommodation, their location and potential for development* was a further consideration that was evident for each case study. In the Peak District, these resources included attractive and accessible upland, moorland and dales scenery, and towns and villages that are important service centres for tourist activity. Other pre-existing attractions in the area include historic houses and estates, local events, traditions and produce, touring routes and centres, and provision for outdoor activities. Therefore, the Peak District was seen to possess significant and diverse attractions for visitors, though there was also a view that accommodation for staying tourists was more limited (EMTB, 1992).

Pre-existing tourism resources in the less established destination of West Cumbria were more limited. These included some recognised visitor attractions, although these mainly attracted small numbers of visitors compared with the more popular destinations in the central Lakes. Less promising for tourism development was the observation that several of the towns and other settlements in West Cumbria were considered to be 'unattractive', with much evidence of de-industrialisation, dereliction and poor quality housing. For example, the consultants' report on the potential for tourism development in West Cumbria suggested that the Workington to Maryport coast road contained views of industrial sites and degraded landscapes that would 'deter many visitors from stopping' (Pieda, 1988).

The findings in the case of DI also suggested that there were some areas within the partnership's boundaries, mainly to the north of the Borough, that were seen as unattractive and lacking in interest for visitors. However, investments in visitor attractions, accommodation and transport infrastructure in the increasingly fashionable Angel and Clerkenwell districts in the south and east of the Borough were seen as representing considerable potential for packaging and promoting to tourists.

A final consideration from a resource theoretical perspective that related to the preconditions facing tourism development partnerships was the issue of *the partnership being able to secure initial core budget commitments*. For example, the PTP was able to 'lever' additional resources for the development of the area's tourism through its claim that the partnership was a unique and unprecedented opportunity to bring resources together in pursuit of visitor management and sustainable tourism development objectives for the area. In addition, the partnership's position as 'an innovative national project', helped individual partners to justify their involvement in specific projects and also for their other financial and 'in-kind' contributions to the partnership (PTP, 1995). In the case of the WCTI, the West Cumbria Development Fund (financed mainly by BNFL) made a 'significant' though unspecified core budget contribution and a grant of £180,000 was also provided from the ERDF. The availability of these substantial funds reflected the relative deprivation of the area and also indicated the importance of these sources of funding for this partnership (WCTI, 1997). With DI, securing private sector core budget funding was problematic and this support was 'conditional on future decisions relating to land use issues' (LBI, 1990). This observation highlighted the significance of resource (and political) issues for the analysis of tourism development partnerships, with the suggestion here that private sector organisations may expect specific returns or even favours on the basis of their financial contribution to a tourism development partnership. This partnership also experienced difficulties in ensuring that Islington Council met its financial commitments to its budget.

8.1.2 Political and institutional perspectives on partnership pre-conditions

The first political and institutional perspective on partnership 'pre-conditions' that was illustrated in each case study in this research was *the relationship between the boundaries of the partnership and those of the public sector agencies and local authorities with interests in the partnership*. Neither West Cumbria nor the Peak District are homogeneous administrative regions and a number of public sector agencies and local authorities with inter-connecting boundaries had interests in each area's tourism development. In contrast, DI was situated entirely within the boundary of the London Borough of Islington. However, this partnership did include representation from agencies with a London-wide remit. In addition, at the time of the research DI was increasingly engaged in work outside the Borough's boundary – a source of tension for some of its Board members. Therefore, in each case the complex political and institutional environment within which the partnerships operated was a significant contextual factor.

A second set of issues viewed from a political and institutional perspective were the *planning and policy considerations in force for each area before the establishment of the partnership, and the effect of these on the partnership's programme*. For example, in the case of the PTP, the area's National Park designation was significant because of the local importance of the Peak National Park Authority. The planning regulations and guidelines covering the area, as well as the policy balance being sought between conservation, community interests, economic development, and tourism were thus very significant in this case. In the case of the WCTI, the whole of West Cumbria, excluding Workington and Whitehaven, was designated as a Rural Development Area and its development strategy included a significant tourism dimension that pre-existed the establishment of the partnership (Cumbria County Council, 1995; *EIT12*). The entire West Cumbria area was also eligible for ERDF Objective 1 support, this being support for regions suffering from industrial decline. This ERDF funding was identified by the WCTI as a potential incentive for developers seeking tourism-related site development opportunities in the area (Pieda, 1988). Finally, in London, there had been a policy emphasis at the London Tourist Board (LTB) at least since the early 1990s on promoting the development of tourism in fringe areas of the city, including the formation of partnerships to encourage such development (LTB, 1993; LTB, 1997).

DI is an exemplar of a continuation of these earlier attempts to spread tourism in London to the city's fringe areas.

A third consideration highlighted in this research that was addressed from a political and institutional perspective was concerned with *problems of coordination and communication between public sector agencies and the private sector that existed prior to the establishment of the partnership*. For example, in the Peak District there had been a history of weak coordination and communication between the multiplicity of agencies, organisations and authorities in the public, private and voluntary sectors with interests in tourism in the area (EMTB, 1992). The nature of the region's tourism industry, which mainly comprises a large number of small-scale and widely dispersed independent businesses, also posed problems for coordination within the private sector and between the private sector and public sector agencies (EMTB, 1992). Therefore, a key issue for the PTP was to attempt to provide a mechanism for collaboration among the various relevant organisations in pursuit of their mutual interests and a shared policy agenda. A lack of a tradition of partnership working between local authorities and the public sector was also a feature of the WCTI. It was hoped that the partnership in this case would develop new forms of working that would help to break down barriers between these agencies. An example of these barriers, suggested by some WCTI steering group members, was that there was a strong local tradition of identification with local areas and competitiveness between locations in West Cumbria and that this was a barrier to partnership working across the area. The Islington case was influenced by various central government initiatives for inner-city regeneration, including but also extending beyond the Borough of Islington, and this meant that this partnership faced additional difficulties of communication and coordination.

A fourth political and institutional issue was *the level of involvement of the private sector and local community representatives in the work of each partnership, and also the mechanisms put in place in order to secure this involvement*. In the case of the PTP, a series of community consultation exercises were conducted by consultants in order to encourage local people to become representatives on the partnership (BDOR, 1993). These exercises resulted in the recruitment of parish councillors to the PTP's steering group. However, the steering group included no representation from elected members of local district or county councils.

Some steering group members suggested that this proved to be a weakness, as the PTP arguably lacked influence with key local politicians and the partnership may have been viewed with suspicion by some elected members. In contrast to the PTP, a prominent elected member of Copeland Council chaired the WCTI steering group, and he had regularly used his political influence and networks to lobby for resources for this partnership. The DI Board also included representation from prominent elected members of Islington Council, although the individual representatives had changed several times during the course of this partnership.

In terms of private sector representation, the PTP steering group included members from its two major private sector funding partners – Severn Trent Water and Center Parcs. There was also representation on the WCTI steering group from tourism private sector businesses drawn from the local tourism trade association. However, this body was seen as being weak, with a membership that comprised small-medium scale enterprises, and it made no contribution to the partnership's funding. This weakness reflected the nascent state of development of the local tourism industry. By contrast, BNFL was a major funding partner and was represented on the partnership by its External Affairs Manager. However, this representative played a low-key role in the business of the partnership, as BNFL was anxious not to be seen to be 'taking over' local development initiatives. DI's Board also included some private sector representatives who performed a low-key role, but nevertheless were able to provide specialist, expert support and advice to the partnership when asked to do so.

In all cases in this research there was no representation on a steering group from local community groups or associations, or from conservation bodies or trade unions, indicating that these partnership organisations *had a very limited range of membership*. Generally, there was strong involvement from public sector officers, as well as some commercial sector participation, but local community groups were not represented.

A fifth and final political and institutional consideration related to pre-conditions was *the impetus that was provided by central and local government and public sector agencies to the establishment of partnerships for tourism development*. In the case of the PTP, a central government 'task force' on Tourism and the Environment provided an important rationale for a local partnership to be established in order to tackle visitor and resource management issues and also to involve the community in tourism development (Department of the Environment, 1991). In contrast, the impetus for the establishment of the WCTI and DI can be traced more to the work of the respective local authorities, development agencies and regional tourist boards whose remits included the partnership area.

Political and institutional considerations also affected the participation of the public sector agencies in these tourism development partnerships. For example, the PTP was seen to be a prominent national programme that focussed specifically on the sustainable development of tourism. In this case, the Countryside Commission representative on the PTP steering group suggested that the Commission's earlier participation in partnership programmes concerned with 'recreation' had often carried negative connotations of costs and loss-making provision, whereas 'tourism' implied positive economic benefits and profit. This rather different implication encouraged the Countryside Commission's involvement. This representative also highlighted a convergence in the agendas of the Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission and ETB during the 1990s in relation to tourism development. This increasingly accepted policy agenda and the related institutionalisation of public sector working within partnership arrangements for tourism development was also emphasised as an incentive for the involvement of public sector agencies in the WCTI and DI.

8.1.3 Resource perspectives on partnership processes

The first consideration that can be viewed from resource perspectives on each case study was that each partnership identified priorities in order to secure the more effective *development and management of resources in support of tourism in their area*. In the case of the PTP, this work centred on the pilot visitor management projects, the development of mechanisms to secure funds from visitors to contribute to environmental enhancement, and the promotion of farm tourism. In Islington, the issues addressed by DI included improving the physical environment of the Borough, transport links, visitor gateways, perceptions and images of Islington, and the development of its existing visitor attractions and facilities. In the case of West Cumbria, the emphasis was more on providing support and advice to new businesses and encouraging inward investment in tourism. In each case, the partnerships were constrained in this work by their relatively limited ability to secure real changes in relation to these issues, particularly in terms of their being unable to directly influence planning priorities and considerations. This was as a consequence of their limited powers and resources to implement their recommendations, as well as their programmes being time-limited.

A second set of resource issues illustrated by the case studies in this research surrounded the design of *systems for the management of each partnership programme*. The PTP was managed by the East Midlands Tourist Board, whose offices were located outside of the partnership area. At times this had resulted in difficulties for the PTP programme manager, particularly in terms of administrative delays and poor communication. In the case of the WCTI, Copeland Council was both 'manager' of the WCTI and the 'accountable body' for ERDF funding. This resulted in Copeland council sometimes having to act as the 'banker' for the applications for WCTI-related activity that came from other public sector agencies, and this led to costs falling on the council. There were also hidden costs and delays resulting from the complex management and reporting arrangements put in place by each partnership in order to meet the requirements of external funding providers.

A third resource issue evident in the three case studies was *the balance between the development and marketing components of the work programmes*. This was a contentious issue in West Cumbria where some steering group members suggested that the programme manager had prioritised development activity at the expense of marketing work. DI's increasing involvement in development work outside Islington was also problematic for some prominent members of the Board. The PTP found it necessary to re-prioritise its work programme, with the marketing objectives being largely abandoned to allow for the programme to concentrate on the visitor management activities that were seen as being more central to its sustainable tourism development objectives. These issues of the balance between long-term development activities and more short-term marketing work highlights the general consideration of what might realistically be expected of a time-limited partnership programme with neither the resources nor the powers to secure the implementation of development programmes.

A fourth resource issue was that each partnership experienced considerable *dependency on external financial resources*. This resulted in significant amounts of scarce time being allocated by programme managers to the preparation of bids for funding to secure resources for the long-term survival of the partnerships themselves. In Islington, the partnership remained highly dependent on financial support from Islington Council, which was itself reliant on central government urban regeneration funding for its support to 'tourism projects' in the Borough. The WCTI was also largely reliant on external funding, in this case ERDF, and this dependence was shared to a lesser extent by the PTP. This latter partnership was also dependent for its financial resources on national development agencies and local authorities at a time of significant cuts in their budgets being imposed by central government.

A fifth issue concerning financial resources for partnership activities included suggestions that additional contributions from funding partners to specific projects may have resulted in the *partnership receiving dual funding* on occasions, with funding partners experiencing difficulties in disentangling core funding from financial support for specific projects. A related consideration concerned possible duplication of activity by partnerships and their funding partners. For example, in the case of the WCTI, there were concerns that there may have occasionally been competition between the work of the partnership and member organisations' own development programmes.

However, in contrast to this view there was also an argument that efficiencies had been realised by the WCTI reducing the duplication of effort between agencies.

A sixth issue from a resource perspective related *to the significance of the financial contribution to partnerships for member agencies*. Some funding partners suggested that their financial contributions represented a substantial proportion of their organisation's budgets, even if it was only a relatively small part of a partnership's budget. Therefore, these members were keen for the *returns from their resource contributions* to be visible, for example in terms of projects delivered, publicity generated and the assembling of additional external financial resources.

A seventh consideration was that some partnership funding members emphasised the *hidden costs* of their membership of the partnership. For example, it was suggested that these could be significant in terms of time, secretarial support and travel costs associated with attending partnership meetings and events. However, it was difficult to calculate and balance these costs against the positive returns for the member organisation from the partnership's activities.

A final resource consideration that was illuminated in each case study was the ways in which the partnerships themselves made *resource contributions to the development of their areas' tourism*. In each case, there were concerns that '*free riders*' benefitted from partnership activities without themselves making a contribution to the partnership's funding. Examples of such activities included their original research, business support and advice provided at no cost to participants. For example, in the WCTI the programme manager suggested that these 'free riders' included some town and parish councils, while in Islington it was suggested that some retailers benefitted from the activities of the partnership without contributing to it. In each case study, it was also suggested that some private sector businesses had gained economic benefits from the partnership's work without having made a commensurate contribution.

8.1.4 Political and institutional perspectives on partnership processes

The first political and institutional consideration concerning partnership processes was *the local reputation of the partnership member organisations*. In the case of the PTP, there was significant local mistrust of the Peak District National Park Authority, which made it necessary for the partnership to demonstrate an evident degree of independence from the Authority. However, the PTP steering group was chaired by National Park officers and this meant that there were continuing local perceptions that the partnership was effectively an 'arm' of the Park Authority. In the case of the WCTI, there was distrust of the key partnership member, the Cumbria Tourist Board (CTB). This was because it was felt that the CTB was dominated by a commercial membership that was based mainly in the central Lakes, and that the CTB reflected the views of this membership by favouring development and marketing focussed on the central Lakes. In the case of DI, several of its Board members suggested that the potential for partnership working between the council and the private sector had been damaged by Islington Council's reputation from the late 1980s for adopting radical policy positions.

A second political consideration in the case study areas was the extent to which there was *local political support for the priority given to tourism development*. In West Cumbria it was suggested that there was a considerable degree of political consensus about the importance of tourism development in the area and about the need for a partnership programme to encourage this development (although some scepticism among local communities about the area's potential for tourism development was also noted). It was also suggested that the WCTI had experienced difficulty in securing support from the central government regional office for the north west of England, with the partnership programme manager arguing that central government officers did not view tourism as being a priority sector for the area's economic development. Board members of DI also suggested that there was considerable agreement among the partners about the partnership's strategy and work programme. However, there were divergent views about the political implications of DI extending its involvement in development work outside the Borough of Islington's boundary. Political support for tourism development was also problematic in the Peak District, given conflicting local views about the appropriate balance between development and conservation in the National Park area.

A third political and institutional consideration was *the working relationships between partnership member organisations*, this being highlighted in the case of West Cumbria. Here there were suggestions that tensions existed between some of the elected members of Allerdale and Copeland Councils concerning the balance and distribution of the WCTI's work programme between the two authorities, with Copeland Council members arguing that the partnership's programme had favoured projects located in Allerdale. These members also argued that the WCTI's office should be moved from Allerdale to a location in Copeland. The programme manager suggested that these arguments had distracted the members from the work of the partnership. However, it was also suggested that the working relations between the councils at the professional officer level were very good and had been improved through their participation in the WCTI steering group. In contrast to West Cumbria, the working relationships between local authority members of the PTP was less significant as their involvement in the work of the partnership was more limited, with the Peak National Park Authority being the most significant local institution that participated in this partnership. In the Islington case, working relations *between* the Board members of DI were found to be generally good. However, there was potential for political tensions *within* Islington Council in relation to the partnership's strategy of concentrating attention on those geographical areas within its boundaries with a clear and recognised potential for tourism development rather than on the areas suffering most from urban deprivation. It was suggested that this strategy might have been controversial for some members of the Council, although clear evidence to this effect was not found.

The extent to which *partnership working among steering group members was institutionalised* was a fourth consideration. In West Cumbria, it was suggested that there was already an established familiarity and regularity in the working relationships between the organisations and the individuals involved in economic development partnership programmes. However, there was also a view that there may have been too many partnerships in Cumbria, and that these partnerships effectively competed for scarce resources for economic development. In relation to London, it was suggested that the LTB's participation in local partnerships such as DI had assisted in the Board developing its working relationships with the London boroughs and in the local delivery of the LTB's strategies.

The balance between *elected politicians and professional officers on the steering group of each partnership* was a fifth issue that may be considered from political and institutional perspectives. DI's Board included representation from senior elected Council members, but not from officers. In contrast, the PTP steering group was chaired by senior officers from the National Park Authority, but had no representation from elected politicians, while the WCTI steering group was chaired by a prominent elected member of Copeland Council, but also included senior officers from each of the two district council partners. In each case, there were contrasting views about the benefits and disadvantages of this balance in representation between elected politicians and professional officers.

A sixth consideration that emerged in the case of DI that may have wider application in the study of tourism development partnerships was *the political influence of the local government committee that took responsibility for the partnership*, and to which it reported. This issue was highlighted as being a significant consideration in the case of DI, where the partnership reported to an influential Council Policy committee as opposed to a Service committee. In this case, it was suggested that this committee provided DI with access to key policy-makers and that this provided the partnership with a degree of protection from cuts in funding that tended to be more associated with the work of services committees.

A seventh issue that may be viewed from political and institutional perspectives was that representation on partnership steering groups was found to provide opportunities for member organisations to *demonstrate their wider social and environmental concerns and commitment* to the areas that the partnerships served. This was particularly so for the private sector representatives on each partnership, as well as for the members from public sector agencies. In the case of DI, representatives from small-scale private sector organisations demonstrated such a commitment through their board membership, whereas in the Peak District and West Cumbria members from large-scale private sector companies expressed this motivation more.

A final political and institutional consideration that affected the working processes of each case study partnership was *the difficulty that each experienced in establishing clear relationships between tourism development and policies and work programmes in other substantive policy domains*. This was highlighted as a concern in each case study in terms of the partnerships experiencing difficulties in making connections with related policies and programmes including transport, rural development, conservation, and inward investment. These difficulties are attributable to the partnerships necessarily concentrating on their very full work programmes during their time-limited periods of operation. This concentration did not allow time for the development of wider connections with the professional officers and agencies with responsibilities for other substantive policy domains that had relationships with the partnerships' tourism development programmes.

8.1.5 The roles of individual partnership members

Partnership steering groups typically involve a number of key individual members. These include, in most cases, a programme manager and steering group chair. The role played by these members and programme managers comprises an important issue for research on partnerships, whether focused on preconditions, processes or outcomes. In this research, their priorities, working practices and ideologies were addressed in terms of the theoretical framework, providing insights on individual agency as well as on structural and institutional factors affecting partnerships. There are a number of considerations concerning the roles of individual members of partnership steering groups that were highlighted in the three case studies in this research. These considerations also have wider relevance for other tourism development partnerships. Examples of differing roles can usefully be compared and contrasted between each of the case studies in this research.

First, the *programme manager's role* was a significant influence on each case study partnership. For example, the relative independence of the programme manager from any individual agency or interest group was seen as being both a strength and weakness. In each case study there was recognition of certain advantages if the programme manager was perceived as being independent from any single agency's agenda, notably that this enhanced their potential ability to balance and reconcile competing positions.

However, their independence was also seen as being a potential weakness due to their possible lack of influence and accountability and their lack of awareness of local political considerations and relationships.

Further considerations relating to the role of a partnership programme manager were that there are relatively few people with appropriate experience for the job, and that expectations on them could be too high. In each of the case studies, the programme manager's job was seen to be highly complex and demanding, requiring them to negotiate a balance between the interests of multiple stakeholders.

Second, *the role of the steering group chair* was a significant influence on each partnership examined in this research. In the case of the PTP, some steering group members argued that the chair should not have been allocated to the National Park Authority officers because the Authority had significant problems with its image and its reputation among some local communities and interest groups. It was also suggested that the position of the PTP chair was susceptible to political pressure from members, as well as to possible conflicts of interest with their other professional responsibilities. In West Cumbria, the steering group chair had been extremely influential on the WCTI through his political lobbying on behalf of the partnership. However, some WCTI steering group representatives argued that it was undesirable for an elected council member to have a leading role in a partnership steering group, as in their view elected members may tend to adopt a partisan and parochial approach. It was not possible to secure an interview with the outgoing Chair of the DI Board; and this perhaps reflected a view expressed by some board members that it was difficult to maintain continuity in the interest, involvement and support from Islington Council representatives for this partnership. However, and in spite of these reservations about the allocation of the steering group chair in each case study, it may be suggested that it is important that the key local agency is appointed to the chair in order to secure their commitment. A possible alternative arrangement would be to allocate the position to a private sector or community representative.

Third, *public sector professional officers* who were partnership steering group members emphasised that their involvement had been essential in terms of their respective professional responsibilities, and that partnerships were seen by them as being a key mechanism for the implementation of their work. The involvement in each case of professional officers who had responsibilities that were broader than just tourism development is notable in this research. For these officers, participation in the case study partnerships had been useful as a means of forging and enhancing working relationships and as a 'conduit' for channelling information and views between their organisations and with tourism development agencies and the private sector.

Fourth, *the role played by private sector representatives* was also highlighted in each case study in this research. The comparatively large private sector organisations represented in the PTP and WCTI were found to be primarily interested in securing local public relations benefits from their participation in development agendas that stressed 'sustainable tourism' and regeneration through tourism respectively. However, in the case of the PTP, the private sector partners suggested that they had experienced frustration at perceived 'bureaucratic' processes associated with working in partnership with representatives from the public sector, and that 'returns' from their involvement could not be demonstrated. Some PTP steering group members also suggested that any public relations benefits for Center Parcs might have backfired, as there were some local suspicions that the company was involved with the PTP with a view to developing one of its resort centres in the Peak District. In contrast, BNFL through its funding to the WCTI via the West Cumbria Development Fund was found to be more content with its low-key involvement with this partnership. Private sector representatives from small-medium scale organisations performed valuable specialised advisory roles for DI when called upon to do so, but otherwise tended not to contribute to more routine Board work and meetings. In contrast, small-medium scale private sector representatives in the WCTI looked to this partnership for assistance to them in terms of business planning, training and support with planning and development applications.

The *contrasting composition of the steering groups in each partnership* is a further consideration that has relevance beyond this research. In the case of the DI Board, there was a comparatively small number of professional officers from local government or from statutory agencies and also comparatively few officers who had responsibilities for tourism development. The WCTI and PTP steering groups also included greater representation from professional officers with responsibilities that went beyond tourism development. Participants in the PTP and WCTI also expressed concerns about imbalances in representation, and particularly the absence of local community representation. A comparative lack of commercial sector involvement was also recognised as being a shortcoming in the composition of each steering group by some members.

8.1.6 Resource perspectives on partnership outcomes

It should be noted that there was a difficulty here of distinguishing partnership outcomes from processes, particularly in the Islington and West Cumbria cases where the partnership programmes were ongoing at the time of the research. In addition, and in each case, the implementation of many partnership programme recommendations was beyond the scope and powers of the partnership.

The PTP was the only case study that had completed its time-limited programme of activity at the time of the research, so the resource re-distribution outcomes from this partnership were more evident than in the other case studies. The interviews as well as the PTP steering group's final report both suggested that there were difficulties in attributing positive outcomes to this partnership's work. It was suggested that no more permanent private-public sector coordinating mechanism for tourism development had resulted from the partnership's work, and that the marketing and farm tourism objectives had not been achieved. These objectives had received a lower priority as part of a need to re-assess, re-focus and rationalise the very ambitious programme that had been set for the PTP. While this partnership did achieve some prominence in terms of press coverage, this coverage was not always well received by some local audiences, and particularly from some members of the National Park Authority.

The steering group members also believed that with the benefit of hindsight the partnership had lacked a plan for post programme implementation, and that a major shortcoming had been the absence of a *'hand-over' or other 'exit' strategy* to guide local authorities and other agencies in the subsequent delivery of the programme. More positively, the Countryside Commission and Rural Development Commission representatives believed that the experience of their involvement with the PTP had helped them in their working relationships with both the ETB and local authorities in the area, as well as contributing to the achievement of their own strategies.

In the case of the WCTI, the programme manager and the steering group members were keen to demonstrate positive outcomes for the partnership programme so far in 1997. This was expressed in terms of, for example, increased visitor numbers that might be attributed to the WCTI's marketing activity, jobs created in tourism, training provision and advice to the tourism private sector. This was particularly important in their attempts to justify continuing funding support for the partnership beyond the end of the ERDF programme in 1998. However, it was recognised that there were difficulties in conclusively attributing outcomes to the WCTI's work programme. A more fundamental review of the partnership's objectives was also suggested, along with consideration being given to an exit strategy and the possible return of project implementation to the local authorities. However, there were suggestions that up to 1997 the WCTI had achieved favourable outcomes in terms of its business and marketing support for the fledgling tourism industry in West Cumbria. It was also argued that some significant development projects would not have gone ahead without the support of the partnership, although one particular development – the Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre in Cockermouth – had been controversial.

The attribution of direct and tangible outcomes to the work of DI was also not straightforward. Islington had become an increasingly fashionable area during the 1990s, and environmental and infrastructural improvements over this period had made parts of the Borough a more attractive place to visit, and it is doubtful whether much or even any of these changes could be attributed directly to DI's work. However, the partnership could point to some tangible achievements between 1992 – 1997. These included a greater degree of co-ordination and a more strategic focus for the area's tourism marketing, and a measurable growth in turnover and enquiries at the tourist information centre.

The partnership had also commissioned and conducted some valuable research on the tourism potential of the area, and it had forged new relationships between various tourism-related businesses. DI had also been helpful as a means for the LTB to consult on its strategy within the Islington area. The tourist board also considered that DI exemplified some potential new ways of working for tourism development in the administratively complex and fragmented context of London.

8.1.7 Political and institutional perspectives on partnership outcomes

The PTP was the only case study partnership that had completed its programme period at the time of the research. Therefore, evidence of the political and institutional 'outcomes' of the work of this partnership in terms of its legacy for local politicians, communities and member agencies was more forthcoming here than in the West Cumbria and Islington cases. However, the considerations highlighted in this case may be applicable to other partnerships following the termination of their programmes.

A first institutional consideration was the *management of stakeholder expectations about partnership outcomes*. In each case study in this research, the partnerships had set out to achieve objectives and work programmes that were ambitious in scope and that ultimately were relatively unrealistic. In each case these ambitious objectives had built up exaggerated expectations about how much the partnerships might realistically achieve among some steering group members, as well as other local and national stakeholders.

A second institutional issue was the extent to which each partnership had *developed new ways of working between agencies with responsibilities for tourism development*. Evidence on the achievement of this aim is inconclusive, with only the PTP claiming in its final report that this partnership was helpful in developing new processes and plans and on creating longer-term funding packages and mechanisms for project implementation (PTP, 1995: 8-9). This *development of plans and strategies that would be the basis for later implementation by partner agencies* was also claimed as a successful outcome for the PTP.

For example, it was suggested that the PTP had performed useful work in bringing forward the production of a strategic statement on environmental interpretation as a basis for later implementation by the National Park Authority. Therefore, in this case it can be suggested that the partnership's work had resulted in work programmes and relationships that carried implications for member agencies beyond the 'life' of the partnership itself.

A third and key political and institutional issue that affected the PTP's outcomes and was commented on by several interviewees involved *local suspicions in the pilot project areas of the roles and motivations of some partnership members*. This issue also applied in the case of the WCTI, where some steering group members also expressed comparable suspicions that some representatives may have used their partnership membership to advance their individual or commercial interests.

Political and institutional reasons for the success or failure in delivering on particular aspects of a partnership's programme may be attributed to each case study in this research. For example, in the case of the PTP, the steering group's final report and the interviews highlighted the aspects of the partnership's programmes that were not achieved. These included objectives for improved coordination on marketing and the establishment of a Peak District-wide tourism association. Reasons suggested for these failures were that the area was too large to bring about such coordination and agreement and that tourism industry operators did not relate to a Peak District wide geographical scale (PTP, 1995: 5-6; *EIT*5; 6; 7; 8). This example highlights issues of *the extent to which the tourism industry in a partnership area identifies with the political and institutional boundaries of the partnership area*.

A final political and institutional consideration in terms of the case study partnership's outcomes was the *distribution of benefits between partners*. In each case there were opportunities for agencies operating across the partnership area to raise their profiles and gain credibility in their areas and constituencies. However, in the case of the PTP, some interviewees suggested that the National Park Authority and the local authorities had secured benefits that were disproportionate to their comparatively limited contributions to the partnership's funding.

In contrast, it was also suggested that the local authority priorities of marketing and establishing a tourism association had slipped down the agenda in favour of visitor management and the interpretation strategy, and that hence the local authority members had failed to achieve benefits that were proportional to their contributions. Private sector representatives also suggested that they had secured few identifiable and measurable benefits from their membership of the partnership (*EIT1*; 5; 7; 9). Therefore, a related theoretical consideration highlighted by these findings is the extent to which members' *expectations of benefits and returns from their participation* had been realistic and understood at the outset and how these expectations compared with a partnership's outcomes.

8.1.8 Summary of resource, political and institutional considerations on partnership pre-conditions, processes and outcomes

The findings from the research on the case study partnerships in terms of resource, political and institutional considerations on their pre-conditions, processes and outcomes are summarised in table 8.2. These findings emerged following an investigation of the key research issues in the study of inter-organisational collaboration suggested by Gray and Wood, as shown in adapted form in table 8.1. These key issues may be addressed in research on tourism development partnerships elsewhere. Therefore, it is suggested here that this conceptual framework provides a basis for rigorous theoretical examinations of partnership arrangements for tourism development in other contexts.

The roles of individual partnership members is a further key consideration in the examination of how representatives and their organisations and communities are involved individually and collectively in shaping and responding to a partnership's pre-conditions, processes and outcomes. The findings of this research suggest that key issues for future studies of tourism development partnerships include attention to the particular roles of programme managers, steering group chairs, public sector professional officer members, private sector members, and community representatives. Researchers should also consider the particular reasons behind the composition of partnership steering groups and the implications of their composition for partnership processes and outcomes.

Partnership phase	Theoretical perspectives based primarily on resource considerations	Theoretical perspectives based primarily on political and institutional considerations
	<i>Resource dependence theory</i> <i>Microeconomics</i> <i>Strategic management</i>	<i>Corporate social performance / Institutional economics</i> <i>Institutionalism /Negotiated order theory</i> <i>Political theory</i>
Preconditions	<p>The rationale for tourism development in partnership areas</p> <p>Prospects for partnerships to 'lever' additional financial resources and the extent to which compromises may be required in order to meet funding criteria</p> <p>Effects on partnerships of members being unable or unwilling to maintain resource contributions</p> <p>Pre-existing resources for tourism in partnership areas</p> <p>Partnerships' ability to secure initial core budget commitments</p>	<p>Relationships between partnership boundaries and those of public sector agencies with interests in the area's tourism</p> <p>Planning and policy considerations in force before the establishment of a partnership programme</p> <p>Coordination and communication between public and private sectors before the establishment of a partnership programme</p> <p>Mechanisms put in place to secure private sector and community involvement</p> <p>Impetus provided by government and public sector agencies to the establishment of partnerships</p>
Processes	<p>Identification of priorities in the development and management of resources for tourism</p> <p>Management systems for partnerships</p> <p>Balance between development and marketing components of programmes</p> <p>Extent of dependency on external financial resources</p> <p>Possibility of dual funding</p> <p>Extent to which financial contributions to partnerships are significant for members</p> <p>Hidden costs of partnership membership</p> <p>Partnerships' resource contributions to tourism development</p>	<p>Local reputations of partnership member organisations</p> <p>Extent of local political support for tourism development</p> <p>Working relationships between partnership member organisations</p> <p>Extent to which partnership working among member organisations is institutionalised</p> <p>Balance in representation between elected politicians and professional officers</p> <p>Political influence of the local government committee responsible for the partnership</p> <p>Opportunities provided for members to demonstrate local social and environmental commitment</p> <p>Relationships between tourism development and other policy domains</p>
Outcomes	<p>The attribution of outcomes</p> <p>Plans for post-partnership implementation</p> <p>Partnerships' contribution to members achieving their strategies</p>	<p>Effects of partnerships on working relationships</p> <p>Members expectations of partnership outcomes</p> <p>Distribution of benefits and costs between members</p>

Table 8.2: Key research findings from the case study partnerships

The conceptual framework may also be presented in the form of a model that emphasises the relationships between the pre-conditions, processes, and outcomes phases of tourism development partnerships, as well as between resource and political and institutional theoretical perspectives. This model is proposed as a guide that may be useful for other researchers on this subject. This model is shown here in figure 8.1.

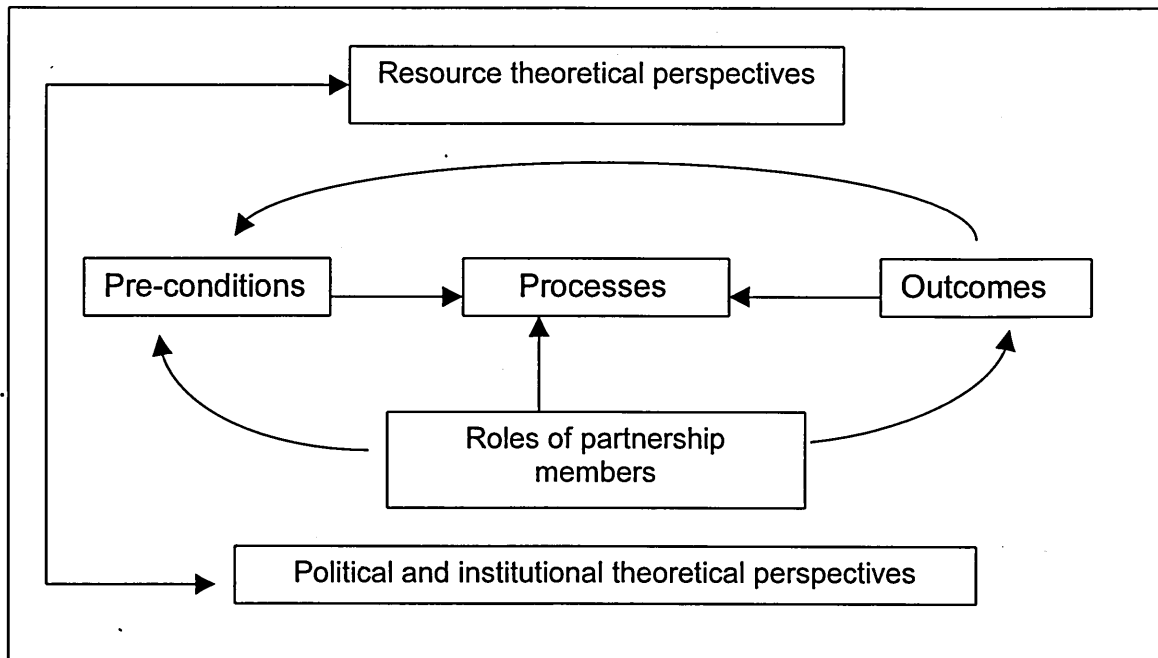


Figure 8.1: Conceptual model for the analysis of the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of tourism development partnerships from resource, political and institutional perspectives

The wider theoretical and methodological implications of this research, as well as its strengths and limitations are now considered in section 8.2.

8.2 Implications of the research

Section 8.1 considered the development and use of a conceptual framework for the study of tourism development partnerships that was adapted from the literature on inter-organisational collaboration. The findings from three contrasting case study partnerships were discussed in section 8.1 in relation to this framework. Theoretical implications of these findings for future research on tourism development partnerships were also drawn out in section 8.1. The analysis that follows extends the discussion of the present research findings by drawing out the wider inferences and implications of this research for the development of theory, methods, and a research agenda for the study of tourism partnerships. In doing so, ways are suggested in which this research contributes to knowledge more generally about partnership arrangements for tourism development.

8.2.1 Implications for theory

Consideration is now given to the wider theoretical implications of this research. Policy studies and organisation studies provided a significant theoretical underpinning for this research on collaboration in tourism development. Therefore, sections 8.2.1.1 and 8.2.1.2 suggest theoretical issues and perspectives relating to policy and organisational dimensions of tourism development partnerships that may usefully be applied to future research. More generally, the conceptual framework developed for this research integrated theoretical perspectives on the policy and organisational dimensions of tourism development partnerships, and it provides a model that has broad applicability for future research. Section 8.2.1.3 discusses the theoretical implications for future research that are associated with the use of the conceptual framework.

8.2.1.1 Implications for policy studies perspectives on tourism development partnerships

The findings from this research demonstrate the value of theoretical perspectives from the field of policy studies for research on the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of tourism development partnerships, as well as on the roles of individual participants. This research also suggests five broad directions for future studies of policy issues surrounding tourism development partnerships. Some of these policy issues have received limited attention in the tourism literature, and all of them would warrant further study.

First, researchers might examine the political relationships between the representatives of member agencies, elected politicians, professional officers, and local communities and political constituencies as expressed through partnership working for tourism development. Related research on political relationships might also focus on the balance of power between the sectors represented on tourism development partnerships, the breadth of representation on partnership steering groups, as well as those interests that are excluded from membership, and the ways in which tourism partnerships are mobilised and legitimised.

Secondly, a policy studies approach may be used to analyse how national-level policies for tourism development are translated and applied through regional, sub-regional, and local partnerships. A related set of research issues surrounds the prospects and potential for new partnerships between tourism development policy stakeholders and interested parties in other related policy domains, such as in economic regeneration, local transport, and the development of arts and cultural provision.

Thirdly, the present research approach, with its focus on the roles of individual partnership members, suggests the relevance of 'regime' and 'growth coalition' theoretical perspectives that seek to explain and account for the characteristics of the stakeholders involved in regeneration policies and programmes (Molotch, 1976; Logan and Molotch, 1987; Lloyd and Newlands, 1988; 1990; Cox and Mair, 1989; Harding, 1991; Shaw, 1993). "Regime" theoretical approaches focus on the effects of institutional structures and power on the decision-making behaviour of different organisational actors. They also examine the range of actors that are involved – both formally and informally - in partnership programmes, the importance of the distinctiveness of place, and the implications of different forms of regime for patterns of resource distribution. All of these considerations were involved in this research. These concerns of 'regime' perspectives have rarely been evaluated in great depth in the tourism literature.

Fourthly, policy studies perspectives may also be useful for future research on how priorities between the different elements of a tourism development partnership programme are negotiated and agreed between the partners. The findings from the present research suggest that short-term marketing objectives may be seen as more readily achievable than longer-term development plans, and are prioritised accordingly. However, such prioritisation may not be made explicit in partnership policy and strategy documents. This suggests that the 'development' emphasis of tourism partnerships may effectively be nominal, and that their powers and resources to achieve and implement development plans are often limited.

Fifth and finally, future policy oriented research might examine the implications of the geographical and administrative boundaries that are defined for tourism partnerships. These boundaries may be significant factors in a partnership's ability to mobilise local interests, resources, and political and community support, as well as in the identification of areas where the impact of a tourism development programme will be more or less visible and welcome. Related research might also examine the extent to which a sense of identity can be built or developed within a partnership's geographical and administrative boundaries. The distribution of partnership activities and resources are further dimensions of the spatial patterns of tourism development partnership policies and programmes that would benefit from further research.

8.2.1.2 Implications for organisation studies perspectives on tourism development partnerships

Future research on tourism development partnerships may also usefully apply theoretical perspectives from the organisation studies field. Some of these perspectives connect with concepts from policy studies, and these connections are particularly relevant to research on tourism development partnerships.

Firstly, researchers might draw on, develop and apply recent research agendas in organisation studies that emphasise plurality, diversity and ambiguity in organisational structures, the importance of inter-organisational networks, and the roles of individuals and groups in organisational processes and outcomes (Barrett and Srivastva 1991, Hassard and Pym 1990, Leifer 1989, Reed 1991). There is now a recognition within the field that organisations operate within a complex network of relationships and partnerships, with this recognition emerging from critiques of classical functionalist studies of individual organisations.

Secondly, this research also suggests attention to organisation studies perspectives on the management of exchange relationships between partnership members, or the processes that are involved in inter-organisational collaboration. For example, Ebers (1997) suggests that research on these relationships may focus on three main considerations. These are firstly, the analysis of any regional clusters of resources and institutional support that are available to partnerships, the social networks and relationships that may exist in a partnership's geographical and/or administrative area, and how these may be mobilised for the benefit of inter-organisational processes. Next, the flows of resources, information, and mutual expectations that are developed as part of the partnership process might be examined. Thirdly, an assessment might be made of the alternative forms of collaboration that may best support partnerships in particular circumstances. These considerations are illustrated in this research and would warrant further study in the context of tourism partnerships.

Third and finally, future research in this field might also consider partnership members' organisational interdependencies and their shared and conflicting perceptions of roles, strategies, and legitimacy, as well as the power relations that exist among the participants. Related research attention might also analyse the rationale for partnerships as a substitute (or supplement) for market relationships between participants, and as a viable form of corporate governance (Powell, 1990; Williamson, 1985; 1991). Again, these relationships and rationales are discussed in this research and there is scope for the further application of these perspectives to future studies of tourism partnerships.

8.2.1.3 Theoretical implications of the conceptual framework developed for this research

The conceptual framework that was developed and applied in this research may contribute in several ways to the emerging research literature on inter-organisational collaboration and partnerships in tourism. First, the framework is capable of adaptation and use in research contexts beyond England. Indeed, the origin of the framework, and the setting of the early empirical work based on it, was North American. Policy, resource, and organisational theoretical perspectives on partnerships are also applicable in any international context, as indeed is a focus on the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of tourism development partnerships.

Secondly, the conceptual framework used in this research, with its emphasis on pre-conditions, processes and outcomes, contributes to related and emergent considerations in tourism partnership research. These research considerations include analyses of the formulation of partnerships, their life cycles and structural characteristics, and the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of partnership policies and programmes. For example, previous research in the tourism partnership field has discussed the antecedents to partnership formation, problem-setting and direction-setting activities, and their structuring, outcomes and feedback (Selin and Chavez, 1995). The conceptual framework used in this research relates to these considerations by emphasising the essentially temporal, dynamic and cyclical nature of partnership activity and development, as well as the combination of structural factors and the roles of individual participants in partnership pre-conditions, processes and outcomes.

However, the present conceptual framework has the distinction of contributing a specific, explicit and integrative focus on theoretical perspectives on resource, policy, and organisational aspects of tourism development partnerships - a theoretical focus that has received limited attention in previous studies in the field.

Thirdly, the findings on the pre-conditions, processes and outcomes of tourism partnerships in this research suggest that future studies should include more critical perspectives on the rationale for partnership working in tourism development. For example, there is a need for researchers to challenge commonly held assumptions about the supposed benefits and advantages of partnership arrangements for tourism development. These assumptions include claims that partnerships may be expected to achieve: synergies between participants, a beneficial transformation in working practices and relationships between partners, the enlargement of overall budgets for tourism development, and the unlocking of tourism site and product development opportunities. The findings from this research suggest that these assumed benefits cannot be taken for granted and that the 'advantages' of partnership working are more complex and ambiguous in practice.

Fourthly, this research also questions the assumption that tourism development partnerships result in enhanced place marketing and promotional activities. This assumption is supported in this research to an extent in the Islington and West Cumbria cases, where such activities were particularly prominent. However, future research on tourism partnerships might develop more critical perspectives on the place marketing and promotion elements of partnership programmes. For example, it has been suggested that place marketing activities, in their targeting high-spending, middle-class tourists, typically exploit local cultural capital and promote elite values through their selection and representation of routes and sites that are seen as being of interest to middle class tourists (Kearns and Philo, 1993; Murray, 2001). A consequence of this argument is that place marketing and promotional activities may have negligible impacts on deprived areas and spatially segregated communities that are deemed to be unattractive to better-off tourists (Bianchini, 1992). This concern was demonstrated in this research, where parts of the Discover Islington and West Cumbria areas were seen as being 'unattractive' to visitors.

Fifth and finally, the assumption that enlisting private sector involvement in tourism partnerships brings a new sense of urgency to dealing with local development problems and helps to overcome alleged public sector delay and bureaucracy also requires critical scrutiny in future research. Related research attention should also be given to the financial and political returns that may be expected by private sector partners from their involvement in tourism development partnerships, as well as their expectations of public sector and voluntary sector representatives in tourism development partnership arrangements.

These critical questions about the assumptions supporting the rationale for tourism development partnerships suggest a more explicit discussion of the ontological and epistemological positions adopted by researchers in relation to the nature and purpose of partnership arrangements in tourism. Conceptual approaches to these positions are considered in the discussion that follows on the implications of this study for the development of research methodologies and methods.

8.2.2 Implications for research methodology

This present discussion considers the implications of this research for the development of methods for the study of tourism development partnerships. It follows the structure presented in chapter three in moving from a discussion of the research's implications for broad methodological design to the more specific use and evaluation of particular methods. The framework used to structure the methodological approach in this study is shown in Table 8.3. This framework provides a useful guide to the key methodological issues in tourism partnership research. These issues range from the characteristics of individual researchers, to the ideological and philosophical foundations and assumptions underlying research methodologies, and also the strategic and tactical selection, implementation, and evaluation of selected research instruments. Therefore, the framework is applicable for the study of tourism development partnerships generally.

Research issue	Analytical considerations
The researcher as subject	The researcher's approach to the study and their conceptions of the subject, and their treatment of inter-personal and ethical issues
Methodological positions	The researcher's approach to applicable but competing theoretical and methodological assumptions and positions on tourism partnerships
Research strategies	A study's design and its implications for the specification of research methods
Methods of data collection and analysis	The specific methods used in a study. The criteria used for judging their adequacy. Approaches to data interpretation and evaluation.

Table 8.3: The Research Process (adapted from Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:12)

In this conception of the research process, researchers are required to reflect on the ways in which their personal characteristics and background may influence their approach to research and particularly their interactions with respondents, as well as the ways in which respondents may see them. For example, a researcher's age, social class, ethnicity and gender may all influence how respondents see them. These potential inter-personal biases were discussed in chapter three, and these considerations should be identified and discussed by future researchers in this field.

The research process framework also requires researchers to specify their epistemological and ontological assumptions about the nature and purpose of tourism partnerships. These considerations are seldom discussed in the tourism literature, but they have significant implications for a researcher's conception of the research issues, and for their specification of research methods. 'Ideal-type' methodological positions for researching tourism development partnerships based on competing epistemological and ontological assumptions were discussed in chapter 2.2.1 in relation to sociological paradigms and organisational analysis, and in chapter 3.2 in relation to methodological positions. These methodological positions are summarised in table 8.4. This framework suggests that each position is associated with a particular but contrasting set of research criteria, epistemology, style of presentation, and research approach.

Methodological Position	Research Criteria	Form of Theory	Type of Narration	Research Approach to Tourism Partnerships
Positivist	Internal, external validity	Logical-deductive, scientific	Scientific report	Descriptive, statistical analysis of a population of partnerships
Feminist	Lived experience, dialogue, caring, race, class, gender	Critical, standpoint	Essays, stories, experimental writing	Gender relations in tourism partnership structures and programmes
Ethnic	Community, lived experience, race, class, gender	Standpoint, critical, historical	Essays, fables, myths	Representations of communities and local histories
Marxist	Emancipatory, falsifiable, class	Critical, historical, economic	Historical, economic, socio-cultural analysis	The political economy of tourism partnerships within local, regional, national and global economic relations
Cultural studies	Cultural practices, praxis, social texts, subjectivities	Social criticism	Cultural theory as criticism	Image, commodification of cultural practices, discourse analysis
Constructivist	Trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, confirmability	Substantive-formal	Interpretive case study, ethnographic	'Deep pictures' of individual case study partnerships informed by participants

Table 8.4: 'Ideal-Type' Methodological Positions for Research on Tourism Partnerships (adapted from Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:13)

Each methodological position suggests valid and legitimate lines of enquiry on tourism partnerships. Therefore, the framework has value for other researchers in the consideration of their assumptions on this subject.

This study adopted a broadly constructivist methodological position for researching tourism development partnerships – a position that other researchers may find useful. This position is a valid foundation for research concerned with the participation of key actors in partnerships, their particular policy, development and management purposes, and also how these key actors participate and with what consequences. Therefore, the emphasis of studies concerned with these dimensions of tourism partnerships - including the present research - is on the constructions and roles of key actors in particular partnerships. The development of 'deep pictures' of individual case study partnerships informed by participants is a further relevant research approach from a constructivist perspective. However, there are a number of methodological issues to be considered by researchers that follow a constructivist methodological position in this field.

Firstly, the position assumes a relativist ontology, meaning that there are multiple local and specific interpretations of the 'realities' facing tourism partnerships and the key actors within them. Therefore, constructions by respondents about their roles in tourism partnerships should not be seen as being more or less "true" in any absolute sense. Rather, they should be seen as being more or less informed, reflexive, and sophisticated. In this view, conflicting constructions are the products of different interpretations, experiences, ideologies, working practices and relationships.

Secondly, a constructivist position suggests research criteria that require *credible, transferable, and dependable* findings as opposed to the usual positivist criteria of *internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity* (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). For example, this research involved the construction of a credible, transferable, and dependable model for researching tourism partnerships. Therefore, researchers need to ensure that their approach to the study of tourism partnerships should be capable of handling new cases in other contexts. However, a constructivist position does not claim any absolute but probably illusory external validity (Goodman, 1978:163).

Thirdly, researchers need to acknowledge some criticisms of constructivism. For example, the specification of research criteria is less clear-cut than in the positivist position. 'Trustworthiness', 'credibility', and 'dependability' and identifying whether a study may be transferable to other settings are all considerations that are open to subjective interpretation. Also, privileging the views of key actors in partnerships, as opposed to those who are not involved but are affected by partnerships runs a risk of a lack of critical purchase in such studies. Moreover, the stance of the researcher inscribing meaning to the data also involves a degree of subjectivity and selectivity.

A fourth consideration for researchers adopting a constructivist position and analysing key actors' perspectives is their assessment of the abilities of their respondents to address the research questions authoritatively, as well as the factors that might limit their ability to do so. For example, in this research the respondents were seen as being free to respond to a range of questions on their participation in tourism development partnership steering groups. In this view, the respondents' subjective perceptions and reflexive 'insider' interpretations of tourism development partnership policies and activities were seen as being important and legitimate areas of enquiry. It was also assumed in this research that partnership processes involved the dynamic interactions of individuals and groups. For this reason, abstract, statistical, descriptive approaches to their study that are subject to positivist 'laws' were judged to be inappropriate as a methodological foundation for this research.

However, a fifth issue for researchers is that this constructivist conception does downplay structural considerations in its emphasis on the views of individual human agents in tourism development partnerships. For example, while individual respondents may be free to respond to research questions, they are not free *from* their organisational, professional, political, or community structural positions and relationships. Therefore, researchers should consider this balance between structure and agency in discussing their methodological positions.

A sixth issue for researchers from a constructivist position is that any qualitative study conducted by a sole researcher with respondents in the field is dependent on that person's perception of the field situation at the particular point in time that the fieldwork is completed. This perception may be shaped both by personality and by the scope and depth of the interaction with those researched.

A related concern is that researchers should also recognise the possible existence of 'distorting filters' that may militate against the validity of some findings. For example, it was recognised in this research that some of the respondents might have sought to avoid any controversial research findings that highlighted conflicts or even just differences of opinion within a tourism partnership steering group.

This section now turns to the third set of research issues identified in the methodological framework shown in table 8.4 - the selection of an appropriate research strategy. These strategic issues and their implications for research on tourism partnerships are summarised in table 8.5.

Strategic research issue	Implications for research on tourism development partnerships
Deciding between quantitative and qualitative research methods	Methods that 'best-fit' the aims of research
Deciding the level at which the research is undertaken	Identification of the level that has received comparatively limited research attention
Selecting appropriate research strategies	Selection of research sites and participants

Table 8.5: Key Strategic Issues in Researching Tourism Development Partnerships

Firstly, when deciding between quantitative and qualitative research methods, researchers should recognise that quantitative research approaches are commonly advocated as a means of increasing theoretical rigour and objectivity. However, in devising a research strategy, researchers need to consider whether a quantitative strategy would be appropriate in meeting the aims of the research. In this research, a qualitative strategy was proposed as being the most appropriate approach to provide the kind of data required to meet the study aims. A justification of this strategy was argued in chapter three in terms of this research seeking an understanding of the meanings and purposes attributed by respondents to their partnership activities. This research also sought to capture the 'large picture' of tourism partnerships in complex local contexts. A qualitative research strategy involving personal, face-to-face communication was seen as being most appropriate in a study that involved the analysis of relationships within a partnership system.

Secondly, it needs to be recognised that research programmes on tourism partnerships may involve study at a number of strategic, geographical, and operational levels. Therefore, it is usually necessary to specify a primary focus in order to reduce the complexity and size of the task, and hence ensure that the research is manageable and coherent. Layder (1993) provides a useful framework for the specification of levels of analysis, and this was discussed in relation to this research in chapter three. This framework is presented in Table 8.6.

Research Level	Research Focus
Context	<p>National policies for local economic development, tourism and for public/private partnerships.</p> <p>National tourism organisation and related policies.</p> <p>The consequences of the above for all tourism partnerships.</p>
Setting	<p>Regional economic development and partnership arrangements.</p> <p>Regional tourism organisation and related policies.</p> <p>Comparisons and contrasts within selected regions (e.g. partnerships within regional tourist board boundaries).</p>
Situated Activity	<p>Local tourism partnership arrangements.</p> <p>Local tourism organisations and related policies as affected by the contexts and settings (above) and by individual dispositions (below).</p> <p>A focus on one, or a few tourism partnerships.</p>
Individuals	<p>The ideologies, motivations, working practices and roles of partnership actors as influenced by the above elements and as they interact with other representatives.</p> <p>The individual member organisations within a partnership.</p>

Table 8.6: Research levels in the study of tourism partnerships (adapted from Layder 1993:72)

In this research, and as discussed in chapter three, the situated activity of case study partnership was selected as being the primary level of study. However, other researchers might identify partnership contexts, settings, or the roles of individual participants as their primary level of analysis

The third and final key strategic issue is the specification of an 'intensive' or 'extensive' research design. A summary of the distinctions between these designs was discussed in chapter three and is summarised here in table 8.7. Sayer (1992:240) suggests that, 'the two types of design ask different sorts of questions, use different techniques and methods and define their objects and boundaries differently'. In intensive research the primary questions concern how some causal process works out in a particular case or limited number of cases. In contrast 'extensive research ... is concerned with discovering some of the common properties and general patterns of a population as a whole' (op. cit. p. 242).

An intensive research strategy was suggested as being appropriate to the study of the situated activity of the case study tourism development partnerships – the primary level of this research, and that this strategy was associated with the application of qualitative methods. However, researchers focusing on the levels of partnership contexts and settings may choose to adopt a more extensive research strategy.

	Intensive research strategies	Extensive research strategies
Type of groups studied	Specific partnership cases	Taxonomic groups, 'populations'
Type of account produced	Causal explanations of partnership structures and processes, though these are not necessarily representative	Descriptive 'representative' generalisations, lacking in explanation
Typical methods	Qualitative studies of individual actors in specific partnership contexts	Surveys and representative samples, using formal, standardised, quantitative approaches
Limitations	The patterns and relations are unlikely to be 'representative' or generalisable	The findings have limited explanatory power. There is a problem of 'ecological fallacies' in making inferences about individual partnerships
Appropriate tests	Corroboration	Replication
Research Questions	How does a partnership work in a particular case or small number of cases? What causes local changes? What are the roles of local actors?	What are the regularities, common features and differences among a population of partnerships? The distribution of processes and characteristics

Table 8.7: Intensive and extensive research strategies related to researching tourism development partnerships (adapted from Sayer 1992: 243)

A second strategic design issue for researchers is whether to take theory or observation as their starting point – a deductive or inductive approach. However, research design may include both deductive and inductive elements, suggesting an abductive strategy, which recognises and combines these elements. For example, the design of this research involved the collection and analysis of data that approximated to an abductive strategy, particularly in its exploration of partnership actors' meanings, interactions and accounts. These were analysed both in terms of their everyday concepts and meanings *and* in relation to social theories or perspectives, represented here by the adapted Wood and Gray (1991) theoretical framework of inter-organisational collaboration. This framework provided the basis for the questions in this research, so to an extent theory was being both tested and built here. This design characteristic is recommended to other researchers as a useful principle for balancing theory and fieldwork observations and findings.

A third and final strategic design consideration is concerned with the selection of case study partnerships. Researchers might follow a purposive sampling approach that involves the selection of extreme or 'deviant' cases, or 'typical' cases, or politically important, or sensitive cases (Lincoln, 1985). Classification by partnership membership category, breadth and range offers another approach to selection. The sampling approach proposed in this research is that researchers consider where they might learn the most about tourism partnerships from contrasting cases. In this approach, cases are selected on the basis that they represent contrasting areas in terms of their tourism and also, pragmatically, where there is a willingness to participate in research. Therefore, the sampling approach proposed here is to include contrasting local and regional factors as the main element in sampling from those partnerships that are willing to participate in research.

Having considered strategic design issues, researchers need to address the considerations associated with the application of particular methods. For example, an intensive strategy for researching tourism partnerships suggests interviews with key participants and the analysis of relevant policy and strategy documents, as well as internal reports and memoranda concerning partnership arrangements. The use of these methods in this research suggests some general implications for other researchers.

Researchers need to subscribe to some particular, explicit and fundamental principles of interview design and process. Firstly, interviewers should seek to interpret the subjects' meanings and interpretations of their participation in tourism development partnerships in relation to their theoretical frameworks. However, researchers also need to reconcile their theoretical orientation with seeking qualitative knowledge expressed in the respondents' own terms about their roles in tourism development partnerships. Therefore, the interviewer should record, transcribe and attempt to interpret the meaning of what is said as well as how it is said.

Secondly, interviews should attempt to obtain open and nuanced descriptions of different aspects of the subjects' involvement with tourism partnerships. Descriptions of specific situations and actions in relation to respondents' involvement in partnerships for tourism development should be invited rather than general opinions.

Thirdly, and from the experience of practice in this research, interviewers should seek to achieve openness to new and unexpected phenomena and responses during interview situations rather than having rigid categories and schemes of interpretation. However, interviews do need to remain focused on particular and specific themes based on the aims of the research and its theoretical framework. Therefore, they should be neither strictly structured with standardised questions, nor entirely non-directive.

As far as both interviews and documentary analysis are concerned, researchers need to consider the adequacy and validity of the documentary materials and interview responses that are made available, as well as any apparent gaps in the data.

Threats to the adequacy and validity of data include firstly, the incompleteness of *description* in the documents and interviews. An example is where the historical record of the background to the establishment of a tourism partnership is incomplete or partial. A related consideration is where the 'authenticity' of documents may be in question to the extent that they provide an accurate and comprehensive record of events (Preece, 1994:84). Reports, for example, might '...suggest a greater tidiness in the sequence of events than was actually experienced' (Madge, 1985:93). They may also seek to justify actions and minimise failures and may not represent a consensus position on the issues addressed.

Secondly, there is a risk in the analysis of both interviews and documentary materials that researchers may impose their own framework or meanings on the *interpretation* of the findings, rather than attempting to 'understand the perspective[s] of the people studied and the meanings they attach to their words and actions' (Maxwell, 1996:90).

Thirdly, researchers may not consider alternative explanations or understandings of the phenomena that are the subject of the documents and interviews. For example, a failure to acknowledge 'discrepant' data may undermine the *theoretical* validity of the documentary and interview analysis (Maxwell, 1996:90).

Fourthly, there may be problems associated with blocks of data being missing or inaccessible. Additionally, records of partnership steering group meetings, work programmes, policy and strategy documents are typically produced for instrumental rather than research purposes, and hence, may not be readily amenable to theoretical analysis. Similarly, some interviewees may not be prepared to divulge information or they may, either consciously or unconsciously, misrepresent situations in their responses to questioning. Other potentially valuable informants may be unwilling to participate in research or they may be unavailable or unfamiliar with interviews relating to research interests.

A final consideration for the development of research methods for the study of tourism partnerships suggested by this research is concerned with the framework that researchers may use for the organisation and analysis of their data. For example, the analytical framework used in this research was developed as an adaptation of the 'Framework' model devised by Ritchie and Spencer (1994). This framework was developed for use in applied qualitative research on cases in social and community planning. It was found to be applicable as an analytical model for the study of tourism partnerships as it provided a 'contextualising strategy' that is designed specifically for the analysis of case studies. As such, it may prove useful for the analysis of data from other case study partnerships. The framework is discussed in chapter three. In summary, it requires researchers to *familiarise* themselves with their data, identify *key issues, concepts and themes*, and *chart* the data in order to build up an overall picture of the findings within and between case studies. Finally, data is *mapped and interpreted*.

8.3 Summary

The conceptual framework that was developed for this research provides a credible and transferable guide for the analysis of tourism development partnerships. It was found to be particularly useful as a framework for the investigation of the aims of this research. These aims were, having developed the conceptual framework, to apply it in the examination of political, environmental and socio-economic influences which may affect local tourism development partnerships, and to the evaluation of the differing stages of local tourism development partnerships. These aims continue to be relevant to the developing research agenda on tourism development partnerships, whether in the UK or internationally. Therefore, further research is needed to test the conceptual framework developed in this research in other tourism development partnership contexts.

This research also suggests some broad theoretical and methodological directions that may be useful in the future study of tourism partnerships.

Firstly, tourism researchers might usefully examine the potential for incorporating perspectives on partnerships from other policy fields to tourism.

Secondly, tourism researchers may consider drawing more explicitly on the organisation studies and policy studies literature in applications to tourism partnerships.

Thirdly, there is also a need for more research on the broad policy, economic, environmental, and social contexts within which tourism development partnerships emerge, operate and are evaluated. The explicit application of ontological and epistemological frameworks in the study of tourism partnerships is also recommended.

Some other more specific research questions are suggested by this study in relation to the reasons why tourism partnerships are established and how they operate and are evaluated.

Firstly, the need for partnerships might be examined more critically. Existing research tends to take the necessity, or at least desirability, of partnership arrangements for granted. Such assumptions require careful examination. The extent to which representation on tourism partnerships is inclusive or exclusive is a further question that would warrant further research.

Secondly, the nature of partnership relationships is a subject that would benefit from further research. Studies of the extent to which partnership relationships are characterised by asymmetry - where one or a few partner(s) exercise power or control over other partners and their resources, or reciprocity, where partnerships encourage the pursuit of common or mutually beneficial goals or interests, are also recommended.

Thirdly and finally, further research on the evaluation of tourism partnership outcomes is required. For example, future researchers might investigate how far partnerships achieve economic efficiency. Studies might also examine whether partnerships allow their members to better anticipate and plan for uncertainties affecting their activities, as well as in their achieving legitimacy for partnership working in the development of tourism.

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**Approaches and Organisational Forms Adopted by Local
Tourism Development Partnerships in England**

(Appendices A - C)

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Sheffield Hallam
University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

With the collaboration of the English Tourism Council

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Appendix A.1: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the North-West Tourist Board area

Key partnership characteristics	North-west Coastal Resorts Initiative	The Morecambe Initiative	Merseyside SME Initiative	Lancaster TDAP
Partners	North West Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, Lancashire County Council, Lancaster City Council, Wyre Borough Council, Blackpool Borough Council, Fylde Borough Council, Sefton Metropolitan Borough Council, Lancashire Training and Enterprise Council (LANTEC), Merseyside TEC., English Partnerships, Pontins, First Leisure	North West Tourist Board, Lancaster City Council, LANTEC	North West Tourist Board, Sefton Metropolitan Borough Council, Liverpool City Challenge, Merseyside Tourism and Conference Bureau, Liverpool City Council, Merseyside Training and Enterprise Council, Business Link	North West Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, Lancashire County Council, Lancaster City Council, Lancashire Enterprises, Lancaster University, Lancaster and District Chamber of Commerce, Morecambe Chamber of Trade, Regional Enterprise Unit
Dates of foundation and termination	1991 and ongoing in 1996	1993 and ongoing in 1996	1994 to 1997	1988 to 1992
Main programme focus	Marketing and promotion / 'encouraging regeneration and environmental improvements through product quality'	Resort promotion and marketing and encouraging product quality improvements through training programmes	Encouraging and supporting small business start-up, including in tourism sectors, through training and business support measures	Marketing, product development, visitor experience, links to countryside and coast
Geographical focus	Coastal resorts in the North West Tourist Board region	Morecambe – with particular emphasis on the 'central tourism zone'	The Merseyside conurbation and sub-region	Lancaster city and regional links

Appendix A.2: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the London Tourist Board area

Key partnership characteristics	<i>Discover Islington</i>	Toutheast London	Gateway London
Partners	<i>London Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, Dept. of Environment, Islington Council, British Waterways, Arsenal Football Club, Private Sector</i>	London Tourist Board, London Docklands Development Corporation, Training and Enterprise Councils in East London, Port of London Authority, Hackney, Tower Hamlets, and Newham borough councils	Training and Enterprise Councils covering south-east London, London Enterprise Board, Bromley, Croydon, Greenwich, Lambeth, Southwark, Lewisham borough councils, City Challenge, South-eastern Rail
Dates of foundation (termination)	<i>November 1991 and ongoing in 1996</i>	February 1994 and ongoing in 1996	February 1994 and ongoing in 1996
Main programme focus	<i>'Sustainable' urban tourism development, through encouraging local involvement and business start-up and marketing</i>	Encouraging the development of tourism in the East London Thames corridor	Encouraging the development of tourism in south-east London
Geographical focus	<i>London borough of Islington, with particular attention to areas already attracting significant tourism</i>	The Thames corridor within Greater London to the east of Tower Bridge	South-east London, with particular attention to road and rail gateways and corridors

Appendix A.3: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the West Country Tourist Board area

Key partnership characteristics	Weymouth TDAP	Wiltshire Tourism Project	Weston Super Mare TDAP	South Devon Green Tourism Initiative	Dartmoor Area Tourism Initiative	Project Explore (S.East Cornwall)
Partners	Weymouth and Portland Borough, Dorset County Council, English Tourist Board, West Country Tourist Board, Rural Development Commission, West Dorset District Council, Dorset Evening Echo, Hotel and Catering Association, individual tourism operators.	Wiltshire County Council, West Country Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, Thamesdown Borough, West Wiltshire and Kennet District Councils, Countryside Commission, British Waterways, Southern Arts	Woodspring District Council, English Tourist Board, West Country Tourist Board, Weston Tourist Board, Weston super Mare Charter Trustees, South West Arts, Weston super Mare Civic Society, Hotels and Restaurants Association, Civic Trust, Chamber of Trade, Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission	English Tourist Board, West Country Tourist Board, South Hams, and Torbay District councils, Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission, Plymouth City Council, Devon County Council, Dartmoor National Park authority	English Tourist Board, West Country Tourist Board, Dartmoor National Park Authority, Countryside Commission, Devon County Council, West Devon Borough, and South Hams, and Teignbridge District Councils, Dartmoor Tourist Asso, Duchy of Cornwall	Caradon District Council, South Cornwall Heritage Coast Service, English Tourist Board, West Country Tourist Board, Countryside Commission, parish councils, South East Cornwall Tourism Association
Dates of foundation (termination)	September 1992 to August 1995	1991 to 1996	October 1991 to April 1996	1992 to 1996	1992 to 1996	July 1991 to 1996
Main programme focus	Marketing, product development, training	Visitor management, marketing, industry support, development	Product development, environment, heritage and the arts, countryside links	Promotion and development of 'green tourism'	Promotion and development of 'green tourism'	Information networks, interpretation, public transport, farm tourism, community involvement, events
Geographical focus	Weymouth	Wiltshire County	Weston super Mare and hinterland	South Devon, within council and national park boundaries	Dartmoor National Park	Looe – Polruan – Liskeard area of South East Cornwall

Appendix A.4: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the Yorkshire and Humberside, and Northumbria Tourist Board areas

Key partnership characteristics	Whitby Tourism Renewal Scheme	Kielder TDAP	Gateway Europe	Gateway Yorkshire	Till Valley Tourism Initiative	Hadrian's Wall Partnership	Redcar Tourism Renewal Initiative
Partners	Scarborough Borough Council, Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, North Yorkshire Training and Enterprise Council, Rural Development Commission, English Heritage	Tynedale District Council, Northumbrian Water, Forest Enterprise, Northumberland County Council, Northumberland National Park, Northumbria Tourist Board	Humberside County Council, district councils within Humberside, Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, Yorkshire and Humberside Arts, Rural Development Commission, Private sector.	Leeds City Council, Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, Leeds Hotel Association, British Waterways, Leeds Development Corporation, private sector	Berwick-upon-Tweed Borough Council, Northumberland County Council, Northumberland National Park, Northumberland Training and Enterprise Council, Rural Development Commission, Northumberland Tourism Association, Northumbria Tourist Board, Countryside Commission	Countryside Commission, Cumbria and Northumbria Tourist Boards, English Heritage, National Trust, Northumberland National Park, Regional Railways (North East), Rural Development Commission, Carlisle and Newcastle City Councils, Allerdale and Copeland Borough Councils, Cumbria and Northumberland County Councils, North Tyneside, South Tyneside and Tynedale Councils	Langbaugh Borough Council, Cleveland County Council, Cleveland College, Cleveland Action Team, English Tourist Board, Northumbria Tourist Board, Cleveland Forum
Dates of foundation (termination)	November 1993 to 1995/96	1994 and ongoing in 1996	October 1991 to 1995	1990 and ongoing as Leeds Waterfront in 1996	1994 and ongoing in 1996	1994 and ongoing in 1996	1994 and ongoing in 1996
Main programme focus	Resort regeneration	Marketing, research and development, events programming,	Marketing and promotion to retain tourists within a 'gateway' region	Marketing, business tourism and conferences, heritage, events,	Rural tourism development and promotion	Visitor management and the promotion of public transport access, marketing, and product development	Resort regeneration, marketing
Geographical focus	Whitby, with particular attention to main tourist zone	Kielder Forest	Hull and Humberside	Leeds city, with particular attention to the central business district	The Till Valley within Berwick upon Tweed Borough boundary	The Hadrian's Wall corridor	Redcar, with particular attention to the main tourist zone

Appendix A.5: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the Cumbria Tourist Board area

Key partnership characteristics	North Pennines Tourism Partnership	North Pennines Business and Training Initiative	Furness and Cartmel Tourism	West Cumbria Tourism Initiative	Lake District Tourism and Conservation Partnership	Lake District Traffic Management Initiative
Partners	Cumbria and Northumbria Tourist Boards, English Tourist Board, Countryside Commission, Durham, Northumberland and Cumbria County councils, Eden, Teesdale, Tyndale and Wear Valley District councils, Rural Development Commission, parish councils, private and voluntary sectors	Cumbria and Northumbria Tourist Boards, Cumbria and Durham Training and Enterprise Councils, Rural Development Commission	English Tourist Board, Cumbria Tourist Board, Barrow in Furness Borough Council, Department of Trade and Industry, South Lakeland District Council, Rural Development Commission, Cumbria County Council, Furness Enterprise	<i>Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council, Copeland, and Allerdale Borough Councils, West Cumbria Development Agency, English Tourist Board, Cumbria Tourist Board, Department of Trade and Industry, British Nuclear Fuels Limited, Rural Development Commission</i>	Lake District National Park Authority, Cumbria Tourist Board, National Trust, Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council, Rural Development Commission	Cumbria County Council, Lake District National Park Authority, English Tourist Board, Cumbria Tourist Board, Countryside Commission
Dates of foundation (termination)	1990 and ongoing in 1996	June 1992 and ongoing in 1996	May 1992 to April 1995	October 1994 and ongoing in 1996	October 1993 and ongoing in 1996	1993 and ongoing in 1996
Main programme focus	Sustainable rural, village and small-town tourism development	Small to medium business support, including in tourism sectors	Sustainable tourism development, economic, environmental and social emphasis	<i>Marketing, business advice, training, raising awareness about tourism locally, encouraging inward investment</i>	Enhancing links between tourism and conservation bodies and interests, encouraging good environmental practice in tourism business operation	Promotion of traffic management schemes at key tourist routes and gateways, encouragement of public transport development and use
Geographical focus	North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty	North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty	The Furness and Cartmel peninsulas in South Cumbria	<i>West Cumbria – the coastal fringe of the Lake District – Allerdale and Copeland Borough boundaries</i>	Lake District National Park	Lake District National Park

Appendix A.6: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the Southern and South East Tourist Board areas

Key partnership characteristics	Cowes Yachting Project	Purbeck Heritage Project	Discover East Kent	Surrey Hills Visitor Management Initiative	Portsmouth Area T.D.A.P.
Partners	Rural Development Commission, Medina Borough Council, Isle of Wight County Council, English Tourist Board, Southern Tourist Board, Cowes Yachting Ltd.	Dorset County Council, Purbeck District Council, Countryside Commission, Southern Tourist Board	South East Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, Kent County Council, Dover, Shepway, Thanet, Canterbury, Ashford, Swale District councils, private sector	South East Tourist Board, National Trust, Surrey County Council, Countryside Commission	Portsmouth City Council, Gosport Borough Council, English Tourist Board, Hampshire County Council, Southern Tourist Board
Dates of foundation (termination)	April 1992 to March 1995	1992/93 and ongoing in 1996	1987 and ongoing in 1996	1992 and ongoing in 1996	1991 to 1995
Main programme focus	Tourism and sailing product development and marketing	'Green' tourism development	Maximising the benefits of the European gateway, training, business support, product diversification and development	Sustainable tourism, visitor management, community involvement, transport, countryside management	Raising the tourism profile, developing attractions and heritage, product quality, marketing
Geographical focus	Cowes, Isle of Wight	Purbeck Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty	East Kent, as defined by county and borough boundaries	Surrey Hills Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty	'Tourism priority areas' within the Portsmouth area

Appendix A.7: Tourism development partnerships in existence in 1994-5 in the East Midlands Tourist Board area

Key partnership characteristics	Lincolnshire Coast Partnership	Peak Tourism Partnership	Rockingham Forest Trust	North Lincolnshire Countryside Employment Programme
Partners	East Midlands Tourist Board, English Tourist Board, East Lindsey District Council, Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council, Rural Development Commission, Lincolnshire County Council, town and parish councils, Skegness 2000 Initiative, private sector	English Tourist Board, East Midlands, Heart of England, Yorkshire and Humberside, North West Tourist Boards, Peak District National Park Authority, Countryside Commission, Rural Development Commission, Peak Tourism Forum and Conference including Staffordshire and Cheshire County Councils, Derbyshire Dales, High Peak, Staffordshire Moorlands, Macclesfield, East Staffordshire, Oldham and Barnsley District Councils, other agencies and private sector involved on a project basis.	Corby Borough Council, Countryside Commission, East Midlands Tourist Board, East Northamptonshire District Council, Forestry Commission, Northamptonshire County Council, Rural Development Commission	Lincolnshire County Council, West Lindsey and, East Lindsey District Councils, National Farmers Union, Confederation of British Industry, Employment Service, East Midlands Tourist Board, Department of Trade and Industry, Lincolnshire Training and Enterprise Council, Ministry of Agriculture, Agricultural Development and Advisory Service, Community Council of Lincolnshire
Dates of foundation (termination)	January 1993 to December 1995	1992 to 1996	1992 and ongoing in 1996	March 1992 to March 1995
Main programme focus	Coastal resort regeneration and marketing, visitor management in sensitive coastal areas	Visitor management and sustainable tourism demonstration projects	Visitor management, environmental enhancement and interpretation, community involvement	Employment generation and diversification, training, developing tourism potential, community development
Geographical focus	Coastal area of Lincolnshire	Locations within the Peak District National Park	Rockingham Forest, Northamptonshire	North Lincolnshire Rural Development Area

Intended interviewees

Members of partnership steering groups and partnership officers.

Protocols

Interviews will be tape recorded subject to the consent of the interviewee and would be expected to last between 40-90 minutes each. Transcripts will be returned to interviewees for verification and a consent form guaranteeing anonymity will be provided.

Procedures

Where possible documents relating to partnership policy and strategy will be obtained prior to interviews taking place. Local factors as represented in these documents will be taken into account in devising prompts for the interviews.

Types of interview questions (Kvarle, 1996: 133-135)

Introductory – providing background and establishing the competence and interest of the researcher.

Follow-Up – extending the subjects' answers through a curious, persistent, and critical attitude. Can be done through expression, pauses, and repetition of significant words used in the previous answer, noting unusual terms and strong intonations.

Probing – The interviewer here pursues the answers, probing their content

Direct – focused directly on theoretical concepts

Structuring – making clear when a new topic or theme is being introduced

Silence – By allowing pauses in the conversation the subjects have time to associate and reflect and then break the silence themselves with significant information.

Assumptions derived from the Wood and Gray theoretical framework

1. Resource Dependence

- Local tourism development partnerships are a means of achieving stability and continuity and reducing uncertainty with respect to the environment for participating organisations.

What are the sources of uncertainty in developing tourism locally?

In what ways does membership of the partnership assist in achieving stability and continuity and reducing uncertainty in your operating environment?

- Participant organisations seek a trade off between increasing their involvement in partnerships and minimising their dependence on other organisations. However, patterns of resource inter-dependencies do emerge from the adoption of partnership approaches.

Please describe the ways in which your organisation is dependent on others for resources for tourism development.

In what ways are others dependent on your organisation for resources for tourism development?

2. Corporate Social Performance

- Local tourism development partnership strategies have been informed by the principles of sustainability. However, it is likely that the notion of 'sustainable tourism' is subject to variable interpretation, with the tourism 'policy community' in the public sector being its most vocal proponents.

Please outline your interpretation of the meaning of 'sustainable tourism'

Does your interpretation of 'sustainable tourism' coincide with the interpretation of other partnership members?

3. Strategic Management

- Involvement in a partnership organisation results in participants regulating their self-serving behaviours so that collective gains can be achieved.

Has your organisation re-directed its strategic objectives as a consequence of partnership membership? If so, in what ways?

Has any strategic re-direction been voluntary or imposed as a result of partnership membership?

4. Microeconomics

- Local Tourism development partnerships improve the efficiency of resource use within the local tourism sector.

Can you identify ways in which resources for tourism development have been deployed more efficiently as a consequence of the partnership's existence?

5. Institutional/Negotiated Order Theory

- Participation in local tourism development partnerships results in changes to participant ideologies and norms in respect of tourism development strategies.

Has participation in the partnership resulted in changes to your work practices and strategies? If so, have these changes been positive?

6. Political Theory/Political Geography

- Partnerships between public, private and voluntary sectors have universal political acceptability. However, interpretations of the meaning of 'partnership' will vary according to participants' ideologies.
- Partnership accountability and legitimacy in the community has only been partially addressed by the involvement of some voluntary organisations.

Who, if anyone, is excluded from partnership membership who might legitimately have an interest in the partnership's activities?

Do you anticipate extending membership of the partnership?

In what ways does the partnership have contacts with groups and individuals in the local community?

- In spatial terms, local tourism development partnerships represent more coherent, identifiable tourist regions than larger units.

Are there areas within the partnership boundaries that benefit disproportionately from the activities of the partnership?

Other questions of general interest and relevance include:

- When did your organisation become involved in the partnership?
- Why did your organisation become involved in the partnership?
- In what ways does your organisation support the partnership?
- Would you support the partnership's continued existence in its present form? or:-
- Would you seek changes to the existing structure and organisation of the partnership?
- How would you describe your personal involvement with the partnership?
- In what ways does your organisation benefit from membership of the partnership?
- In what ways does your organisation incur costs arising from membership of the partnership?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (PILOT STUDY)

(for steering group members / representatives of member organisations)

Name of interviewee: _____

Name of partnership: _____

Employer and job title: _____

Date and place of interview: _____

Introductory Questions

1) When did your organisation first become involved in the partnership?

Probe: *active involvement in terms of contributing to meetings/strategies etc.*

2) Why did your organisation become involved in the partnership?

Probe: *who made the decision? influence of other organisations? the result of what external / internal factors?*

3) In what ways does your organisation provide specific support to the partnership?

Probe: *forms and terms of resource contributions? Financial and in kind*

4) How would you describe your personal involvement with the partnership?

Probe: *time, formal/informal contacts with officers and other members, particular role and expertise?*

5) In what ways does your organisation benefit from membership of the partnership?

Probe: *resources, image, community relations, commercial gain, information, involvement in policy-making*

6) In what ways does your organisation incur costs arising from membership of the partnership?

Probe: *Staff time, financial, diversion from mainstream activity, sub-optimal decisions*

Resource Dependence Questions

7) What factors constrain the development of tourism locally?

Probe: *resource availability, competition, economic, political, attractions / infrastructure deficiencies, organisational weaknesses, lack of community support*

8) To what extent is the partnership able to assist in overcoming the constraints facing the development of tourism?

Probe: *examples of activities that require a partnership approach*

9) Please describe the ways in which your organisation is dependent on others for resources for tourism development

Probe: *Which others? Are they partnership members? Are resources forthcoming? Under what terms?*

10) In what ways are others dependent on your organisation for resources for tourism development?

Probe: *as for question 9*

Corporate Social Performance Questions

11) Please outline your interpretation of the meaning of 'sustainable tourism'

Probe: *environmental, economic and social meanings*

12) Do you believe that your understanding of 'sustainable tourism' coincides with the interpretation of the other partnership members?

Probe: *is it an issue? Examples of accord/discord*

13) How does membership of the partnership relate to your organisation's other operating activities?

Probe: *which other activities? Positive or negative relationship?*

Strategic Management Questions

14) Has your organisation re-directed its strategic objectives for tourism as a consequence of partnership membership? If so, in what ways?

Microeconomics Questions

15) Can you identify ways in which resources for tourism development have been deployed more efficiently as a consequence of the partnership's existence?

Probe: *avoiding duplication, economies of scope and scale*

Institutional/Negotiated Order Theory Questions

16) Has participation in the partnership resulted in changes to your working practices and strategies? If so, please give examples and indicate whether these changes have been positive or negative.

Probe: *change to job functions and strategic planning; influence of other members*

Political Theory/Political Geography Questions

17) Are any organisations excluded from partnership membership that might make a contribution to the partnership's activities?

Probe: *how is the membership decided? How are applications considered? Conscious exclusion or overlooked? Have membership applications been rejected? On what grounds?*

18) Is there likely to be an extension in the membership of the partnership? If so, to whom?

19) In what ways does the partnership have contacts with groups and individuals in the local community?

Probe: *frequency, formal or informal? On what kinds of issues? Effects of community contacts in terms of changes to policy and operations*

20) Are there geographical areas within the partnership boundaries that benefit disproportionately from the activities of the partnership?

Probe: *reasons, areas that do not benefit, plans for redress*

21) Have there been any disagreements between the members of the partnership over strategy or specific actions? If so, why did these happen?

22) How have the disagreements or differences of opinion been resolved, if they have been resolved?

23) Do you consider that any particular member organisations have benefitted more than others have from the partnership?

24) Do you consider that any particular member organisations have benefitted disproportionately to their financial contribution to the partnership?

Concluding Questions

25) Will your organisation support the partnership's continued existence in its present form?

Probe: *membership roles, constitution, activities, and priorities*

26) (if negative or qualified response to 25) Does your organisation seek changes to the existing structure, functions and organisation of the partnership?

Probe: *urgency of need for change, consensus?*

27) Is there anything you would like to add?

Inter-organisational Collaboration in Local Tourism Development Partnerships in England

Aims of the Research: To investigate:

1. alternative organisational partnership models that may be adopted for local tourism initiatives;
2. local political, environmental and socio-economic factors that may influence inter-organisational collaboration for tourism development;
3. the effects of strategic considerations in local tourism development on organisational forms and processes.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (PILOT STUDY) (for partnership officers)

Name of interviewee: _____

Name of Partnership: _____

Former job title: _____

Date and place of interview: _____

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1) When did you take on your former role as..... (job title)?

Probes:

What was your previous position?

Were you involved with member organisations prior to the partnership's foundation? Was there a predecessor as partnership officer?

What was the nature of your former role as (job title)?

What were your specific objectives and activities in that role?

2) Was your former post a short-term contract and, if so, for what period?

Probes:

When was the contract terminated?

Were there prospects for contract extension?

3) Why did the member organisations become involved with the partnership steering group?

Probes:

How would you describe their motivations for involvement in the steering group? What did they get out of their membership?

What did they contribute to the working of the partnership?

4) How frequently were you in contact with your steering group members?

Probes:

Were these contacts primarily formal or informal?

Were there particular members that you had more contact with than others?

Were these contacts more frequent at particular times of the year?

Were these contacts primarily concerned with particular projects?

RESOURCE DEPENDENCE QUESTIONS

5) What factors constrained the development of tourism locally prior to the existence of the partnership?

Probes:

To what extent were any of the following particular constraints:

a. the availability of resources for tourism development;

b. competition with other destinations;

c. deficiencies in attractions, accommodation and/or infrastructure;

d. organisational weaknesses;

e. lack of community support;

f. planning and environmental considerations?

6) In what ways did the partnership assist in reducing the constraints facing the development of tourism?

Probes:

To what extent was the reduction of these constraints within the partnership's objectives?

Were there examples of activities/projects that required a partnership approach?

7) Please describe the ways in which the partnership was dependent on others for resources for tourism development.

Probes:

Which others?

Were they partnership members?

Did securing resources become a priority for the partnership?

Did securing resources in any way curtail other partnership activities?

8) In what ways were others dependent on the partnership for resources for tourism development?

Probes:

Did any organisations or sectors benefit from the existence of the partnership without contributing to it ('free-riders')?

Did some benefit disproportionately from partnership resources?

Did any organisations or sectors fail to benefit from the existence of the partnership?

CORPORATE SOCIAL PERFORMANCE QUESTIONS

9) Please outline your interpretation of the meaning of 'sustainable tourism'

Probe:

Did you place emphasis on environmental or economic or social interpretations of the concept?

In what ways, if at all, has your understanding of sustainable tourism changed since the termination of the partnership?

10) Do you believe that your understanding of 'sustainable tourism' coincided with the interpretations of other partnership members?

Probes:

Were there particular examples of accord and/or discord?

Was it an important issue for partnership members?

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT QUESTIONS

11) Were the partnership's strategic objectives particularly shaped by individual members or organisations?

Probes:

Which objectives?

Which members were particularly instrumental in shaping these objectives?

Was their influence generally positive or negative in terms of the partnership's overall remit?

MICROECONOMICS QUESTIONS

12) Can you identify ways in which resources for tourism development were deployed more efficiently as a consequence of the partnership's existence?

Probes:

Were there examples where duplication of effort was avoided?

Can you recall any evidence of economies of scope and scale?

INSTITUTIONAL/NEGOTIATED ORDER THEORY QUESTIONS

13) Did particular organisations' involvement in the partnership result in changes to your working practices and strategies? If so, please give examples and indicate whether these changes were positive or negative.

Probes:

Did you have to comply with contract terms imposed by particular members?

Did you have to follow prescribed reporting formats?

14) Were any organisations excluded from partnership membership that might have had an interest in the partnership's activities?

Probes:

How was the membership determined?

How were applications considered?

Were potential members consciously excluded or genuinely overlooked?

Were applications for membership rejected? If so, on what grounds?

15) Was membership extended during the life of the partnership? If so, to whom?

16) In what ways did the partnership have contacts with groups and individuals in the local community who were not partnership members?

Probes:

What was the frequency of these contacts?

Were they primarily on a formal or informal basis?

What kinds of issues were addressed?

What were the effects of community contacts in terms of changes to the partnership's policies and operations?

17) Were there geographical areas within the partnership boundaries that benefited disproportionately from the activities of the partnership?

Probes:

Why do you believe this happened?

Were there areas that did not benefit proportionately?

In retrospect, how might this imbalance have been redressed?

18) Were there any disagreements between the members of the partnership over strategy or specific actions? Why did these happen?

Probe:

If not disagreements, were there particular differences in emphasis/priorities?

19) How were disagreements or differences of opinion resolved, if they were resolved?

20) Do you consider that any particular member organisations benefitted more than others from the partnership?

21) Do you consider that any particular member organisations benefitted disproportionately to their financial contribution to the partnership?

CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

22) Why did the partnership not survive in its previous form?

Probe:

Were attempts made to prolong the existence of the partnership? If not, why not?

23) In retrospect, would you have changed the structure, functions and organisation of the partnership?

Probes:

For what reasons?

Were there fundamental flaws in the constitution of the partnership?

Do you believe that your proposed changes would have been agreed by the membership?

24) Is there anything you would like to add?

CONSENT FORM

Title of interview: Inter-organisational collaboration in local tourism development

Name of Interviewer: Philip Long

Name of Interviewee:

Organisation and Job Title:.....

I consent to take part in this interview.

I agree to be interviewed by Philip Long, and understand that the interview will be taped, and notes taken from it before the tape is destroyed.

I understand that I can withdraw my consent at any stage without giving reason, and without prejudice to myself.

I have been given a copy of this Consent Form.

Signed.....

Date.....

**Title: Inter-organisational Collaboration in Local Tourism Development Partnerships
in England**

Aims of the Research: To investigate:

1. alternative organisational partnership models that may be adopted for local tourism initiatives;
2. local political, environmental and socio-economic factors that may influence inter-organisational collaboration for tourism development;
3. the effects of strategic considerations in local tourism development on organisational forms and processes.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (PILOT STUDY)

(for steering group members / representatives of member organisations)

Name of interviewee: _____

Name of partnership: _____

Employer and job title: _____

Date and place of interview: _____

Steering group member / representative of member organisation (delete as applicable)

INTRODUCTORY QUESTIONS

1) When did your organisation first become involved in the partnership?

Probe:

active involvement in terms of contributing to meetings/strategies etc.

2) Why did your organisation become involved in the partnership?

Probes:

who made the decision?

influence of other organisations?

the result of what external / internal factors?

3) In what ways did your organisation provide specific support to the partnership?

Probes:

Forms and terms of resource contributions?

Financial and in kind

4) How would you describe your personal involvement with the partnership?

Probes:

time,

formal/informal contacts with officers and other members,

particular role and expertise?

5) In what ways did your organisation benefit from membership of the partnership?

Probes:

resources,

image,

community relations,

commercial gain,

information,

involvement in policy-making

6) In what ways did your organisation incur costs arising from membership of the partnership?

Probes:

Staff time,

financial,

diversion from mainstream activity,

sub-optimal decisions

RESOURCE DEPENDENCE QUESTIONS

7) What factors constrain the development of tourism locally?

Probes:

*resource availability,
competition,
economic, political,
attractions / infrastructure deficiencies,
organisational weaknesses,
lack of community support*

8) To what extent was the partnership able to assist in overcoming the constraints facing the development of tourism?

Probes:

examples of activities that require a partnership approach

9) Please describe the ways in which your organisation is dependent on others for resources for tourism development

Probes:

*Which others?
are they partnership members?
are resources forthcoming?
under what terms?*

10) In what ways are others dependent on your organisation for resources for tourism development?

Probe: *as for question 9*

CORPORATE SOCIAL PERFORMANCE QUESTIONS

11) Please outline your interpretation of the meaning of 'sustainable tourism'

Probe: *environmental, economic and social meanings*

12) Do you believe that your understanding of 'sustainable tourism' coincided with the interpretation of the other partnership members?

Probes:

was it an issue?

examples of accord/discord

13) How did membership of the partnership relate to your organisation's other operating activities?

Probes:

which other activities?

positive or negative relationship?

STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT QUESTIONS

14) Has your organisation re-directed its strategic objectives for tourism as a consequence of partnership membership? If so, in what ways?

MICROECONOMICS QUESTIONS

15) Can you identify ways in which resources for tourism development have been deployed more efficiently as a consequence of the partnership's existence?

Probes:

avoiding duplication,

economies of scope and scale

INSTITUTIONAL/NEGOTIATED ORDER THEORY QUESTIONS

16) Has participation in the partnership resulted in changes to your working practices and strategies? If so, please give examples and indicate whether these changes have been positive or negative.

Probe:

change to job functions and strategic planning;

influence of other members

POLITICAL THEORY/POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY QUESTIONS

17) Were any organisations excluded from partnership membership that might have made a contribution to the partnership's activities?

Probes:

how was the membership decided?

how are applications considered?

conscious exclusion or overlooked?

Have membership applications been rejected? on what grounds?

18) Was there likely to have been an extension in the membership of the partnership? If so, to whom?

19) In what ways did the partnership have contacts with groups and individuals in the local community?

Probes:

frequency,

formal or informal?

on what kinds of issues?

effects of community contacts in terms of changes to policy and operations

20) Were there geographical areas within the partnership boundaries that benefitted disproportionately from the activities of the partnership?

Probes:

reasons,

areas that did not benefit,

plans for redress

21) Were there any disagreements between the members of the partnership over strategy or specific actions? If so, why did these happen?

22) How were disagreements or differences of opinion resolved, if they were resolved?

23) Do you consider that any particular member organisations benefitted more than others from the partnership?

24) Do you consider that any particular member organisations benefitted disproportionately to their financial contribution to the partnership?

CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

25) Did your organisation support the partnership's continued existence in its previous form?

Probes:

membership roles, constitution, activities, priorities

26) (if negative or qualified response to 25) Did your organisation seek changes to the structure, functions and organisation of the partnership?

Probes:

urgency of need for change,

consensus?

27) Is there anything you would like to add?

Title: Inter-organisational Collaboration in Local Tourism Development Partnerships in England

Aims of the Research: To investigate:

1. alternative organisational partnership models that may be adopted for local tourism initiatives;
2. local political, environmental and socio-economic factors that may influence inter-organisational collaboration for tourism development;
3. the effects of strategic considerations in local tourism development on organisational forms and processes.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name of interviewee:

Name of organisation: English Tourist Board

Position: Development Manager

Date and place of interview: 21 Feb. 1997, Thames Tower, London

- 1) In what ways is the English Tourist Board currently involved in local tourism development programmes?

Probes:

You referred to 'a number of urgent programmes' in your letter, what are these?

What is the current 'policy emphasis' of the Development team at E.T.B?

If answers that local programmes have been devolved to the regions, ask whether E.T.B. is satisfied that these arrangements are working.

- 2) If resources were to allow it, would the English Tourist Board adopt a similar approach to local tourism development as represented in the former TDAP and local area initiative programmes?

Probes:

If yes, what were the factors that made those programmes a success?

If no, what would you do differently and why?

- 3) In what ways does E.T.B. currently collaborate with other agencies in the local development of tourism?

Probes:

Which other agencies?

To what extent is there a shared agenda?

- 4) In your view, what local factors determine whether a tourism development partnership is successful?

Probes:

Political, environmental and socio-economic factors

The nature of the local tourism industry

Local community support and involvement

- 5) Are the other national tourist boards in the United Kingdom able to be more closely involved in local tourism development partnerships?

Probes:

If so, would you like to be able to adopt similar approaches and do you envisage circumstances where this might be possible?

- 6) What personal qualities and experience should be possessed by local tourism development project managers?

Probes:

Degree of autonomy

Role and background of Steering Group Chair

- 7) In what ways have government departments promoted local partnerships for tourism between non-departmental public bodies with interests in tourism?

Probes:

*How would you describe inter-departmental communication in relation to tourism?
(and between the agencies under the auspices of D.N.H.)*

- 8) Are there opportunities for the E.T.B. to work in partnership locally with other agencies that have not been realised?

Probes:

With which other agencies and on what issues?

What are the mechanisms for communication between agencies with interests in tourism development?

In what ways might these communications be improved?

- 9) Has E.T.B. interest in local 'sustainable tourism' development been sustained following 'Maintaining the Balance'?

Probes:

In retrospect, do you believe that the pilot projects were themselves sustainable?

- 10) To what extent have local tourism development strategies tended to be sufficiently clearly defined and realisable?

Probes:

In general terms and with specific examples of good and not so good practice?

- 11) Have you had experience of local tourism development partnerships which have been characterised more by disagreements and differences of emphasis than by consensus?

Probes:

Examples?

Is ETB's remit and strategy always reconcilable with those of other partners?

- 12) How important is tourism for your partner agencies?

Probe:

'Dropping down the agenda of R.D.C. and Countryside Commission?

Local authorities - commitment and resources?

- 13) How do you see the future for local tourism development partnerships in England?

- 14) Is there anything that you would like to add?

**Title: Inter-organisational Collaboration in Local Tourism Development Partnerships
in England**

Aims of the Research: To investigate:

1. alternative organisational partnership models that may be adopted for local tourism initiatives;
2. local political, environmental and socio-economic factors that may influence inter-organisational collaboration for tourism development;
3. the effects of strategic considerations in local tourism development on organisational forms and processes.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name of interviewee:

Name of organisation: Rural Development Commission

Position: Head Office Tourism Consultant

Date and place of interview: 21 Feb. 1997, Dacre House, London

- 1) In what ways is the Rural Development Commission currently involved in local tourism development programmes?

Probes:

What is the current 'policy emphasis' of the Commission in relation to tourism?

Are programmes devolved to regional offices and, if so, what is the extent of head office involvement?

- 2) If resources were to allow it, would the Commission adopt a similar approach to local tourism development partnerships as represented in the former TDAP and local area initiative programmes?

Probes:

If yes, what were the factors that made those programmes a success?

If no, what would you do differently and why?

- 3) In what ways does the Commission currently collaborate with other agencies in the local development of tourism?

Probes:

Which other agencies?

To what extent is there a shared agenda?

- 4) In your view, what local factors determine whether a local tourism development partnership is successful?

Probes:

Political, environmental and socio-economic factors

The nature of the local tourism industry

Local community support and involvement

- 5) What personal qualities and experience should be possessed by local tourism development project managers?

Probes:

Degree of autonomy

Role and background of Steering Group Chair

- 6) In what ways have government departments promoted local partnerships for tourism development between non-departmental public bodies with an interest in tourism?

Probes:

How would you describe inter-departmental communication in relation to tourism?

(and between the agencies under the auspices of Environment.)

- 7) Are there opportunities for the Commission to work in partnership locally with other agencies that have not been realised?

Probes:

With which other agencies and on what issues?

What are the mechanisms for communication between agencies with interests in tourism development?

In what ways might these communications be improved?

- 8) Has the Commission's interest in local 'sustainable tourism' development been sustained following 'Maintaining the Balance'?

Probes:

In retrospect, do you believe that the pilot projects were themselves sustainable?

- 9) To what extent have local tourism development strategies tended to be sufficiently clearly defined and realisable?

Probes:

In general terms and with specific examples of good and not so good practice?

- 10) Have you had experience of local tourism development partnerships which have been characterised more by disagreements and differences of emphasis than by consensus?

Probes:

Examples?

Is the Commission's remit and strategy always reconcilable with those of other partners?

11) How important is tourism in the work of the Commission?

Probe:

More or less important than in the past?

12) How do you see the future for local tourism development partnerships in England?

13) Is there anything that you would like to add?

Appendix C 1.1: Library materials

1. The 1973 government inter-departmental tourism review which concluded that, 'government support for tourism was mainly justifiable in terms of regional economic development.'
 2. The 1979 Tourism Review Steering Group which considered the job creation potential and cost effectiveness of tourism development.
 3. The 1982 review of tourism which resulted in the re-structuring of the British Tourist Authority and ETB.
 4. The 1985 inter-departmental committee that investigated the constraints on the development of tourism and culminated in the publication of the report, 'Pleasure, Leisure and Jobs'.
 5. The 1985 Department of Trade and Industry Select Committee report on tourism, following which responsibility for tourism moved to the Department of Employment.
- A press cuttings file titled, 'Development' which contained a rather limited range of newspaper and trade press articles, with little on the subject of area development. The only indirectly relevant article contained here was from The Independent, dated 29/5/97 on government proposals for Regional Development Agencies in England, in the context of economic difficulties in the West Country.
 - ETB and regional tourist boards annual reports - the 1997 ETB report, for example, contains reference on p.44 to the Tourism Development Fund, established in 1994/95. The details of this fund require further examination, as will annual reports for other years, in relation to references to partnership working for local tourism development.
 - The 1996 Department of National Heritage Select Committee Report on Tourism should be examined for any references relevant to this research.
 - The June 1993 Coopers and Lybrand report on the ETB's strategic review is available in the library and requires more detailed examination. This is a useful statement of the background and context leading up to the review.

The changes to the ETB's powers and responsibilities in relation to its programme area of 'Strategic Programmes and Development are particularly relevant in this research.

Appendix C 1.2: Local area initiative filing cabinet (2) contents

Birmingham	Black Country	Bradford	Bridlington
Brighton	Bristol	Carlisle	Castlefield
Cleveland	Cornwall	Cowes	Cumbria Farm Tourism
Eastbourne	East Kent	Eden	Exmoor
Forest of Dean	Furness & Cartmel	Greenwich	Hemsby
Humberside	Islington	Lake District Tourism & Conservation	
Lake District Traffic Management		Leeds Waterfront	
Leicester	Lincolnshire Coast	Manchester	North Pennines
Northwest Coastal Corridor		Peak Tourism Partnership	
Penwith	Plymouth	Portsmouth	Project Explore
Purbeck Visitor Management Initiative		Rockingham Forest	
Settle-Carlisle Railway		Sheffield	Shropshire
Southampton	Stratford upon Avon	Surrey Hills	Torbay
Tyne & Wear	Weston super Mare	Weymouth & Portland	
West Cumbria	Wiltshire	Yorkshire Dales and Moors	

Appendix C 1.3 Peak Tourism Partnership

This file, along with those for the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative and Discover Islington, contained much in the way of correspondence between ETB Development Department personnel and representatives of the partner agencies and with the PTP Programme Manager. These materials are bound in the file folder in approximate reverse chronological order. Notes were made from the content of these communications and other materials contained in the file as follows:

- 1) A copy of the final report of the Peak Tourism Partnership (this document is already held)
- 2) A letter from the Director of Conservation and Land Management of the Peak National Park and Chairman of the Peak Tourism Partnership (PTP) to the Head of Product Development at ETB, outlining his recent research, as part of a Churchill

Fellowship, 'Pride of Place' study, on community based countryside conservation schemes in Austria and France. The letter suggests that some of the European experience and programmes, most notably the Austrian 'Green Villages' scheme might be transferable to the Peak District. However, the letter contains no specific proposals.

- 3) A reply letter agreeing that such a transfer of experience might be appropriate for the Peak District, but again there are no suggestions that the idea might be pursued. The dates of this correspondence were not noted, but took place during 1994.
- 4) The entry document for the 1995 'Tourism for Tomorrow' award.
- 5) A letter from the PTP Programme Manager, to the Chief Executive of the ETB, dated 10/5/94 urging an ETB statement of support for the work of the PTP in the context of 'conflicting interests' in the Castleton, Edale, and Hope area. There is no reply to this letter contained in the file.
- 6) A letter from the Development Manager at the East Midlands Tourist Board, and the PTP Programme Manager's 'line manager' dated 15/10/93 to the ETB Chief Executive enclosing the 1993/94 work programme under the headings:
 - a) Castleton, Edale, Hope Visitor Management Plan (VMP)
 - b) Roaches Estate VMP
 - c) Interpretation Strategy
 - d) Communications
 - e) Tourism Association
 - f) Mechanisms for securing funding from visitors
 - g) Marketing
 - h) Private/public sector funding
- 7) Details of a workshop programme on rural local area initiatives held on 28/1/94 and organised by the PTP Programme Manager.
- 8) Agenda for the 20/7/93 Steering Group meeting and minutes of the 10/3/93 meeting.
Items:

- a) PTP annual report for 1992-93
 - b) PTP work programme proposals for 1993-94
 - c) A report on the feasibility of establishing a local tourism heritage trust (LTHT) for the Peak District by Fielder Green Associates. This report found, in essence, that there had been a poor response to the proposal from the private sector which was, 'particularly fragmented...and communication channels are complicated. The report's recommendations included that, any LTHT should be housed within the existing Peak District Trust, liaison with the local tourism industry should be enhanced and, the project should be brought to implementation
- 9) A May 1993 strategic statement on environment and heritage interpretation for the Peak District area produced by the Centre for Environmental Interpretation at Manchester Metropolitan University.
 - 10) A July 1993 draft marketing strategy for the PTP produced with the involvement of a post-graduate student at Sheffield Hallam University.
 - 11) A 29/6/93 draft consultants brief for a VMP including a list of ETB recommended consultants; OCTALS, Fielder Green and, Richard Denman.
 - 12) A copy of the April 1993 BDOR report, 'Community Involvement in Tourism Management: a pilot scheme to establish a VMP for Castleton, Edale, Hope.'
(this document is already held)
 - 13) The PTP annual report for 1992-93, which followed the programme's establishment in August 1992.
 - 14) Draft legal Heads of Agreement for the PTP local area initiative, containing the following sections:
 - a) Recitals, including an introduction setting out the purpose of the PTP and naming the East Midlands Tourist Board as managing agents
 - b) Agreement, including the terms and conditions under which the PTP will operate and partner agencies' funding commitments

- c) Notes, including the constitution of the Steering Group and the timetable for the programme.
- 15) A letter from the Development Manager at the East Midlands Tourist Board to the Head of the ETB Development Department dated 19/4/93 concerning revised core funding for the PTP as follows;
 - a) Countryside Commission contribution reduced from £52,500 to £30,000 - consideration would be given to additional funding for specific projects
 - b) Rural Development Commission contribution reduced from £52,500 to £49,500 in line with its ruling that government funding should represent no more than 50% of the budget of a programme which they are supporting.
 - c) Local authority target contributions had been reduced from £40,000 to £30,000 in view of budgetary restrictions and the failure to involve the more peripheral authorities.
 - d) Private sector contribution commitments were £30,000 from Center Parcs and £10,000 from Severn Trent Water, exceeding the overall target of £30,000.
 - 16) March 1993 - Draft agreement for the establishment of the PTP incorporating revised funding projections as above.
 - 17) Steering Group agenda for 10/3/93 meeting and minutes of 14/12/92 meeting
 - 18) Letter from the Development Manager, ETB to the Chair of the PTP, in response to his proposal that the ETB should arrange meetings for local area initiative Chairs along the lines of those held for project officers. Reply that from previous experience there was a lack of demand for such an arrangement.
 - 19) Programme for a 21/4/93 workshop on Interpretation and Visitor Management organised by the Centre for Environmental Interpretation

- 20) Schedule for the PTP launch on 13/5/93 originally to be held at Chatsworth, subsequently moved to Buxton.
- 21) Article from the Countryside Commission magazine of March/April 1993 on the PTP launch.
- 22) Copy of the special edition of Rural Focus 1993 (7) 1 (already held)
- 23) Draft proposal from the PTP Programme Manager dated 28/1/93 for a Peak District Tourism Association
- 24) Steering Group minutes from the 6/10/92 meeting including: Terms of Reference for Visitor Management working Groups and the BDOR tender for the Tourism and community Involvement study.
- 25) Agenda for the Peak Tourism Conference, held in Matlock on 26/11/92 including a paper on local authority funding for the PTP by the Programme Manager
- 26) Steering Group agenda for 6/10/92 including a paper on private sector funding for the PTP and initial draft working programmes.
- 27) Letter from the Development Manager, East Midlands Tourist Board the Development Manager at ETB, confirming the appointment of the Programme Manager
- 28) Letter from the ETB Head of Development to the PTP Chair suggesting that the project manager post be 'beefed up' by, raising the salary by between £2-4,000, improving the job advertisement highlighting the project's prestigious nature and, considering what 'perks' might be offered. 'From past experience (often bitter) one of the most crucial elements of the programme is the appointment of the project officer.'
- 29) May 1992: Project Manager job description/specification.

- 30) 27/4/92 Letter from the Development Officer, Countryside and Water Recreation Facilities Unit to the ETB Head of Development expressing interest in the PTP but no offer of core funding support.
- 31) 27/4/92 Memo from the ETB Head of Development to the Chief Executive briefing him on the inaugural Steering Group meeting and seeking advice as follows:
- a) Can the National Park be persuaded to put in the same amount of cash as the other 3 funding partners (presumably ETB, RDC and, Countryside Commission).
 - b) Can attempts be made to secure Sports Council involvement - they are positive but unable to commit funds.
 - c) Rural Development Commission is promoting community involvement.
 - d) Consultant work on Tourism Funding Conservation is at the report stage - seen as a basis for devising mechanisms in the Peak.
 - e) How much of the programme is truly additional and how much would have been done anyway?
 - f) Need for the PTP to be involved with the Park on the design of visitor surveys.
 - g) Need to ensure local authority funding commitments.
 - h) Need to dovetail programme area of Farm Tourism into the national programme on this subject (N.B. this element subsequently dropped from the PTP programme)
- 32) 23/3/92 letter from ETB Head of Development to the Sports Council informing them of the PTP proposal and seeking their involvement and support, particularly for the Roaches VMP (see reply 30 above)

- 33) 12/11/91 Peak District Tourism Conference, including a bid paper for the PTP LAI, with the following content:
- a) The need for a mechanism to involve the private sector is a pre-requisite for TDAP applications. Acknowledged as a weakness in the Peak. A proposal to establish a bridging committee to investigate the proposed setting up of a joint private/public sector tourism association.
 - b) The context of the government Tourism and the Environment Task Force is noted. The PTP would be intended as a model for other National Parks.
 - c) The original TDAP bid had been re-orientated from a marketing emphasis towards increased attention to visitor management.
 - d) The establishment of a tourism association (or any similar private/public sector coordinating mechanism) should become a key project.
 - e) Objectives with particular emphasis on increased private sector involvement, and a work programme towards the development of sustainable tourism.
 - f) Work Programme: (i) 3 pilot visitor management projects, (ii) establish mechanisms to secure funds from visitors, (iii) setting up a robust public/private sector coordinating mechanism to take the programme forward beyond the life of the LAI, (iv) joint marketing initiatives, particularly as a tool for visitor management, (v) promotion of farm tourism.
- 34) 1991 Peak District Tourism Conference (PDTC) Marketing Report (The Peak Tourism Forum (PTF) is the officer working group, involving the local authorities, National Park and regional tourist boards. Peak District Tourism Conference is the annual member and officer conference)
- 35) 18/10/90 PDTC minutes noting the establishment of a Bridging Committee to involve the private sector ahead of a TDAP bid.
- 36) 12/11/91 Draft constitution for a Peak District Tourism Association based on the North Staffordshire model, which was seen as being 'successful'. Three issues of most concern:
- a) the relationship between the public and private sectors and the number of seats on committees
 - b) the relationship between the agm and the Executive Committee

c) the continued role of the PTF

'This has been an extremely difficult constitution to put together, because of the wide range of interests within the Peak district area. There is no perfect solution...If the constitution finds favour with the Conference, it could then be brought into the work of the Project Officer for implementation.'

37) 12/11/91 PDTC minutes accepted the above proposal in principle and the LAI bid proposal was debated and agreed, issues included:

a) Clarification of the role of the PTF in relation to the new LAI

b) Ways of securing funds for conservation from visitors

c) The importance of retaining visitors to support services and jobs (i.e. project shouldn't be seen as being anti-tourism)

d) Local authorities' resources are very stretched

e) The magnitude of the budget and the importance of the project were recognised.

38) 8/10/91 letter from ETB Head of Development to the Development Manager at the East Midland Tourist Board containing reasons for doubting that a traditional TDAP approach would be appropriate for the Peak District for the following reasons:

a) The administrative problems - a traditional Steering Group/Working Group approach will be far too bureaucratic and top heavy given the many local authority interests. If experience is anything to go by this may result in local political difficulties, long delays and a lack of practical action on the ground.

b) The validity of the approach - TDAPs - a mix of marketing, training, development and interpretive options wrapped up in one programme, is appropriate to less well known areas developing an incipient tourism product...problems in the Peak are predominantly to do with visitor management, there is therefore a need to focus on that issue.

c) The marketing orientation...too marketing led...can become the lowest common denominator and the easiest issue to tackle in terms of producing action...resulting in harder tasks being forgotten.

d) The work programme - some of this is now inappropriate e.g. farm accommodation - withdrawal of MAFF grants and possible duplication with ADAS + ETB would like to move more quickly than the suggested timetable.

ETB head of Development suggests, 'a more ambitious national programme focussed on visitor management and involving the Tourism and National Parks Steering Group in the process of drawing up the initial document.

- 39) Action Points from a 1/10/91 meeting to discuss a Peak District TDAP. Senior representation from: Peak National Park, ETB, and East Midlands Tourist Board.

Agreed the following:

- a) the need for a TDAP to build on previous joint working
- b) to widen its scope beyond marketing
- c) to fund a project officer
- d) to secure private sector involvement
- e) to establish a tourism association
- f) to develop a programme to include; (i) Visitor Management and the promotion of conservation awareness, (ii) off-peak initiatives, (iii) a training and advisory role, (iv) to establish a tourism association and, (v) to expand marketing,
- g) a timetable from Autumn 1992 to secure two half year + 2 year funding (see 38 above and 40 below)

- 40) Memo from ETB head of Development to ETB Chief Executive. 'The October 1990 interim submission presumably got the veto from the Area Initiative Group. Having read more of it, I can see why! (following reasons given):

a) An administrative nightmare...It is evident that the political difficulties are formidable and a traditional Steering Group made up of "all interested parties" will not be a suitable mechanism. However, the support of all these bodies is essential in the long term and it is important to keep them involved.

b) The current thinking of the EMTB is flawed...they are conditioned to a TDAP approach...the impetus of any programme for the Peak must be visitor management.

c) The need for a coordinated programme...Currently it is thought that political problems may make the identification of specific areas "impossible" because of local interests!

d) The proposal is too complex, slow and marketing orientated. Much of the discussion centred around the difficulty of coaxing the 14 LAIs into parting with the required cash for work other than marketing.

We urgently need a number of 'flagship' visitor management oriented LAIs which will produce results and guidance to other areas. The Peak Park may be considered as a 'worst case' and so is ideal on a national (or even European) basis.

41) An undated draft job description for Project Manager.

'5 years experience - tourism or countryside management - good communication and organisational skills - appropriate degree or similar qualification an advantage - sound understanding of marketing and public relations and a knowledge of the Peak District.

£20,000 starting salary.

Key tasks:

a) Prepare, implement and monitor a detailed work programme and budgets, and present progress reports to the Steering Group

b) Establish and service working groups for specific projects

c) Initiate and progress chase all other projects

d) Liaise with PTF and PDTC on the LAI programme and in relation to marketing projects

e) Take the lead in securing funding support

f) Implement a public relations campaign to raise awareness of the LAI and sustainable tourism in the area.

Accountable to EMTB and LAI Steering Group

Accountable for all finances and staff resources of the LAI

- 42) 17/3/92 Letter from the Development Manager, West Country Tourist Board to ETB Chief Executive commenting on PTP (presumably he had been invited to do so as part of a review process).

He notes some similarity with the Dartmoor TDAP, 'though more complex.'

'From the bid and other reports this appears to have grown out of the PTF, which was set up in 1987.'

'I am not clear how the existing organisations will relate to the new Steering Group for the LAI.'

'To quote a recent Countryside Commission Report (National Parks Conservation and Marketing Survey), "The PTF was unstable and threatened with collapse because of the large number of authorities and their often conflicting objectives. The Forum is attempting to involve the private sector in its organisation, and the appointment of an officer to coordinate its future activity has been suggested. The PTF is an attempt to deal with a difficult and unique tourism marketing situation."

'Presumably, all these various organisational issues have been sorted out and there is a clearly understood management and administrative structure to take the LAI forward?'

'Staffing...there is too much for one project officer...I note that the EMTB intend to be banker and employer. Will the project officer be 'outposted' in the National Park and will the National Park provide help in kind?'

In Dartmoor, we found it helpful to ensure that the Regional Director of the National Park is Chair of the Steering Group.

(N.B. many of these remarks and the earlier comments by the ETB Head of Development remained pertinent to the outcome of the PTP - the issues that they highlighted, in retrospect, were prescient and remained problematic for the programme, particularly local politics and the difficulty of establishing a Tourism Association for the region.)

Appendix C 1.4 West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

- 1) PIEDA report on tourism in West Cumbria (already held)
- 2) Letter from the (date not noted, April 1997?), Chair of Steering and Management Groups, WCTI, to the Chairman BTA/ETB
 - a) Seeking designation for the WCTI as a 'Tourism Action Area', as suggested in the CBI report 'Visitors Welcome'. Forwarded by the ETB Chair to the ETB Head of Development with the hand written note, 'what does he mean by a Tourism Action Area?' (See interview with CBI - the concept is still being developed and the CBI have no clear model in mind.)
- 3) Background briefing paper by ETB Head of Development 24/4/97 (for ETB Chair). 'In 1994, the WCTI applied for funding under the Tourism Renewal Initiative for a three year programme of action to coordinate further development and promotional activities. The Tourism Renewal Scheme was a competitive bidding system with 5 successful bids from 20 proposals. Although West Cumbria was not successful, it did lobby hard for Tourist Board support and eventually a grant of £10,000 was agreed to support activity in the first year of the initiative. This support enabled the Initiative to start work and gain further financial support....'
- 4) Cumbria Tourist Board (CTB) Tourism Development Panel 8/6/94 (NB no files dated 1995-1996) includes West Cumbria Tourism Renewal Initiative Work Programme and budget. Report by the Development Manager, CTB setting out aims/objectives; proposed funding and expenditure
- 5) WCTI Steering Group agenda for 13/5/94 meeting:
 - a) funding
 - b) ERDF bid
 - c) Single Programming Document (SPD)
 - d) work programme

e) job profile for new project manager (subsequently re-appointed in September 1994. She had previously held the post of Tourism Development Manager at the West Cumbria Development Agency (WCDA) from 1991 - the precursor to the present WCTI)

f) Steering and Working Groups composition

g) projects

6) Programme Manager job profile:

Main Purpose

Coordinate work of the West Cumbria Tourism Renewal Initiative (WCTRI)...its aims and partners

Responsible to

Employed by Cumbria Tourist Board and responsible to Development and Research Manager, reporting to Steering Group (**NB subsequently moved to Copeland B.C. - see interviews**)

Principal Responsibilities and Duties

Coordinate the work of the West Cumbria Tourism Renewal Initiative (WCTRI).

Prepare and monitor the annual work programme and budget and present progress reports to the Steering Group.

Undertake marketing, development, training and research projects.

Initiate and progress chase initiatives in the action programme.

Liaise regularly with public, private and voluntary sector organisations which are involved with tourism in the area, to assist other complementary programmes and pursue opportunities for joint working (**N.B. much more explicit a responsibility than in some other job descriptions**)

Publicise the Tourism Renewal Initiative; raise awareness of West Cumbria as a place to visit and, to gain recognition for and involvement in the project.

Educational Requirements

A degree an advantage (Marketing, Tourism, Planning, Environmental or Business Management)

Experience

More than 5 years working in or with the tourism industry or a related area of work.
Marketing experience an advantage. Project development, training and research techniques desirable, as is knowledge of countryside conservation and rural issues.
Knowledge of West Cumbria would be useful.

Other requirements

Self-motivated, inter-personal and organisational skills, driving license and own vehicle.
Essential car user. Residence in West Cumbria preferable.

- 7) Letter from the General Manager, Copeland Borough Council 11/4/94 to ETB Head of Development thanking him for the Board's contribution (the end of the funding saga - see below)
- 8) Letter from the M.P. for Copeland to ETB Head of Development, 'pleased to know that following a review of the position and your Chairman's visit to Cumbria, that an offer of £10,000 has now been made to the CTB (for WCTI) (N.B. WCTI Chair is a Copeland Borough Labour councillor - lobbying through the Constituency Labour Party?)
- 9) Letter from ETB Head of Development to the Director of the CTB, '...able to find £10,000 from savings in other areas...in the expectation that it will enable your Board to work with your other funding partners and unlock some of the substantial EC and other funding potentially available to the area.' Statement on how spent and gearing ratio requested. (N.B. importance of ETB contribution as symbol and lever however, small. Why should other agencies back a tourism development programme if no support from the ETB is forthcoming? Were other agencies aware of ETB's funding crisis?)
- 10) 16/3/94 letter from ETB Head of Development to the Chair of the CTB Commercial Members, in response to hers of 19/2/94 urging re-consideration of the decision to refuse funding to WCTI. Local expectation was that ETB and CTB should contribute.

- 11) 3/11/93 Letter from the Economic Development Officer, Cumbria County Council, urging re-consideration of the decision to refuse ETB funding to the WCTI. (Context - Tourism Renewal Scheme a competitive process with 5 successful bids out of 20 applicants for £30,000 in each of 3 years of a programme. Cuts of 40% in ETB funding announced around this time)
- 12) 10/11/93 letter from ETB Chief Executive to M.P. for Copeland pleased to note, 'the £800,000 DTI grant towards the Cockermouth Visitor Centre.'
- 13) Letters ETB Chief Executive and Head of Development along similar lines (a coordinated lobbying campaign?) from:
 - a) Director of Development, Copeland Borough Council
 - b) Chief Executive, Cumbria Training and Enterprise Council
 - c) Director, Cumbria Action Team
 - d) Copeland Borough Councillor.
- 14) 27/10/93 letter from the Director of Operations, West Cumbria Development Agency (WCDA)

'this agency funded the post of the Tourism Development Manager for the Strategic Development Initiative (SDI) and the WCTI. This funding continued for a period of four years until April 1993, when we were led to believe that a TDAP would be established. Your own contribution of almost £50,000 to the SDI was extremely limited in comparison to the funds contributed by local partners to the SDI and Tourism Initiative.'
- 15) 25/10/93 letter from the Director, Cumbria Action Team to the ETB Head of Development suggesting that the WCTI had been less effective than the Furness and Cartmel Initiative. 'In part, I put this down to the less official standing of the organisation in West Cumbria...insufficient backing from the 'system.'
- 16) 17/9/93 Local Government Chronicle article on regeneration in Copeland.
- 17) 15/6/93 CTB Tourism Development Panel Progress Report for June '92/June '93 with the following content:

- a) TDAP application for West Cumbria
 - b) Cockermouth Orientation Centre
 - c) Feasibility study on tourism development in Silloth
 - d) Maryport Heritage Village - in abeyance
 - e) Whitehaven Discovery Centre
 - f) Egremont - environmental improvements
 - g) St. Bees tourism development
 - h) Sellafield Visitor Centre developments
 - i) Keswick Theatre
 - j) Florence Mine
 - k) Printing Museum - Cockermouth
 - l) Tourism training
 - m) Lakeside Lanes - bowling alley in Workington
 - n) Workington Heritage Action Group
 - o) Tourism Trade Association
 - p) Publicity and promotion
- 18) 28/6/93 letter from the Director Cumbria Action Team, DTI, to ETB urging support for WCTI and noting the success of the Furness and Cartmel Programme (established in May 1992). Funders holding back pending ETB/CTB backing.
- 19) 21/9/93 letter from Development Manager, CTB to ETB with draft work programme and project proposal for WCTI for 1993/96 - £140,000 p.a. budgeted. Contents:
- a) Area
 - b) State of economy
 - c) Established tourism industry
 - d) Tourism potential
 - e) Aim of initiative
 - f) Commitments
 - g) Gearing
 - h) Additional funding potential
 - i) Potential benefits

- j) Monitoring and evaluation
 - k) Bid to ETB
-
- 20) 17/11/92 letter from the Tourism Development Manager at WCDA to the Area Initiatives Manager at ETB, inviting him to the area and enclosing a 17/11/92 press release announcing planning approval for the Cockermouth Orientation Centre (now the CumWest Exhibition and Lakeland Sheep and Wool Centre)
 - 21) 13/10/92 letter from the Development Manager, ETB to the Tourism Development Manager at WCDA, apologising that she had not been invited to the LAI conference. '...It's not usual for SDIs to have a project manager dedicated to the initiative and therefore our regular mailing list for these occasions covers TDAP managers only'.
 - 22) 13/4/92 letter from Head of Development, ETB to the Development Manager, CTB resigning as Steering Group Chair, following the government review of tourist board activities and vesting Chair with CTB. 'The WCSDI has now been running for four years, greatly exceeding the original timescale envisaged.'
 - 23) January 1990 correspondence (source and destination not noted) regarding a 'Whitehaven Initiative' proposal duplicating much of the SDI

Appendix C 1.5 Discover Islington

- 1) Copies of promotional and publicity materials (already held)
- 2) February 1993 report by The Tourism Company, 'Improving the Visitor's Experience of Islington' (copy of report taken)
- 3) Cash flow forecast for 1993
- 4) DI annual report for 1992-93
- 5) TDAP Strategy and Programme (already held)
- 6) October 1990 TDAP proposal (copy taken)
- 7) 18/1/94 letter from Chief Executive, ETB to DI Chief Executive supportive of DI in principle but non-committal on funding
- 8) 7/1/94 letter from Chief Executive, DI to Chief Executive, ETB:

'I want to make sure that the difference between our organisation and conventional tourism development and promotional activity at local level remains a major asset for us and not a missed opportunity.'

'Because we are a company, not the local authority and because the local authority has explicitly transferred responsibility for tourism strategy and policy to us, we are in an unusual position in the London context...our Board is largely drawn from the private sector...our style is hands on, 'can do'...we have a degree of control and flexibility through independence from bureaucratic channels.'

(Context of the letter is the debate on the future of tourist information provision - putting DI forward as a possible pilot)

'From April 1994 we will probably receive some £56,000 from the London Borough of Islington (LBI) mainline budgets, with a further £18,000 from the Urban Programme for the next two years. This relatively modest sum represents a high percentage of our total funding...paucity stems from the end of the Urban Programme.'

- 9) 22/7/93 Letter from Head of Development, ETB to the Chief Executive, DI congratulating her on the Tourism Company report and on securing funding for the information centre.
- 10) 15/7/93 Memo from LTB Head of Borough Liaison and DI Board member Head of Development, ETB with July 1993 progress report. Activities:
- a) Camden Passage promotional campaign
 - b) Stand at Capital Radio Exhibition at Business Design Centre
 - c) Specialist tours for groups leaflet
 - d) Contribution to Islington Festival
 - e) Conference and Exhibition pack
 - f) Specialist shopping guide
 - g) Visitor Information Centre lease for Duncan Street premises secured until 1999
 - h) Computerisation - only agency apart from LTB in London with certain specialised software
 - i) Local groups coordination
 - j) Visitor survey undertaken by a student
 - k) Tourism Company report on interpretation
 - l) B+B, hotels, attractions and facilities - promoting investment
- 11) Summary of DI activities from November 1991
- 12) 22/10/92 Memo from Head of Development, ETB to Chief Executive (DI) enclosing an invoice for final contribution to DI from ETB - £20,000
- 13) October 1992 DI progress report from DI to LTB
- 14) 4/9/92 DI launch invitation from Chief Executive, DI with notes about who should attend from ETB
- 15) 20/2/92 memo from ETB Head of Development to ETB Chief Executive enclosing a letter from the Chief Executive at the London Borough of Islington, clarifying the Council's intentions on tourism.

'The figure of £100,000 per year from the Council's partnership programme towards tourism work is an estimate of the level of public sector investment in various tourism programmes and projects over the coming 3 years. However, in response to concern over the imprecision, LBI is seeking specific partnership funding from the Department of the Environment to contribute to core costs.'

16) 28/2/92 memo from ETB Chief Executive in reply to ETB Head of Development:

'While agreeing with your sentiments that we can, on the gearing front, justify the continuation of funding, I feel that the question is should we continue on a point of principle? The whole logic of the LAI approach is one of partnership, a concept which implies that all parties will act in good faith. This is clearly not the course of action being pursued by the Borough. I remember clearly being assured that the £100,000 p.a. would (emphasis in the original) be available for direct support to the TDAP; indeed had this not been the case, the bid would have failed.

I obviously do not want to see the initiative, which has shown some encouraging success, fail due to this sort of pettiness. However, we must be mindful of value for money considerations in the face of ever decreasing budgets.

Should we run short on available funds, as we are very likely to do in the coming financial year, we will have to look very closely at this sort of situation and ask the question, "is there a more worthwhile, deserving and honest partnership into which we should direct the funding?"

17) 4/3/92 letter from ETB Head of Development to Islington Council Chief Executive:

'I have to say that the ETB would not have approved their grant of £20,000 p.a. unless they were satisfied that the sum mentioned in the bid document relating to the Borough's contribution was realistic.'

18) 27/1/92 letter from ETB head of Development to Chief Executive, DI enclosing strategies from North Pennines, Wiltshire and, Furness and Cartmel - seen as exemplars in terms of clarity, practicality, community involvement, arts and crafts. Also suggested contacting Gateway Europe, Hull

- 19) 15/1/92 memo from Robert Chenery to George Downie
'...very disappointed at Council prevarication on funding - ETB contribution of £20,000 had only been released on the understanding that Council support would be forthcoming.
- 20) 15/1/92 letter from ETB Head of Development to Islington Council Chief Executive:
'...it was only due to the enthusiasm shown by the Council that the bid was successful. It would be a pity if this initiative should fail because of a lack of support from the Council, albeit via the Partnership Programme.
- 21) 25/6/91 letter from the Tourism Development Officer, London Borough of Islington, Chief Executive's Department (**N.B. since disbanded following Council re-organisation**) to ETB head of Development, notifying him of a TDAP Subscribers meeting 2/7/91 and enclosing minutes from 14/5/91.
Also enclosing a Memorandum and Articles of Association for Islington TDAP drawn up by Borough Solicitor and based on an amended ETB model.
- 22) 3/5/91 letter from the Tourism Development Officer, London Borough of Islington to ETB head of Development advising him of the 14/5 meeting and noting the amendments on the Memorandum and Articles of Association
- 23) Statement of initial programme and resources, '...based on the broad objective of the ETB that about 75% of the programme, over the three year life of the TDAP, be of a development nature.'
- 24) 20/9/90 LBI Economic Development Sub-Committee minutes of a meeting called to discuss the TDAP:
Background
a) Commissioned consultants (Heritage Consulting Consortium) to prepare a bid for ETB, TDAP. The aim is to develop the Council's tourism initiative so that, with the private sector participating directly, it generates new projects and attracts investment from new sources, including grant aid from the ETB. By this means, it is considered that the Council's economic development objectives can be greatly enhanced over the next few years.

Recommendations

- a) That the sub-committee agrees the bid.
- b) That the LTB be asked to make the bid formally to ETB (requirement that submissions had to come from regional tourist boards addressing compatibility with regional strategy)

Islington's Tourism Initiatives

The involvement in tourism has grown from small beginnings to become a separate sector within the overall economic development programme, with a total budget in excess of £120,000 per year covering direct promotional activity and support for individual projects. Much of this comes from Urban Programme (Partnership) resources.

In addition, there is the staff time to develop and implement projects. The process undertaken has been to:

- a) Explore the nature of Islington's attributes for tourism and produce material to describe it.
- b) To investigate the market for tourism and understand something of how it is developing.
- c) Test market Islington as a destination in what is a competitive situation.
- d) Explore the potential for new products e.g. as a conference centre, for joint marketing, feasibility studies.

It is said that it takes some ten years to put a new destination on the tourism map. The present programme is about four years into the period and it is an appropriate time to consider the next stage in promoting tourism.

Support for the TDAP

ETB will not recognise a bid for TDAP status without support from the private sector. Consultants approached thirty companies because of their location in the Borough, involvement in tourism or commitment to supporting community activities. Support has been received from the following, some with conditions relating to future decisions on land use issues; Business Design Centre, Chartwell plc., Thames Water, Barclays Bank, Holden Matthews, Ian Lerner and Co., BAA Hotels, British Waterways Board.

Total sum pledged by the private sector - £64,500 in cash or services in kind.

Equalities Implications

The stimulus to tourism and new projects generated by the TDAP will enable new job opportunities to be created. New activities will focus on the people and traditions of the Borough. In these there will be opportunities for different groups to bring forward ideas. The TDAP Executive will look at the possibilities for tourism in the activities and interests of all residents and businesses in the Borough.

Appendix C 1.6 Notes and minutes from Strategic Programmes Team Meetings

- 1) 7/6/93 most recent - this team was disbanded following funding cuts and devolution of responsibility for area programmes to the regions. Need for half-yearly progress reports on LAIs noted and monitoring and evaluation standards discussed.
- 2) 11/1/93 'It was clear that regeneration and job creation were likely to be of key importance in any future initiatives...the environment was likely to be an underlying consideration of all programmes in future rather than a leading issue on its own.'
- 3) 7/9/92 'Questions likely to be raised in the review related to development were discussed and in particular the rationale behind LAIs.'
- 4) 20/1/92 'Figures for LAI support, seaside resorts, urban tourism, tourism and the environment and, rural tourism were analysed and amended in some instances. The main points arising in the course of discussion were:
 - a) The importance (and difficulty in some cases) of monitoring performance.
 - b) The need to publish the Guide to Planning asap.
 - c) The need to work on the principle that publications should cover direct costs through sponsorship and/or sales.
 - d) The need to keep flexibility in the system.

The most notable apparent gaps in the documentation that might have been anticipated as being available from the ETB Development Department files are papers that set out the detailed specifications, funding arrangements, applications criteria and organisational models for the various local tourism development partnership programmes that existed during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Appendix C 2 Documentary Materials obtained from case study partnerships and interviewees

Appendix C 2.1 The Peak Tourism Partnership

1. Standing Conference of South Pennine Authorities (SCOSPA) (Undated c1990)
Pennine Partnerships: A strategy for the regional development of informal recreation and tourism in the South Pennines
2. East Midlands Tourist Board (Feb. 1992) *The Peak District Local Area Initiative: Submission to the English Tourist Board, Countryside Commission and Rural Development Commission for Core Funding*
3. Peak Tourism Partnership (1992) *Maintaining the Balance: outline prospectus*
4. Peak Tourism Partnership (1992/1993) *Work programmes by objective areas*
5. Peak Tourism Partnership (1993/1994) *Newsletters*
6. Severn Trent Water (1993/4) *Recreation and Conservation: Annual Review*
7. Severn Trent Water (1995/6) *Recreation and Conservation: Annual Review*
8. Peak Tourism Partnership (Oct. 1995) *Final Report by the Steering Group*

Appendix C 2.2 The West Cumbria Tourism Initiative

1. Pleda (1988) *West Cumbria Tourism Initiative: Phase 1 Economic Tourism Programme*
2. Cumbria Tourist Board (July 1990) *A Vision for Cumbria: Regional Tourism Strategy Review*
3. Cumbria Tourist Board (1991) *Annual Report and Accounts 1990-91*
4. North Cumbria Groundwork Trust (1991) *The Solway Rural Initiative Report*
5. Cumbria Tourist Board (1991) *Regional Tourism Strategy for Cumbria*
6. Cumbria County Council (1995) *A Future for Rural Cumbria: The Rural Development Strategy*
7. West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (1996) *Operational Year 2 Report 1 October 1995 to 30 September 1996*
8. West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (1996) *Draft Marketing Plan*
9. ECOTEC Research and Consulting (1998) *West Cumbria Tourism Impact Study: Final Report to the West Cumbria Tourism Initiative*
10. West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (1998) *Business Plan January 1998 – December 2000*
11. West Cumbria Tourism Initiative (1998) *January 1998 – December 2000: The Way Forward*
12. Enterprise Cumbria (September 1998) *Cumbria Economic Bulletin*
13. Enterprise Cumbria (March 1999) *Cumbria Economic Bulletin*

Appendix C 2.3 Discover Islington

1. London Tourist Board (October 1990) *Tourism Development Action Programme Proposal – Islington*
2. Discover Islington (May 1992) *A Tourism Strategy and Programme for Islington*
3. Discover Islington (1992) *Newsletter issue 1: Discover the action*
4. Discover Islington (August 1992) *Audit of Attractions and Facilities in Islington*
5. The Tourism Company (February 1993) *Improving the Visitor's Experience of Islington: information, interpretation and visitor management requirements*
6. Discover Islington (1993) *Annual Report 1992-93*
7. Discover Islington (1994) *Annual Report 1993-94*
8. Discover Islington (1995) *Annual Report 1994-95*
9. Discover Islington (1996) *Annual Report 1995-96*
10. London Tourist Board (1993) *Tourism Strategy for London: Action Plan 1994-1997*
11. Islington Council (1997) *Sustainable Tourism Strategy: discussion document*
12. Camden Council (1997) *Wish you were here: A tourism management strategy for the London Borough of Camden 1997-2003*
13. London Tourist Board (1997) *Tourism Strategy for London 1997-2000*
14. Discover Islington (March 1999) *Islington: The Economic Impact of Visitors*