

Governance and Community Advocacy in Tourism Development: An International Comparison

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Abstract

Different types of governance structures exist and operate in tourism, with these approaches always changing as they develop into more suitable or effective forms by adjusting to specific contexts and situations. Consequently, collaboration and partnerships have become a key element of destination management, with an increased recognition of the range of stakeholders who have an interest in tourism planning and development. Ideally, these partnership arrangements would ensure relevant stakeholders from government, business and voluntary sectors are engaged in decision making. However, difficulty in accommodating a wide variety of interests within collaborative governance structures is apparent, often culminating in conflict and power imbalances between stakeholder groups. The structures and representation mechanisms in place appear to be crucial in enabling a balanced perspective and effective representation of the destination community. Therefore, collaborative approaches need to be examined within broader notions of governance, with an examination of the appropriate role of government and the changing relationships and expectations between government and communities.

The purpose of this study was to analyse and interpret governance approaches in tourism from an international perspective, addressing the need to understand the relevant structures, processes and the implications for stakeholder representation in the different approaches of governance. This study employed a qualitative comparative case study methodology, with case studies explored from York (United Kingdom) and Seville (Spain), involving a total of 42 interviews with key informants. Two approaches to tourism governance were examined and were found to differ in their representation and participation of stakeholders. The research identified a framework for stakeholder collaboration centred on the engagement of networks and associations within a destination governance approach. Finally, and as a consequence of the analysis, a framework for evaluating tourism governance structures is outlined and contributes both a method and a perspective that is available to evaluate governance arrangements in other tourist destinations.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Study Context and Purpose

The main purpose of this study is to gain an international perspective on the governance of tourism. Tourist destinations are complex, with a mix of political and commercial activity that, to varying extents, involve or employ different methods of participation in the tourism decision making process. Consequently, different types of governance structures exist and operate in tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Garrod, 2003; Hall, 2011), which are always changing as those responsible search for more suitable or effective forms by adjusting to specific contexts and situations (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). This study is concerned with evaluating tourism governance structures in two major tourist destinations: York in the United Kingdom and Seville in Spain. The focus of this chapter is to provide context for the study by elucidating the significance of the research and delineating the substantive issues to be explored.

Traditionally, within the United Kingdom, local government had responsibility for the direct provision of public services. Local authorities operated within a top-down, centralised approach, with public sector management substantively monopolising local service delivery (Ruhanen et al., 2010; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). However, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the organisational structure of local government was transformed, moving away from its traditional role of direct service provision to a more 'hands-off', neo-liberal facilitation of public services (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Brooke, 1989a; 1989b; Deakin, 1994; Kooiman, 1993; Stevenson, Airey and Miller, 2008). This shift from *government* to *governance* resulted in the public sector working in cooperation with the private and voluntary sectors (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Gansler, 2003; Kooiman, 1993; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Stoker, 1998; Tombs,

2002). Local authorities were encouraged to become more strategic, developing and implementing public policy through a range of public and private sector agencies (Connelly, 2007; Gansler, 2003; Stoker, 1998). Governance, therefore, is the collective effort of many agencies, with local government being one of many influential factors within networks and partnerships (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Kooiman, 1993; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Tombs, 2002; Wesley and Pforr, 2010).

The reorientation of local government towards an enabling governance organisation working in collaboration with key stakeholder and interest groups, and the recognition of the economic significance of tourism, facilitated new forms of tourism management (d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi, 2010; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Hall, 2011; Jeffries, 2001; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). Tourism has been increasingly considered an important stimulus for urban regeneration (Thomas and Thomas, 1998) and local government agencies sought to increase the economic potential of tourism through collaboration with the private sector.

Within the academic field of tourism studies, collaboration and partnerships have been widely discussed from various perspectives (Zapata and Hall, 2012). This has particularly included community-based tourism (Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1988; Ritchie, 1993); power and power relationships (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Dredge, 2001; Hall, 2010; Hall and Jenkins, 1995; Haywood, 1988; Jamal and Getz, 2000; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2012; Reed, 1997); the role of collaborative networks (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Dredge, 2006); and local economic development (Long, 2000; Thomas and Thomas, 1998; Wilson and Boyle, 2004). Local tourism partnerships are now common in many destination areas, having a strategic lead in marketing, investment and product development with the pooling of resources, knowledge and expertise (Carter et al., 1991; Dredge, 2006; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008; Greer, 2001; Huxham and Vangen, 1996; Jeffries,

2001; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005; Wilson and Boyle, 2004). Although partnerships in a broad sense are recognised as an effective collaborative method of involving all stakeholders in destination management (Carley, 2000; Greer, 2001), there can be difficulties in accommodating a wide variety of interests, potentially leading to or further cultivating conflict and power imbalances between stakeholder groups (Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan, 2010; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008; Greer, 2001; Hall, 2000; Mordue, 2007; Provan and Kenis, 2007; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). For example, Augustyn and Knowles (2000) highlight how a dominant private interest may represent their corporate strategies and priorities more strongly than the key interests of the locale. In order to improve the nature of participation in tourism, an examination of the governance structures and their repercussions for tourism decision making and stakeholder engagement is therefore required (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013). Appropriate structures and representation mechanisms need to be in place to create a balanced perspective and effective representation of the destination community.

With further reference to the potential difficulties in establishing collaborative initiatives or partnerships, Hall and Jenkins (1995) explicitly focus on the creation of partnerships between the public and private sector. They argue that, rather than being inclusive, often these partnerships, i.e. specifically between local government and industry groups, might in fact result in a 'closing up' of the policy process to other stakeholders. Bramwell and Lane (2000) note that a concern with partnership arrangements is ensuring relevant stakeholders from government, business and voluntary sectors are engaged in decision making which is based upon mutual respect and knowledge sharing. This is supported by Hall (2000), who purports that there is a need for partnerships and collaboration to be based within the context of the public interest, as opposed to corporate priorities, with the selection of key stakeholders who represent various community interests (Garrod, 2003; Getz and Timur, 2005; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Timothy, 2007). Partnerships need to be challenged by focusing on who is involved and who is

excluded from the decision making process (Hall, 2000). Consequently, collaborative approaches to tourism management need to be examined within broader ideas of governance, with an evaluation of the appropriate role of government and the changing relationships and expectations between government and local communities.

It would seem, then, that there is insufficient knowledge regarding the advantages and disadvantages of different local tourism governance approaches (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010), alongside a lack of comparative analysis of issues within destination governance (Maitland, 2006; Scott et al., 2011), which provides a rationale for this research in addressing this knowledge gap. Governance is increasingly being recognised as a significant subject within tourism planning (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013; Hall, 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012) and understanding governance is important for interpreting how tourism decisions are made (Penny-Wan, 2013). However, few studies exist that offer a comparative analysis of issues within destination governance in relation to their impact on local community involvement and representation (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Indeed, there is a lack of research concerned with application, theory development and, more specifically, work that examines local governance structures (Dredge, 2006). This study intends to expand the existing body of knowledge in tourism research by providing an in-depth comparative analysis of governance approaches to tourism from an international perspective, addressing the need to understand the role of government in specific tourism partnerships and the implications for stakeholder representation and participation in these emerging governance structures. Concerned with evaluating governance approaches to tourism in two case study locations, each set within a different national context, the study will explore tourism development as an essentially political issue thereby distinguishing itself from many approaches to research on destination governance, private sector partnerships and job creation (Scott et al., 2011).

In the context of tourism governance, different experiences in different countries suggest new approaches and perspectives. However, Liu and Liu (2009 pp.222-223) assert that 'current understanding of tourism has been confined to fragmented and place-specific contexts' and indeed, there is a lack of research which takes an international perspective on tourism policy and development. The purpose of this study is to animate this debate with further research that seeks to clarify the key themes which emerge from the literature and to examine these in real social and political contexts. Dimanche (1994) argues that there is a deficit of cross-cultural research due to a misunderstanding of the value and benefits it brings. Therefore, in an attempt to redress this balance, case studies from the United Kingdom and Spain will be explored in order to provide an international perspective on these issues. The case study destinations offer very different experiences at different stages in their individual development. York is a mature destination with problems of potential decline in the face of competition, whilst Seville is a heavily invested destination where tourism is directly related to economic regeneration. The knowledge acquired will be useful for scholars and policy makers within tourism and in the development of mechanisms for stakeholder engagement within the tourism planning and development process.

1.2 Study Objectives

The overarching aim of this study is to examine, through an international comparative case study analysis, the extent to which tourism governance approaches advocate stakeholder interests in two case study destinations. Therefore, the study will focus on the following objectives:

1. To identify and evaluate the governance of tourism in York, United Kingdom and Seville, Spain;
2. To assess the impact of these governance approaches on democratic accountability and transparency in the tourism decision making process;

3. To evaluate the mechanisms used in the representation and participation of destination stakeholders in local democracy and destination development in each case study destination;
4. To draw this analysis together to contribute a framework for understanding and evaluating participation in tourism governance.

1.3 Structure of the Study

In order to elucidate the issues introduced above, this study begins with an examination of the literature. Through a critical analysis of existing literature, the changing role of local government from a direct provider of local provision to a strategic organisation and an enabler of public services is explored. Characteristics of this new local government structure and the different structures and approaches of governance are identified and discussed in relation to stakeholder representation and participation in the tourism decision making process. By drawing on the key themes identified from the contemporary literature base, this chapter highlights the impact of urban governance structures on democratic accountability and the mechanisms for engaging and representing destination stakeholders within these emerging tourism governance structures. The concept of community is explored and the chapter examines how communities of interest may provide an alternative approach to the representation and engagement of stakeholder groups. The chapter concludes with a conceptual framework which integrates the key contextual and theoretical arguments that have been identified.

Following the review of the literature, Chapter Three presents the methodological considerations for this study. More specifically, the research methodology adopted is a qualitative comparative case study approach, employing a combination of methods including an examination of secondary sources and in-depth interviews with key informants. Qualitative data was collected from a sample of 42 individuals from the two case study destinations. A discussion regarding the trustworthiness of the data and how Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for facilitating the

trustworthiness of the qualitative methods employed in this study is also presented.

Chapters four and five present the findings of the analysis from the two case study destinations and outline the governance approaches evident in each city. In particular, Chapter Four focuses on the approach prevalent in York, while Chapter Five is concerned with the approach in Seville. The purpose of chapters four and five are twofold. Firstly, an analysis of the historical development of tourism governance within each case study destination is given. Recognising and understanding this historic development contextualises and delineates how these historical structures have informed the current tourism governance arrangements. Secondly, an analysis of the data is provided which results in the identification of the current tourism governance approaches evident in York and Seville respectively. Chapters four and five provide in-depth interpretations and understandings of the governance approaches apparent and consequently a number of key themes emerge which form the basis for discussion.

The penultimate chapter critically examines the themes that emerged in chapters four and five within the context of tourism destination governance. A critical appraisal of the emerging role of the public sector is given, which explores how the recognition of tourism as a tool for economic development influenced the changing nature of the public sector in each case study destination and the consequences this has had on democratic accountability. The mechanisms for the engagement of stakeholder groups are then examined, with an evaluation of the potential for these governance structures in the management of tension and conflict. In concluding this chapter, a framework for analysing and understanding tourism governance is proposed, outlining the potential scope for transferability to other destinations.

Chapter Seven concludes this study with a summary of the key findings. It also comments on the limitations of the research, research contribution and avenues

that merit further investigation. It is proposed that a distinction between destination *management* and destination *governance* can be made which is concerned with the difference between centralised and decentralised management. Through a decentralised approach to tourism governance, it is suggested that local stakeholder groups are able to have an active influence in the tourism planning and development process. Moreover, it is argued that in the tourism development decision making process there continues to be a need to create an environment where local stakeholder groups feel that change is occurring 'with us' rather than 'for us'. The discussion proposes that an understanding of the complexities and inherent dynamics of the collaborative approach is required in order to fully engage with all stakeholder groups. This understanding would enable a variety of stakeholders to contribute and partake in decision making at a local level, thereby reducing the extent of the democratic deficit inherent in many existing tourism governance structures.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Tourism Governance: the Changing Role of Local Government

2.1 Introduction

In order to provide context for the research, this chapter evaluates three major themes that emerge from existing literature on tourism governance. The first is the changing role of local government from a direct provider of public services towards a more enabling, neo-liberal organisation. Secondly, the review identifies the different types of governance structures that exist and operate in tourism, and thirdly, critically explores the impact of these structures on tourism decision making, democratic accountability, and stakeholder representation and engagement. The key arguments and themes that emerge will be drawn together to form a conceptual framework for this research which is used as a scheme of reference in guiding and designing the research methodology and data collection tools.

The chapter begins by presenting a historical review of the changing role of local government and the gradual move towards a broader notion of governance. The increasing attention on governance structures has resulted in a number of criticisms including, amongst others, concerns regarding the democratic practices and transparency of decision making (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011). This is thus explored, with a particular critique of the different forms of governance structures which exist and the impact of these structures on stakeholder engagement and accountability. The chapter then explores notions of community and community engagement and highlights how communities of interest may provide an alternative approach to the representation and engagement of stakeholder groups.

2.2 The Changing Role of Government: from Government to Governance

In order to understand the term *governance*, Pratchett (1999) highlights the importance of distinguishing it from *government*, stating that each has significantly different connotations. The term government conventionally refers to democratically elected institutions which exist through statute at sub-national level (Wilson and Game, 1998). Kooiman (1993) defines government as the activities of social, political and administrative actors that are seen as purposeful efforts to guide, steer and control societies. Traditionally, within the public sector a top-down, centralised approach to public sector management was evident, with local government authorities concerned with direct service provision (Deakin, 1994; Ruhanen et al., 2010).

In contrast to government, the term governance is ambiguous in its definition (Pratchett, 1999; Ruhanen et al., 2010). This is made evident by Rhodes (1996) who identified six potential meanings for governance, each placing emphasis on different features of change in public administration. This ranges from the minimal state through to self-organising networks of government and appears, therefore, to provide a continuum for understanding the term in practice. This is supported by Windsor (2009), who considered the term governance to be 'disordered' due to its varied usage. Using Rhodes' (1996) six typologies of governance, Table 2.1 maps the key definitions of governance which are apparent within the literature.

Table 2.1 Definitions of Governance Mapped against Rhodes' (1996) Six Typologies of Governance

Minimal state	Corporate governance	New Public Management	Good governance	Policy network	Self-organising
The extent and form of public intervention and the use of markets and quasi-markets (Rhodes, 1996).	A system in which organisations are directed and controlled (Rhodes, 1996).	Emphasises partnership working, greater competition through contracting out to quasi-markets (Rhodes, 1996).	Policy and business strategy creation between multiple stakeholders through the development of relationships and interactions (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007).	All stakeholders are integrated and dependent on one another with no hierarchy which cannot alter or be reduced to just one stakeholder or one group of stakeholders (Rhodes, 1996).	Self-governing networks develop own policies, share resources and operate through trust (Rhodes, 1996).
	The whole system of rights, processes and controls established internally and externally over the management of a business entity, with the objective of protecting the interests of all stakeholders (Ruhanen et al., 2010).	Networking and partnerships between stakeholders (Aistleithner and Hamedinger, 2003).	Development and implementation of public policy based on consensus and cooperation, through a broader range of public and private sector stakeholders (Pratchett, 1999).	Associated with the blurring of boundaries between public and private sector stakeholders (Stoker, 1998).	Governance implies less government control with no self-evident leadership or given hierarchy (Ruhanen et al., 2010).
	All the influences affecting the institutional processes (Turnbull, 1997).		Collective effort of many stakeholders including local government (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995).	Governance is broader than government (Ruhanen et al., 2010).	Governance involves multiple stakeholders who have an interest in the specified task or problem (Ruhanen et al., 2010).
	Activities are controlled by a business organisation with centralised management (Flagestad and Hope, 2001).		Policy and strategy creation involving all stakeholders. The exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs (Kooiman, 1993).		All stakeholders are independent and involved in delivering services (Rhodes, 1996).

Table 2.1 highlights the various forms of governance identified in the literature, however, through mapping the differing definitions of governance it becomes apparent that governance is a method of setting and developing rules and mechanisms for policy, as well as business strategy, by involving a range of institutions and individuals (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Kooiman, 1993). Rather than being concerned with abdicating responsibility for decision making to the private sector, governance involves collaboration with both the public, private and voluntary sectors as key stakeholders in the delivery of public services and in the development and implementation of policy at a strategic level (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Tombs, 2002). For Stoker (1998), this implies that governance is more strategic, as decision making and strategy is often devised within the context of a diverse and wide ranging group of stakeholders (Stokes, 2008). Strategic governance is thus apparent which places a greater emphasis on democratic participation (Asthleithner and Hamedinger, 2003). This corroborates with Bramwell (2004), who argues that effective governance arrangements are characterised as empowering local participation and ownership of policy decisions and initiatives at a strategic level.

Therefore, a clear distinction between government and governance can be made. Whilst government is considered a top-down and centralised approach, governance can be characterised as being decentralised and inclusive (Asthleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Pratchett, 1999; Rhodes, 1996; Ruhanen et al., 2010). Rather than local government being the principle provider of services and public policy, local governance is concerned with working in partnership with both the private and voluntary sectors in the delivery of public services and the development of policy. Governance is essentially strategic and involves collaboration and coordination in the effective delivery of public services (Asthleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995), with the potential to provide greater democratic empowerment (Bramwell, 2004).

The gradual move towards the notion of governance has attracted increased attention and this is attributed to its significance (Hall, 2011), with research seeking to understand the role of the state in contemporary tourism-related social, economic and political problems (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Wesley and Pforr, 2010). These discussions were optimistic regarding the capacity of governance to improve democratic participation in decision making (Dredge and Whitford, 2011). However, this increasing attention on governance structures in a variety of settings has led to more critical perspectives and claims that governance does not necessarily improve democratic practices or transparency in decision making (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011). In the context of tourism, for example, effective governance should empower local participation and ownership of policy and decisions from a diverse range of stakeholders within a forum of information sharing and discussion (Bramwell, 2004; Bramwell and Lane, 2008; Bramwell and Lane, 2011; Jamal and Watt, 2011). Yet for many tourism governance arrangements the involvement of destination stakeholders, particularly within urban contexts, is often ignored. It is noteworthy that few studies have evaluated approaches to tourism governance in relation to their impact on resident stakeholder involvement and representation (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Creating opportunities for community stakeholders to actively participate in policy making and development planning in a way that is sensitive to long term needs and impacts is important, particularly in the area of sustainable tourism (Blackstock, 2005).

Astleithner and Hamedinger (2003) describe the shift from *government* to *governance* as the political restructuring of cities, suggesting that governance is not replacing government but is instead broadening it. However, as Pratchett (1999) argues, the distinction between government and governance raises important questions regarding the role of elected local government in these emerging structures. Some see a declining role for traditional institutions as more functions are taken on by the private sector, resulting in a diminution in the role of elected representatives (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008;

Hall, 1999; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). Pratchett (1999) claims that local government, as the democratic institution closest to the local community, has a significant role in ensuring democratic accountability within these emerging governance structures. In this context, accountability refers to the extent to which actors acknowledge and take responsibility for actions and decision making (Huse, 2005). Midwinter (2001) contends that accountability is an important feature of governance where decision making is transparent and accountable (Dredge and Pforr, 2008). However, an implication of governance is that whilst local government organisations become strategic enablers of public services based on collaboration and coordination, there is a potential for a lack of local accountability. Consequently, a democratic deficit emerges as collaboration is sought with the private sector.

There is, thus, a need for these governance structures to be based within the context of the public interest as opposed to within market needs, with the selection of key stakeholders who represent various public interests (Hall, 2000; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Jamal and Watt, 2011). Therefore, understanding governance is important in interpreting how tourism decisions are made (Penny-Wan, 2013) and collaborative approaches need to be examined within broader notions of governance, with an evaluation of the appropriate role of government and the changing relationships and expectations between government, other providers and communities. Governance structures need to be challenged by focusing on who is involved and who is excluded from the decision making process (Hall, 2000). At this point it becomes important to explore the role of local authorities, a key stakeholder in these new emerging governance structures, and the implications of this for community representation and democratic accountability.

2.2.1 Government as an Enabler

As part of this reorientation from *government* towards *governance*, local authorities emerged as 'enabling' organisations, moving away from a role of direct service

provision to the neo-liberal facilitation of public services through a mixed economy of providers and an ideological perspective that advocates market systems (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Deakin, 1994; Stevenson, Airey and Miller, 2008). An enabling authority, therefore, is a key feature of the governance paradigm and this section will evaluate the role of local government within it.

Conventionally, in the United Kingdom local government had a monopoly in many service areas, with local authorities having complete responsibility for undertaking a collection of tasks set by central government, including service provision, regulatory functions, and the generation of tax revenues (Thomas and Thomas, 1998). This traditional model of the local authority had been dominant for much of the previous century. However, in Britain the New Right Thatcher government, elected in 1979, 1983, and 1987, were keen to reorganise and restructure the local government system. Influenced by the ideological perspective of neo-liberalism (Stevenson, Airey and Miller, 2008), the purpose was to change local authorities from a direct provider of services to an authority empowered with 'stimulating, facilitating, enabling and monitoring' local service provision and delivery (Brooke, 1989b p.8). This move towards a market-oriented, enabling authority was in part driven through the development of the 1987/8 legislative programme (Brooke, 1989b). As a result, local government became less involved with direct service provision and more concerned with local governance, becoming less structured around professional boundaries with an increasing focus on issues such as service coordination (Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998). In his seminal book, Brooke (1989b p.8) argues that this change in the local authority resulted in the enabling authority, an essentially strategic organisation utilising resources, money and political leverage to achieve its aims through a range of external providers. The traditional centralised and bureaucratic approach of the public sector, which had direct responsibility for service provision, had now changed to an alternative decentralised and potentially more inclusive form of governance.

This attempt to modernise and restructure the political administrative system also resulted in management and organisational principles akin to the private sector being applied to local government for the first time. Consequently, local authorities became increasingly market-oriented and adopted characteristics such as competition, efficiency, quality, human resource management, and entrepreneurship (Gramberg and Teicher, 2000; Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998). Known as 'New Public Management', this concept emerged in the 1980s when there was a need to improve the performance and financial efficiency of government due to a review of public spending (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Rhodes, 1997). The New Public Management approach includes two main orientations. Firstly, it incorporates management strategies from the private sector in order to improve communication and cost-efficiency, and secondly, it facilitates the participation of the general public in decision making (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Rhodes, 1997; Stokes, 2008).

The concept of New Public Management is supported by theories of public choice and managerialism and thereby applies management principles to the public sector (Gramberg and Teicher, 2000) in order to reduce local authority inefficiency and improve the effectiveness of service provision (Carter et al., 1991). Reid, Smith and McCloskey (2008) interpreted this as the adoption of a corporate approach to governance which involved focusing on the measuring of the return on investment, controlling costs and increasing efficiency. This led to New Public Management being evaluated using the three 'e' concept: economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003). Painter (1998) suggests that managerialism provides public sector managers with the ability to control and steer strategic development in order to focus on targeted outcomes and performance management (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Painter, 1998).

However, Stewart and Davis (1994 p.32) have suggested that it is 'a dangerous assumption that public services can be run as if they are businesses.' This is

supported by Astleithner and Hamedinger (2003) who purport that some aspects of managerialism cannot be transferred to the public sector without conflict. For example, competitive behaviour within the public sector could be damaging to the performance of collective tasks, leading to a loss of cooperation in community development initiatives. The suggestion here is that such principles have an effect on how local government perceives local communities, resulting in community members being treated as consumers and potentially as customers (Brooke, 1989b). Gramberg and Teicher (2000) argue that the adoption of private sector management principles within the public sector neglects traditional local authority roles such as democratic accountability. Therefore, Hambleton, Hoggett and Tolan (1989 p.49) suggest that instead of the three 'e' concept, the five 'e' concept should be developed which includes 'experience of local services and local government' and 'equality'. The five 'e' concept could help to ensure that local governments are not only becoming efficient, but in doing so are having a positive impact on their local community. This is recognition that public accountability may be undermined as the approach could favour individual opportunists and competitive behaviour (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003).

More recently, the New Labour government elected in 1997 were keen to strengthen the role of local governance with a commitment to empowering community involvement in urban policy and decision making (Imrie and Raco, 2003). When the Labour Party was elected, Britain, unlike other European states of a similar size, had no regional tier of government. However, in April 1999, eight Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were created which saw the partial transfer of power for local economic decision making away from central government and decentralised to constituent parts of the United Kingdom. Until they were abolished in March 2012, RDAs were responsible for tourism at a regional level and funding previously given to regional tourist boards was transferred to RDAs which had a mixed response in their management of tourism. For example, some continued to fund regional tourist boards who managed tourism on their behalf, whilst others fulfilled the role in house (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). As partnership bodies

between the public and private sectors, RDAs were primarily business orientated and their aim was to increase regional competitiveness and economic performance. As evident here, New Labour were keen for collaboration between the public and private sector and the creation of RDAs saw a strengthening of the outcome-oriented attitude to local governance (Thomas and Thomas, 1998), and an even greater emphasis on strategy (Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998).

What becomes apparent, however, is that within these new structures the enabling authority would continue to represent resident communities by building their needs and concerns into the contract specifications and service level agreements that they use to specify the services required from partners and contractors. For Brooke (1989b), the relationship between the local authority and external agencies can fall into a range of categories including Control, Partnerships, Part Ownership, Regulatory, and the Capacity to Influence. Thomas and Thomas (1998 p.296) outline how an enabling authority is able to work with a variety of different organisations using varying methods such as 'simple persuasion and lobbying, through to formal partnerships or brokering deals between third parties.' However, Brooke (1989b) highlights that there is a multiplicity of agencies undertaking local administration with different boundaries and objectives, noting that the Audit Commission has urged local authorities to view them as competitors. Indeed, Flynn (1995) argues that the competitive nature of services has resulted in an increase in the level of quality expected by citizens. It becomes apparent that the key indicators of an enabling authority which include privatisation, contracting out, advocacy, facilitation, and collaboration can be viewed through two lenses. These are the lens of Privatisation which focuses solely on privatisation and contracting out and the lens of Pluralism which is inclusive of advocacy, facilitation and collaboration.

Gansler (2003) describes privatisation as the process of transferring an existing public entity to private ownership. Brooke (1989b) suggests that as an enabling authority, the majority of local government work is outsourced which results in

local authorities developing sound expertise in controlling private contractors. The contracting out of public sector services to the private sector is one method of creating competition between the two sectors (Gramberg and Teicher, 2000). Brooke (1989b) describes how the Local Government Act 1988 requires local authorities to tender out services such as refuse collection, catering for schools, and leisure centres. However, Gansler (2003) notes that while government tenders out work and duties to be performed it does not necessarily mean it has given up its control or management responsibilities. This implies that democratic accountability can still be present through the contract specification and contractual compliance processes.

However, considering these key indicators in terms of the political theory of Pluralism, the inclusion of advocacy, facilitation and collaboration becomes the central focus as political power is not concentrated within a small select elite, but is distributed between a number of groups such as trade unions, interest groups or businesses (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). Pluralism Theory assumes the involvement of various groups in urban planning and decision making as well as an open political system accessible to every active and organised group. No single group dominates urban processes or structures and, as such, Pluralism is based on liberal and democratic ideas of society (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). This creates the need for conscious coordination and strategic thinking associated with the enabling authority (Thomas and Thomas, 1998).

As suggested by Brooke (1989b), key to the success of the enabling authority is the way in which it can establish relationships with other agencies providing the services. For Elliott (1997), within these governance structures, rather than the public sector taking a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for services and sectors such as tourism. This can help facilitate democratic accountability within the tourism decision making process (Hall, 2000).

Jamal and Getz (1995 p.198) argue that within such collaboration there is a need for a 'convener' between the different interest groups who is required to initiate and facilitate stakeholder collaboration. They suggest that the local authority may be able to better perform the role of a convener due to its role and understanding of the destination. This is further supported by Bramwell and Sharman (1999), who propose that the convener may want to retain direct control of the partnership if they have invested resources and time in the collaboration.

So far it has been suggested that the move towards these neo-liberal forms of governance and the adoption of management principles within the public sector potentially creates a tension between the democratic and market-oriented functions of governance. This, therefore, raises concerns regarding public accountability within these emerging structures. These changes represent a major cultural shift from government's commitment to involving people through participation in the political process, to their perception of service users as customers with the application of market principles within these emerging governance structures (Brooke, 1989b; Hughes, 1999). This allows residents, if dissatisfied with the services provided, to be given an apparent freedom of choice. For example, council tenants are now able to choose their landlords and local authority schools can opt out of being under Council control, becoming grant maintained academies. However, the adoption of management principles and the increase in collaboration with the private sector could potentially result in residents perceiving their democratic rights as being replaced by consumer rights. Although for Godfrey (1998) the public sector is key in driving increased participation in tourism decision making, as noted by Mordue (2007 p.449), rather than these new arrangements 'transcending inequalities in society, tourism partnerships could reinforce them by representing the interests of the most powerful partners more effectively.' The relevance of this for tourism will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, however, a consequence of this has been the emergence of a semi-privatised policy-making system whereby traditional functions of elected government have been transferred, to varying degrees, to non-elected trusts,

organisations or public-private sector partnerships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). Therefore, this has reduced the scope for community engagement within the decision making process, potentially resulting in a democratic deficit within these governance structures and creating conflict between local government and resident communities.

This review of the literature on local authority governance reveals that effective public sector management should place the public concern as its first priority, with public sector managers striving to ensure any decisions made are in the public interest and do not favour private or political agendas (Elliott, 1997). As argued by Pratchett (1999), local government as the institution of democracy closest to local communities has a vital role not only in behaving democratically but also in enhancing democratic practices and awareness amongst citizens. Whilst these comments echo Godfrey (1998), it is also suggested that elected Councillors represent the community and are therefore accountable to the public, meaning that there is no real need for further forums for community involvement. Whilst Bramwell and Sharman (1999) note that democratic accountability should be sought through local government due to the electoral system, Dredge (2006) argues that local government representatives claiming that they represent the views of the resident community is problematic in that often they do not represent broader resident interests. It is suggested that there is significant social capital to be gained from engaging residents in the governance of their own communities (Pratchett, 1999) and understanding how resident communities are engaged within these structures is arguably an important aspect to be explored. What becomes apparent, however, is a lack of research that offers an analysis of these issues within destination governance in relation to their impact on local community involvement and representation (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Zapata and Hall, 2012).

2.2.2 Why Governments are involved in Tourism

The development of enabling authorities resulted in government, particularly local government, taking a more active role in tourism which is an essentially multi-sector industry. With a particular focus on a United Kingdom and Spanish perspective, this section will review the social and economic changes which occurred and the significance of these with regards to the role and involvement of local government, specifically in relation to tourism.

For Airey (1983), the involvement of local government in tourism can be grouped into two types. The first is based on the indirect involvement of government, with tourism considered a by-product. The second is direct involvement in which government actively seeks to influence tourism development in pursuit of policy objectives such as economic development. The role of government within tourism will depend greatly on factors such as the political culture and the administrative system of a particular place. In the United Kingdom, until 1969 the involvement of the British government in tourism was minimal. Reluctant to involve themselves in a private sector industry (Airey, 1983), government, both national and local, adopted the attitude that the private sector was responsible for the sector and could therefore manage it as they desired (Elliott, 1997). However, the Development of Tourism Act 1969 resulted in a change of attitude towards tourism development in the United Kingdom during the latter part of the 20th century, with recognition of the value of tourism for economic development (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). This established a Public Sector Management system for tourism and created a statutory framework for tourism administration with the British Tourist Authority responsible for the overall strategy (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). The British Tourist Authority, together with the Scottish, Welsh, and English tourist boards, were tasked with encouraging the British people and those living overseas to take their holidays in Great Britain (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). Despite this, Labour controlled local government authorities

tended to be less enthusiastic about tourism development, believing that tourism was a low paid industry and thus should not be encouraged (Jeffries, 2001).

In contrast, the local Conservative authorities who did support tourism development saw the job creation potential that it presented. Therefore, in 1992, under the Conservative Government, the responsibility for tourism fell under the newly created Department of National Heritage which also gained responsibility for media and broadcasting, the Royal Parks Agency, sport, arts, galleries and museums, libraries, and heritage (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). Tourism was allocated approximately 5% of the departmental budget (Jeffries, 2001) and the first national tourism strategy was published in 1997 (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). The department made continuing efforts to improve the efficiency of the British Tourist Authority and the English Tourist Board, encouraging collaboration between the public and private sectors by creating a consultative industry forum (Jeffries, 2001). Similarly, during the 1980s and 1990s, there was an increase by British local authorities in the promotion of tourism within their local area, with tourism seen as a tool for local economic development (Hall, 2005; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). In 1997, when New Labour entered government, tourism was prioritised. The Department of National Heritage was renamed the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (Jeffries, 2001), which also resulted in major changes to the national tourist boards, with the British Tourist Authority and the English Tourist Board merging to become Visit Britain on 1st April 2003. Funded by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, this new authority was established to promote Great Britain overseas and to co-ordinate the marketing of England domestically (Richards and Wilkes, 2013).

From an economic perspective, government became increasingly concerned with the need to stimulate new economies within a locality due to the decline of the traditional manufacturing industries evident in many United Kingdom cities during the 1980s and 1990s (Connelly, 2007; Mordue 2007; Stewart and Davis, 1994;

Stoker, 2000). As local authorities emerged as enabling organisations (Brooke, 1989a; 1989b; Deakin, 1994), they sought to encourage and stimulate new economies within their locality (Stewart and Davis, 1994) through urban regeneration and the development of new industries and services in order to stimulate new economic growth (Hughes, 1999; Stewart and Davis, 1994). Tourism, therefore, was increasingly considered as a tool for this local economic development (Hall, 2005; Thomas and Thomas, 1998) and local government agencies sought to increase its potential, particularly through collaborations with the private sector, which became an important part of this urban regeneration (Stewart and Davis, 1994; Stoker, 2000). Both Cooper et al. (1998) and Elliott (1997) argue that the greater the importance of tourism to a country's economy, the greater the involvement of the public sector. Most governments now understand the importance of tourism as a source of wealth, revenue and employment (Elliott, 1997; Ritchie and Ritchie, 2002) and recognise that tourism can help to achieve both social and economic objectives within a destination (Palmer, 1996).

From a social and political perspective, Elliott (1997) asserts that government is compelled to take an interest due to the economic problems and controversial impacts that can arise from tourism. The rapid growth of tourism can often mean that the industry impacts on both social and economic policy, thus requiring government intervention (Airey, 1983). Palmer (1996) highlights how tourism can help national governments achieve social objectives through employment opportunities, redevelopment and the relief of social deprivation. The development of tourism brings additional revenue to local authorities, allowing them to achieve wider social objectives, for example, reduced unemployment. Similarly, an increase in investment may improve the image of an area and thus encourage further non-tourism related activity (Palmer, 1996). However, strong resentment and opposition have arisen in both developing and developed countries over the undesirable effects of tourism, which is often criticised for having a destructive effect on local and traditional communities and cultures and on specific areas such as coastlines and historic cities (Deery, Jago and Fredline, 2012; Elliott, 1997; Kim,

Uysal and Sirgy, 2013; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Wall and Mathieson, 2006). Therefore, Jeffries (2001) argues that governments have a responsibility to represent host communities and ensure that tourism development is appropriate. As identified by Cooper et al. (1998), many core tourist attractions such as landscapes and heritage sites are public goods and thus should be managed by the public sector.

Conversely, it is government which also has the power to provide the political stability, legal framework, security, the financial structures, and the basic infrastructure necessary, including roads and communications, within which tourism operates (Charlton and Essex, 1996; Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Elliott, 1997; Jeffries, 2001; Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2011). Tourism can be a vulnerable industry, easily affected by changes in public policy and public perceptions, and therefore both national and local governments have a key role within tourism and its governance (Bramwell, 2011). It is also government who has the ability to negotiate and make agreements with other governments on such issues as immigration and passenger flight routes (Elliott, 1997). For Cooper et al. (1998), the lack of expertise in certain key areas and the domination of small businesses with inadequate funds to promote themselves is also another argument for the involvement of the public sector.

This complexity of tourism requires coordination and cooperation which Jeffries (2001) argues only governments, both national and local, have the capacity, resources and authority to do. A key focus of tourism development is the formation and implementation of policy that maximises the benefits to destination stakeholders without comprising the short and long term environmental, social and cultural integrity of the locality (Miller and Twinning-Ward, 2005). Consequently, for Elliott (1997) the industry requires government organisations that are able to act effectively and efficiently in ensuring the industry is able to function accordingly. There is then a need for government to coordinate tourism

development successfully, ensuring the complex involvement of various stakeholder groups. Therefore, there is also a need for effective planning, research, resource allocation, management, and regulation (Cooper et al., 1998). What becomes evident here is the importance of the coordination and collaborative role of the public sector within tourism. Consequently, collaboration becomes crucial for effective tourism management (Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008).

In Spain, as the country emerged as a mass tourist destination during the post-war period, national tourism policy under Franco consisted primarily of encouraging demand-led growth of international tourism in coastal areas with little public sector intervention (Zapata and Hall, 2012). In 1959, Spain welcomed 4.1 million international arrivals, with visitors mainly arriving from the United Kingdom, France, and Germany (Baidal, 2004). Spain was formerly a highly centralised state, however, post-Franco Spain developed greater regional autonomy with the establishment of 17 semi-autonomous regions (Pearce, 1996). This created a new intermediate tier of government, with the Spanish central government retaining control of international relations, defence and the monetary system, whilst the autonomous communities gained responsibility for economic development, transport, agriculture, environment and tourism. As a result of these changes to the organisational structure of government, a new local level of public sector decision making in tourism was introduced. Local tourism departments were created which pursued a range of goals and implemented a range of economic, social, political and environmental policies specific for their region. In particular, it facilitated the development of tourism policy at a local level.

During the 1990s, changes in market conditions and increased international competition were reflected in the growing maturity of the regional tourism organisations and an increasing commitment by regional governments in Spain towards tourism (Pearce, 1996). Since the 1990s, the public sector has responded to policy development and the changing role of government, post-Franco, through

the establishment of a diverse range of collaborative arrangements, particularly with the private sector, to address local economic development (Baidal, 2004; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Therefore, Spain provides an interesting case study for exploring and interpreting tourism governance in which Spanish public administration has placed 'issues of collaboration, cooperation and coordination at the heart of official public discourses and policies' (Zapata and Hall, 2012 p.66). Despite this, a lack of research exists which explores tourism governance in the context of Spain (Zapata and Hall, 2012).

Thus far, it has been demonstrated that government involvement in tourism typically focuses on market forms of tourism governance organisations, which for Beaumont and Dredge (2010) has implications for the capacity of local government to govern. As evident in both the United Kingdom and Spain, the pressure on the public sector and governance bodies tends to be to support and reflect corporate interests, such as the providers of attractions and the hospitality and retailing industries. This imperative stems from the role and responsibilities that public agencies have in economic development and regeneration, with tourism development considered central to economic development with success measured on employment opportunities and the level of inward investment within a locality (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Jenkins and Dredge, 2007). Arguably, tourism in this context becomes appropriated by corporate interests leaving a democratic deficit in relation to the involvement of host communities and their interests. Notionally, these interests will be represented through the membership of elected representatives on tourism development bodies but these tend to be dominated by corporate interests, albeit in the guise of public-private sector partnerships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). This raises questions of whether the adoption of management principles within the public sector constructs a culture of competition and efficiency where local authorities are concerned with economic development goals over social policy. As the boundaries between the private and public sectors become increasingly blurred, with an increase in collaboration, there is an

argument for a potential lack of community representation and a democratic deficit.

In order to elucidate these issues further, this chapter will now focus on the different approaches and structures adopted within urban tourism governance arrangements. As highlighted by Beaumont and Dredge (2010), local authorities have adopted new governance structures with varying degrees of enthusiasm. A number of concepts aimed to help understand and theorise the shift in governing arrangements and urban planning and decision making have been developed. Consequently, the subsequent discussion will examine the different conceptual frameworks for urban governance with a particular focus on tourism.

2.3 Theorising Urban Tourism Governance

To understand the relationship between tourism decision making and destination stakeholders, Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser (2007) suggest that urban destination governance can be explained using micro theories which results in a spectrum of governance approaches. At one end of this spectrum an elite group, which has more power and influence than other groups within the community, dominates tourism governance, whilst at the opposite end of this spectrum decision making can be fragmented amongst a range of interest groups within a destination community. This section, therefore, explores different types of governance structures and considers the implication of these approaches for the way that tourism functions and the impact of this for the nature of urban governance. This will thus provide a continuum for identifying the approaches to tourism governance in the case study locations.

2.3.1 From Urban Growth Machines to Pluralistic Engagement

The urban growth machine, at one end of this continuum, reflects local power structures becoming dominated by local elites as cities compete with one another

for capital and investment (Molotch, 1976). Growth machines are characteristic of an emerging governance structure in which coalitions form between the private and public sectors in order to attract investment and economic development that focuses on business interests (Mordue, 2007). For Baidal (2004), this approach regards tourism as an instrument that can help achieve certain economic goals. Therefore, the sector is considered to be a valuable force for economic development that is best used to generate income and employment for selected regions (Harrill, 2004; Simpson, 2001). As a result, public intervention gives priority to economic purposes over social factors, but neglects to take into consideration how the benefits of tourism are distributed socially (Simpson, 2001).

These growth coalitions echo characteristics of Elite Theory which places emphasis on one dominant group controlling the outcomes of key decisions within a community (Waste, 1986). The emphasis here is on the relationships and interactions between those being ruled, the rulers and those who have power (Harding, 1995). However, Dye (1986) notes that a concern of this approach is the poor distribution of the benefits and costs of economic growth activity within the community. The implication, therefore, is that individuals who do not receive economic benefits from tourism activity are unlikely to support tourism development (Oviedo-Garcia, Castellanos-Verdugo and Martin-Ruiz, 2008).

What becomes apparent here is that the notion of growth machines can be aligned to a phenomenon known as a 'Boosterism' governance approach to tourism. Boosterism is based on a favourable, uncritical assessment of tourism that identifies it as positive and ignores the potential negative impacts on economic, social-cultural and environmental levels. Boosterism is defined as being the act of boosting or promoting one's town, city or organisation with the goal of improving public perception of it and is predominantly project and development orientated (Getz, 1986). It is often categorised as being a tourism implementation and developmental method (Baidal, 2004), with tourism regarded as an entirely

beneficial activity with the extent of its operations maximised wherever possible (Penny-Wan, 2013; Simpson, 2001). This boosterism concept is a catalyst of the New Public Management approach (Mordue, 2007), previously discussed in this chapter, and is concerned with performance and efficiency, due in part to economic re-structuring within urban environments. For Russell (1997), however, the typical top-down structure of governance, categorised by professionalism and market driven policies, leads to a lack of participation, resulting in biased opinions towards tourism development. For Hall and Jenkins (1995), this raises questions regarding the extent to which the relationship between local government and industry groups creates a 'closing up' of the policy process to other interest groups rather than being inclusive. Such approaches, therefore, need to be challenged by focusing on who is involved and who is excluded from the decision making process (Hall, 2000).

At the other end of this continuum the pluralistic approach enables power to be distributed between groups of individuals as opposed to small concentrated elites. From a pluralistic perspective, political power within society should not be concentrated with dominant elites but rather distributed between a diversity of stakeholder groups. These groups may include trade unions, interest groups or businesses (Judge, 1995). However, the assumption here is the involvement of various actors in urban planning and decision making within an open political system accessible to every active and organised group. Pluralism is based on liberal and democratic ideas of society with no single actor dominating urban processes or structures (Judge, 1995). As Russell (1997) suggests, there is a need to foster informed debate and promote community participation, placing an emphasis on educating local communities on the role of tourism within their locale. For Blackstock (2005), engaging community stakeholders in tourism development and decision making is considered important for sustainable tourism development. However, engaging community members in tourism planning has been criticised for being ineffective in involving relevant key stakeholders (Simpson, 2001), with Hall (2007) going as far as to suggest that it is naïve to consider that all stakeholder groups will have equal access to power in order to have an influence.

Regime Theory, based on this pluralistic approach, emphasises the interdependency and linkages between governmental and non-governmental actors involved in a web of complex relationships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). Regime Theory is concerned with a shared sense of purpose and direction which is influenced by feasibility (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). Local government, therefore, is no longer only an agency of authority and control but has an important role to play as an enabler and coordinator of local initiatives. Within this approach, regimes are formed between government and non-governmental actors in order to achieve collective aims and objectives, which may include other concerns besides economic growth (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). For Judge, Stoker and Wolman (1995), there is a need for public and private sector cooperation within society and, therefore, Regime Theory provides a method of ensuring achievements are met within society with the collective efforts of different agencies. Regime Theory provides a different perspective on the issue of power in that it expresses power through social production rather than social control. Different agencies work in collaboration using power to achieve common purposes within society (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). It is recognised here that any group is unlikely to exercise comprehensive control and thus by working collectively different groups can cooperate and achieve a range of political goals. Rather than the power to govern being achieved from the electorate, power is something which can be created by different actors cooperating and collaborating with each other (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995).

Such an approach demonstrates characteristics of an enabling authority, as discussed earlier in this chapter, in which local authorities adopted a facilitative role and sought methods for influencing other agencies in achieving desirable results for a destination. As strategic enablers, local government should coordinate and enable service provision, influencing third parties in service delivery, ensuring the needs of the community are met (Brooke, 1989a). Collaboration, therefore, is a key feature of this enabling authority. A concern of this research, however, is the

understanding of the processes in which government and non-government agencies collaborate with each other.

At this point what has become evident within these changing structures of local government is an increase in the development of collaboration and partnerships between the public, private and voluntary sectors. The creation of these partnerships was seen as a tool in addressing the concerns outlined above and creating opportunities for the engagement of different interest groups in the decision making process. As a key feature of an enabling local authority, collaboration and partnerships between different actors were adopted as a tool in the delivery of public services and in stimulating economic development (Thomas and Thomas, 1998). Local tourism partnerships, therefore, became important within destination management, having a strategic lead in marketing, investment and product development with the pooling of resources, knowledge and expertise (Carter et al., 1991; Greer, 2001; Huxham and Vangen, 1996; Jeffries, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005; Wilson and Boyle, 2004). However, the need for research which explores local tourism governance approaches, specifically focusing on the engagement of destination stakeholders, is evident in the literature (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall, 2000; 2011; Maitland, 2006; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Indeed, rather than addressing inequalities in society, partnerships may reinforce them by representing the interest of the most powerful and dominant (Mordue, 2007). It becomes appropriate here, therefore, to explore collaboration and partnerships within the context of tourism governance.

2.3.2 Collaboration and Partnerships

What has become apparent, thus far, is that as local government emerged from a traditional public administration model to a corporate governance approach focusing on efficiency and cost-reduction, collaborative arrangements and networks between stakeholder groups became a mechanism in which local governance

organisations could engage with stakeholders (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall, 1999). This is echoed by Dredge (2006), who suggests that the increase in interaction between government and industry, particularly in policy and decision making, resulted in the growth of collaborative destination management as an organising concept for promoting joint decision making. Consequently, within this governance paradigm, collaboration has become a key feature in the delivery of tourism policy, with a view that such arrangements are able to effectively bring together a range of actors (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Carley, 2000; Dredge, 2006; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Palmer, 1996; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008). As highlighted in the introduction to this thesis (Section 1.1), within the field of tourism the concept of collaboration has been widely discussed from various perspectives including community-based tourism, sustainable tourism and inter-organisational relationships (Zapata and Hall, 2012). However, despite this increasing interest, there is limited critical and theoretical research which evaluates structures of collaborative arrangements within an urban context (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012), with a particular focus on accountability (Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011).

Gray (1989 p.11) defines collaboration as 'a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain' and identified five characteristics considered critical to the collaborative process:

1. Stakeholders are interdependent;
2. Solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences;
3. Joint ownership of decision making;
4. Collective responsibility amongst stakeholders groups; and
5. Collaboration is an emergent process.

For Greer (2001), the emergence of collaborative arrangements is recognition of the economic, social and political changes that have transformed the way in which policy is devised and operationalised. Within public sector management,

collaboration has been widely adopted as a mechanism for the delivery of services including health, education and more recently leisure services (Wilson and Boyle, 2004). As a result, national and local governments have encouraged collaboration between the public and private sectors for local development that focuses on or incorporates tourism (Selin and Chavez, 1995).

Palmer (1996) argues that attracting more tourists can benefit not only the financial objectives of tourism operators within the private sector but also the social goals of the public sector and thus collaboration is highly beneficial to both sectors. Augustyn and Knowles (2000) suggest that local authorities welcome collaboration with the private sector as it is often difficult to attract private sector investment. For Judge, Smith and Wolman (1995), local governments need to engage the support of external agencies in order to achieve certain aims and although the private sector generally has better skills in marketing, which can be exchanged for access to local authority political and economic resources (Jeffries, 2001), there is a limit to how effective the private sector can be in managing the tourism industry (Elliott, 1997). Therefore, d'Angella and Go (2009) argue that collaboration between different destination stakeholders is essential in order to create value and remain competitive within the market. The fragmented nature of tourism, combined with the need for tourism products that satisfy visitor expectations, necessitates cooperation within tourism regions (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). Therefore, inter-organisational collaborative arrangements have become increasingly common (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001). However, Diamond (2002) argues that often such collaborative arrangements are a product of central governmental initiatives and this can result in conflict as, for example, the private sector can be reluctant to become involved in local government and unwilling to fund something considered to be a public amenity (Cochrane, 1991).

Within the context of tourism planning and policy decision making, collaboration can take various forms including informal meetings, debates and round table

discussions, dissemination of information through media, advisory committees, and coordinated bodies (Ansell and Gash, 2008; Rhodes, 1997; Zapata and Hall, 2012). For Huxham and Vangen (1996), one of the most widely recognised types of collaboration is partnership. Defined as the 'pooling or sharing of resources among two or more stakeholders to solve a problem or create an opportunity that neither can address individually' (Selin and Chavez, 1995 p.260), partnerships are recognised as being an effective tool in bringing together stakeholder groups (Carley, 2000; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008). Huxham and Vangen (1996) purport that partnerships provide a collaborative advantage with each partner benefiting from the others resources, knowledge and finance. By working in partnership, actors can achieve something greater than if they work alone (Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008). Furthermore, partnerships can facilitate conflict resolution and strategic development as stakeholders recognise and understand the potential advantage of working in collaboration (Gray, 1989). This is supported by Jamal and Getz (1995 p.187), who argue that this form of 'collaboration offers a dynamic, process-based mechanism for resolving planning issues and coordinating tourism development at a local level.' Partnerships, therefore, have the potential to make the delivery of services more coherent and effective (Selin and Chavez, 1995). Efficient decision making structures, clear communication channels and good leadership are key features for successful partnerships (Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Huxham and Vangen, 1996; Wilson and Boyle, 2004). Therefore, for Dredge (2006), partnerships can contribute to regional innovation and competitiveness by engaging with a variety of stakeholders. What becomes apparent here is the range of contextual factors that play a vital role in the establishment of successful collaborative partnership arrangements in tourism.

It is argued that partnerships can improve local democracy, creating an effective form of governance which encourages the participation of stakeholder groups to take responsibility for policy and decision making (Carley, 2000; Greer, 2001). Therefore, for Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad (2005), partnerships are a good form of governance, allowing agencies to collectively manage and have power within a

destination. However, in order for this to be realised, there is a need to foster an environment where innovative public-private sector partnerships can emerge with careful management between state and communities (Dredge, 2006). Successful and effective partnerships are built on the involvement of a full range of key regional and local agencies and organisations (Carley, 2000; Fyall and Garrod, 2005) which thus suggests that tourism decision making should not be left to local government, politicians or tourism enterprises but rather opportunities for a range of stakeholders to actively contribute to tourism decision making should be created. This would create democratic empowerment and ownership of tourism policy and decision making amongst stakeholder groups (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985). Consequently, for Elliott (1997), rather than governments taking a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism. This can help ensure democratic accountability within the decision making process (Hall, 2000).

Whilst the potential of partnership arrangements to facilitate participatory democracy is apparent, opinion is divided on the operational effectiveness of partnerships with a number of weaknesses identified (Greer, 2001). One criticism of the partnership approach is the complexities involved in managing the arrangement (Huxham and Vangen, 2000). This is echoed by Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad (2005), who argue that the presence of a partnership does not always guarantee that it will make a difference. They highlight how strategies may lose coherence with partners pursuing their own goals and agendas without taking others into consideration. Consequently, conflicts between parties can arise as the arrangement struggles to combine a variety of interests (Greer, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). The ability to accept legitimate differences of opinion and the willingness to resolve tension and conflict through creative thinking are, therefore, necessary attributes to successful partnerships with each stakeholder needing to have a sense of shared responsibility and ownership for decision making (Carley, 2000; Gray, 1989; Hall, 2000; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010). The suggestion,

therefore, is that in order for partnership arrangements to be successful and effective, the stakeholders involved need to recognise that the success of the arrangement depends, to a certain extent, on each other (Gray, 1989).

Despite this, Coulson (2005) suggests that partnerships are infrequently made of equals and a stronger party can prosper at the expense of a weaker actor. These concerns are also highlighted by Augustyn and Knowles (2000), who suggest that there is a danger that a dominant private interest may represent their corporate strategies and priorities more strongly than the key interests of the locale. This can create power imbalances and result in tension and conflict between the actors involved. Therefore, for Greasley, Watson and Patel (2008), power relations play a key role in the building of successful partnerships. A lack of power to influence the decision making process can often result in particular stakeholder groups excluded from policy making. The implication here, then, is that as different interest groups network with each other, inefficiencies may occur due to a lack of coordination (Provan and Kenis, 2007). However, as identified earlier in this chapter, it is often considered naïve to suggest that all stakeholder groups will have equal access to power in order to have an influence (Hall, 2007).

As a result of this, partnership approaches have been criticised for being undemocratic (Greer, 2001; Hall, 1999; Mordue, 2007). As local authorities move towards a collaborative approach, engaging with the private sector in local decision making, private sector organisations can potentially dominate. For Hall (1999), therefore, an implication of this is that tourism decision making is in the interests of the private sector and a dominant elite, rather than in the interests of the destination as a whole. These concerns are also highlighted by Mordue (2007), whose study of tourism governance in York and North Yorkshire suggested that tourism partnerships could create stronger and more powerful structures in which elites dominate. Consequently, this could reinforce a democratic deficit within these governance approaches as collaboration is sought with the private sector,

resulting in an elite having authority for decision making within a locality (Hall, 1999), creating conflicts between local government and resident communities. As Pratchett (1999) argues, local government, as the democratic institution closest to the local community, has a significant role in ensuring democratic accountability within these governance structures. Therefore, effective partnerships should involve all members of a community (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000), and the public sector has a key role in facilitating increased participation in tourism decision making (Godfrey, 1998). A critical issue of collaborative arrangements, therefore, is how best they should be initiated and managed (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001). For Kimbu and Ngoasong (2013), a centralised coordinated approach is needed in which the engagement of a range of stakeholder groups is facilitated within a decentralised network that fully incorporates the overlapping functions of government and integrates tourism-related activities.

This reinforces the suggestion made for a facilitator to initiate and coordinate stakeholder collaboration within these governance structures. Described by Jamal and Getz (1995 p198) as a 'convener', they suggest that local government may be able to better perform this role due to its understanding of the locality. This is further supported by Bramwell and Sharman (1999), who claim that the convener may want to retain direct control of the partnership if they have invested resources, particularly financial resource, in the collaboration.

Building on this, Greasley, Watson and Patel (2008) suggest that a key feature for the success of partnerships is effective community consultation, allowing the community to participate in decision making. Indeed, Reid, Smith and McCloskey (2008) argue that the development of collaboration with community stakeholders is crucial for effective tourism management. For Murphy (1985, 1988), this would result in a community-based tourism approach which emphasises the importance of involving the community in destination management due to their role as key stakeholders. The community-based approach is more interactive, rather than

reactive, allowing the public to be actively involved in decision making (Greer, Harrison and McIntyre-Tanwoy, 2002), with a greater recognition of what local people consider important (Pragnell, Ross and Coghill, 2011). For Baidal (2004), a community-based approach is concerned with promoting local tourism development that the resident community benefits from. This approach considers tourism as a social and political force which can be developed through the medium of local control (Simpson, 2001), which for Baidal (2004) can help avoid conflict with the introduction of a bottom-up planning structure.

Blackstock (2005) argues that community-based tourism allows community members to actively participate in policy making and development planning and focuses on the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry (Blackstock, 2005). Ying and Zhou (2007) suggest that community participation in tourism can be examined from two perspectives, firstly, the decision making process, allowing residents to become empowered in tourism development, expressing their concerns and desires; and secondly, tourism benefits, for example, through increased employment opportunities. The community-based tourism approach, a planning concept which advocates that local residents are actively involved in shaping destination planning and management, suggests that local resident perceptions will determine attitudes towards tourism development. Local residents must determine pace and scale of tourism development coinciding with community aspirations and abilities (Blackstock, 2005; Ying and Zhou, 2007).

However, concerns regarding the effectiveness of such a method for involving all community members within the planning process and a willingness from community members to actively take part are evident. For example, Hall (1999) argues that in reality this community-based approach has often resulted in collaboration being limited to industry and community-based groups, rather than through wider public participation mechanisms, resulting in an elitist, undemocratic

arrangement. An ideal collaborative approach emphasises the need for planning and decision making with a range of relevant stakeholders to ensure that policy making is in the public interest rather than in the interests of an elite (Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Hall, 1999). A public collaborative approach, therefore, 'seeks to mediate the community base of tourism destination products by recognising that the opinions, perspectives, and recommendations of non-industry stakeholders are just as legitimate as those of the planner or the 'expert' or of industry' (Hall, 1999 p.280). Although this approach is time consuming, it can increase stakeholder engagement and ownership of policy and decision making (Hall, 1999). Russell (1997) argues that key to creating sustainable tourism development is the adoption of community-based initiatives, creating a sense of ownership within tourism planning and development.

What has been established here is the role of collaboration and partnership arrangements in destination management as a key part of the urban governance paradigm. It is apparent that partnerships are common in many tourist destinations. What has become clear is the need to understand the implications of these partnership arrangements in ensuring democratic accountability. Although partnerships were initially described as a good form of governance due to collective policy and decision making mechanisms which improved democracy (Carley, 2000; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Greer, 2001; Hall, 2000; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005), it is evident here that there is a need for innovative collaborative arrangements to emerge with careful management between the public and private sectors and local communities (Dredge, 2006). As local authorities move towards a collaborative approach, engaging with the private sector in local decision making, private sector organisations can potentially become dominant. Consequently, the interests of the private sector and an elite group dominate tourism decision making, rather than the collective interests of all those in the destination community (Hall, 1999). As the democratic institution closest to the local community, arguably local government has a significant role in facilitating democratic accountability within these governance structures (Pratchett, 1999).

Therefore, an implication of the partnership approach is the potential for a democratic deficit as collaboration is sought with the private sector, with interest groups or an elite having authority for decision making within a locality (Blowers, 1997; Hall, 1999). As demonstrated, an ideal collaborative approach emphasises the need for planning and decision making with a range of relevant stakeholders to ensure that policy and decisions made are in the public interest (Hall, 1999). What has become apparent here is the need to understand the implications of partnership arrangements within tourist destinations in facilitating democratic accountability. For Carley (2000), assessing partnership arrangements is not straightforward, particularly because of the influence of different styles of governance. Although criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of collaboration have been proposed, including the involvement of key stakeholders, the development of trust, leadership and interpersonal relationships (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001), it would appear that few studies exist which have evaluated approaches to governance with regards to their impact on democratic accountability. For Scott et al. (2011), the complex nature of these governance arrangements highlights the need for research which identifies the features of tourism governance structures. A lack of comparative research, in particular, suggests the need to understand the key characteristics of these partnership approaches and the impact they have on democratic accountability within an urban context. In particular, understanding and contextualising how these structures develop is important as it provides insights into the current tourism governance arrangements which exist.

2.4 Managing the Tourist Destination

As delineated above, the notion of partnership working is centred on the notion of governance and urban management which encourages a greater involvement of the private sector in economic decision making (Gansler, 2003; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). Partnerships are perceived as a good method for stimulating investment and employment opportunities, and consequently governments have embraced partnerships as an ideal approach in bringing together different

organisations in the policy process (Greer, 2001). Since the 1980s, partnerships between the public and private sectors have gained in popularity as a tool for destination management, marketing and planning (Bramwell, 2005; Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001). Although established examples of public and private sector partnerships vary worldwide, they typically include chambers of commerce, tourism commissions, tourist industry associations, city convention bureaus, development agencies, or local tourist boards, amongst others (Dredge and Jenkins, 2007; Hall, 2011).

Before the various forms and characteristics of destination management organisations are discussed, it is worth considering the definition of a destination which seems to require a multifaceted approach (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). A destination can be classified according to both spatial and geographical terms. For example, a destination can include a whole country or a region, a village, a town or a city. In addition, a destination can be defined as a self-contained centre such as a cruise ship or a theme park (WTO, 2007). Furthermore, a tourist destination can be described as a purpose built area in which tourism related activity is apparent (Pike, 2004). More specifically, and taking into consideration the management of a destination, a detailed definition of a destination may also take into consideration its physical and administrative boundaries, its image and perception, the nature of the tourism products and services, and the policy and decision making mechanisms which exist (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013).

Within the United Kingdom, many tourist destinations are now managed by a form of partnership arrangement (Jeffries, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). A shortage of funding with growing financial constraints forced many governments to reduce tourism marketing budgets (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000) and as a consequence, local authorities began collaborating with the private sector (Holder, 1992; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008). Similarly, within Spain, to address local economic development the public sector responded through the establishment of

collaborative arrangements with the private sector (Zapata and Hall, 2012). Major cities, towns and seaside resorts favour partnerships which particularly focus on marketing and promotional activities (Jeffries, 2001). Therefore, collaboration both in the United Kingdom and Spain has become a valuable and common approach in tackling regeneration and urban governance (Carley, 2000), with Buhalis (2000) noting that when working in collaboration many tourism organisations achieve their objectives more effectively.

These partnership arrangements can be characterised as destination marketing organisations, concerned with marketing, promotion and attracting visitors to a destination (Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Pike, 2004). However, destinations can often present complex challenges within tourism planning, management and development in that they must serve a range of interests and stakeholder needs including tourists, tourism-related businesses, resident communities, and local businesses and organisations (Howie, 2003). As a result, Presenza, Sheehan and Ritchie (2005) note the need for destination *management* organisations, rather than destination *marketing* organisations, which focus on both the competitive and sustainable perspective in the development of a destination.

Destination management organisations (DMOs) have thus emerged which are categorised as providing a leadership role and encompassing not just the marketing and promotion of the destination but also facilitating inward investment and product development (Greer, 2001; Howie, 2003; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). Destination management focuses on the activities which implement the broader policy and planning frameworks (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Wilson and Boyle, 2004) and is considered to take a sophisticated strategic and holistic approach to the management of the destination. Destination management is widely considered the means by which complex strategic, organisational and operational decisions are made at a micro-level (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). As d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi (2010)

note, the main purpose of a destination management organisation should be to improve the development and management of tourism through the coordination and collaboration of relevant stakeholders. The complex nature of managing a range of stakeholders, particularly within destination management organisations, necessitates collaboration and facilitation of stakeholder engagement (Fyall and Garrod, 2005). Whilst the engagement of stakeholders is evident within destination management, it is apparent that often management is centralised, typically around a public-private sector partnership. Accordingly, d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi (2010) argue that certain features of a destination management organisation, such as the business model and the nature of stakeholder involvement in the management and activities of the organisation, need to be evaluated.

Although it is possible to define destination management, the practicalities are difficult to manage due to the multi-sector nature of tourism and the tourist product comprising of service components provided by a variety of different stakeholders (Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Fyall and Leask, 2007; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). Therefore, the organisation responsible for destination management can vary between destinations and within overarching frameworks that are also likely to include:

1. National Tourism Organisations;
2. Regional Tourism Organisations; and
3. Local Sector Associations.

(Middleton, Fyall and Morgan, 2009; Pike, 2008)

As a relatively new concept, often operating as a government agency and representing central government bodies, National Tourism Organisations (NTOs) primarily focus on marketing and promotion activities. Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, (2013 p.82) suggest that within Europe the functions of NTOs vary between northern and southern Europe, which results in a spectrum of organisations. At one end of this spectrum northern European countries NTOs adopt a 'liberal

market-driven ethos', whilst at the other, southern European countries NTOs take an 'interventionist and regulating approach' to the management of tourism. A regional tourism organisation, however, is concerned with a specific locality and core activities of marketing and promotion focus on attracting visitors from outside of the region (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). As a result, a regional tourism organisation tends to take a holistic approach and often dual structures are evident as a myriad of organisations from both the public and private sectors have a vested interest in tourism and policy making (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). At a regional and local level, private sector involvement is often greater compared with NTOs which operate at a national level (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). For destinations in countries where tourism is of economic significance, the most common and effective organisational form for a DMO is that of an independent organisation.

At a destination level the structure of a DMO will depend on the challenges and core activities of the destination and the nature of its governance. A key influence on the structure of a DMO is the accountability mechanism. The management of a DMO may report to a publicly elected official, an elected board of directors, a corporate agency, including companies limited by guarantee, or a partnership organisation. For Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, (2013), the accountability mechanisms influence the core activities of a DMO. For example, if a DMO reports to a public-orientated board core activities will also include community development, whilst if a DMO reports to a private-orientated board it is often considered a business (Ritchie and Crouch, 2003). What becomes apparent is that national and regional structures of DMOs tend to be similar, whereas urban localities tend to have differentiating organisational structures (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013).

In addition, it is evident that the funding strategy will also impact DMO activity, with a number of funding models evident including membership fee paying, wholly public sector funded, funding through taxes or business levies, and public and

private sector funds (Prideaux and Cooper, 2002). Although the role of the DMO may vary depending on the type and size of the destination, a typical DMO may have responsibility for the following:

- Marketing;
- Visitor service, experience and management;
- Research;
- Finance and venture capital; and
- Crisis management.

(Ritchie and Crouch, 2003)

The role of destination management organisations is critical as they may include organisations from both the public and private sectors, all of which have interests in varied aspects of the destination, socially, economically and environmentally (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). What is significant is that the DMO is functional from both a strategic and operational perspective. Therefore, for Palmer (1998) the governance style of a DMO is a considerable factor in determining the success of the organisation. Such a multifaceted and dynamic environment requires effective governance in order to effectively manage the complexities involved, particularly in the coordination and engagement of stakeholders. However, despite the numerous DMO's which operate a various level, i.e. national, regional, urban, and city, with similarities with regards to their core roles and responsibilities, it is apparent that there are significant variations in organisational structures and stakeholder engagement mechanisms (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). Indeed, this is significant given the highly fragmented nature of the tourism industry, with a key role of the DMO being collaboration and coordination between stakeholder groups (Fyall and Leask, 2007; Prideaux and Cooper, 2002; Wang and Fesenmaier, 2007).

Given the importance of stakeholder engagement and coordination within destination management, Stakeholder Theory will now be explored as a potential

theoretical underpinning for the collaborative approach in the engagement and coordination of stakeholders in a destination. For Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall (2013 p.80), Stakeholder Theory provides a 'robust conceptual framework' to address the multiple stakeholder interests involved in destination management.

2.5 Stakeholder Theory

Developed as a theory of organisational management, Stakeholder Theory has been applied primarily within a business context and suggests that an organisation has an array of stakeholders (Garrod et al., 2012). There is no universally accepted definition of the term stakeholder (Carroll, 1993). One definition offered in the seminal work of Freeman (1984) describes a stakeholder as any group or individual who can affect or who is affected by a particular outcome. This implies that a stakeholder can be defined as any person or organisation that has been impacted by development either positively or negatively (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005; Metaxiotis and Ergazakis, 2008). Building on this, within the context of tourism, Gray (1989) suggests that a stakeholder can be defined as an individual who has the right and capacity to participate in the decision making process. Tourism is a complex sector, involving a diverse range of stakeholder groups, including conscious stakeholders, for example tourist-related organisations, and unconscious stakeholders, such as local resident groups (Sheehan, Ritchie and Hudson, 2007).

Stakeholder Theory is concerned with the control and governance of an organisation's activities, with managers aiming to satisfy all groups that have a stake in the organisation (Zahra, 2011). This may include shareholders, employees, suppliers, and customers. For an organisation to achieve its objectives it is fundamental to identify those stakeholders who are vital for its long-term success and to develop relationships with them. As a result, the organisation must actively manage its relationships with stakeholders through communication, negotiation and motivation (Freeman and McVea, 2001). Indeed, the development of a two-way relationship is important. However, Stakeholder Theory is not without its

criticisms. For example, there is a shortage of empirical evidence (Barringer and Harrison, 2000), limited agreement on the definition of a stakeholder and a lack of understanding of how to coordinate stakeholders. Despite this, Stakeholder Theory does provide a mechanism in which to identify and classify stakeholders.

A number of classification approaches have been suggested within Stakeholder Theory. Freeman (1984) distinguished between internal stakeholders and external stakeholders. Clarkson (1995), however, classified stakeholders on the basis of the existence of a contractual relationship between the firm and stakeholders and, as a result, differentiates between primary and secondary stakeholders. Another classification that distinguishes between stakeholders according to their salience, i.e. 'the degree to which managers give priority to competing stakeholders claims', is given by Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997 p.869). Three dimensions are proposed which include power, legitimacy, and urgency and according to these aspects, stakeholders can be divided into three categories, latent, expectant, and definitive stakeholders. This can be used to help classify and prioritise stakeholder groups.

Stakeholder Theory is of relevance for tourism management and has been examined in a range of tourism contexts (Garrod et al., 2012; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Zahra, 2011). Indeed, the complex nature of tourism and the multiple range of stakeholders requires collaboration which engages all interested actors in the decision making process by allowing them to take responsibility for policy and decision making (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005). More recently, Garrod et al. (2012) demonstrated how within the attraction sector Stakeholder Theory provides a clear justification for the engagement of residents as stakeholders in the decision making process, noting how organisations should consider the interests of all legitimate stakeholder groups. For Jamal and Getz (1995), power is an important factor in determining the extent to which an organisation will incorporate the interests of a particular stakeholder group in decision making. A legitimate stakeholder will normally hold some measure of power and thus will have the right

to be involved in the decision making process. Conceptually, Stakeholder Theory is often employed in tourism research as a method of identifying the significant destination stakeholders in tourism development (Freeman et al., 2010). This allows for a critical examination of the relationships which exist and an understanding of how the various stakeholders shape destination management through these networks (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Timur and Getz, 2008). Within the context of this research, it is this notion of stakeholder engagement and representation in tourism development and destination governance which is of interest, in particular, who are the critical stakeholders and how do they participate in democratic decision making processes?

For Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), attempts made to involve the general public as stakeholders in tourism decision making are part of a broader political change in urban governance. They suggest that the methods in which communities are involved in political decision making, in particular, are increasingly sophisticated and are seen as essential to democracy. Despite the advocacy for community involvement in tourism decision making (Gunn, 1972; Murphy, 1985), within urban areas tourism planning is typically associated within a promotional, boosterism model, often in the form of a public-private sector partnership (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). Understanding how these governance structures can be extended in order to embrace networks of interest groups becomes important within the context of urban governance (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Jamal and Getz, 1995). As a result, this chapter will now explore the representational mechanisms evident within these governance structures with a particular focus on opportunities for community engagement in the tourism planning and decision making process.

2.6 Tourism Governance and Community Representation

Thus far, the review of the pertinent literature has demonstrated that approaches to tourism governance, such as collaboration, partnerships and the community-based approach, suggest the importance of involving key community stakeholders

within the governance of tourism (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Carley, 2000; Garrod, 2003; Greer, 2001; Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1981). For Jamal and Getz (1995), in addition to public and private sector interaction, the selection of key stakeholders who represent the various public interests may provide an effective method for community involvement within the tourism planning process. As a result, Murphy (1981) purports that under the right political circumstances tourism can play a key role in enabling democratic citizenship, by moving beyond the instrumentality of 'representative democracy' to 'participatory democracy' in which local people engage in government. For Garrod (2003), there has been a considerable shift towards a participatory planning approach particularly within the context of tourism planning and management. The suggestion here is that rather than dictating policy and decision making, local government should advocate on behalf of resident communities, allowing them to have an active role in the construction of policy, planning and decision making and in the distribution of its benefits (Peterman, 2004).

In this sense, advocacy refers to the extent to which local officials represent communities within political debate and decision making. An advocacy planning approach is therefore implied which encourages the inclusion and participation of citizens in the planning and decision making process (Davidoff, 1965). However, as established in this chapter, although many collaborative arrangements advocate the involvement of local community stakeholders, the means by which this is achieved is often ignored. There is limited research which evaluates approaches to governance in relation to their impact on local community stakeholder involvement and representation (Bramwell and Lane, 2000). Before the mechanisms used to involve destination stakeholders are explored, it is noteworthy to understand and define the term community within tourism. This is important, particularly within planning and development, in order to have a full understanding of the organisation and representation of a community to ensure planning and development is in the interests of the collective community.

2.6.1 Destination Communities

There is little consensus regarding the definition of the term community. The concept is one which has a variety of meanings and is used across an array of disciplines (Delanty, 2003; Hoggett, 1997; Little, 2002). Therefore, with no specific meaning the term is elusive and vague with many inconsistencies (Day, 2006; Cohen, 1985). Yet, despite a wide and diverse range of definitions, the term community remains one of the most commonly used by politicians, policy makers and the general public (Day, 2006), owing to the notion that community captures people's imagination due to the elastic and various meanings which the concept encompasses (Day, 2006; Hoggett, 1997).

Within political debates, Little (2002) notes that the notion of community is seen as an unified, homogeneous group. Within the context of tourism, often referred to as the host community, the term is typically defined based upon a geographical standpoint in which community is a collection of individuals who live within a given locality (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Wisansing, 2008). Furthermore, Hampton (2005) suggests that a community is defined as a human settlement living in close proximity to a heritage site. In addition to the standard geographical perspective often employed in tourism, characteristics are also taken into consideration. For example, Pacione (2001) acknowledges that community is also based on common bonds between members such as culture, values, race, and social class. In summing up the typical definition of community within tourism, Hillery (1955) argues that most of these concepts agree on the following three points:

1. Community involves groups of people who live in a geographically distinct area;
2. The quality of relationships within the groups, with members tied together by common characteristics such as culture, values and attitudes; and
3. A group of people engaged in social interaction, such as neighbouring.

Despite these collective agreements, radical ideas of community suggest that the notion is more complex than just people living within a geographical location (Ball and Stobart, 1997; Little, 2002). Wisansing (2008) argues that the term should be defined from a different perspective, providing an appropriate level of acknowledgement and understanding which could help overcome some of the issues when using the term, particularly within tourism planning and development. The term community is often employed as a method by government to enhance local and deprived areas (Hogget, 1997; Little, 2002). However, if public policy is to be targeted effectively it is important to have an appreciation of the different groups that exist within a community and the relationships within and between them. Indeed, Stepney and Popple (2008) claim that in the modern, post-industrial society it is important to acknowledge the diversity of communities in order to better understand them.

It was claimed that the traditional features of community would not survive urbanism and industrialisation (Cohen, 1985), and consequently these features could now only be found in rural areas. The development of urban areas presented new challenges for communities in terms of social relationships and belonging (Delanty, 2003). However, Little (2002) contends that urbanism has resulted in the growth of new communities, bound together by ties such as friendship and cooperation. The traditional notion of community fails to take into consideration the social structures and commonalities of characteristics, such as attitudes and beliefs, which are considered an important element in the construction of community (Little, 2002; Stepney and Popple, 2008). Community, therefore, is not just about the location of a group of individuals that happen to live in the same place, but it is also concerned with the bonds which hold them together and the common values and beliefs that they share (Little, 2002). The growth of urban spaces has allowed new forms of communities to grow and develop, providing a deeper understanding and appreciation of community formation and affirming the radical view that community is not one single group but a range of associations. Consequently, urban life can assist in the formation of communities as people

gravitate towards like-minded or similar people to produce critical mass and communities of interest.

2.6.2 Communities of Interest

Stepney and Popple (2008 p.9) suggest that 'communities of interest' can exist in many forms and are based on the notion that individuals will make a conscious effort to become members of an association that is focused on common beliefs and attitudes (Delanty, 2003; Stepney and Popple, 2008). Consequently, communities can form and exist which are not specific to a locality but develop when individuals share collective values. What becomes apparent here, however, is the need, particularly within tourism policy and planning, to acknowledge that resident communities can no longer be classified as part of a geographical boundary but instead communities of interest are apparent which are formed through shared interests.

This formation and existence of a range of communities or small associations further supports the argument that communities should not be presented as homogenous forms of association (Little, 2002), which is often typical within the field of tourism. This radical approach to community suggests that individuals are likely to be members of a multitude of groups. Association with smaller groups or mini communities provides people with an individual identity and a relationship with those who share very similar interests (Delanty, 2003; Little, 2002).

It is apparent that individual membership of a community can take a variety of forms (Little, 2002). Particularly within large urban areas, small communities can form when individuals believe that collectively they can pursue common interests (Little, 2002), and as such provide members with a shared voice (Bauman, 2001). Supporting this, Crooke (2010 p.19) describes how often a community will emerge as a 'community of action', where individuals will form an association when there is

a threat within their locality, believing that in doing so an advantage is gained, particularly through the development of a political force.

The development of these communities of interest may provide a tool in which power within a destination is harnessed by resident groups. What becomes apparent here is that the creation of these communities can be considered a tool for community groups to gain a collective voice and influence within a destination. As previously highlighted, power is an important factor in determining the extent to which stakeholders are involved in the decision making process (Jamal and Getz, 1995). As a result, understanding the relationship between local participation and local power structures, a key aspect of community development, is important in helping to dismantle rather than reinforce barriers to local democracy (Blackstock, 2005). For Cheong and Miller (2000), power is everywhere in tourism and, at the individual level, power relationships in the behaviour of tourists, amongst others, are often constrained and managed.

What also becomes apparent is that a key aspect of the willingness for resident communities to engage in tourism policy and decision making is their attitudes towards tourism. The subsequent section will explore this further.

2.6.3 Attitudes towards Tourism

Research on resident attitudes towards tourism, and particularly tourism development, suggests that opinion within a community can vary greatly. There is often no shared single view towards tourism development with Murphy (1981) highlighting how conflicts of opinion amongst residents can often arise, with some acknowledging the benefits of tourism development, whilst others argue that tourism negatively effects their lifestyle (Ballesteros and Ramirez, 2006; Harrill, 2004). Consequently, attitudes towards tourism and tourism development have been identified as a critical issue for government, policy makers and industry (Ward

and Berno, 2011). This section will explore resident attitudes towards tourism and highlight how increased participation may influence community opinion.

Doxey's (1976) seminal model summarised the situation as an 'irritation continuum' (Murphy, 1988) and suggested that there are four stages to understanding community attitudes towards tourism (Harrill, 2004). The first stage, euphoria, suggests that within the early stages of tourism development the destination is not marketed nor does much planning occur. The destination does not offer much in tourism amenities but residents welcome the small increase in revenue. However, as the number of visitors to the destination steadily increases, some residents begin to take commercial advantage while others criticise the changes occurring. This second stage is known as apathy in which tourists within a community are no longer perceived as a novelty. Increased marketing and planning also occur during this stage (Harrill, 2004).

As the destination begins to grow through tourism development, residents become irritated by the increasing number of visitors. Known as the annoyance stage, commercial and outside investors begin to take a keen interest in the destination. There is an increase in tourism development and spatial distinction is apparent. In the final stage, known as antagonism, the destination has grown into a mass tourist destination with strong resentment between residents and tourists. During this stage residents no longer welcome tourists and display hostile behaviour towards them. The destination has now lost its appeal and thus begins to decline (Harrill, 2004). What this model highlights is the complexity in understanding resident attitudes towards tourism and tourism development.

Resident perceptions of tourism have been shown to be influenced by a number of factors including the importance of the industry to the locality, the type and extent of resident–visitor interaction, and the level of tourism development in the community (Murphy, 1981). Cheong and Miller (2000) and Harrill and Potts (2003)

suggest that residents who suffer the impacts of tourism but do not have any economic interest in the sector will often have a more negative attitude towards tourism development. This echoes Snaith and Haley (1999), who argue that residents who work within the tourism industry are more likely to have positive attitudes towards tourism development. However, Long, Perdue and Allen (1990) claim that although community members are sensitive to the economic contributions of tourism, they are also aware of the social and environmental impacts of the industry. Consequently, spatial factors have also been identified as a feature affecting attitudes towards tourism development (Harrill, 2004). Heavy concentration of tourism facilities and services in a destination can result in negative attitudes towards tourism development (Madrigal, 1995; Pizam, 1978; Tyrell and Spaulding, 1984), with residents' perceptions towards tourism tending to be more positive when development is less extensive (Long, Perdue and Allen, 1990). Tyrell and Spaulding's (1984) study on the island of Rhodes found that although tourism growth was favoured, households which were close to tourism facilities were less positive about the sector. Similarly, Harrill and Potts (2003) found that the neighbourhoods with the most negative attitude towards tourism were located in the tourism core, while in comparison neighbourhoods with more positive attitudes were further away from this core.

Socioeconomic factors have also been used to explain resident attitudes towards tourism (Harrill, 2004). Variables such as income, ethnicity and length of residency have been identified to measure attitudes. In addition, Madrigal (1995) suggests that native-born status has been linked to more negative perceptions of tourism. Um and Crompton's (1987) study found that there was increased negativity towards tourism development when residents were more attached to a community in terms of birthplace and length of residency. Supporting this, Harrill (2004) suggests that residents living within a community the longest have more negative perceptions of tourism development. However, Perdue, Long and Allen (1990) argue that socioeconomic factors are often contradictory in explaining the difference in resident attitudes towards tourism development. This is also

highlighted by Liu and Var (1986) who assert that the length of residency does not have an influence over attitudes towards tourism development. It becomes apparent that numerous factors influence resident attitudes towards tourism and destination development. Understanding how community perceptions of tourism are shaped is, therefore, complex. From a theoretical perspective, Social Exchange Theory provides a framework for understanding this complex relationship.

2.6.4 Social Exchange Theory

Social Exchange Theory is regarded as a theoretical framework for explaining and understanding the relationship between the personal benefits of tourism and perceptions of tourism development (Garrod et al., 2012; Lawton, 2005; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2012; Perdue, Long and Allen, 1990; Wang and Pfister, 2008). The assumption of Social Exchange Theory is that actors behave in a way which maximises the rewards and minimises the costs and suggests that attitudes towards tourism tend to be related to the impacts residents experience as a result of tourism related activity within the locality (Ward and Berno, 2011). As Garrod et al. (2012 p.1160) state, residents 'who perceive the positive impacts of tourism to be greater than the negative impacts will tend to favour tourism development, while those who perceive the negative impacts of tourism to outweigh the positive ones are more likely to oppose it.' Madrigal (1993) argues that as long as the pattern of exchange is perceived as equitable, then both parties will continue to engage in the exchange relationship. However, whilst the framework is useful in understanding resident attitudes towards tourism, it negates to address how best to engage the local community in decision making (Garrod et al., 2012).

A key component of Social Exchange Theory is the power relationship between the actors involved (Madrigal, 1993). For Ap (1990), resident attitudes towards tourism development are related to the perceived balance of power which exists between themselves and members of the tourism industry. Furthermore, Cook (1982) argues

that residents view tourism and tourism development more favourably when they perceive themselves as being able to influence the decision making process. This is supported by Madrigal (1993), who found that negative perceptions of tourism development were related to the extent to which residents were able to influence the tourism decision making process. Negative attitudes towards tourism were higher amongst residents who believed they had little input in the decision making process and where businesses had too much influence over tourism development. This is supported by Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2012), who identified that residents' power to influence tourism decision making is significant in their perceptions of the role of government.

It is suggested then that there is a direct relationship between residents' perceived impacts of tourism on their community and their attitude towards local government's involvement in tourism (Madrigal, 1995). For Bramwell (2011), residents often hold government responsible for tourism decision making and understanding residents' opinions of tourism has management implications regarding their willingness to support tourism development (Snaith and Haley, 1999; Yu, Chancellor and Cole, 2011). Haywood (1988) argues that it is not uncommon for conflict to arise between residents wanting to hinder tourism growth and local government seeking to exploit the economic benefits of tourism development. Elliott (1997) acknowledges that local governments have encouraged tourism development in order to boost the local economy. However, such development can have an adverse effect on resident communities. At the local level, the welfare of residents should be of key importance to the public sector who should concern themselves with ensuring public objectives are met which benefit the community (Bahaire and Elliott-While, 1999; Elliott, 1997). The public sector should manage tourism so that the impact is beneficial and ensure the responsible development of the area, economically and socially (Elliott, 1997).

Despite this, Dredge (2006) and Garrod (2003) advocate that, instead of local authorities claiming they represent the wider community, opportunities for engagement with those communities should be introduced in order to fully understand their needs, desires and interests. If tourism is to develop within a locality, the host community must become willing partners of this development (Garrod, 2003; Murphy, 1981). Indeed, Reid, Mair and George (2004) note that there is much research which purports the increased involvement of local residents in the development process and therefore understanding the mechanisms used in resident engagement becomes important. Adding to this, several authors argue that there is a need for wider community involvement in tourism, with community engagement within the planning and development process crucial for sustainable tourism development (Cook, 1982; Dredge, 2006; Garrod, 2003; Murphy, 1988).

Although claims that local authorities representing community interests can be contested, as they largely pursue a corporate agenda, they can legitimately be expected to act in the interests of the wider community. However, privatisation and decentralisation have decreased the scope of local government and indirectly reduced the level of community participation. Instead of local government claiming that they represent the wider community, opportunities for engagement with those communities should be created (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Dredge, 2006; Garrod, 2003). Local government can only represent what it perceives to be the issues and interests of the wider community and listening to the views expressed by the host community is important (Hampton, 2005). In order to gain support for tourism development, many planners now strive to understand how the public perceives the industry (Harrill, 2004; Meethan, 1997).

Inclusive planning, which includes public participation at a local level, is acknowledged as essential if the social and environmental effects of tourism development are to be avoided (Cook, 1982; Garrod, 2003; Garrod et al., 2012; Haywood, 1988). Keogh (1990) suggests those residents who are more familiar with

the positive and negative aspects of development proposals tended to view tourism development more favourably than those residents who were less informed. Madrigal (1993) found that residents who have strong positive attitudes towards tourism development believed that they were able to personally influence the decision making process and that businesses did not have too much political influence. The suggestion here then is that tourism development should involve the local community from the early stages of development discussion.

Garrod (2003) identified a number of good practice elements with regards to incorporating the fundamental principles of local community participation in ecotourism projects. This included leadership and the empowerment of community stakeholders. However, local community participation in the tourism decision making process has often been scarce. Local communities have tended to be viewed simply as the beneficiaries of tourism development, rather than as essential partners in the process of achieving such development (Garrod, 2003). Frequently, within the planning process, community members are only able to comment on planning designs, rather than participate in their development and implementation (Simpson, 2001). The implication of this is community members becoming envious, unable to recognise the potential costs and benefits of tourism, resulting in open hostility towards tourists which potentially contributes to the destination's decline (Harrill, 2004; Madrigal, 1995).

Simpson (2001) acknowledges that the development of tourism within a destination should be coordinated and managed by those who are directly affected by the development. For Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), then, community involvement is seen as a method in which members of a community are able to control and influence decision making. Although recognised as an ambiguous concept, Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999 p.246) suggest that 'it is fundamentally about degrees of citizen power and influence within the policy-making process.' Cheong and Miller (2000) argue that local communities should become proactive and resistant to

unwanted change, negotiating development plans and policies, and thus ensuring development in their community is in the best interest of the locality. Therefore, for Garrod (2003) a bottom-up planning approach is needed which can facilitate the necessary changes in the attitudes and actions of local stakeholders and in their engagement in the decision making process. Top-down approaches often fail at achieving sustainable results as local community members are not given sufficient opportunity or incentive to make these changes successful.

Community participation should not be mistaken for community empowerment. As Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999 p.246) assert, community empowerment 'implies that an empowered community would have real influence' and be accountable in decision making. Community participation, however, can be measured according to the extent to which the community defines its needs and determines whether they have been achieved. In the context of tourism, rather than the benefits being sold to the community, citizens would take an active role in the development of policy and in the distribution of its benefits. Such an approach is concerned with establishing and maintaining a suitable balance between tourism developments and ensuring community stakeholders become beneficiaries and are fully integrated in the relevant planning and management processes (Garrod, 2003). Mordue (2007) argues that from a Foucauldian perspective this would mean replacing a disciplinary gaze through which subjects are drawn into the arrangement of government, with a democratic gaze that is directed by citizens who can shape and steer government. Marinetto (2003) suggests that encouraging active citizenship promotes a particular type of personal morality and positive forms of life for communities, individuals and governments.

Although resident participation may result in the increase of support for tourism development (Garrod, 2003; Simpson, 2001), Dinham (2005) argues that community members often feel intimidated attending meetings and believe that they are unable to fully participate in urban development and the decision making

process. Given the complex environment of destination management and stakeholder engagement it is not surprising that tourism planning initiatives tend to be top down with a lack of community engagement (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). Although community members are often consulted, Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher (2005) suggest that their views and opinions do not directly influence policy or development. In addition, Simpson (2001) argues that the concept of community participation is an idealistic proposition with little chance of effective implementation. It is suggested that community groups are unable to make effective decisions within tourism planning and development due to bias levels of interest, a lack of business skills and industry knowledge. Similarly, when genuine community participation has occurred, the outcome of the planning process did not make the quality of decision making any better than public or private sector domination (Simpson, 2001). However, Keogh (1990) claims that residents who are more familiar with development proposals are more favourable towards tourism and tourism development and, by using Social Exchange Theory as a theoretical model, residents may perceive the rewards of tourism as counteracting the costs of development. An increase in awareness could empower residents to make more informed decisions and provide meaningful input into tourism development.

Madrigal (1995 p.94) suggests that communities can be split into different clusters in terms of their attitudes towards tourism development; 'realists', who recognise both the positive and negative aspects; 'haters', who recognise the negative aspects, and 'lovers' who are able to identify the positive aspects. Haywood (1988) argues that it is important to involve all relevant parties in a participatory planning process. However, Madrigal (1995) notes that only lovers and haters would feel strongly enough to participate in public forums related to tourism planning. Those who appear to be the most informed, the realists, may not feel strongly enough to participate. This is unfortunate because it appears that the realists represent the silent majority in a community. It is this group whose balanced perspective may be of greatest benefit to local government involved in tourism development (Madrigal, 1995).

Failure to involve the local community could have serious implications for the profitability of the tourism industry in the area (Blackstock, 2005). Supporting this, Choi and Sirakaya (2006) suggest that active community involvement is essential for sustainable tourism, which aims to improve the resident's quality of life by optimising local economic benefits, protecting the natural and built environment and providing a high quality experience for visitors. However, for Hampton (2005), community participation cannot become a reality unless specific and purposeful strategies at local, national and international levels are developed. For example, the development of the European Union structural funding process has, according to Curry (2000), provided an important impetus for the growth of community participation in the context of tourism. Creating effective partnerships between host communities and local government is a valuable objective to work towards, allowing local people to have a sense of ownership of development and policy. Community participation could then transform the attitudes of local people from passivity to responsibility and promote a new relationship between the individual and state, based on a sharing of power and decision making (Dinham, 2005). As highlighted by Ying and Zhou (2007), those residents who are actively involved in tourism development in their local community are more likely to support its development. Dinham (2005) argues that community participation will create a renewed sense of local relevance to democracy ensuring people experience and exercise their power in decision making and the delivery of local services.

Accordingly, it becomes important to understand the attitudes of local residents towards tourism development and to identify ways of integrating the public in the development and decision making process (Murphy, 1981). As identified, there are many factors which affect resident attitudes towards tourism development. However, it is apparent from this discussion that one method of stimulating positive attitudes towards tourism development is through increased participation. Indeed, Reid, Mair and George (2004) note that there is much research which requests increases in the involvement of local residents in the development process. Participatory planning can be undertaken in an effort to offset some of the negative

aspects of tourism. However, if community members are to be involved within the planning process it requires the participation of local communities in partnership with the state and private sector organisations (Foley and Martin, 2000).

In summary, approaches and frameworks for community participation are evident within the literature, ranging from tourism forums to resident consultation and survey instruments (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). In addition, Murphy (1988) advocates community workshops as a tool for bringing together the industry and local community. Moreover, Haywood (1988 p.109) suggests that the community participation process requires a range of tools such as 'conciliation, mediation, articulation, and identification of superordinate goals.' Successful community involvement in these governance structures depends upon the partnership between the local community and the public and private sectors. For Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), local residents should not be excluded from these governance structures, but rather innovative mechanisms for community engagement should be explored. In addition, communities of interest outlined previously in this chapter that exist within urban environments may offer a new approach to the engagement of community groups in these tourism governance structures.

Despite this, Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999) note that the literature on community participation tends to focus on short-term perspectives and it is only recently that studies have started to consider a long-term and dynamic process of community participation. For example, there has been a specific focus on community participation within sustainable tourism, particularly within a developing country context with a focus on rural communities. However, what becomes apparent here is a lack of research which explores community participation within an urban context. As outlined by Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), understanding how community participation is developed within an urban context might lead to a better understanding of the tourism community participation process, particularly within governance structures which are characterised as top-down planning

approaches to decision making. There is then a need to understand the implications of community representation in different governance approaches and to identify and evaluate the mechanisms for community engagement and representation apparent in emerging tourism governance structures.

2.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the literature on the changing role of local government, identifying and interpreting the types of tourism governance structures that exist, and the impact of these structures on democratic representation, accountability, and stakeholder representation and engagement. Subsequently, a number of themes have emerged which form the basis of this study and these are summarised below.

Firstly, the literature suggests that there is a need for new forms of tourism governance structures to address issues surrounding democratic accountability and notably its absence. A myriad of destination management structures are evident at a national, regional and urban level and, as demonstrated, collaborative destination management is often considered a good form of governance, improving democracy and allowing agents to collectively manage and influence policy decision making (Carley, 2000; Greer, 2001; Hall, 2000; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). New forms of urban governance structures have facilitated the participation of a range of stakeholders in economic decision making at a strategic level (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Bramwell, 2004; Elliott, 1997; Garrod, 2003; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Stoker, 1998; Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998). However, the collaborative approach does not remove entirely the potential dominance of private interests in decision and policy making (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Hall, 1999). The shift in decision making, and thereby power, is moved from traditional functions of government to non-elected trusts, organisations or public-private sector partnerships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999) who should, ideally, because of their broad constituency be more representative of local concerns. A democratic deficit

might ensue, however, if decision making becomes dominated by narrowly focussed business interests and those of unelected representatives (Hall, 1999). As a result, for Stoker (1998), the emergence of governance, in particular, raises concerns regarding accountability.

Dredge and Pforr (2008) suggest that good governance is the extent to which it is transparent and therefore accountable for decision making. For Midwinter (2001), accountability is an important feature of governance and local government as the democratic institution, at least in intent, representing the local community, has a significant role in ensuring democratic accountability within these urban governance structures (Pratchett, 1999). The notion of governance has been of considerable interest to scholars (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Hall, 2011; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012), with a generally optimistic view as to the capacity of governance to improve democratic participation in decision making (Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011). Nonetheless, as outlined, this increasing attention on governance structures in a variety of settings has highlighted that governance does not necessarily improve democratic practices or transparency in decision making (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013). This has been reinforced in this review of the literature with a number of authors highlighting the need for governance structures to be examined within the context of accountability and transparency of their decision making processes, especially when they relate to tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Hall, 2011; Mordue, 2007; Moscardo, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012).

Critically, while many studies propose what governance should look like, few studies provide an evaluation of governance mechanisms in tourism. The goal of initiatives in tourism governance may be to reduce a democratic deficit, i.e. to place decision making in the hands of a broader range of local stakeholders, however, the

implications of collaborative forms of destination management and their emphasis on democratic accountability remains largely untested. It is clear that different structures of tourism governance shape the nature of stakeholder participation (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). Therefore, the complex nature of these governance arrangements highlights the need for comparative research which identifies the features of tourism governance arrangements, in order to understand the extent to which these structures provide democratic accountability and in which contexts (Moscardo, 2011; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012).

Secondly, and as a result of the concerns highlighted above, there is a need to understand how stakeholder engagement is sought and developed within these urban governance structures. As identified in this chapter, differences in governance arrangements can lead to variances in the effectiveness of stakeholder engagement. Destinations are complex entities, frequently being characterised by a multitude of stakeholder interests, varying degrees of stakeholder engagement and governance structures differing in their operational functions (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Murphy, 1988; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). In order to improve the nature of participation in tourism development, further examination of the governance structures and their repercussion for tourism decision making and stakeholder engagement is required (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013). For Haywood (1988 p.109), stakeholder participation requires a range of tools such as 'conciliation, mediation, articulation, and identification of superordinate goals.' Despite this, it is evident from this review of the literature that participation tends to focus on a short-term perspective and it is only recently that a consideration of the long-term and dynamic process of community participation is becoming apparent (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Garrod, 2003). For example, there has been a particular focus on community participation within sustainable tourism within a developing country context with a focus on rural communities (Garrod, 2003). There is a need to create opportunities for what

Murphy (1981) advocates as participatory democracy where local people are able to engage in local government.

Unsurprisingly perhaps, different views exist on how to improve stakeholder engagement and participation in tourism. This is, as the review has demonstrated, not in itself a novel concern. For Hall (1999), an ideal collaborative approach emphasises the need for planning and decision making with a range of relevant stakeholders to ensure that policy and local development is in the public interest rather than in the interests of an elite. Timothy (2007) argues that true empowerment means control and authority over the decision making process and although within tourist historic cities, in particular, partnership arrangements between local government and the tourism industry aim to achieve a balance between tourist and resident interests, this does not necessarily include the involvement of local community groups within these governance structures. As evidenced here, although many tourism governance arrangements advocate the involvement of destination stakeholders, how this happens or should happen, particularly within an urban context, is often overlooked. Understanding how stakeholder engagement is developed within an urban context might lead to a better understanding of stakeholder participation within governance structures (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). Getz and Timur (2005) claim that it is important within destination management for special interest groups which represent the community to be involved in strategy and policy decision making. The apparent rise in community interest groups within tourist destinations, as highlighted in this chapter, suggests a new approach to the involvement of community groups in strategic decision making in these urban tourism governance structures. The critical issue here is how these governance arrangements are coordinated.

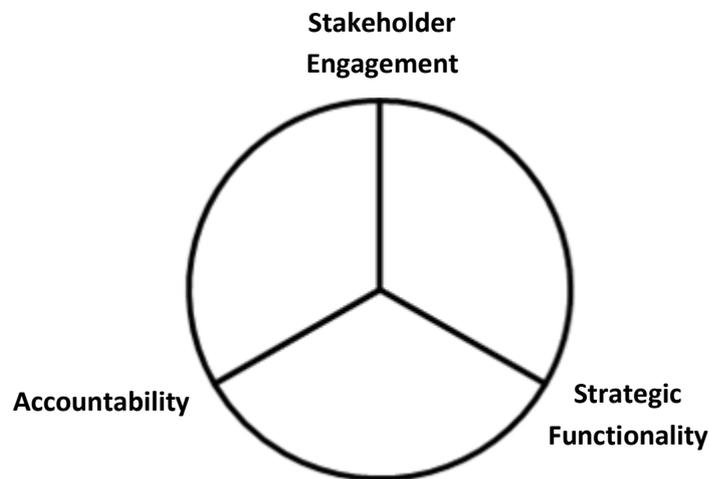
Finally, for Stoker (1998), the implication of governance is that decision making and the development and implementation of public policy is devised within a context of a wide range of stakeholder groups, implying that governance should be strategic

(Stokes, 2008). Strategy then has become a key feature of tourism governance structures and is concerned with 'both plans for the future and patterns from the past' (Mintzberg et al., 2003 p.142), which inform tourism planning within the wider context of the destination. In this case, strategy is concerned with collaborative goals rather than individual competitive agendas (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001). However, there is a lack of research which explores community participation within an urban context particularly at a strategic level despite recognition that successful and effective partnerships are built on the active involvement of a full range of key regional and local agencies and organisations (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Bramwell, 2004; Carley, 2000; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). Although participation will vary according to different local contexts, there is a need to understand the varying mechanisms for engagement and the requirements for strategic guidance in how community involvement can be sustained (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999). However, it is argued that within destination management, wider strategic issues such as destination development and democratic participation are often disregarded. Therefore, the final theme identified is the need for strategic functionality within tourism governance structures which is concerned with a holistic, democratic and sophisticated approach to the management of the destination.

As a result of this complexity regarding the notion of governance and its application to destination management, a loose conceptual framework has been developed which integrates the key contextual and theoretical arguments identified and analysed with regards to the topic of investigation and as such demonstrates the scope of this study (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The framework has been developed as a result of the review of the current literature and the themes outlined above. Its purpose is to make logical sense of the relationships between the key factors which have been identified as relevant and important in exploring and evaluating tourism governance structures. This conceptual framework has been

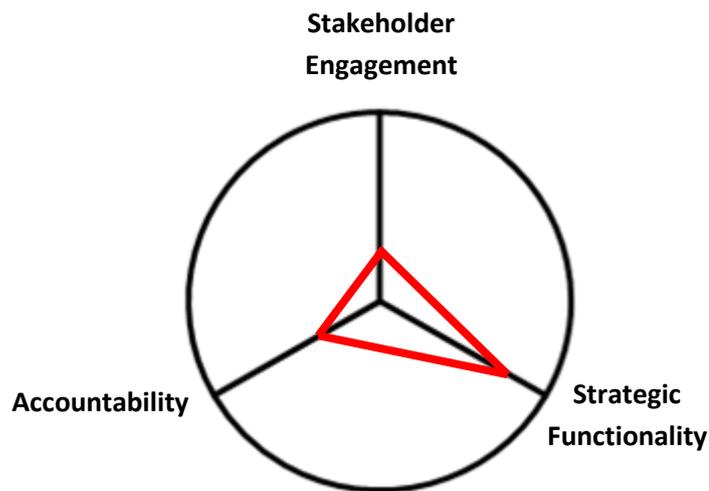
used as a scheme of reference (Bryman, 2008) in guiding and designing the research methodology and data collection tools.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework represents three key dimensions of tourism governance structures identified from this review of the literature. Accountability refers to the extent to which the actors involved acknowledge and take responsibility for actions and decision making; stakeholder engagement is concerned with the extent to which stakeholders are engaged in the decision making process; and finally, strategic functionality is concerned with the extent to which decision making is forward focused. The radar chart (Figure 2.1) above serves to illustrate graphically the three key dimensions for evaluating tourism governance as derived from the literature review. The intention here is to provide a framework for understanding how tourism governance works in situ and explain and locate different styles of governance in different places. For example, an ideal governance structure would include a diverse range of active stakeholder engagement, be strategic and democratically accountable. A conjectural scenario indicating a tourism governance structure with a strong strategic focus but low stakeholder engagement and poor accountability mechanisms is shown in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2 A Conjectural Scenario



In summary, the review of the literature has indicated that whilst many of the intricacies of tourism governance have been recognised (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003; Hall, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013), there is still much scope for further research in this area with a particular focus on how governance works in practice. Furthermore, as identified, from a European perspective tourism governance is becoming increasingly important owing to pressures from the European Union and the economic significance of the sector (Clarke and Raffay, 2013). As such, for Scott et al. (2011) there is a need for comparative studies in order to improve the knowledge base of tourism governance as there is insufficient comparative research and understanding regarding different local tourism governance approaches (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Scott et al. (2011) suggest the collection of comparative data which can then be used to provide a tool for a comparative analysis of destination governance. A lack of research which identifies features of tourism governance arrangements, with a particular focus on democratic accountability and stakeholder engagement, suggests the need for research which attempts to identify indicators of an enabling authority in a variety of governance structures.

A further aspect to this study is its scope which includes a comparison of two destinations in two different countries. The review has indicated a lack of research which explores the nature of tourism governance and community engagement in Spain. Much research on tourism governance tends to be United Kingdom focused with theoretical concepts such as New Public Management, collaboration and partnerships addressed from a United Kingdom perspective. For example, the management of tourism in York has been widely documented (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1994; 2000; Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Meethan, 1996; 1997; Mordue, 1998; 2005; 2007), however, there is little research which explores issues of governance and accountability within the context of urban Spain, despite the considerable growth and diversity of tourism partnerships throughout all autonomous regions (Baidal, 2004; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Research which takes a cross-cultural comparative approach enhances understandings of the politics and processes within a country through comparisons and contrasts (Wolman and Goldsmith, 1992) and is indeed commended in the literature (Budge et al., 1998; Clark, 1998; Elliott, 1997). Therefore, this study makes a unique contribution to the field through an in-depth comparative analysis of tourism governance in Seville and York, addressing the need to understand tourism governance and the implications of stakeholder representation within different governance approaches. Whilst it is acknowledged that research on tourism governance in Spain is available in Spanish, it should be noted that the main body of knowledge referred to herein has been written in English. Although this can be considered a limitation, as highlighted above, many of the theoretical concepts adopted are United Kingdom focused and therefore for consistency these have been applied in this study.

The following chapter outlines the methodological approach that underpins the empirical aspect of the investigation. The conceptual framework outlined in this chapter is used as a scheme of reference in guiding and designing the research methodology. Two case studies are selected which represents an extension of case study research methods already well-established in tourism research. The next chapter will elucidate on this further.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the research strategy and methodological stance for the investigation of the governance of tourism in York and Seville. The methodology will detail the strategic approach which, as Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988) note, should be at the core of any research project in tourism. Supporting this, Hollinshead (2004a) argues that developing a strategic understanding of the research approach, before making method level decisions, is a crucial part of the research process. Therefore, this chapter will firstly explore and examine the methodological considerations of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the techniques employed in data collection, with an outline of their appropriateness in light of the study objectives. This chapter also examines issues concerning the trustworthiness of the data and delineates how Lincoln and Guba's (1985) relevant criteria for facilitating the trustworthiness of qualitative methods have been employed in the study.

3.2 Research Strategy

A well-formulated research strategy is required in order to develop a strategic approach to the collection of data for the study. Hollinshead (2004a) argues that it is inadequate for researchers to adopt research approaches based on method-level decisions alone. Instead, he suggests that it is important, particularly within qualitative research, to base such decisions, i.e. the techniques to be employed in data collection, on a strategic understanding of the research as a process of knowledge production. Hollinshead (2004a p.64) claims that in order for the researcher to adopt methods of qualitative research he or she needs to engage in the debate surrounding the 'empowerments, anxieties and limitations' of the

research method, with such debate questioning paradigmatic issues of a methodological nature. For the researcher, Hollinshead (2004b) regards this awareness as being important, particularly within the field of tourism, because the researcher has to consider its impacts and influences on a range of different groups. Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that the researcher's relationship with the research, their own judgements, understandings, and knowledge of methodological inquiries will have an impact upon the design of the research. Known as an inquiry paradigm, this represents 'the most informed and sophisticated view that its proponents have been able to devise' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p.108). The inquiry paradigm, therefore, is a set of beliefs that the researcher has formulated through their own knowledge and understanding. There are three elements to an inquiry paradigm, namely ontology, epistemology and methodology. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) describe ontology as the study of being, meaning and identity, and epistemology as the 'theory of knowledge' (p.34). Guba and Lincoln (1994) suggest that in order to identify the inquiry paradigm the researcher can answer three questions based on the three elements identified:

- The ontological question: what is the form and nature of reality?
- The epistemological question: what is the nature of the relationship between the knower, (researcher), and what can be known?, and finally,
- The methodological question: how can the knower, (researcher), find out what they believe can be known?

(Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p.108)

Although a variety of paradigms exist, particularly in qualitative research theory, the four major paradigms include positivist, post-positivist, critical theory, and interpretivist (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Both positivist and post-positivist inquiry paradigms are traditionally associated within quantitative research and based on the premise of scientific method, the testing of theory, with the researcher attempting not to have an impact or influence upon the findings of a study (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). However, critics of positivism have argued that this

inquiry paradigm is artificial and does not allow for exploration of meaning and understanding (Hollinshead, 1996; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Walle, 1997). Conversely, critical and interpretive inquiry paradigms are based on the premise that the researcher has an important role within the study and the interpretations and knowledge contributions made are valid and important (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). In particular, the interpretive approach is concerned with those being studied able to provide their own explanation of their situation or behaviour (Veal, 2006; 2011), and the researcher's role in revealing this. The researcher seeks to understand the context and then makes an interpretation of what is found and, as such, the interpretive paradigm 'looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998 p.67).

In order to interpret the findings in a genuine social world context it is important to recognise the thought process and reasons behind the research methodology. Consequently, it is imperative to understand the social and cultural setting in which the study exists and thus context plays a key role within many interpretivist studies. Researchers must seek to understand the multiple interpretations on offer so that they can build a holistic understanding of the phenomena being studied. Interpretivism rejects the positive notion that there is one objective truth and acknowledges the existence of multiple realities which can only be understood from the perspective of those involved (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Robson, 2011; Schwandt, 1994). Whilst Critical Theorists are concerned with knowledge production reliant on its historical position and the ability to provide action based on a dialogic methodology, the interpretivist approach places reliance on people's own interpretations of situations and behaviours (Bryman, 2012; Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Veal, 2006; 2011).

This thesis is concerned with understanding key stakeholders' interpretations of tourism governance and it is therefore acknowledged that multiple interpretations and perspectives exist. Consequently, this study has adopted an interpretive

approach to gain an understanding of the approaches to tourism governance. The study objectives for this research imply that statistical quantified data would not be appropriate. This is because the research critically investigates the role of local government in the development of tourism policy and planning and evaluates stakeholder representation and the techniques employed in stakeholder participation within the tourism planning and development process. Positivist inquiry would not be appropriate here, as arguably, such issues could not be identified or measured using conventional quantitative methods such as a sample, survey or questionnaire. Interpretations would need to be made and thus this research lends itself to the interpretive inquiry paradigm. As highlighted in the literature, there is a lack of knowledge regarding the advantages and disadvantages of different local tourism governance approaches (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010), exacerbated by the absence of comparative analyses of destination governance (Scott et al., 2011). To address this, the context of the research, and indeed the interpretative paradigm, lends itself to qualitative methods due to the exploratory and interpretive nature of the study, the meanings, motivations and understandings which are drawn from the various actors and the discursive methods to reveal these. The adoption of qualitative research methods will now be explored, acknowledging the benefits of such an approach for the purpose of this study.

3.3 Qualitative Research

There is much debate surrounding the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods within the social sciences. Tourism research is often criticised for employing exclusively quantitative research methods (Decrop, 1999; Walle, 1997), which produce statistical data and allow for the testing of hypotheses (Holliday, 2007). In comparison, qualitative research is a method of collecting data regarding 'activities, events, occurrences and behaviour' with the intention of developing an understanding of 'actions, problems and processes in their social context' (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004 p.3). Such a method does not produce quantified

findings but instead allows for an insightful and in-depth interpretation and understanding of a phenomenon (Hammersley, 1996).

Traditionally, qualitative research had been considered an unsophisticated and straightforward approach when compared against quantitative research methods due to an apparent lack of scientific rigour, legitimacy and credibility (Decrop, 1999). The lack of objectivity and generalisability is often a criticism by positivists of qualitative research approaches, with quantitative methods often favoured amongst scholars. Within tourism research, quantitative research approaches are often employed to collect statistical data, particularly when this is required in order to justify policy and investment decisions (Prentice, 1993).

Debates within tourism have highlighted concerns over the artificial nature of quantitative research methods (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004), with scholars noting that it is equally inappropriate to generalise results from a chosen sample. Quantitative research does not always address explanation or understanding of the processes which determine behaviour, with research scholars tending to be objective and ignore alternative methodological issues. This concerns Phillimore and Goodson (2004) who argue that this understanding is important in the consideration of the production of knowledge. Consequently, within the field of tourism, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) note that the debate surrounding the appropriateness of qualitative research has grown, with an increased recognition of the value of qualitative methods within the social sciences, particularly within tourism research (Decrop, 1999).

Although quantitative research is widely adopted in tourism studies, in this research project a qualitative approach was considered a more appropriate method for the reasons noted earlier and given the key research objectives. Denzin and Lincoln (2003 p.5) describe qualitative research as an 'interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world' that operates in natural settings, with the researcher interpreting the

meanings and knowledge development behind the phenomenon being examined. In the context of this research, qualitative methods allowed for the effective development of the understanding of government behaviour and planning within the context of tourism, drawing conclusions based within a specific social context and allowing for an exploration and interpretive approach throughout. Qualitative research can provide a deep understanding of phenomena through detailed exploratory techniques necessary to explore social knowledge (Silverman, 2009). It is accepted in this study that meanings are constructed and explained phenomena should be achieved through participants' own perspectives.

Within qualitative research, the role of the researcher is recognised as an important part of the research process. The methods which are employed and the interpretations made could influence the findings of the research (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). However, within quantitative research the researcher is seen as being detached from that of the object under investigation (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). The researcher can be removed from the research process and replaced by another without having any implications on the study. Within the methodological process, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) argue, however, that it is important to understand the role of the researcher, which they regard as central to the process. A discussion and examination of the role of the researcher in this study is presented in Section 3.9 of this chapter.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000 p.3) employ the term 'bricoleur', first advanced by Levi-Strauss (1966), suggesting that the researcher can be viewed as an individual who pieces together a range of materials, a 'bricolage', in order to make sense of a subject. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) describe the interpretivist research process as a messy puzzle, of which the researcher needs to seek out the different pieces in order to assemble it effectively. In doing this, the researcher will utilise their own skills, knowledge and experience, employing a range of methods and strategies to investigate the phenomenon (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Indeed, there is no one

correct answer or method which can complete the puzzle, thus the whole process is subjective, whilst at the same time focused and purposeful, wherein lies its value in research terms.

This research is concerned with understanding and interpreting the governance of tourism in two destinations. In order to achieve this, a number of objectives have been outlined (see Section 1.2) which involve the gathering of multiple perspectives and interpretations. It has been established that this research is situated within the interpretivist paradigm and a methodology which allows for multiple qualitative methods to be adopted is needed in order to attain a holistic understanding of the phenomena in each destination. As such, a case study methodology was chosen as the core strategy for this research. The research upon which this thesis is based relies on the use of detailed case studies to evaluate the governance of urban tourism. The subsequent section will elucidate on this further.

3.4 Case Study Methodology

Case studies are frequently used within research as a method of inquiry which provides an opportunity to explore, analyse and interpret a single or a range of instances of the same phenomenon (Gillham, 2000; Simons, 2009; Stake, 1995; 2003; Yin, 2009). Yin (2003 p.13) defines a case study as ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.’ Case study research is an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular case (Simons, 2009), which may be ‘simple or complex’ where the researcher might spend an amount of time engaging with the particular case (Stake, 2003 p.135). A case can refer to something which is being studied and can vary from an individual, a document or a particular location (Simons, 2009; Stake, 2003). Case studies provide researchers with the opportunity to study a given phenomenon within its natural setting (Veal, 2011; Yin, 2009). Sufficient detail on the case, both contextual and in-depth, should be provided in

order to allow for good comparisons to be made (Stake, 2003). By using a variety of resources and techniques, which can include interviewing, observations and documentary sources, case study research allows for a comprehensive and critical understanding of the circumstances and characteristics of a particular instance (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000; Yin, 2009).

Despite the regular application of case study methodology, it is sometimes perceived as a weak research strategy (Flyvbjerg, 2011; Thomas, 2011), criticised for lacking in rigour, objectivity and generalisation (Yin, 2009), with researchers failing to minimise bias in their results (Flyvbjerg, 2006; 2011). However, adopting a variety of data collection methods and clearly demonstrating how methods of trustworthiness have been employed can help to facilitate reliability in case study research. Yin (2009) identified six complementary sources of data that are commonly used in case study research, which include:

- Documentary sources;
- Archival records;
- Interviews;
- Direct observations;
- Participant observations; and
- Physical artefacts.

The use of case study research within the social sciences has increased (Yin, 2003) and within tourism studies case study research is often a common approach employed as the research strategy. The background of each tourist site is often different due to various factors including culture, location, history, and the degree of development. Hence, case study research which focuses on specific sites is the most appropriate strategy in many tourism studies (Xiao and Smith, 2005). For Dredge (2006), a case study approach is ideal for exploring the role and influence of

governance structures as collaboration and partnerships are best understood at the level where tourism planning, product development and marketing takes place.

Within this study two destination areas were chosen as case studies in order to explore and evaluate the governance of tourism, focusing on the extent to which public bodies act as advocates of community interests. This allowed for the key themes, which were identified, to be placed within a real life social context, providing an illustrative example of the issues under consideration. In adopting a case study approach, qualitative research methods were employed in the collection of data.

3.4.1 A Comparative Case Study Approach

Although case study results are not intended to be generalised (Thomas, 2011), the adoption of a comparative case study approach allows for the comparability of multiple case sites. As Yin (2003a p.14) suggests, the case study inquiry 'relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion.' For Denzin and Lincoln's (2000 p.3) 'bricoleur' this is important as the researcher needs to seek out different perspectives to investigate the phenomenon. A comparative case study allows for issues to be identified and investigated across a selection of sites with the intention of identifying similarities and differences. This allows the researcher to analyse and interpret a phenomenon from multiple perspectives (Thomas, 2011; Veal, 2011) and as a consequence, comparative case studies are considered to be more reliable and robust (Yin, 2009).

When utilising a comparative case study approach it is important to ensure the appropriate selection of cases for inclusion. As such, purposive sampling is often employed to enable the selection of cases which are deemed most relevant and sufficient for the purpose of the research (Jankowicz, 2005). This was the approach adopted here, as outlined in the subsequent section.

3.4.2 Case Study Destinations

Once the comparative case study approach was chosen it was important to identify the qualifying case study destinations to be studied in this research (Yin, 2009). Although the scholarship for this research project necessitated that the research would be undertaken in two specific cities, what follows now is a justification for the selection of these two cities.

As identified, purposive sampling is often adopted to enable the selection of cases considered the most appropriate (Jankowicz, 2005) and in order to select suitable case study destinations, this approach was adopted with a thorough sequential selection process undertaken. Therefore, the two case study destinations were selected according to the following criteria:

- They would be sufficiently distinct from one another to provide meaningful comparisons of governance approaches;
- Initial evidence of variations within tourism governance;
- They should be of a sufficient scale to enable a variety of primary and secondary data sources to be available; and
- The nature of the destination as a tourist-historic city destination.

In an attempt to categorise urban tourism, which is often described as complex (Law, 1996), Fainstein and Judd (1999) identified three basic types of tourist cities; *resort cities*, defined as built destinations with tourism as the primary function, *tourist-historic cities*, in which historic cores have become the object of tourist consumption, and *converted cities*, where a change of function has occurred within the destination. This categorisation of urban tourist destinations was adopted in this study as a tool for identifying and selecting appropriate case study locations. In order to facilitate comparability, tourist-historic cities were considered as possible case study destinations. Maitland (2006) observes that the understanding of the management of tourism in historic destinations is limited. The tourism literature

indicates that there is insufficient knowledge regarding different local tourism governance approaches (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010), with a lack of comparative analysis of issues within destination governance particularly from an urban destination perspective (Maitland, 2006; Scott et al., 2011).

The considerable growth of tourist-historic cities and the tensions which have emerged between tourism development and the local community (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999) provide a rationale for interpreting the governance of tourism within urban destinations. As a result, cities which demonstrated characteristics of Fainstein and Judd's (1999) tourist-historic city were identified as possible case study destinations and thus enabled the narrowing of the selection process. In addition, Budge et al. (1998), Clark (1998), and Elliott (1997) commend taking a cross-cultural comparative approach to research to enhance understandings of the politics and processes within a country through comparisons and contrasts (Wolman and Goldsmith, 1992). Therefore, to further enhance the legitimacy and to increase the external validity of this research, an international comparative analysis was adopted. The initial selection of possible cities included York, Lincoln, Oxford, Liverpool, Bath, Rome, Seville, Cordoba, and Huelva.

Furthermore, an element of pragmatism also determined the selection of cases. Specifically, access to informants and documentary sources sufficient to provide rich data for the study influenced the choice of case study locations. In fact, Yin (2009) advocates this pragmatic approach in case study selection where he argues that the researcher should 'choose the case that is likely, all other things being equal, to yield the best data' (Yin, 2009 p.91). It was this criterion that also ultimately led to the exclusion of a possible third case of Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. As a relatively new South American destination, with growth and sustainability issues, Cartagena de Indias was considered a suitable case study to interpret the governance of tourism. However, after careful consideration during the first stage of the research process, primarily due to logistical reasons and the

need to ensure the collection of sufficient data, the two tourist-historic city destinations that met the requirements outlined above closely and accordingly selected as case study areas were:

- Seville, Spain;
- York, United Kingdom.

A comprehensive and in-depth discussion of both York and Seville is given in the appendices with the purpose being to provide appropriate context for both cities with regards to the current research topic. This includes a historic overview of each city and a summary of tourism from both a national and local perspective in each location. For York this can be found in Appendix H – York: Context of Case Study Destination and for Seville Appendix I – Seville: Context of Case Study Destination.

Emerging as a mass tourist destination during the dictatorship of Franco during the 1960s, Spain is now the world's third largest international tourist destination (Zapata and Hall, 2012). As Zapata and Hall (2012 p.66) highlight, the 'volume, socio-economic contribution and the maturity of the tourism sector in Spain therefore make it a significant organisational field for the study of public-private collaboration processes.' In addition, the fragmented nature of the Spanish public administration has resulted in collaboration, cooperation and coordination becoming central to public discourse (Zapata and Hall, 2012). Tourism partnerships have grown considerably in Spain, with a diversity of partnership models existing within the autonomous regions of the country (Baidal, 2004; Zapata and Hall, 2012). As a result, Spain provides an interesting case study for exploring and interpreting tourism governance. The culturally distinct autonomous region of Andalucía has a number of popular seaside resorts with tourism a key element of the regional economy, especially along the coast. However, the increase in demand for culture and heritage tourism within an urban context has resulted in Seville experiencing an influx of tourism activity. Categorised as a tourist-historic city according to Fainstein and Judd's (1999) classification resulted in Seville emerging as an appropriate case

study destination to explore the structures of tourism governance which have emerged and evolved in the city.

York and Seville are both historic heritage destinations but with distinctions between the governance of tourism evident. As stated, other locations could have been selected, however, it was felt that these other destinations did not best meet the criteria and access to informants would have been more challenging. For example, Liverpool does not have, until recently at least, a rich and diverse history of tourism and tourism development within the city. Although, tourism has become a significant factor within economic development, the governance structure is not appropriate for investigation in this current research. Cordoba and Huelva are smaller destinations and less well developed than York and Seville. In addition, existing academic and professional links in both York and Seville facilitated access in a way that would have been difficult in other destinations. There is also a strong academic resource on tourism in York, including critical analysis of host community attitudes towards tourism within the city (see Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1994; 2000; Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). This provided a useful resource in the development of this research project.

There were also obvious practical reasons for selecting these two cities. The researcher was, at the time of this research, a resident of York and his supervisory team had a strong network of connections in Seville. Being able to utilise the network of connections which the researcher had developed in York and the number of contacts which the supervisory team had made in Seville, albeit limited, was a useful way of starting the participant selection process.

Both York and Seville are distinctive and offer very different experiences at different stages in their development. York is a mature destination with problems of potential decline in the face of competition, while Seville is a heavily invested destination where tourism is directly related to economic regeneration, as apparent

in the Macarena project. Both York and Seville have distinctive tourism governance structures which have developed over time. Both offer interesting similarities and differences with regards to tourism governance and this research provided an opportunity to explore these two approaches. Indeed, it is not claimed that there is a best model for tourism or an exemplar approach to tourism governance. Rather, what this study aims to achieve is to demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of the governance of tourism in each location and to identify those characteristics which can be learned from.

3.4.3 Case Study Protocol

A tool for ensuring reliability within case study research is the adoption of a case study protocol (Yin, 2003). A case study protocol contains the procedures and general rules that are to be followed throughout the case study research process and as such guides the researcher in the collection of data. The protocol, therefore, ensures consistency in the data collection process in each case study destination and contributes to the trustworthiness of the research (Yin, 2003). A copy of the case study protocol can be found in Appendix A – Case Study Protocol which formed a key part of the research process. The researcher followed the protocol during the data collection process.

Thus far, this chapter has provided a discussion of the paradigmatic issues and debates surrounding qualitative research, identifying the research strategy adopted. The adopting of a comparative case study approach has allowed the researcher to chart a course for the chosen methodology. Having discussed the research strategy for the current study, it is now time to focus on the particular range of methods that were employed.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

As outlined by Yin (2009), a variety of complementary data collection methods can be used within case study research, allowing for a better understanding of the phenomenon being studied and the interpretations made (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). It is important to ensure that when employing techniques for data collection, the nature of the study and the study objectives are taken into consideration to ensure that appropriate data collection methods are adopted. This will help to facilitate relevance and consistency within the data set. Therefore, documentary sources and in-depth interviews were employed as the primary data collection methods and these will now be outlined and discussed.

3.5.1 Documentary Sources

Documentary sources were used extensively in this study as they provide vital background information, adding depth and understanding to the context and phenomena being studied (Veal, 2011). Documentary sources served as a means to contextualise the key issues and themes which emerged from the interviews and to enable data triangulation. As highlighted by Jennings (2010), documentary sources provide a retrospective analysis in allowing past events and trends to be examined. They provide a rich data set because they were created in the natural environment of the field of study (Jennings, 2010).

Documentary sources can take many forms and Sarantakos (1998) devised a classification system for contextual documents. The five components include public documents such as statistical documents and reports, archival documents, personal documents, administrative documents, and formal studies and reports. Jennings (2010) refers to such documents as generally being of good quality and meeting high research standards. Therefore, statistical documents, reports and documentary sources derived from government and governmental agencies were used in the research. Within this study rather than documentary sources treated as

secondary data they were counted as primary archival sources. Archival data is increasingly being seen as a viable primary data source owing to the sophistication of data analysis techniques and the opportunity to triangulate the data analysis process.

Documentary sources have been identified in relation to the following organisations and individuals as making a contribution to the current study. The purpose in accessing and employing these resources has been to identify and analyse the role of local government in the development of tourism policy and planning and to examine the nature of community representation and participation. Indeed, the nature and objectives of the present study necessitated such documentary sources to be scrutinised in order to enrich the data analysis and as such informed the research as it progressed. In particular, these sources were useful in interpreting the meaning and significance of the governance structures evident. Documentary material from the following sources has therefore been researched:

- Local Tourist Boards;
- Regional Tourist Boards;
- Local Authorities and City Councils;
- Regional Authorities and Local Government;
- Private sector organisations; and
- Voluntary sector organisations.

Documentary sources can appear at any time during the research process and indeed during this research documents were acquired throughout the project. Documentary sources were derived from a range of different organisations both in the United Kingdom and Spain. These included strategy documents from local authorities such as the City of York Council and Seville City Council, regional organisations including the Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and Junta Andalucía (Seville), regional tourism boards namely Welcome to Yorkshire in the

United Kingdom and the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Sport based within the Andalucía Autonomous Regional Government, and national tourism organisations including Visit Britain and the Instituto de Turismo de España (Institute of Tourism in Spain). At a local level, detailed documentary sources were collected from Visit York and Turismo de Sevilla. Documentary sources were sought from these agencies and organisations in order to provide a detailed analysis of the role and functions of tourism and tourism governance in the United Kingdom and Spain, which enabled a rich and in-depth analysis of tourism activity.

Comparable documents were sought in order to facilitate comparability between the two case study destinations. For example, tourism strategy documents from both Visit York and the Tourism Consortium in Seville were collected. It is recognised, however, that some documentary evidence may not be comparable between the two case study destinations due to the differences which exist in the structure and formation of tourism governance. Although this may be the case they do provide critical insights which are necessary for the research.

A content analysis was conducted on strategy and policy documents in relation to the objectives for this current study, highlighting the strategic goals and organisational structures evident within local and regional governance. Key themes were identified within the documentary sources, which allowed for an analysis of the role of local government and stakeholder representation and engagement within tourism and tourism planning. The documentary sources that were collected include:

Tourist Boards

Visit York

- York Tourism Strategy and Action Plan – May 2007
- Key Facts on Tourism in York (as at May 2007)
- Key Facts on Tourism in York (as at June 2008)
- Key Facts on Tourism in York (as at May 2009)
- Facts and Figures on Tourism in York: 2012 Update
- Visit York Strategic Plan 2009 – 2012
- Visit York Annual Report 2012 – 2013
- Summary of York as a Visitor Destination
- Summary of the Financial Statements for the year ended 31 March 2010
- York: A Vision for Tourism

Tourism Consortium of Seville – Turismo de Sevilla

- Consorcio "Turismo de Sevilla" Plan de Actuacion 2009 – 2010 (Consortium "Turismo de Sevilla " Action Plan 2009 – 2010)
- Seville Sales Manual
- Balance Anual de 2013 del Turismo de Sevilla (2013 Annual Balance Sevilla Tourism)

Regional and Local Government

City of York Council

- Service Level Agreement between Visit York and City of York Council
- Local Development Framework 2007
- Local Development Framework 2008
- York's Tourism Strategy

Yorkshire Forward

- The Tourism Marketing Strategy for Yorkshire & Humber 2006 – 2010
- Executive Summary
- A Strategic Framework for the Visitor Economy
- Yorkshire and Humber: Visitor Economy Strategy 2008 – 2013

Ayuntamiento de Sevilla

- Plan Desarrollo Turístico de Sevilla (Seville Tourism Development Plan)

Voluntary Sector

Joseph Rowntree Foundation

- A New Vision for York

Documentary sources do have limitations and careful consideration needs to be taken when using them. For example, most documentary sources were not created to provide data for researchers and thus scrutiny is required to ensure the data collected is relevant. As Jennings (2010) asserts, some documents could be unreliable and not representative of the situation as a whole. The current study required documentary sources to be examined from both the United Kingdom and Spain and although documentary sources can be quick to access, they are often not easy to locate (Jennings, 2010).

Documentary sources were mostly collected during the interview process. Initially, collecting documentary sources was difficult as the researcher was unsure of where certain documents were located and equally how best to obtain copies. However, once the data collection process began, identifying and collecting a range of documentary sources was made possible through the contacts which the researcher had made, and in particular, through the informants. Building a relationship with key organisations such as Visit York, the Tourism Consortium in

Seville, and the City Councils in both case study areas, the researcher was able to access a range of documents which aided the research. In some cases, during the interviews participants were able to supply the researcher with reports and strategic documents. Developing rapport with respondents allowed the researcher to have access to the quantity and quality of documentary sources required to create a reliable and rich data set.

Despite the authoritative appearance of documentary sources, Arksey and Knight (1999) note that they are not necessarily objective. Equally, even official statistics could be biased. Therefore, documentary sources were derived from a wide range of different agencies in order to counterbalance potential biases which may be apparent and to provide a broad perspective. In summary, as Arksey and Knight (1999) suggest, providing the researcher is aware of potential limitations and makes note of such in the conclusions of the research, documentary sources can prove to be a valuable and very usable source.

The use of documentary sources in the present study is thus part of the process of emerging knowledge that has informed the research as it has progressed. Its limitations are recognised but its contribution to the study is equally apparent. The limitations of documentary sources emphasises the importance of using complementary research methods within the research strategy. The use of in-depth semi-structured interviews will now be discussed as the additional method of data collection, allowing for a solid, triangulated case study methodology.

3.5.2 Semi-Structured In-depth Interviews

Semi-structured interviews provided an effective method of collecting rich data, allowing for an exploration of an individual's personal and private understanding (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Jennings, 2010). Semi-structured interviews are informal, conversational interactions that are useful for investigating an individual's

experiences, attitudes and values (Jennings, 2010; Silverman, 2009). Key themes formulated and topics for discussion allow for information regarding attitudes, opinions and values to be explored in more detail compared with scales or closed questions (Jennings, 2010). Such a method is useful in exploring deeper meanings about social situations and the significances attached to them by the actors involved (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Semi-structured interviews are an effective method of collecting representative data (Hartmann, 1988) as they do not restrict or constrain participants, allowing for themes to be discussed in-depth and emerging themes to be explored (Jennings, 2010).

Although semi-structured interviews can be time consuming, they do provide a more relaxed interview setting (Jennings, 2010). In addition, the face to face and personal nature of this approach allows for the development of rapport and empathy between the interviewer and interviewee. This can create a more comfortable environment and thus lead to detailed responses from participants (Jordan and Gibson, 2004). This method of data collection is particularly useful in collecting sensitive data on complex issues (Jennings, 2010). The nature of the study did require some sensitive data to be collected and the establishment of rapport consequently allowed such issues to be explored. The development of rapport through the use of interviews can create a rich and in-depth data set, ensuring the study conclusions are comprehensive. Ensuring the credibility of the study results is important, particularly within qualitative research, because such research methods are often criticised for lacking rigour and reliability. Therefore, the development of rapport is one method of establishing comparability and rigour when adopting qualitative research methods (Decrop, 2004).

In accordance with the study objectives, key themes were established for the questions which emerged from the review of the literature, informing the conceptual framework that was used as a scheme of reference in guiding and designing the research methodology and data collection tools. The analysis of the

literature suggested that there was a need to understand the democratic accountability represented in governance approaches and, in particular, revealed that there is a lack of research exploring and evaluating how democratic these governance structures are. Therefore, key themes were established for the interviews as follows:

- The role of local government
 - Changes in local government
 - Involvement in tourism
 - Tourism management
 - Representation
 - Collaboration and partnerships
 - Accountability
- Private Sector and Tourism
 - The role of the private sector in tourism management
 - Involvement in tourism
 - Representation
 - Collaboration and partnerships
- Approaches to tourism governance
- Representation and participation in tourism decision making
- Attitudes towards tourism
- The role and involvement of the local community in tourism
- The representation of the local community in tourism
- Strategic functionality

These key themes formed the question schedule for the interviews. In addition, an interview protocol was developed which can be found in Appendix B – Interview Protocol. These key themes have been clearly matched against the study objectives which are outlined in Chapter One, Section 1.2. Table 3.1 demonstrates this.

Table 3.1 Study Objectives and Key Themes Explored

Study Objectives	Key Themes
1. To identify and evaluate the governance of tourism in York, United Kingdom and Seville, Spain	Approaches to tourism governance
2. To assess the impacts of these governance approaches on democratic accountability and transparency in tourism decision making process	<p>Representation and participation in tourism decision making</p> <p>The role of local government:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in local government • Involvement in tourism • Tourism management • Representation • Collaboration and partnerships <p>Approaches to tourism governance</p> <p>Representation and participation in tourism decision making</p> <p>Attitudes towards tourism</p> <p>The role and involvement of the local community in tourism</p> <p>Accountability</p>
3. To evaluate the mechanisms used in the representation and participation of destination stakeholders in local democracy and destination development in each case study destination	<p>Private Sector and Tourism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of the private sector in tourism management • Involvement in tourism • Representation • Collaboration and partnerships <p>Approaches to tourism governance</p> <p>The representation of the local community in tourism</p> <p>The role and involvement of the local community in tourism</p>
4. To draw this analysis together to contribute a framework for understanding participation in tourism governance	<p>Approaches to tourism governance</p> <p>Representation and participation in tourism decision making</p> <p>Strategic functionality</p>

Conversational interviews were developed around these themes and, as typical with semi-structured interviews, respondents were given the opportunity to develop and express their own themes and ideas. This provided the interviewer with the opportunity to ask for further clarification which ensured they had fully understood the questions. In addition, the interviewer was able to probe for further detail, queries were clarified, and follow up questions used to further expand responses (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Jordan and Gibson, 2004). In addition, it allowed the interviewer to ask for more detail and pursue any occurring themes or ideas without negatively affecting the quality of the data collected (Jennings, 2010), thus allowing for data which is credible. All the interviewees were guaranteed anonymity, not because the information they disclosed was particularly sensitive, but rather because it helped to create an atmosphere within which the respondents could speak freely.

The nature of this research encouraged the use of interviews which took place in the natural setting of the participant. Sandiford and Ap (1998) note the importance of limiting biases within the data collection process and thus suggest conducting the interviews in a neutral setting which is comfortable for the respondent. Indeed, Jordan and Gibson (2004) claim that finding a suitable location is important when conducting interviews. Ideally neutral ground would be preferred, which could help reduce the risk of the researcher taking a dominant role. However, this is not often feasible. Due to the nature of this current research and the criteria of the interview participants, it was decided that the most effective and efficient location for conducting the interviews would be somewhere which was convenient for the participant. Many of the informants were government officials and private sector individuals for whom time was precious. Thus, in order to ensure a greater number of interview participants, the location of the interview was always selected by the informant, ensuring it was convenient and feasible for them. This also helped to reduce time pressure within the interviews as a natural setting for the respondent was chosen.

Consequently, the majority of interviews were conducted in an office environment, often based at the place of work for the informant. Such a location was ideal as the space was quiet and often free from distractions. It also meant that informants did not feel they had to schedule a large amount of their time to take part in the research. However, on a number of occasions the interview took place either in a café or bar location. Again, this was often at the convenience of the informant. There were, however, some issues in recording an interview in this environment as the noise volumes were much higher and so consequently interfered with the recording. This created difficulties in transcribing the audio. On reflection, it would have been more appropriate to arrange an interview space which was free from distractions and had low noise levels. However, by being flexible with location and time of interview, the researcher believes that they were potentially able to secure a larger number of interviews.

On average interviews lasted approximately one hour. Interviews were only stopped when the researcher felt that all the key themes and questions had been appropriately explored. Interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed in Microsoft Word. In order to ensure accuracy with the data set, all interview transcriptions were entered into the software package Nvivo 8 for analysis. Transcriptions were analysed in relation to the major themes outlined in Table 3.1. In Spain, the majority of interviews were conducted in English. However, on occasion there were instances when the interview was conducted in Spanish with a translator present.

Semi-structured interviews do have limitations which should be noted. For example, replication is impossible since the social interaction between the interviewer and interviewee is a 'snapshot view of interaction influenced by the type of day, the setting of the interview and the social circumstances surrounding both the researcher and the participant' (Jennings, 2010 p.175). As a result, the format, length and topics discussed can vary between respondents. However, semi-

structured interviews are normally conducted with those who are deemed experts in their field or able to offer a distinct perspective. The structure and nature of the interviewee's responses will, therefore, illustrate their individual experience and interpretations and this may prove to be insightful (Veal, 2011). In addition, data may be inadequate if the interviewer has not developed good interviewing skills and does not probe and follow leads given by the interviewee (Jennings, 2010). Furthermore, the researcher may manipulate and bias the data by not pursuing one particular line of prompting (Jennings, 2010; Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2009).

The recording of interviews can also be an issue. Jordan and Gibson (2004) note a typical example may include the interviewee having an awareness of being recorded which could have an effect upon their responses and the depth of these responses. The building of rapport and the skills of the interviewer in creating a relaxed atmosphere could help to reduce levels of anxiety. However, the researcher noted that if this did occur during the interviews, it would be highlighted in the conclusions of the study.

These short-falls with using interviews as a tool of data collection can have implications on the validity and reliability of the results. Indeed, Hartmann (1988) suggests that interviewing should be combined with additional techniques to support the validity of the data. Therefore, a multi-method approach was adopted within this study. The use of interviews and documentary sources allowed for a wide range of data to be collected, ensuring the trustworthiness of the study results and conclusions drawn.

3.6 Sampling

With regard to the sample size, for Silverman (2009) it is important to recognise that within a qualitative approach the emphasis should be on the quality rather than the quantity of the sample size. Therefore, in this study a purposive sampling

strategy was used to select the sample and to generate rich and accurate data through the selection of relevant participants for the research question. Purposive sampling is a form of non-probability sampling where the choice of people to be included in the sample does not follow a random selection (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). An appropriate sample size for a qualitative study, therefore, is one that adequately answers the research questions.

Obtaining access to key informants was particularly challenging in Seville. However, through the support of colleagues, the researcher developed and maintained a working relationship with the University of Seville. This relationship proved invaluable in gaining access to key informants and in working with academics in Seville who were able to provide linguistic support, access and contact information for possible informants. In addition, once a relationship had been established with a key informant in Seville, they themselves were able to suggest and in some cases arrange interviews with other key informants. Often described as purposive or snowball sampling, this technique is based on the notion of existing participants identifying or recruiting potential participants based on their recommendations (May, 2001). In any research there are often constraints in recruiting participants and this is potentially further enhanced in cross-cultural research. This is due to data collection often being conducted outside the researcher's home country where he or she knows a limited number of people who could support and / or be involved in his or her research. Moreover, potential participants may be nervous about speaking to a researcher who is from a different cultural background (Hennink, 2008; Jameson, 1994; Liamputtong, 2008). Adopting this sampling approach proved invaluable and provided access to informants which the researcher would not have necessarily been able to reach. Furthermore, if a colleague or a friend has recommended a possible participant for the research, this participant is potentially more likely to participate because they trust the judgment of their colleague or friend.

In York, obtaining access to key informants did not prove as challenging compared with Seville. Respondents in York were approached either via email or telephone and in almost all cases the respondents contacted were very willing to take part in the research. As in Seville, the snowball sampling approach was adopted and this proved very useful in gaining access to informants which might have otherwise proved difficult.

3.7 Study Participants

The interviews were carried out with key informants from local and regional government, local tourist boards, private sector agencies and organisations, third sector groups and individuals who were actively involved within the tourism industry and / or within the tourism planning and development process, and individuals who were active in one way or another in the case study locations in the area of tourism. Key informants were selected on the basis of their knowledge and experiences. Interviews were conducted with a wide range of individuals in order to limit the biases which may be apparent and to provide a broad perspective. The selected respondents are represented in tables 3.2 and 3.3.

In identifying the informants an indication of their position, for example whether they are major stakeholders within their respective cities, and their level of power and ability to influence decision making has been highlighted. Johnson, Scholes and Whittington (2005) champion stakeholder mapping as a tool for identifying and interpreting stakeholder expectations and power in order to establish political priorities. For Kimbu and Ngoasong (2013), the key characteristics used when identifying stakeholders are power and interest, both of which are important attributes within a social network and shape the extent to which a stakeholder may have influence over other interest groups (Granovetter, 2005). Therefore, informants in this study have been mapped against their associated level of power and interest using the Power/Interest Matrix developed by Mendelow (1991). See Appendix C – Stakeholder Analysis for further detail.

As a result of this analysis, the 'Category' column in tables 3.2 and 3.3 indicates whether the stakeholder is considered to be a key stakeholder. H (High) denotes a major stakeholder, with high power and a high level of interest which can include key attractions, organisations and representative from organisations directly involved in decision making; M (Medium) represents stakeholders who are considered to have some involvement or stake in tourism in the destination but may not directly influence decision making, for example Bed and Breakfast proprietors or minor attractions; and finally L (Low) denotes stakeholders who have relatively little interest or position to influence tourism decision making and this may include, for example, local residents.

Table 3.2 York Study Participants

Individual and Role	Sector	Category
Chair, Minster Quarter (Retail Association), former member of Visit York Board	Private Sector	M
Business Analyst, City of York Council, Represents the City Council on the Minster Quarter committee	Public Sector	L
External Relations Manager, Visit York	Public / Private Sector	M
City Centre Manager, City of York Council	Public Sector	M
Manager, National Trust Property, National Trust	Third Sector	M
Chief Executive, York Museums Trust and member of the Visit York Board	Public / Private Sector	H
Head of Economic Development, City of York Council	Public Sector	H
Business Engagement Manager, Visit York	Public / Private sector	M
Deputy Chief Executive, Director of City Strategy, City of York Council	Public Sector	H
Chairman, Visit York	Public / Private sector	H
Labour Councillor, City of York Council and Board member, Visit York	Public Sector	H
Leader, City of York Council	Public Sector	H
Board member, Visit York	Public Sector	M
Chief Executive, Visit York	Public / Private Sector	H
Conservative Councillor, City of York Council and Board member, Visit York	Public Sector	H

Bed and Breakfast proprietor and member of Visit York	Private Sector	M
Bed and Breakfast proprietor and member of Visit York	Private Sector	M
Large hotel proprietor and member of Visit York Board	Private Sector	M
Large hotel proprietor	Private Sector	L
Labour Councillor, City of York Council	Public Sector	L
Restaurant proprietor and member of Visit York	Private Sector	M
Guest house proprietor, former Chair of the York Hospitality Association and member of Visit York	Private Sector	M
Restaurant proprietor, Visit York Board member and organiser of the York Food and Drink Festival	Private Sector	M
Hotel manager and member of the York Hoteliers Association	Private Sector	M
Assistant Director, Communities and Culture, City of York Council	Public Sector	M
Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York	Public / Private Sector	M

Table 3.3 Seville Study Participants

Individual and Role	Sector	Category
Director, Seville Airport	Private Sector	M
President, Business Association of Travel Agents of Seville (AEVISE)	Private Sector	H
President, Seville Restaurant Association	Private Sector	H
Director, Seville Port Authority	Private Sector	M
Head of Promotion and Marketing, Turismo de Sevilla	Public / Private sector	M
President, Spanish Language Schools Association of Seville	Private Sector	M
Head of Tourism Policy and Planning Division Tourism, Commerce and Sport Ministry, Andalucía Regional Government	Public Sector	M
President, Seville Hotel Association	Private Sector	H
Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council	Public Sector	M
Chairman, Sevilla Semueve, Resident Association	Community Group	M
Tourism Advisor, Seville Chamber of Commerce	Private Sector	M
Technical Member, Seville Tourism Plan, Turismo de Sevilla	Public / Private sector	M
Chairman, Seville Congress and Convention Bureau	Private Sector	H
Chief Executive, Tour Operator Co.	Private Sector	M
Chief Executive, Turismo de Sevilla	Public Sector	H
Member of Sevilla Semueve, Resident Association	Community Group	M

In total 42 interviews were conducted, 26 in York and 16 in Seville. Interviews in York were conducted between August 2010 and December 2010. Interviews in Seville were conducted during two separate visits to the city, the first in June 2010 and the second in October 2010. Two familiarisation visits to Seville took place prior to this in January 2009 and February 2010 in order to establish contacts and to test the viability of the research. Two further visits to Seville in June 2011 and September 2013 provided an opportunity to discuss the findings with key informants and confirm the results of the analysis. In addition, the researcher also met with key informants in York to validate the interview responses and data analysis.

As illustrated, more interviews were conducted in York than in Seville. This disparity was primarily due to issues of accessibility as the researcher was based in York and thus had more time to conduct interviews in the city. There was no specific set number of interviews which needed to be conducted. Only when it was felt that the sample had been exhausted and the key issues had been uncovered and explored sufficiently by a wide range of respondents that the interviews were stopped.

3.8 Data Analysis

As noted by Bryman (2008), the analysis of data is a crucial component of the research process and is arguably the most difficult, as within qualitative data analysis, there are no clear guidelines on how qualitative data analysis should be conducted. Given the nature of this study and the methods employed in data collection, a thematic approach was adopted in the analysis of the data. Thematic analysis seeks to identify and describe patterns and themes within a qualitative data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This is reflected by Boyatzis (1998), who noted that thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data. Braun and Clarke (2006) highlight that there is an absence of any clear guidelines around thematic analysis and, therefore, outline a framework in which rigorous and valid thematic analysis can be undertaken. For Braun and Clarke

(2006), however, this approach is not prescriptive and can be adapted to fit the research question and data. This six phased approach for thematic analysis was adopted accordingly within this research and is shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Thematic Analysis Framework

Phase	Description of the Process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic manner across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The initial opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

(Source: adapted from Braun and Clarke, 2006)

3.8.1 Phase One – Familiarising Yourself with Your Data

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that it is important for the researcher to immerse themselves in the data to ensure familiarity with the depth and breadth of the content. This would typically involve repeated reading of the data in order to begin to search for patterns and meanings. For Miles and Huberman (1994), this is an

important part of the process, leading to greater data familiarisation for the researcher. As a result, during this phase the researcher immersed himself with the data set to ensure familiarity with the depth and breadth of the content. This immersion was achieved through the following process:

- Transcribing the data;
- Reading the transcriptions whilst listening to the audio in order to check the data for accuracy; and
- Re-reading the transcriptions.

For the researcher this first phase included the data management process and transcription. All interview data was transcribed in Microsoft Word and later transferred to the Nvivo 8 software package for analysis. This, therefore, allowed the researcher to organise, store and retrieve data collected in a systematic and coherent way. A discussion on the use of Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software is given in Section 3.8.7. In addition, during this process the researcher also took notes and made initial comments for coding.

3.8.2 Phase Two – Generating Initial Codes

The second phase involved the generation of codes and the initial coding of the data. Once the researcher is familiar with the data they are able to begin an initial coding (Braun and Clarke, 2006). During this phase initial coding took place in which the researcher documented where and how patterns occurred. Within the transcripts, data was highlighted and coded and, in particular, patterns were identified within the data set. This coding was conducted electronically using Nvivo 8 as a tool to analyse and identify potential patterns within the data. For Braun and Clarke (2006), writing is an important part of the analysis process and, therefore, ideas and potential coding themes were noted down throughout the coding process. Seale (2004 p.306) claims the researcher will usually be interested in detecting patterns in data and therefore describes coding as 'placing like with like

so that patterns can be found.’ This is where the Nvivo software was particularly useful as it enabled the researcher to collect all data belonging to a particular code. It also enabled the facilitation of the re-coding of data and the creation of coding hierarchies. Depending on how structured the interview is a coding scheme may emerge both deductively from pre-existing concerns as well as inductively from the data themselves (Seale, 2004). Both forms of coding apply to this study.

3.8.3 Phase Three – Searching for Themes

Phase three is concerned with re-focusing the analysis and involved the sorting of different codes into potential themes. For Braun and Clarke (2006), the emphasis within this phase is to begin identifying the relationships between the different codes and to consider how these codes could be combined. Therefore, codes were combined into potential key themes and the researcher developed mind maps in order to provide a visual representation of the themes which were emerging within the data. Mind maps provide a visual representation of the codes, showing the relationships between these codes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Within this research the development of a series of mind maps enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of the emerging relationships between the codes, which then allowed for the development of emerging themes. The codes and their relationship with the key themes are presented in Appendix D – Codes and Key Themes.

3.8.4 Phase Four – Reviewing Themes

Having identified emerging themes from the data, during this phase the themes were further refined. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that during this phase it is important to review the themes which have been identified by revisiting the data extracts and checking that they appear to form a coherent pattern. As a result, within this phase the researcher was able to elicit meanings and insights from the data extracts. Patterns which emerged were further refined and the researcher was able to make links with the research aim and objectives and the identified patterns

and their features from the literature. If this was the case, a thematic map was then developed which allowed the researcher to check that the thematic map reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. As part of this process, the themes were further refined to ensure relevance and appropriateness. The refined themes were:

- Public sector involvement;
- Private sector involvement;
- Representation and participation in tourism decision making;
- Mechanisms for engagement;
- Attitudes towards tourism;
- Attitudes to engagement and participation;
- Conflict and conflict resolution;
- Strategy;
- Democratic deficit; and
- Accountability.

3.8.5 Phase Five – Defining and Naming Themes

During this phase the themes were further defined. For the researcher a key part of this process was the identification and exploration of key links, relationships and differences between the data and the themes identified. Consequently, the researcher was able to identify the major themes and formulate a description of these themes. Furthermore, in order to ensure the quality of the analysis this was not a linear process and indeed the researcher continued to re-visit the data extracts and themes in order to check for consistency and to verify the data was appropriate for the themes identified.

Consequently, these final revised themes were:

- Recognising the value of tourism;
- Approaches to and structures of tourism governance;
- Stakeholder engagement;
- Tension and conflict;
- Strategic functionality; and
- Accountability.

The relationship between the initial codes and the final themes is given in Appendix E – Relationship between the Codes and Themes. The purpose here is to show how the initial codes were refined and further defined.

At this point of the data analysis process the researcher sought respondent validation which involved providing respondents with a copy of the transcript and the research findings and asking for comments on the accuracy of the transcript and the researcher's interpretation of the findings (Decrop, 2004). The researcher met with key informants from both York and Seville to discuss the findings and confirm the results of the analysis. This proved a useful process in the validation of the findings and conclusions drawn.

3.8.6 Phase Six – Producing the Report

The final stage of this data analysis process is the presentation of what was found. For Braun and Clarke (2006), this phase begins when the themes are fully worked-out and involves the presentation of the themes through a coherent, logical and interesting narrative. Furthermore, the write up should include sufficient and appropriate supporting evidence of the themes. As a result, direct quotations from the transcripts of the interviews were used to facilitate the presentation of the

discussion of the themes identified through this analysis. Data extracts were chosen which illustrated the point appropriately (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

Baxter and Eyles (1997 p.508) suggest that showing the interviewees' words is important because it reveals 'how meanings are expressed in the respondent's own words rather than the words of the researcher.' Therefore, extensive use of the data extracts demonstrated the essence of the responses from the informants. As a result, it was decided to present the data extracts collected in Spanish in their original form, accompanied by the English translation. For Nikander (2008), providing both the original text and the translated version creates transparency of the data and allows for potential alternatives and further interpretations of the data to be made.

3.8.7 Computer-assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) is considered a notable development in qualitative research, facilitating the analysis of qualitative data (Banner and Albarran, 2009; Lee and Fielding, 1991). A variety of software programs exist which allow analysts to code text and subsequently retrieve the coded text. CAQDAS is, therefore, an alternative to the physical task of writing marginal codes, making photocopies of transcripts, cutting out chunks of data and pasting them together. As a result, CAQDAS can help to speed up the process of coding and retrieving codes and enhance the transparency of the coding process as researchers are required to be more explicit and reflective about the process of analysis (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Nvivo 8 was used for the initial analysis of the data and formed part of a wider analysis strategy.

However, unlike quantitative data analysis, in which the use of computer software is widely accepted, its usage amongst qualitative data analysts has not been universally embraced (Bryman and Bell, 2011). For smaller data sets and for data

captured in different formats, such packages are not always helpful (Farquhar, 2012). Concerns have also been expressed suggesting that the use of CAQDAS may result in researchers becoming distant from the data and increase the temptation to quantify the findings (Barry, 1998; Welsh, 2002). This would suggest a training and research need to assess if such investment is worthwhile (Farquhar, 2012). The use of CAQDAS may also result in the narrative flow of interview transcripts becoming lost due to the fragmented nature of coding which limits a contextual understanding (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Therefore, there is a need for continual analysis which includes the re-reading of the data to develop an analysis with depth (Barry, 1998). Farquhar (2012) highlights that researchers should also note that such programs do not actually analyse the data. The researcher is still required to analyse and interpret the data. It does not help with decisions regarding the coding of textual materials or about the interpretations of the findings (Bryman and Bell, 2011).

Despite these concerns, CAQDAS offers an efficient means through which to manage and organise data and as such supports rigorous data analysis (Banner and Albarran, 2009). Whilst there is no industry leader amongst the different programs, Nvivo is widely adopted by analysts (Bryman and Bell, 2011). Taking into consideration the advantages and drawbacks of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software, the Nvivo 8 software was adopted in this research as a tool in the storing of data and the initial coding of the transcripts. Given that the use of CAQDAS can result in the researcher becoming distant from the data and results in the fragmented nature of coding, the researcher felt that the use of Nvivo should be adopted as part of a wider process of data analysis. As a result, Nvivo facilitated the researcher in the storing of the transcripts and in the initial analysis of the data through the identification of common themes which became apparent across interview transcripts. The Nvivo 8 software was a vital tool in facilitating the consistency of the data and establishing confidence in the findings. The researcher used Nvivo for the initial stage in analysing the data, i.e. it formed part of a wider analysis strategy, and in this sense was useful in handling a large amount of data.

3.9 Positionality

The endeavour to produce scientific, non-personal accounts has often led to the purposeful separation of self and personal narrative from objective observations (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). However, in qualitative research the researcher is as much the instrument of the research as its guiding hand, and as such the validity and authenticity of the research approach needs to be examined (Thuong, 2013) (see Section 3.11 which details the approach taken towards validity, reliability, and trustworthiness in this study). Therefore, the need for researchers to recognise their own positionality and to critically reflect upon their multiple positionalities (Anderson, 1998; Jackson, 1993; Rose, 1997; Vanderbeck, 2005) has been emphasised by human geographers in particular (Hopkins, 2007). Whilst such approaches have been criticised as 'cultural geography's fragmenting, reflexive self-obsession' (Peach, 2002 p.252), it has recently become regarded as accepted practice. Positionality allows researchers to articulate the lens through which they interpret a social world and should take into account the context of the researcher in relation to the research (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004; Greenbank, 2003). It is important, therefore, for tourism researchers to also consider their role within the research process, both in ensuring the validity of the research (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004), and in understanding the way that meaning is constructed through the research process.

Whilst I recognised the need to be objective and distant within the research, I also acknowledged the subjective nature of my position. As a resident of York, it is inevitable that for me this created a particular perspective for the understanding of tourism in the city and the need to achieve the same level of understanding in Seville. As Greenbank (2003) argues, there is a need for qualitative researchers to undertake a reflexive account, recognising the influence of values and experiences on the research process. Reflexivity, thus, involves the researcher acknowledging their historical, cultural and personal values in locating themselves within the research process and clearly articulating this (Greenbank, 2003; Postholm and

Skrovset, 2013). In this way the researcher is dealing 'objectively' with their subjectivity. In doing so, the inevitable subjectivity is accommodated within the research as an active factor in its production of knowledge and in an open and transparent way. For Peake and Trotz (1999), acknowledging the researcher's positionality or subjectivity strengthens the commitment to conducting good research based on building relationships of mutual respect, recognition and authentic engagement in the research process.

The research problem being explored here resulted from the identification of several threads. The first connection was through my own work in the private sector in York, namely in the retail sector. The second was the culmination of my undergraduate work which explored tourism policy and planning in the United Kingdom and Spain. The final thread was personal curiosity resulting from the creation of Visit York in 2008, described as a pioneering destination management organisation. Indeed, as Thomas (2011) suggests, often research projects start with local knowledge or a spark of curiosity. I had lived in York for eight years both studying and working in the city and I am familiar with York as a tourist destination, both from the perspective of a visitor and that of a resident. I am also aware of the challenges of tourism and tourism development in the city having been a committee member on a number of private sector marketing organisations, such as the Minster and Micklegate Quarters in the city's historic core. I recognised the power dynamics which existed particularly in tourism decision making in the city and was keen to explore this further. It was through these networks and connections, particularly through my work on the marketing committees, which allowed me to develop a network of key contacts and informants.

The building of trust and rapport is crucial in qualitative interviewing (Jennings, 2010) and through establishing a strong network in York I was able to approach potential informants who knew of me and felt comfortable speaking with me. As highlighted by Postholm and Skrovset (2013), I believed I was able to gain influence

and trust through my competencies of communication and listening skills, empathy and local awareness. Existing contacts were also able to put me in contact with potential informants, a snowball sampling approach, which also proved invaluable. As Bateson (1972) states, the relationship between individuals and their surroundings consists of feelings and emotions and as such the building of rapport and a solid relationship was important, particularly in gaining access to key informants. I was also aware of the need to utilise my network and connections in a professional manner and with an understanding of the need to be patient and respectful towards the informants. In addition, I needed to be emotionally receptive to impressions and expressions (Postholm and Skrovset, 2013) in order to ensure an appropriate yield from the connections which I had made in York.

From the above it is inevitable that as a researcher I have a relationship to the city and a position in relation to some of the study's participants, but not to the extent that this would jeopardise the accuracy of the study's findings. Indeed, the closeness and familiarity allowed a level of access that is often actively sought in ethnographically orientated research. At the same time, I was able to distance myself and be dispassionate when the occasion demanded. In particular, I found that a number of informants were aware that I was not from the region, although I had not actively highlighted this, and as a result there was a desire by the informants to provide context to the answers which they gave assuming that my understanding was limited on specific issues in the city.

May (1997) highlights that one of the issues of conducting a comparative analysis is the ability of researchers to adequately understand cultures and societies different from their own. Although my relationship with Seville is different, I applied the same methods of engagement as I had in York. I was conscious that my understanding of Seville and indeed Spain, culturally and as a tourist destination, was limited when compared with York. In order to address this apparent deficit I needed to be proactive in ensuring that I developed a strong and relevant

awareness of the city and the Spanish business culture. This was achieved through frequent visits to Seville throughout the research, meeting and talking with key individuals and engaging in cultural activities such as visiting local attractions, museums, and attending city wide and local neighbourhood festivals. I also engaged with both national and local media on a daily basis to develop a solid understanding of national and local news events, which also informed my cultural understanding. In addition, I was able to draw upon the rich knowledge and experience of colleagues within the Business School at my University who have close connections within tourism academics and practitioners in Seville, including the then Deputy Mayor of Seville.

As in York I was also keen to develop a key network of contacts in Seville. Key to the research strategy was ensuring that I was able to take advantage of good access to key contacts in both case study destinations. Personal relationships, trust building, and informal networks were used in the selection and confirmation of participants. I was keen to build trust between key informants in Seville through a personalised approach and through the informal networks which were already established by colleagues in York. This was particularly important in Seville given that culturally in Spain networks of trust and friendship have a strong influence on connections and access to these networks more so than in the United Kingdom. I developed rapport with key individuals, assuring informants and gained some measure of trust. This proved important in Seville with access to many informants granted through recommendations by existing contacts, a snowball sampling approach. I was, however, aware that I also needed to ensure a balanced sample was achieved by identifying key informants across a range of sectors in both York and Seville and thus I actively made contact with key individuals across a range of tourism sub-sectors. For example, key roles and positions were identified prior to data collection as being significant informants, i.e. Chief Executive of the Tourism Board, City Council lead for Tourism and Economic Development, and Chairperson of private sector associations.

I acknowledge that my potentially problematic position as an outsider in Seville was ultimately valuable in analysing the governance of tourism and in making conclusions because I was able to place the tourism system in a wider governance context. Indeed, the initial concern regarding distance between the researcher and the destination proved unfounded as relationships developed and trust was gained with key informants in Seville.

Any notions, pre-conceptions and personal views that I had which may have impacted upon the research were noted down and scrutinised. This allowed me to be aware of any bias or assumptions which may occur. This was achieved through an interview with the supervisory team in which I was asked to articulate my perspectives and assumptions. This then provided me with a clear outline of my positionality which was revisited during the data analysis process. Key themes which emerged through this process appeared to stem from my engagement on the marketing committees in York and concerned a lack of influence over decision making, poor leadership and coordination.

In addition, themes, codes, categories, and the analysis process were discussed with peers and the supervisory team to enhance the quality of the data collected. The use of Nvivo also facilitated transparency in the data analysis process. By being aware of this I could ensure that any pre-conceptions which may have resulted in bias would not have a discernible impact on the data collected. In addition, a pilot study was conducted to test the viability of the key themes which emerged from the literature, the research questions and the data collection methods employed. This also included a reflection on the data collection process and the data itself (see Appendix F – Pilot Study for further detail). Finally, and perhaps most crucially, I sought and obtained respondent validation and met with key informants from both York and Seville after an initial analysis of the data to discuss the findings and confirm the results of the analysis (see sections 3.8.5 and 3.11.1). This proved a

useful process in the validation of the findings and conclusions drawn and ensured that any bias or assumptions which I had were identified and addressed.

To summarise, from the outset the researcher was aware of possible sources of bias in relation to his own position towards the two case study destinations. Consequently, throughout every stage of the research process the researcher ensured that appropriate mechanisms were in place to prevent any undue researcher bias influencing the design of the study and data collection. This included ensuring a balanced review of the literature with the development of a conceptual framework which demonstrated how the literature informed the research themes (see Section 2.7), a carefully designed methodology taking into account the validity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the data collection process, and through the use of an appropriate data analysis framework and software. Authenticity within qualitative research is about being genuine to the experience and understanding the world of the case through recognising own biases and assumptions (Farquhar, 2012), and within this study this has been achieved by providing detail of the data collection and analysis process and clearly delineating the researcher's relationship with informants.

3.10 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to examine the suitability of the research questions devised to explore the research topic. Lincoln was chosen as a pilot case study location due to the core similarities of the location with both York and Seville. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials from both the public sector and the private sector. Interviews were conducted in May 2010. The sample provided an appropriate representation of each key sector and stakeholder which was explored within the research. Further detail, key conclusions and reflections regarding the pilot study can be found in Appendix F – Pilot Study.

3.11 Validity, Reliability, and Trustworthiness

Reliability and validity are two concepts which are primarily associated with the positivist research paradigm and are important in the research design, execution and authenticity of data analysis (Veal, 2011). Thomas (2011) suggests that notions of reliability and validity are not a concern when conducting case study research, with the applicability of these concepts to qualitative research often questioned (Bryman, 2012; Decrop, 2004; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Veal, 2011). However, some qualitative researchers acknowledge the significance of these concepts and consider them important to consider when conducting qualitative research (Silverman, 2009) and with regard to this research, the researcher wanted to ensure a transparent approach to reliability and validity was adopted. From a broad perspective, reliability is defined as the ability of the tools used to produce consistent results (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Validity is concerned with the accuracy of the questions asked, whether the tools used are appropriate (Denscombe, 2007) and the extent to which the findings can be generalised (Bryman, 2012). Within qualitative research methods there is often a failure to clarify and detail the research design and strategy. Measurements of reliability and validity, although cited by researchers, often lack detail of how they will be implemented. The use of reliability and validity criteria assumes that social reality is stagnant and can therefore be replicated (Bryman, 2012). However, social science research is largely concerned with human behaviour, attitudes and social situations. Therefore, qualitative research findings are not generalisable, but rather explore a phenomenon in a specific context and draw conclusions on that case alone. However, for Decrop (2004) this lack of justification raises concerns regarding the legitimacy of qualitative methods. Indeed, Decrop (1999) suggests that as researchers a method of ensuring reliability would be to provide criteria wherein a qualitative study's trustworthiness could be assessed.

Trustworthiness is an essential component of qualitative research as data should reflect the reality of the experience and Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that

following trustworthiness criteria will help ensure the data collected, using qualitative techniques, is reliable and credible. Certainly, Decrop (2004 p.160) argues that this given criteria is a unique and most effective method of establishing 'scientific canons' for qualitative research, therefore ensuring the comparability and rigour of qualitative research methods against quantitative research methods. Specifically addressing trustworthiness criteria within the research will ensure that the methodology and findings are consistent and accurate. This ensures the research is rigorous and also more stringent against potential criticisms from positivist researchers (Decrop, 2004).

Lincoln and Guba (1985 p.290) developed four criteria by which the trustworthiness of qualitative methods can be assessed. These include:

- 'truth value' (credibility), referring to how truthful the findings of the research are;
- 'applicability' (transferability), referring to the extent to which the research findings are applicable to another setting or group;
- 'consistency' (dependability), referring to whether the findings would be consistent if the research was replicated; and
- 'neutrality' (confirmability), which refers to the notion of whether the researcher has placed any biases upon the findings of the research.

These criteria were used in the study to develop a framework which provided a consistent approach in facilitating the trustworthiness of this research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) write extensively on methods of meeting such criteria, suggesting techniques and strategies to ensure the conclusions drawn from the research are reliable. Accordingly, an evaluative and reflective account of how these criteria were addressed in this research is subsequently provided to facilitate transparency of the research data collection and analysis process.

3.11.1 Credibility

Credibility is considered to be an important evaluative criterion for qualitative research and is concerned with the authenticity of the findings (Baxter and Eyles, 1997). Lincoln and Guba (1985 p.290) suggest that the notion of 'truth value' can be measured against the amount of time a subject was studied, investing a sufficient amount of time in researching the subject in order to enhance the creditability of the results. For the purpose of the current research, this prolonged engagement included extensive learning about the culture of the two destinations before the field work commenced. This included engaging with networks in both case study destinations in order to develop an understanding of the two locations.

Secondly, the credibility criterion can be addressed through respondent validation. Respondent validation involves providing respondents with a copy of the transcript and the research findings and asking for comments on the accuracy of the transcript and the researcher's interpretation of the findings (Decrop, 2004). Whilst the benefits of respondent validation are evident, Bryman (2012) questions whether respondents can validate a researcher's analysis. Within this research, respondents were asked if they would like a copy of the transcript sent to them for validation. No comments were made by the respondents. The researcher did meet with key informants from both York and Seville after the analysis of the data to discuss the findings and confirm the results of the analysis. This proved a useful process in the validation of the findings and conclusions drawn. Thirdly, the researcher can ensure creditability by clearly outlining the research process and methods of data collection. In addition, during the write up, the researcher should make honest conclusions and comparisons and clearly note any implications and limitations during the discussion. Accordingly, during the write up of this work the researcher provided relevant descriptions regarding the findings and conclusions and ensured that the limitations were clearly highlighted.

3.11.2 Transferability

Transferability is an important attribute for the data and study results. Lincoln and Guba (1985 p.316) suggest that it is the researcher's 'responsibility to provide the data base that makes transferability judgements possible on the part of potential appliers.' Providing a sufficient amount of detail will allow the conclusions drawn to be transferred effectively. To achieve applicable and transferable results, this study adopted a comparative case study approach which enabled comparisons to be made between two distinct destinations. Two case study destinations were carefully selected (see Section 3.4.2) to ensure that effective comparisons could take place. This included a number of pre-interview orientation visits to Seville, Spain, to establish initial contacts and test the viability of the research questions. In addition, extensive descriptions of the data and case study destinations were also provided so that other researchers could assess the transferability of the findings into other contexts (Bryman, 2012; Decrop, 2004).

Consistent with the aforementioned focus upon the transferability of data and findings, adopting a comparative research approach within urban studies is methodologically considered essential good practice in the production of knowledge and theory (McFarlane, 2010; McFarlane and Robinson, 2012). However, with much of this research often based on experiences and theoretical work involving cities in the global North, such as Western Europe and North America, generalisations of the city are consequently made which neglect to take into consideration analysis and understanding of those cities in the global South (McFarlane, 2010). Subsequently, it could be argued that the universal transferability of these findings is incomplete along some dimensions. Indeed, the theoretical focus of this study stems from a United Kingdom perspective and whilst comparisons have been made between two case study destinations in the global North deemed to hold similar political, economic and social qualities, the universal transferability of these findings should be considered in the context of other, less quantifiable, exogenous and endogenous forces. The pursuit of direct transferability

of findings within social sciences takes place within the limitations of the overarching discipline, which contrasts, for example, with the control available to comparative data analysis in the natural sciences.

3.11.3 Dependability

Dependability is concerned with the accuracy and consistency of the results. To achieve this, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest using triangulation as a method of data collection. Triangulation is the use of a variety of methods which can be applied to the same research problem. The use of multiple methods can enhance the trustworthiness and validity of the results (Decrop, 2004), thus supporting the credibility of the conclusions drawn. Due to criticisms that qualitative techniques lack scientific rigour against quantitative methods (Decrop, 1999; Prentice, 1993), the use of triangulation is an effective method of ensuring the credibility of qualitative techniques. Layers of data are thus created with the intention that each should add value and credibility to the analysis and understanding of the issues concerned.

The broadening and embracing of a variety of research strategies is important within the advancing field of tourism. As a relatively new discipline, developed within the field of social sciences in the 1970s, tourism is now an important field of study with multiple dimensions (Dann, Nash and Pearce, 1988; Ren, Pritchard and Morgan, 2010). Although originally not taken seriously by scholars, Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988) argue that the development of the field in terms of theory and methodology mean scholars should have a greater understanding of the subject, how it is perceived and methods of investigation. Indeed, Walle (1997) argues that as tourism develops as a discipline, it is important to explore the tools and techniques available within the research process. It is suggested, therefore, that a 'toolkit' approach should be adopted, ensuring that the techniques employed are appropriate for the particular research (Walle, 1997). Such an approach supports the use of a methodological mix which involves the use of both secondary and

primary sources. Combining a range of techniques, such as observations, interviews, focus groups, and documentary sources should facilitate a rich and more plausible data set (Denzin, 1978). Therefore, the methodology adopted for this current study involved a typical triangulation strategy, including the use of multiple methods which involved both secondary and primary sources that complemented each other. Whilst the triangulation strategy did result in some conflicting claims, combining a range of techniques, which included interviews and documentary sources, enabled a rich and more plausible data set. This allowed for data to be collected on the same subject but from a variety of sources enhancing and providing supporting evidence.

3.11.4 Confirmability

This criterion is closely related to the notion of objectivity and as such the findings should not be influenced by the researcher's biases or motivations (Bryman, 2012; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Confirmability is concerned with the extent to which the data is factual. In order to reduce any biases placed on the research and facilitate 'neutrality', the researcher ensured that during the interview process, when questions were asked, the researcher would not lead the respondent into a certain response. Also, any notions, pre-conceptions and personal views which the researcher may have, which may impact upon the research, were noted down by the researcher. This allowed the researcher to be aware of any bias or assumptions which may occur. A reflection on the positionality of the researcher is given in Section 3.9 of this chapter. In addition, themes, codes, categories, and the analysis process were discussed with peers and the supervisory team to enhance the quality of the data collected. The use of Nvivo also facilitated transparency in the data analysis process. By being aware of this, the researcher could ensure that any pre-conceptions which may have caused bias would not have an impact on the data collected and the subsequent analysis. In addition, a pilot study was conducted to test the validity and viability of the key themes which emerged from the literature, the research questions and the data collection methods employed. This also

included a reflection on the data collection process and the data itself which is presented throughout this chapter.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Ethical concerns are an important consideration within this research. Indeed, ethical issues cannot be ignored as they directly relate to the integrity of the research (Bryman, 2008). Denzin and Lincoln (2000) describe how customarily ethical concerns include informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm. In order to address these ethical issues within the present study, all informants were asked to provide written consent before the research was conducted. Bryman (2008) highlights the importance of this in allowing participations to understand the purpose, benefits, risks, and expectations of the research. Before the fieldwork commenced the researcher sought ethical approval from the University Ethics Committee. Ethical approval was granted with the approval of a consent form which was presented to all informants to sign prior to the start of the interview (a copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix G – Research Consent Form). Initial agreement to cooperate with the research was obtained from the interviewees often after an email had been sent explaining the research project. Also, on some occasions, verbal agreements were obtained over the phone with an email following this to explain the research project in more detail. This was a useful tool in allowing interviewees to become familiar with the project.

At the start of each interview the researcher clearly explained that the participant had the right to withdraw at any point during the research and there was no obligation to answer the questions. This helped to create an atmosphere in which the respondent felt relaxed and did not feel under any obligation which may have led to a bias data set. At the end of the interview the researcher explained that the interview would be transcribed and a copy would be sent to the respondent for them to validate. The respondent was then given the opportunity to edit the

transcription. Also, in line with the ethical approval, the researcher gave all respondents a business card and invited them to contact the researcher if they had any questions, comments or additional information which would be useful for the research.

In an attempt to ensure confidentiality, no personal information was made available to anyone outside of the research team without prior agreement from the participants. All interview recordings, transcriptions and description documents have been stored in a safe and secure computer file. In addition, all the interviewees were assured anonymity. This was achieved through the removal of individual names and with the use of job titles to distinguish between study participants. This helped to create an atmosphere in which interviewees felt able to speak freely, facilitating a rich and in-depth data set.

3.13 Conclusion

A clear research strategy has been outlined and discussed, taking into consideration the ontological, epistemological and methodological implications of the study. The research strategy is thus underpinned by the interpretive inquiry paradigm, acknowledging the presence of multiple realities and interpretations of tourism governance that can be made.

This thesis adopted a multiple case study methodology in order to provide a variety of contexts within which representational practices associated with tourism governance have been developed. After careful consideration two cases were selected: Seville, Spain and York, United Kingdom to examine the tourism governance practices that have emerged in areas with different types of governance structures. The case study destinations were selected in order to provide a comparable context in which to explore the role of local government and the involvement of host communities within tourism, policy and planning. They

provided an opportunity to investigate the role of local tourism agencies in two distinct parts of Europe. The sharing of understanding and the comparisons which were drawn provided a unique opportunity to explore the enactment of tourism governance.

As discussed in this chapter, most tourism studies tend to adopt quantitative methods and collect statistical data (Decrop, 1999; Phillimore and Goodson, 2004; Prentice, 1993). Within this research project, however, qualitative research methods were adopted, with both semi-structured interviews and documentary sources used in the collection of primary and secondary data respectively. Due to the nature of the research and study objectives interpretative data was derived from these sources which allowed for personal opinions and understandings from individuals who work in, or who are involved with, tourism governance and development to be collected. Despite the limitations of qualitative research methods which have been discussed, their strengths and benefits validate the appropriateness of the techniques adopted ensuring that the data collected was appropriate, strengthening the study's claims of trustworthiness. The lack of legitimacy and credibility of qualitative methods can have implications upon study conclusions (Decrop, 2004). Thus, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria of trustworthiness for qualitative methods have been identified and were adhered to throughout the field work to ensure the data collected, using qualitative techniques, were reliable and credible. The use of triangulation within the research strategy was identified as an effective method of ensuring the trustworthiness and validity of the results (Decrop, 2004), thus facilitating the creditability of the conclusions drawn. The combining of a range of techniques, such as interviews and the analysis of documentary sources, further added to the study's trustworthiness.

A reflection of the research strategy taken deemed the methodological framework which was adopted appropriate for the successful collection of data within this study. Despite the challenges presented, the research design was appropriate to

meet the aim and objectives of the study and allow presentation of a comparative case study of tourism governance in two destinations.

The next chapter outlines the results of the data analysis from both the examination of documentary sources and the in-depth interviews from the York case study.

Chapter 4

Tourism Governance in York

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and evaluate the tourism governance structure evident in York. Firstly, and drawing primarily from the analysis of documentary sources, including policy documents and key literature, this chapter will delineate the area of study through an analysis of the historical development of tourism governance in York. It is recognised that reviewing the development of governance approaches will provide the necessary context in which to understand the current tourism governance approach. Secondly, and predominantly drawing on the analysis of the primary interview data, the current tourism governance structure prevalent in the city is outlined and a number of emerging themes are presented.

4.2 Historic Analysis of Tourism Governance in York

With a population of approximately 200,000, York is an important regional city that is part of the Yorkshire and Humber region in the North East of England. Located at the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Foss, the city centre, which is dominated by York Minster, the largest Gothic cathedral in Northern Europe, is encapsulated within an almost complete medieval wall. In 2012, York attracted 7 million visitors, of which 78% were day visitors and 22% stayed at least one night (Visit York, 2014a). The city has a number of attractions including York Castle Museum (opened in 1938), the National Railway Museum (opened in 1975), the Yorkshire Museum (established in 1830), and the Jorvik Viking Centre, a pioneering attraction developed in 1984 (Visit York, 2014a).

The governance of tourism in York has been widely documented (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1994; 2000; Augustyn and Knowles, 2000), in particular by Meethan (1996; 1997) who explored the development of York as a tourist destination and categorised this into three distinct phases. These phases included: phase one, post-war years to the mid-1960s; phase two, the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s, and phase three, the mid-1980s onwards. This categorisation identified a number of significant external and internal factors which influenced the development of tourism in the city and provided a clear analysis of the implications of these influential forces. More recently, Mordue's (1998; 2005; 2007) analysis of tourism management in York has provided insights into the development of the First Stop York Partnership and further supported the work of Meethan (1996; 1997). However, latterly a new approach to tourism governance has emerged, with the formation of a single company, Visit York, established in April 2008. This research, therefore, seeks to provide a contribution to the field through interpreting and analysing this new form of tourism governance.

One of the results of this analysis was the identification of four key phases in the development of tourism governance in York. Building on the work of Meethan (1996), the findings highlighted a number of key milestones in the development of the governance structures in the city that provide a context in which to understand the current arrangements which exist. Consequently, the development of tourism governance in York can be categorised into four distinct stages, taking into consideration both the internal and external factors which contributed to the development of these structures. Drawing on both primary interview data and documentary sources the four phases are identified in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Categorisation of Tourism Governance in York

Category	Description
<p>Phase One – An Emerging Sector - <i>the emergence of the tourism industry until the mid-1970s</i></p>	<p>The public sector adopted a perfunctory approach to destination management, with no collaboration between the public and private sectors. Public sector management of tourism was concerned with conservation and environmental protection and the direct provision of leisure facilities for residents.</p>
<p>Phase Two – Economic Restructuring - <i>the mid-1970s until the mid-1990s</i></p>	<p>The decline of the traditional manufacturing industries prompted the City Council to develop the potential of tourism. However, this gave rise to resentment amongst local residents towards tourists and tourism development, resulting in the need for tourism to be better managed by the City Council. The private sector led on the marketing and promotion of the city through the formation of membership associations.</p>
<p>Phase Three – Forming Collaborative Partnerships - <i>the mid-1990s until 2008</i></p>	<p>Links between the public and private sectors were established within an economic development and regeneration paradigm. A formal partnership arrangement, First Stop York, was created to strengthen the marketing and promotion of the city.</p>
<p>Phase Four – Destination Governance - <i>2008 to present</i></p>	<p>Formalised collaboration emerged between the public and private sectors regarding the management of tourism within a managerial paradigm. During this phase, the amalgamation of both public and private sector activities with regards to tourism marketing, promotion, product development, and investment within a private sector organisation resulted in the establishment of Visit York.</p>

4.2.1 Phase One – An Emerging Sector

The first phase of tourism governance in York can be defined as one in which the public sector adopted a passive approach to the governance of tourism, concerned with conservation rather than tourism development. It is during this phase that the first stage of Meethan’s (1996) categorisation is apparent, post-war years to the

mid-1960s, where tourism was small scale and although the city had a small attraction portfolio, York Minster being the most significant of these attractions, the historic nature of the city was its main appeal. Indeed, in 1922 on a journey through Yorkshire, Gordon Home wrote about the attractiveness of York as a tourist destination:

‘Encircled by medieval walls, whose regularity is relieved by four of the most strikingly picturesque gateways in England, York at once arrests the interest of the wayfarer. So often does the modern aspect of a place of great historic importance disappoint those who come from far to bask in an atmosphere of the Middle Ages, that the visitor is almost overwhelmed when, on leaving the railway station, he finds that he cannot enter the city without passing through a gateway or arch, or scaling a steep grassy band surmounted by a crenellated wall in perfect repair, and within the circle of defence, despite a thousand features which jar, there remains so much that belongs to the long centuries of the city’s existence that it is easy to wander from age to age seeing little besides the actual buildings of each period.’

(Home, 1922 p.59)

During this time many of the visitors were from overseas, particularly American and Canadian ex-servicemen who had returned to visit with their families (Mordue, 1998). Tourism development, however, was *ad hoc* and uncontrolled and, although the city was advertised, there was no effective strategy for tourism development or destination marketing (Meethan, 1996; Mordue, 1998). Tourism was managed by the City Council via its Marketing and Communications department, with publications mainly targeted towards residents. Despite this limited marketing activity, the City Council did manage the Tourist Information Centre established around 1970. A City Management Scheme (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1994) and a visitor strategy were also developed, although these were both resident rather than tourist focused. This indicates that the City Council was concerned with the direct

provision of leisure services to residents. For example, the City Council managed a number of attractions in the city, including the city's Art Gallery, which for Ruhanen et al. (2010) is a typical characteristic of the traditional form of local government.

As early as the 1920s York had become a popular cultural and heritage destination with visitors attracted to the city due to its distinctive historic identity (Meethan, 1996). This is reflected in a study by the English Tourist Board which identified that the historic character of York was a reason for its popularity amongst visitors (English Tourist Board, 1972). Having escaped the heavy industries which led to the establishment of many urban centres within Britain during the nineteenth century, industrial and urban redevelopment had little impact within York city centre, as much of this development took place outside of the historic core (Esher, 1968). Meethan (1996) illustrates the division of the city by its historic walls, noting two distinct zones, the 'industrial' and the 'pre-industrial' (p.327). Within the pre-industrial zone, the historic core inside the city walls, any industrial developments which did take place were small-scale, resulting in the preservation of the medieval street pattern and the historic fabric of the city. However, in order to continue to retain its historic character, conservation policies were crucial if York were to capitalise on tourism (English Tourist Board, 1972; Meethan, 1996). What becomes apparent here, however, is that a conflict emerged between the necessity to conserve the historic fabric of York, a contributing factor to its continued success as a tourist destination, and the need to manage the challenges that increased visitor numbers would have on such a small city.

Consequently, this recognition of the importance of heritage preservation, but also the need to ensure that historic cities, such as York, could reconcile with the twentieth century, resulted in the commission of the Esher study into the conservation of York in 1968. York, similar to that of other historical cities such as Bath and Chester, was experiencing a conflict between heritage preservation and modern development and subsequently, four reports were commissioned by

central government on conservation in historic towns and cities. The purpose was to understand how to modernise without any detrimental impact on the historic fabric of the environment and explore how conservation policies could be effectively implemented (Esher, 1968). The Esher report is acknowledged as a pivotal moment in the attitude towards environmental preservation and management in York (Meethan, 1996). Esher recognised the significance of conservation and highlighted the value of heritage safeguarding and the conflicts created by it, in particular with modern infrastructure and lifestyle developments. The report made five recommendations to the York Corporation which included the need for the city centre to be in a position to compete commercially with neighbouring towns and cities, environmental improvements to eliminate noise and decay, the encouragement of living within the city centre, the historic character of the city to be enhanced, restored and self-conserving, only the buildings of the highest standard to be built within the city walls, and that land use which conflicted with these aims be removed from the historic core (Esher, 1968).

Although initially resentful of the 'outside interference' (Meethan, 1996 p.328) the City Council did recognise the value of environmental preservation and management and a number of Esher's recommendations were eventually implemented (Aldous, 1976). These included the relocation of the remaining light industries from the city centre, parts of the city being designated as conservation areas in 1968, pedestrainisation of Stonegate in 1969, and the implementation of a number of traffic restrictions (Meethan, 1996). For Meethan (1996), this represented a new phase in the development of York as a tourist destination in which conservation and preservation became an important feature of public sector management. This was advanced by concerns that increasing visitor numbers were having a negative impact upon the environmental and historic fabric of the city and thus the City Council were keen to limit the number of visitors and discouraged tourism development accordingly (Meethan, 1996).

This first phase of tourism governance in York can be defined as one where the public sector adopted a perfunctory approach to the management of tourism. Concerned with conserving the historic fabric of the city, not least against the increasing visitor numbers, the City Council was reluctant to encourage tourism growth. The traditional model of local government is evident here with direct service provision of leisure facilities managed for the purpose of local residents rather than tourists. However, during the 1980s the vast decline of traditional manufacturing industries in the city resulted in increased recognition of the importance of tourism to the York economy. This represents the next phase in the governance of tourism in York which will now be explored.

4.2.2 Phase Two – Economic Restructuring

Traditionally, the York economy was heavily dependent on the confectionery industry, of which Rowntree's and Terry's were the two main employers, and the railway engineering works. Until the 1950s and 1960s tourism had played a comparatively minor role in the York economy, however, during this second phase of tourism governance, between the mid-1970s and the mid-1990s, there was a sudden demise of the two main industrial economic sectors. This decline, combined with an increase of tourism activity, resulted in a changing economic landscape for York.

Despite the demise of manufacturing industries the passive approach to tourism by the City Council continued, with the elected Labour controlled Council in 1985 favouring manufacturing jobs rather than encouraging the development of tourism (Meethan, 1997). Although a report commissioned by the City Council in 1984 recognised the value of tourism employment in York and is described by one interviewee as trying "to get a view on the importance of tourism as part of the economy" (External Relations Manager, Visit York), it would seem that this passivity of the City Council towards tourism prevailed. This is confirmed by one interviewee who stated that:

“We never did anything with it really [the 1984 report] because the Council policy at the time was not very supportive of tourism, it was not very interested in tourism. There was a feeling that visitors would always come to York and we didn’t need to do very much about it. The Council’s approach was basically to run a Tourist Information Centre, produce a visitor guide and attend the odd trade show but that was it. Certainly, no overseas marketing, no marketing in any rational sense.”

(Head of Economic Development, City of York Council)

The reluctance of the public sector to acknowledge the value of tourism was also recognised by members of the private sector, as one interviewee explained, “the Council didn’t really think there was much to be done with tourism, they didn’t think York was really much of a tourist destination and the visitors that did come would come anyway because of the Minster” (Restaurant Proprietor).

It is evident that two key factors influenced this lack of tourism encouragement by the public sector. Firstly, there was a lack of resident support for tourism, as the Deputy Chief Executive of the City Council explained, “residents used to view tourism and tourists as an irritation, something which they had to endure rather than enjoy and as a result the Council had to be careful in their approach towards tourism.” Adding to this, Falk and King (2003 p.12) describe how many local residents were concerned that York was becoming a “twin track” city in which wealthy incomers enjoyed a quality of life which was far beyond the means of most residents in the suburbs.’ They also highlighted resident concerns that the unique character of the city was diminishing ‘as, for example, Starbucks opens up as an alternative to Betty’s’ (Falk and King, 2003 p.12). Secondly, it was considered ‘that York already had a substantial tourist sector which apparently did not require interventionist policies’ (Meethan, 1997 p.335). The Council believed that tourism should be ‘controlled and contained’ with public sector policy concerned with minimising the impact of increasing visitor numbers (Meethan, 1997 p.336). The

Council had not actively marketed the city, 'a tactic designed to limit the number of visitors' (Meethan, 1997 p.337). This is a further reflection of the concerns previously highlighted in this chapter regarding the protection of the historic fabric of the city particularly against increased visitor numbers.

Despite this compliant approach the industry continued to grow, with a particular increase in day visitors. Furthermore, the mid-1970s saw the development of a number of new attractions including the National Railway Museum which opened in 1974, St Mary's Heritage Centre, in a redundant church redeveloped to portray the story of the history of the city, and in 1984 the launch of the Jorvik Viking Centre averaging 850,000 visitors a year (Meethan, 1996). This development in the city's attraction portfolio and the popularity of York led to a noticeable increase in visitor numbers during the summer months. This consequently initiated the growth of anti-tourism sentiments amongst local residents (Meethan, 1996), which resulted in requests for tourism to be managed more effectively in the city.

In addition to these requests, it is evident that with the continued decline of the traditional manufacturing industries the Council needed to recognise the economic value of tourism. The City Council's tourism policy adopted in 1985 saw an acknowledgment of its role as a 'City Manager', identifying its responsibility in providing services and facilities, commercial enterprise, and a community leader advocating the city's interests (City of York, 1985 p.2). The Tourism Policy suggested that the Council were beginning to recognise the value of the increased job opportunities within tourism, stating that 'the Council would wish to see the industry continuing to supply job opportunities of a quality equal to that achieved in other sectors of the local economy' (City of York, 1985 p.2). Although recognition of the need to support jobs within the tourism sector is clear here, it is also apparent that the public sector had concerns that tourism was a low skilled sector and continued to reluctantly prioritise tourism within their agenda, keen to create a balance between the costs, particularly the social costs of tourism, and the

economic benefits of the industry. It can be argued here that the governance of the city's heritage did not necessarily influence the city's governance of tourism. Indeed, a lack of governance of tourism in the city resulted in the private sector assuming a tourism management role.

The private sector was becoming increasingly frustrated with the Council's lack of management, marketing and acknowledgement of the value of tourism. Despite a report by the York Chamber of Trade and Commerce recommending the establishment of a joint partnership between the City Council and the private sector, the Council were reluctant to form any association (Meethan, 1997). In response to this a private sector destination marketing company was formed, and as one interviewee described, the intention was to form "a membership organisation for tourism businesses" with the purpose of becoming "a destination marketing company" (Chief Executive, Visit York). As summarised by one informant, "the driving force was the chamber of commerce in York and certain business leaders in the tourism industry" who "put their names forward and created what was then called the York Visitor and Conference Bureau" (External Relations Manager, Visit York). Consequently, the York Visitor and Conference Bureau became a registered company in 1987. A fee paying association, representing 260 private sector organisations, the Bureau acted in the interests of its members and allowed for the pooling of business resources (Meethan, 1997). Receiving no public sector funding and with limited resources, the Bureau led on the promotion and marketing of York as a tourist destination using monetary support from the private sector and membership subscriptions and were attending trade shows, meeting with travel journalists, and latterly took over the management of the Tourist Information Centre from the Council.

However, as one interview respondent explained, many people felt that this should have been a role which the City Council were leading on, describing how the organisation "had no money from the Council and basically did the job which many

thought the Council should have done [...] it was obviously at the time that there was a bit of chatter about how terrible it is that the Council's doing nothing" (External Relations Manager, Visit York). For Augustyn and Knowles (2000), a lack of communication between the public and private sectors is one of the reasons why York was not successfully marketed and thus why tourism did not develop adequately and effectively within the city. This is summarised by one respondent who noted that "there wasn't any great linkage between the Council and tourism" (Assistant Director, Communities and Culture, City of York Council).

In addition, and in response to this lack of communication between the public and private sectors with regards to tourism, other private sector organisations and lobbying groups began to develop. This included the Hospitality Association, whose role was to provide training and support to members, and the Guest House Association, a membership organisation and a forum for guest house proprietors in the city. These organisations provided a support network and a mechanism in which private sector businesses could stimulate and encourage growth within their specific sector. These organisations were important for private sector businesses, in particular, when wanting to challenge the public sector on aspects which impacted upon their industry. An interview respondent provided an example of this:

"Its membership went up and down depending on what was happening in the city and to what extent anything political was happening. For example, the time the Council were discussing getting rid of the Marygate car park [...] there was an enormous outcry against it and at the time the number of Guest House Association members rose because of it and there must have been maybe 60, 70 members of guest houses within the Bootham, Clifton area who saw that if this happened it was going to have a knock on effect. And so there was fundraising, there were demonstrations in the sense of big meetings with the Council. But once that had been overturned and the Council decided that they were no longer going to build on Marygate car

park the number of Guest House Association members dropped dramatically.”

(Guest House Proprietor, York)

The first form of any collaboration between the private and public sectors was in 1991 with the creation of the York Tourism Employer of Distinction Awards. An interview respondent, who was involved in this process, described how “the purpose of the award was to promote good employment practice in the tourism industry. It was about making sure that the businesses that had applied for the award paid minimum wage, offered training to their staff” (External Relations Manager, Visit York). As the Chief Executive of Visit York explained, by the late 1980s and early 1990s “there was a growing awareness that most of the jobs in the city were in tourism and hospitality so consequently the Council had to get involved.” This is an indication that the Council were beginning to acknowledge the significance of tourism. However, it also reflected their traditional concerns that employment within the tourism sector was low skilled. The award, therefore, was established by the Council in order to create and encourage high skilled and good quality employment within tourism. It is clear that the awards reflected the Council’s role at that time in that they were not overly concerned with tourism marketing and promotion, but were interested in trying to ensure high standards and quality of employment. This is supported by one public sector interviewee:

“The award reflects the traditional concern that tourism supplies low paid jobs, part time, not valuable. We were trying to address this by actually saying no, the better places do offer valuable jobs and do perform, they do with minimum standards or even better and the good thing about the awards of course was that at least it got people talking and it got the industry, if you like, working together.”

(Head of Economic Development, City of York Council)

This illustrates a change in the attitude of the Council towards tourism, with a growing recognition of its importance. It is reasonable to assume that during this second phase of tourism governance the strategic position of the Council was to control tourism development and visitor numbers with limited marketing and promotion. In response to this the private sector assumed a destination marketing role which many felt the Council ought to be facilitating. What the analysis has highlighted is the differing priorities of the key stakeholders involved in tourism. Local government can only represent what it perceives to be the issues and interests of the wider community (Dredge, 2006; Hampton, 2005) and in the case of York these concerns were the negative impacts of tourism and the quality of employment. Whilst the private sector was concerned with place promotion activities, it seems that the Council focused their attention on the economic opportunities which tourism could bring and the impact this may have on other strategic priorities, not least employment. With the continued decline of the manufacturing industries, the public sector sought to promote good quality employment in tourism through the development of the York Tourism Employer of Distinction Awards in partnership with the private sector. This supports Hall (2005), who suggests that tourism planning during this time shifted to an economic oriented approach in which tourism was seen as a tool by local government to achieve economic goals. As the decline of the manufacturing industries became more prominent, the investigation indicates that the Council began to recognise the need to encourage economic growth in other areas. This represents the start of a new phase in the governance of York as a tourist destination.

4.2.3 Phase Three – Forming Collaborative Partnerships

Between the mid-1990s and 2008, the third stage in the development of tourism governance in York, saw the establishment of formal collaborations between the public and private sectors. As York entered this phase it experienced an increase in the commercialisation of its heritage (Mordue, 1998), with tourism governance centred within an economic development and regeneration paradigm in which

tourism was considered a tool by local government to achieve economic goals. Tourism continued to grow despite any input into its promotion by the public sector and consequently anti-tourism sentiments were still strong. Subsequently, the Council were keen not to be perceived by local people as favouring tourism developments over community projects (Mordue, 2005). However, the closure of the final railway works in 1995 meant that the City Council were prompted to explore other areas to stimulate economic growth. Although attention mainly focused on the science and creative industries, there was a change in attitude towards tourism with the Council commitment of monetary support for its promotion.

Consequently, in February 1994 Greene Belfield-Smith, the tourism consulting division of Touche Ross and Co., were appointed by the Labour-led Council to advise 'on a review and reformulation of its Tourism Strategy for York' (Mordue, 1998; Touche Ross, 1994 p.i). Commissioned by the Directorate of Development Services, who at that time had taken over the responsibility for tourism from the Marketing Directorate, the study signifies a turning point in the governance of tourism in York. It was an indication that the Council now recognised the development opportunities of the industry and, in particular, the economic opportunities which it presented.

Consultancy research was conducted with representatives from the City of York Council, the private sector, which included attraction and hotel operators, local unions, members of the then Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, and the York Visitor and Conference Bureau. In addition, surveys were conducted with local retailers and visitors to the city.

Three objectives for the study were identified:

1. To advise on UK tourism trends over the period to 2006 and assess York's potential position;
2. To assess the competitive threat from other destinations; and
3. To devise a strategy for tourism for York, that takes into account the existing adopted policy.

(Touche Ross, 1994)

The latter objective provided a foundation in which to consider the management arrangements of tourism that existed. The report recognised the economic importance of tourism and compared to other cities and regions the York tourism economy had managed to maintain growth, with increased bed occupancy and high levels of trading returns, despite a recession and a decline in the American market. Although overcrowding and traffic management were on-going issues, the introduction of pedestrian zones and the park and ride schemes were positively received. The report made the following recommendations:

- To encourage good quality hotel development;
- Continuation of visitor management policies with regard to transport management and pedestrian zones;
- Establish and coordinate marketing intelligence and monitoring collection exercise;
- Continue to improve job quality, training and career prospects; and
- The development of a new icon attraction.

(Touche Ross, 1994)

It was strongly recommended that in order to achieve these objectives the City Council needed to form a closer relationship with the tourism industry. The report

highlighted a lack of proactive involvement of the Council within tourism with their role primarily focusing on visitor management, aimed at protecting the environment and ensuring the quality of life for residents. The report criticised the poor relationship between the public and private sectors and the implications this posed in ensuring the future success of the York tourism economy. Although the York Visitor and Conference Bureau had been successful in marketing the city, the report highlighted concerns that it lacked the necessary resources and capacity to ensure long term growth and investment within tourism.

Consequently, in order to facilitate the long term success of York as a tourist destination the report recommended the formation of a public-private sector partnership (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Touche Ross, 1994). In particular, it was recommended that the City Council formed a closer relationship with the York Visitor and Conference Bureau as the establishment of a parallel organisation would be counter-productive. Support was needed to stimulate inward investment and a partnership organisation would provide a focused and consistent public and private sector approach to tourism management and development. Monetary support would be needed from the public sector to support market research and marketing activity. As one interviewee highlighted, the report signified a change in attitude within the public sector towards tourism:

“For the first time the report properly identified the economic value of tourism in terms of the number of visitors and how much they spend and how many jobs are created as a consequence. From that moment on I think the light bulb moment struck, the Council started to realise that, in a time where other parts of the York economy were struggling, tourism was an important employer and had the potential to grow further.”

(Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council)

Subsequently, in February 1995, representatives from the tourism industry met as the York Tourism Forum tasked with developing a Strategic Action Plan based on the findings of the report (First Stop York, 1995). A strategy group, Tourism Task Force, was established within the Council's Economic Development Unit and comprised of members and representatives from the Council and the tourism industry, including the Chamber of Commerce (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Meethan, 1997). The group reported back their findings to the York Tourism Forum in July 1995 and suggested the development of a single partnership organisation, First Stop York, designed to maximise the economic, employment and training benefits of tourism (Mordue, 2005). This is confirmed by one interviewee who stated that:

“The Council started to get into discussions with the private sector, adopting a different strategy about tourism, and produced a tourism strategy action plan which was called First Stop York. And that became the name of the tourism partnership.”

(Business Engagement Manager, Visit York)

In July 1995 the First Stop York Tourism Partnership was launched 'as a comprehensive strategy to revitalise York's tourism industry' (First Stop York, 1996 p.i) which created links between the Labour-led City Council and the city's private sector. A number of organisations were involved in the partnership including the City of York Council, Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, York Visitor and Conference Bureau, York and North Yorkshire Chamber of Commerce, York and District Hospitality Association, Greater York Association of Hotels and Guest Houses, Historic Attractions Group, and York Tourism 2000.

The partnership was primarily a promotional campaign with six strategic goals that focused on maximising the economic and employment opportunities, particularly through training, research to enable the industry to understand and respond to

national and international trends, enhancing the quality of product and customer service, and responding to the social impacts of tourism, with a particular focus on gaining the support of local residents towards tourism (Tourism Strategy Group, 1995). First Stop York was managed by a strategy group under the York Tourism Forum with the key partners identified responsible for the operational management of the partnership. From 1997 a series of project groups were created with representatives from the private sector (First Stop York, 1997), as one interviewee explained:

“The Chair of the partnership was a Council officer leading the strategy group. It was a strategy group with all the leading people on it. The organisation’s own representatives stayed on the group but the individuals of course changed over time. Then there was a series of working groups, well two main ones really, one in marketing, which was chaired by the Bureau and one on product development which I was involved with and others [...]. So there was a strategy group, I think they met 6 times a year, and a series of working groups.”

(External Relations Manager, Visit York)

As demonstrated, the partnership appeared to have local democratic accountability with joint public and private sector decision making apparent (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). The City Council contributed the majority of the budget, with direct financial support from other partners such as the Chamber of Commerce, the Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board, and European funds (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). The partnership represented 600 private sector members with the aim of marketing York as a visitor destination, maximising the economic and employment advantages of tourism to benefit businesses, employees, residents, and visitors by developing the necessary requirements in the city that would facilitate tourism growth (Mordue, 2007). The partnership established training schemes for businesses to increase the quality of their service and, in order to

overcome the anti-tourism sentiments which were evident, the partnership also promoted the benefits of tourism to local residents through the creation of the Residents First Festival (Mordue, 2005).

From the Council's perspective the partnership provided a means of strengthening the tourism economy and encouraging quality jobs and employment within the sector. As previously discussed, the Council's initial involvement in tourism was to encourage high skilled job opportunities and it is reasonable to assume that this strategy continued within the First Stop York partnership. This is supported by a key respondent:

“For the Council the focus was really on tourism as a means of creating quality employment and the promotion of York as a high quality visitor destination. First Stop York used its resources to help with the marketing campaign and also to some extent to help with the diversification of the tourism offer. This led to the development of events and festivals and the encouragement of more people to stay longer or come back to York again and again. So I think that was the overall goal of First Stop York and I think that's really what was achieved.”

(Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council)

The significance of the First Stop York partnership was that for the first time all of the partners in the tourism industry were working together. ‘The wide range of resources available, particularly from private sector contributors to First Stop York, enabled far more to be achieved in the way of joint marketing and promotion of York’ (First Stop York, 1996 p.iv). However, although it is evident that within the partnership organisation there was a sharing of knowledge, resources and research, it becomes apparent that both the City Council and the private sector assumed their traditional roles. This is reflected by a key informant who highlighted that “there was a sense that the Bureau was handling marketing of York but the Council

team were really looking at the quality of the visitor experience, events, festivals, product development and they were separate” (External Relations Manager, Visit York). The York Visitor and Conference Bureau continued, as a membership organisation, to promote and market York to both national and international markets, whilst in comparison, the Council continued to focus on public realm activities such as visitor management, product development and event management. The analysis of stakeholder views suggests that although the First Stop York partnership was well received by both the public and private sectors, the private sector still felt that the City Council needed to be more committed to tourism. Consequently, private sector associations began to merge in order to strengthen and further challenge the role of the Council in tourism, as a key informant explained:

“[T]he existence of these associations was in part, you know, there was a general feeling that the Council wasn’t doing enough and therefore they [the private sector] had to get involved in some kind of self-help by forming together in associations to enable them to be able to market themselves and do the job that they felt the Council wasn’t doing.”

(Bed and Breakfast Proprietor, York)

It was during this time that the York Visitor and Conference Bureau changed its name to the York Tourist Board, reflecting its new role as a destination marketing organisation (Mordue, 1998). Also, in 2000 the Guest House Association merged with the Hospitality Association and latterly in 2005, the Hospitality Association merged with the York Tourist Board. It was recognised that forming a single private sector organisation would allow for the sharing of resources and a stronger voice for the tourism industry in the city. Within the public sector, tourism came under the responsibility of the then named Economic Development Unit suggesting further recognition of the economic importance of tourism by the City Council.

It would seem that the approach to tourism governance in York evident during this phase was also common in many cities, with tourism considered a tool to stimulate economic growth and development. As traditional manufacturing industries declined during the 1980s and 1990s, local authorities sought to form partnerships with external agencies to stimulate and encourage growth in new industries in order to create new economic and social roles within the community (Connelly, 2007; Gansler, 2003; Hughes, 1999; Stewart and Davis, 1994). Such changes are evident in York, with the decrease in traditional manufacturing industries, tourism was seen as a tool for local economic development (Thomas and Thomas, 1998) and the local government sought to increase the potential of tourism through collaboration with the private sector. Characteristics of New Urban Governance are apparent here with the recognition of the role of tourism in economic development and the formation of collaborations and partnerships with the private sector to stimulate this growth. In York, this resulted in a change in the role of local government from the traditional provider of public services, evident during phase one and phase two of the development of tourism governance in York, to a collaborative and facilitative governance approach, apparent during phase three.

It also becomes evident at this stage that the partnership which developed in York demonstrated characteristics of what would be described as a growth coalition. Growth coalitions were common in many North American cities during the 1970s and 1980s with private and public sector agencies working in collaboration with the aim to revitalise downtown areas through capital and investment projects (Bianchini, 1990; Molotch, 1976; Mordue, 2007). This is supported by Mordue (2007), who describes the partnership in York as a tourism growth coalition spanning a range of government departments in order to stimulate growth. As the role of local government changed from service provision to entrepreneurial activity, the creation of interest group coalitions and the formation of pro-active policies in pursuit of economic growth is evident (Meethan, 1997). The First Stop York partnership is characteristic of the new urban governance approach tasked with stimulating economic growth. This Boosterism form of tourism governance is

typically associated with city marketing in order to enhance economic development within a locale (Boyle, 1999; Penny-Wan, 2013; Simpson, 2001). As Mordue (1998) concluded, although York had the advantage of strong historical and cultural assets compared to other towns and cities, the city needed to adopt place promotion techniques in order to compete with national and international markets. Therefore, in order to meet such challenges the local council formed a growth coalition partnership in the form of a place marketing initiative with the private sector. However, for Mordue (1998) a concern of the First Stop York partnership was that it concentrated on tourism promotion rather than on tourism management, with a lack of coordination. As Mordue (1998 pp.268-269) asserts:

‘The different and separate organisational structures of tourism promotion and management in York reflect the promotional priorities of the city’s major tourism stakeholders and elites. For instance, there is not a tourism development unit, department or organisation in the city which is simultaneously responsible for promoting *and* managing tourism. Rather, the First Stop York strategy is coordinated and administered by a single body, the York Tourist Board (YTB) [...] whereas the management of tourists and tourism activity in the city is spread across the standard municipal functions of the council [...]. Therefore, there is little attempt to coordinate both tourism promotion and management within the public/private partnership, in which the responsibility for anticipating and managing the potential costs and benefits of tourism development would be shared by both parties. The partnership arrangement only pools resources to sell York in the tourism market place, while the main responsibilities and costs of managing the consequences of that activity are externalised to York’s public sector.’

This echoes comments by van der Borg, Costa and Gotti (1996), who suggest that it is increasingly common for heritage cities to concentrate on tourism promotion

rather than on tourism management. However, this lack of co-ordination of the management of tourism suggests a conflict of interests within the partnership arrangement. The partnership was initiated by the public sector and Augustyn and Knowles (2000) argue that the partnership objectives were focused too much on the public sector which resulted in an imbalance of power. The private sector responded to this imbalance of power through the merger of various organisations in the city in order to establish a single, larger tourism organisation. However, the First Stop York partnership was considered a strategic leader of tourism and private sector input was drawn from membership associations. Consequently, these associations would support the interests of their membership rather than the tourism sector as a whole. This is supported by a key informant, who noted that such a notion of 'looking after member interests' did filter down into the First Stop York Partnership:

"I think it did, I think it was probably something that the Council didn't fully understand because it has to be more inclusive than that. The Council's here to serve all the residents of York and all the businesses. So I think sometimes it was difficult to handle that situation where you have an organisation that, for its survival depends on membership, of course they were getting some money from the Council through the First Stop York Partnership but their turnover was much more dependent on membership [...] which I think is why, for example, they also ran the Tourist Information Centre. [...] but yes I think it was probably an odd situation, a different situation for the Council."

(Head of Economic Development, City of York Council)

The suggestion here is that private sector interests were becoming more prominent in the decision making process. For Madrigal (1995), local government should dismantle such growth machines as the First Stop York partnership as they only serve the narrow interests of its members and not the interests of the community as a whole. As a key respondent noted, "the Tourist Board was actually a

membership organisation and it was essentially looking after the interest of its members in the context of tourism” (Chairman, Visit York). This supports the argument that the York Tourist Board, as a membership organisation, would serve the interests of its members only rather than the sector as a whole. The development of these growth coalitions can result in elite groups having a dominant role in economic decision making, concerns expressed by both Hall (1999) and Mordue (1998; 2005; 2007). Madrigal (1995), however, favours a participatory planning process in which local residents are actively involved in decision making. Therefore, in facilitating growth within a destination both the private sector and local residents should have an equal chance to express their views and an opportunity to input into decision making.

Despite these recognised issues, the partnership continued and the success of the collaboration between the public and private sector prompted the Council to further formalise the arrangement, as a key informant explained:

“[B]y 2007, 2008 the partnership had been running for 12 or 13 years and there was a feeling that perhaps it was time to properly get much closer together and, in particular, to perhaps more closely link the marketing and the product development side.”

(Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York)

This indicates the start of a new phase in the development of tourism governance in York. Despite the collaboration being heralded as a unique partnership between the public and private sectors, it is apparent that both sectors continued with their own specific roles with a lack of joint decision making and strategic direction.

The above analysis has provided a context in which to understand the development of tourism governance in York, taking into consideration the internal and external

factors which contributed to the development of these structures. The fourth and final phase identified is concerned with the current tourism structure that exists and the subsequent section will elucidate on this further.

4.3 Current Tourism Governance Structure in York

The fourth phase of the development of tourism governance in York, from 2008 to the present, is defined as Destination Governance and witnessed the formation of a single body in which both private and public sector organisations have a key role in destination management. It is at this point that this research becomes concerned with the current approach of tourism governance evident in the city. There is limited research which has explored what is described here, namely a new stage of tourism governance in York.

As highlighted in this chapter, the First Stop York partnership had been successful in formalising marketing strategies, attracting investment in product and infrastructure, and creating links between the public and private sectors. For example, in 1993 the average length of stay in the city was 2.7 days, however, by 2007 this had increased to 3.9 days, which is a 31.6% difference (Visit York, 2014a). In addition, the City Council acknowledged the increasing economic importance of the tourism industry on the York economy and recognised the valuable role the First Stop York partnership had played in developing and stimulating growth within the sector (City of York Council, 2007a). As a result, both the Council and the private sector were keen to further formalise the arrangements which already existed.

Two key reasons for this have been identified. Firstly, as a result of the significant decline of employment opportunities in the city, an independent strategic review of York's economy was conducted by the Future York Group. As described by one interviewee:

“[W]e had some announcements about some significant job losses in the city, and they sort of came one after the other, we had the closure of the British Sugar Plant, we had a significant scaling down of Aviva, one of our major employers, and we had a significant scaling down of Nestle, and when you added those three things together it created a lack of confidence about York’s economy. Therefore, the Council commissioned for a private sector group to look at the economy of York and at how we could ensure that York remained prosperous, [...] and that group produced a report called Future York.”

(Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council)

The Future York report made a series of recommendations which consequently resulted in a significant change in the organisational role and structure of the public sector. “One of the major recommendations was much better engagement with the private sector, between the public and private sector, and as a result of that we completely changed our focus in terms of the way in which we engaged with the private sector” (City Centre Manager, City of York Council). The Council were keen to ensure that York remained prosperous and in order to achieve this increased collaboration with the private sector was required.

The Future York group, facilitated by the City Council and Yorkshire Forward (the Regional Development Agency), met over a six month period, but with no political representation. As noted by a key informant, the report “criticised the Council for its ineffectiveness of its relationships with the private sector” (Chairman, Visit York) and therefore recommended that the Council allowed the private sector to have increased involvement in economic decision making. Subsequently, the Council incorporated private sector representation within economic areas of the local authority which included the re-organisation of the Economic Development Board and the creation of an Economic Development Partnership that had limited Council representation and instead consisted of private sector representatives and a private

sector chair. This approach would later be re-created within Visit York. It is evident that these changes reflected the re-structuring of local government into an enabling authority. A key characteristic of an enabling authority is working with the private sector and the creation of the Economic Development Partnership is characteristic of an enabling authority within a New Urban Governance paradigm which facilitated the active involvement of the private sector in economic decision making.

The report also highlighted the significance of tourism for the York economy and recognised the job opportunities and the potential for the city to further develop its offer; 'York's tourism industry can, and should, consistently exceed Yorkshire Forward's 5% per annum tourism spend growth rate' (Future York Group, 2007 p.24). However, an increasing competitive market and the need for investment, particularly in the quality of product and the public realm, necessitated clear destination leadership. Recognising a lack of coordination for tourism management, the report recommended that the 'City of York Council strengthen its tourism partnership [First Stop York], by having a single tourism partnership organisation' (Future York Group, 2007 p.24).

Secondly, it is evident that an influencing factor in the development of a new tourism organisation arose from regional restructuring of tourism management. Changes in national policy led to the Regional Development Agencies within the United Kingdom having a greater role in tourism. There were concerns that "Yorkshire was under performing as a tourist destination" (External Relations Manager, Visit York) and thus the Regional Development Agency, Yorkshire Forward, led an operational review of tourism management in the Yorkshire and Humber region. The outcome of this review resulted in the establishment of six sub-regional tourism agencies within the region 'to lead on the delivery of a range of tourism services, particularly in the areas of product development, business engagement and marketing of local areas' (City of York Council, 2007a). These sub-

regional tourism agencies were set a series of targets, 'with the key overall target for the region being a 5% growth in tourism earnings' (City of York Council, 2007a). As part of this operational review, Welcome to Yorkshire replaced the existing Yorkshire Tourist Board which led to a significant investment in the promotion of the Yorkshire tourism industry.

Figure 4.1 York Minster



(Source: Author)

What becomes apparent is that these two factors influenced the formation of a new organisation in York. The local authority felt that this provided an opportunity to review the current partnership arrangements which existed, and in particular, how the current First Stop York partnership could be aligned with the new sub-regional agencies created by Yorkshire Forward and the opportunity to develop the economic value of tourism in the city. The First Stop York partnership had been established for 13 years and successfully facilitated public and private sector collaboration in tourism with the sharing of knowledge, resources and research. However, as identified, both the public and private sectors continued with their separate traditional roles with the private sector managing the York Tourist Board which focused primarily on marketing, and the public sector leading on product development and quality. One respondent working within the City Council's Economic Development Unit at this time explained that "the partnership had been established since 1995 and it now felt right that we sought to formalise the relationship and work even more closely with the private sector" (Business Analyst, City of York Council). It was thought appropriate to bring together the different sectors to facilitate better communication and thus establish a single company. This was highlighted by the Head of Economic Development at the City Council who commented that there was a need for "a more concerted and coordinated approach towards tourism." As illustrated, it was felt that by formalising the partnership and having these operations working closely together the city would be able to attract inward investment in tourism. Therefore, the Council began discussions over the formation of a single company to market and stimulate growth in the tourism sector (City of York Council, 2007a).

A task group was established to examine and review the current arrangements which existed, 'taking account of the wider and more formal responsibilities as one of six sub-regional agencies in Yorkshire as well as the recommendations contained in the Future York Group report' (City of York Council, 2007a p.2). Consultation took place with a variety of key stakeholders including members of the York Tourist Board, Yorkshire Forward, Welcome to Yorkshire (the regional tourist board), and

Council officials (City of York Council, 2007b). The group concluded that a Company Limited by Guarantee would be appropriate in strengthening the current partnership arrangement, amalgamating the current tourism associations and organisations within the private sector and the current Council operations into one single company. This also aligned with Mordue's (1998) recommendations for the creation of a single tourism organisation. With a working title of Visit York, this proposed public-private sector company would lead on the development of tourism in York, defining and securing investment to develop the quality of the York product, whilst marketing the city as a destination for both leisure and business to domestic and overseas markets. A key target for the new organisation was a 5% annual growth in tourism earnings, which contributed to the regional targets set by Yorkshire Forward (City of York Council, 2007b). Visit York was established on the 1st April 2008 with the Council's financial and staffing contributions for tourism amalgamated into this new organisation. As a key partner of this new company, the City Council has representation on the Board of Directors which is considered by the public sector as important but limited.

In addition to this Council representation, a Service Level Agreement was created to monitor the activities and return on investment for the Council (City of York, 2007b). The Service Level Agreement also documented a number of performance indicators in which the local authority could measure its investment and state "the outcomes we [the City Council] are looking for in tourism" (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). In particular, these objectives included an increase in visitor spend and an increase in the average length of stay, to increase the number of jobs created in the visitor economy, to maintain private sector membership to engaged tourism businesses in skills development and training, and to develop and invest in advertising and promotional campaigns (City of York Council, 2007b).

The Council contributed approximately £300,000 a year and two Council staff members were seconded into Visit York. In addition, three Councillors are Directors of Visit York, each representing the three main political parties. As a result, the Board of Directors comprises of the following:

- The Chairman;
- The Chief Executive;
- Three Directors appointed by City of York Council – at the time of this research this consisted of three directors representing each of the three main political parties, the Liberal Democrats, Labour and Conservative parties; and
- Eight private sector Directors appointed by the Board.

The eight private sector directors are appointed for a three year term and are able to re-stand for a maximum of three consecutive terms of three years. Their role is to manage the business of the company, providing a strategic direction, setting targets and aspirations. Directors are also required to be involved with the working groups where appropriate. The Visit York Articles of Association also states that directors are able to:

Accept applications from persons, organisations and unincorporated associations or other bodies (including representative bodies) to become Members of the Company as they think fit.

(Extract from Visit York, Articles of Association)

The initial responsibilities and outline of the role of Visit York were established by the Council in 2007 and stated that Visit York would be responsible for:

- Leading the continued development of tourism in York and the surrounding area;
- It will lead on defining and securing investment to the leisure and business visitor;
- Have a target of at least 5% per annum growth in tourism earnings, contributing to regional growth targets.

(City of York Council, 2007b)

In addition, activities of the company include the setting of the strategic direction for the development of tourism in York, encouraging and facilitating transformational enhancements to York's visitor attractions, improvements to accommodation and hospitality provision, defining and securing public and private sector investment, raising funds from the private sector and maintaining investment and commitment from the Council and other public funding agencies, marketing and promotional activities, engagement and communication with stakeholders, business support, skills development, training activities and ambassadorial functions, and acting as the voice of tourism in York (City of York Council, 2007b). In addition, Visit York continues to manage the Visitor Information Centre which was refurbished in 2010 (Figure 4.2 – Visit York Visitor Information Centre).

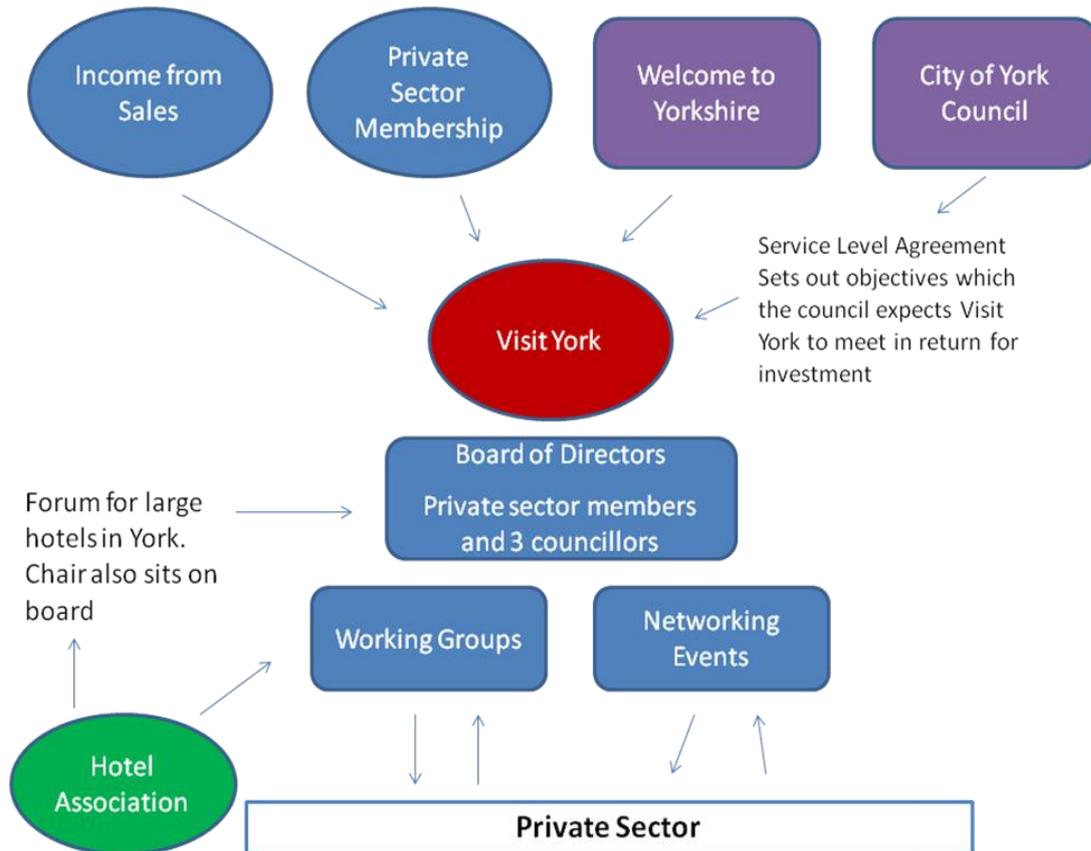
Figure 4.2 Visit York Visitor Information Centre



(Source: Author)

Figure 4.3 provides a visual representation of the structure and funding mechanisms of Visit York.

Figure 4.3 Structure of Visit York



(Source: Author, 2014)

It is interesting to note the differences between the core responsibilities of the First Stop York Partnership and this new arrangement, Visit York. Rather than just focusing on place promotion activities, the new organisation was also tasked with inward investment, product development and strategic leadership of tourism in York. This reflected the growing maturity of tourism governance arrangements in the United Kingdom, with the public sector keen to provide greater autonomy for the private sector in strategic economic decision making.

Visit York's relationship with the regional tourist board, Welcome to Yorkshire, was, until recently, one of cooperation, information and resource sharing. As identified, the establishment of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) and the devolution of regional tourism strategy between the RDAs and regional tourist boards facilitated a new tier of destination management in York and Yorkshire. Subsequently, certain funding for Visit York was received from the RDAs via the regional tourist board and members of Visit York were co-opted onto the membership of Welcome to Yorkshire. Welcome to Yorkshire focused on the implementation of the regional tourism strategy devised by the regional development agency, which was informed by national tourism policy, whilst Visit York's primary focus was the management of tourism in York. Visit York and Welcome to Yorkshire had a close working relationship, and as highlighted by the Chief Executive of Visit York, "it was important to develop Visit York in conjunction with Welcome to Yorkshire so that we complemented each other and piggy back on each other's activities but also that we don't go head to head." It was important then that both organisations worked together in developing a strong York and Yorkshire band that complemented the other. This is reflective of the political nature of the local government during this time, with a strengthening of the outcome-oriented attitude and strategic focus of local governance (Thomas and Thomas, 1998; Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998).

Despite this, in March 2012, in response to the need to reduce the national debt, the coalition government abolished Regional Development Agencies which were replaced with Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), defined as smaller-scale partnerships between local authorities and businesses. This had an impact on regional funding for tourism, as direct funding from Yorkshire Forward, the Regional Development Agency, to Welcome to Yorkshire and Visit York was suspended. Consequently, both organisations are now competing with each other for membership which has become a significant source of funding.

Understanding the historical development and formation of the governance of tourism in York has provided a context in which the current arrangements and the factors which have contributed to this are understood. This final phase in the development of tourism governance in York saw the formation of a single company responsible for establishing the strategic direction for tourism in the city. It is apparent that the amalgamation of the existing operations into Visit York allowed for a closer working relationship between the public sector and the private sector resulting in a new form of governance. The formation of a private sector company to take a strategic lead of the tourism sector created an approach to governance in which tourism management was arguably privatised. The subsequent section will explore how stakeholders are engaged in this current governance approach.

4.4 The Coordination of Stakeholders

This section will examine the role of the public sector in this governance structure and the extent to which democratic accountability is apparent. In doing so, this section will examine the representative nature of the Visit York Board of Directors and the extent to which the organisation engages with relevant stakeholders.

With regard to public sector engagement in Visit York, it is apparent that the City Council were keen that, unlike previously when the public sector had a dominance in economic decision making, the private sector would lead in stimulating economic growth for the tourism industry as one public sector interviewee explained, Visit York has “limited council membership, important council membership but limited” (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). It is important to highlight here that the public sector were keen that Visit York would be “largely a private sector run body” (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council) and consequently the Board of Directors consists of eight private sector representatives and three public sector representatives.

It is apparent that the organisation has a remit of strategically leading tourism in York with the Board of Directors made accountable for this. As the Chief Executive of Visit York claimed, the role of the Board of Directors is to lead “the strategic direction of the Company, to keep an eye on the accounts and the financial viability of it, to input into everything we do through the working groups.” This is supported by the Chairman of Visit York who stated that his role, with other members of the Board, is to lead the strategic operation of the organisation, “not the day-to-day management of the business, but the strategic planning of the business.” As a result, Visit York is described as a leadership organisation by the Chairman of Visit York, outlining how it “takes on the role of leadership of a sector of the economy.” This reflects the new role of the public sector in the city, as a strategic organisation, and the City Council sought to create a strategic private sector organisation which stimulates and encourages growth within the tourism sector. This is supported by the Head of Economic Development at the City of York Council who claimed that “for us [the City Council] the idea of setting up this as a tourism partnership is actually about trying to get the different organisations working more closely together and taking a strategic overview of tourism.”

Although there is a general agreement by the public sector and Visit York officials that the role of the Visit York Board is to strategically lead the organisation, one private sector director felt that their role on the Board was to represent the private sector. When interviewed, a guest house proprietor considered their role on the Board as one where they could “hopefully speak on behalf of the guest house sector.” Rather than considering their role as strategically leading the organisation, they felt that they were on the board to represent and provide a connection between the organisation and fellow guest house proprietors in the city. However, this reflects a concern raised by another private sector director of Visit York who noted that Visit York has “got a bunch of people on the board who don’t have a deep acquaintance with the industry and obviously that ain’t necessarily ideal.” Although the role of the Board is to strategically lead the organisation, and as a consequence stimulate and encourage growth, there is a feeling amongst some

Directors that the Board lacks the relevant industry knowledge, acquaintance and strategic capabilities necessary. The implication of this, therefore, is a deficiency of strategic decision making underpinned with relevant industry knowledge.

A further method of private sector involvement in decision making at Visit York is through a series of working groups. These working groups meet regularly and focus on various topics including product development, marketing, visitor services, and business engagement. Members of these working groups include directors and officers of Visit York and individuals from external organisations, including the Council and private sector organisations where relevant. Key informants explained that “the purpose [of the working groups] is to try to focus on particular subjects, because Visit York’s got a pretty broad remit” (Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York). This is supported by the Business Engagement Manager at Visit York who described how “each department here has a working group with board members and with other sorts of people that would be able to have a good input.” These working groups are an important tool in “setting priorities, setting budgets, hearing how things are progressing with projects and also coming up with ideas of our own” (External Relations Manager, Visit York). In addition to membership of the internal working groups, Directors and senior officers at Visit York also sit on various external Council committees as one interviewee explained:

“[T]he Chairman of Visit York is on the Council’s Economic Development Partnership board and there are other people from Visit York, either directors or officers, on all sorts of other city committees, so I think Visit York’s become much more influential than it was when it was a partnership.”

(Chief Executive, Visit York)

Commenting on the inadequacies of the Visit York Board to represent the interests of the industry, one private sector Director of Visit York noted these working groups are important in providing an additional mechanism for private sector engagement:

“The working groups consist of one or two directors and some outsiders and some members of the management team. And those working groups have the ability to drag people in to represent the other bits because there’s a need to fulfil those criteria, as at the moment the Board isn’t really achieving that and therefore there is a need for these working groups.”

However, one respondent working at Visit York noted a lack of involvement of individuals outside of the organisation on these working groups, describing how “they usually involve directors, officers of Visit York and sometimes other people outside the loop, but this is limited, we probably should encourage that a bit more.” This lack of involvement suggests that only a limited number of private sector members are able to have an active input into Visit York. This lack of engagement is underpinned by a guest house proprietor who explained how despite being a paid member of Visit York they do not have any involvement in the organisation, remarking that “as soon as it became Visit York then we were just not involved at all.” The respondent added further that “there’s so little interaction with Visit York and I really do feel that they’re much more interested in the larger hotels.”

It becomes apparent that there is a lack of participation from a range of private sector stakeholders in York. The analysis of private sector guest house proprietor views demonstrates that they believe Visit York does not represent their interests despite a guest house representative on the Board. A number of respondents agreed that “there’s so little interaction with Visit York” (Restaurant Proprietor, York) and stated how “nothing’s fed back so if they’re having a meeting then it’s a waste of time because nothing comes down” (Bed and Breakfast Proprietor, York).

In comparison, key respondents who operate and manage large hotels in the city had an opposing view to that of the guest house proprietors. They felt that they were represented and could have an active influence in tourism decision making within Visit York. When asked if they felt they were represented on the Board of Visit York, one respondent who manages a large hotel in the city commented:

“Yeah I do, I think it’s a very strong board, but I think that the board is fed upwards by a lot of committees and also fed downwards. With every member of the board I’m very happy to pick up the phone and say have you thought about doing this or I wasn’t happy about that, or whatever it is, and I’ve never felt that the board sits there in judgement.”

This is supported further by another manager of a large hotel in the city, who described how “we work together on different campaigns, but as well I do support the marketing campaign and the tourism strategy.” Active involvement in decision making in Visit York appears apparent here. However, it is evident that these hoteliers are also members of the York Hoteliers Association, a private sector group with membership including operators of large hotel establishments in the city. The primary purpose of this association is to provide a forum for large hoteliers to share resources and communicate marketing and promotional activities with one another, as the Chairman of the Hoteliers Association explained, “I think first of all we always like to pick up on trends, sit down and discuss trends. You need to hear if something bigger is coming up maybe in the city, getting some feedback off Visit York, the City Centre, statistics, campaigns, marketing, and we always have a guest speaker.” What becomes apparent is that the Chief Executive of Visit York regularly attends these meetings and shares information on trends and market analysis. Through this link they are also able to work in collaboration on marketing and publicity activities. As a result, it is unsurprising that respondents involved in this process believed that this engagement was effective in providing a dialogue between the large hoteliers in the city and Visit York. Therefore, respondents who

manage large hotels in the city were very happy with their relationship with Visit York, as shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Hotel Operators’ Comments on Representation in Visit York

How would you describe your relationship with Visit York?	
Business Type	Comment
Large Hotelier (1)	For me it’s really strong, it’s a really important part of my marketing strategy. They relish input from members and value them, I feel valued.
Large Hotelier (2)	They always want to hear what the bigger hotels are saying. We work together.
Large Hotelier (3)	I feel that I’ve got a fruitful relationship with Visit York. Certainly, there are plenty of opportunities for dialogue and discussion.

Although disparity between private sector respondents is evident, it is reasonable to assume that as a result of the governance approach adopted in York and resident representation sought through political representatives, which is considered limited, there is no direct representation of residents within Visit York. This is highlighted by the External Engagement Manager who, when asked how local residents were represented, stated that they “don’t know, I don’t know how to answer that. A lot of local residents work here!” This is echoed by the Chief Executive of Visit York who felt that resident representation was achieved “through the businesses because they’re all local people themselves.” Although private sector membership could be seen as a tool for resident engagement, due to a number of members also residing in the city, caution must be placed on adopting such an approach. Indeed, an individualistic approach may be adopted which could lead to private sector interests dominating decision making, rather than the interests of the wider community being taken into consideration. This reinforces

Hall's (1999) concern that the creation of public-private sector organisations results in a democratic deficit as such structures become dominated by business interests.

The Head of Economic Development at the City Council also noted that there has not "been a lot of detailed involvement from residents." Despite this, they added that resident engagement is part of a wider Council remit and consequently there is an "expectation that we would do that [public engagement] through other vehicles, such as the sustainable community strategy, the new strategic plan that we're going to put forward through the local development framework." This is supported by the Deputy Chief Executive of the City of York Council who described how, through the local government framework, consultation is achieved:

"We engage people through questionnaires, we engage people through encouraging them to attend a discussion forum, and we encourage them by exhibitions and to ask questions, to raise things. We could use a raft of ways depending on what it is. We might go out through our own Council publication, Your Voice, there may be something that goes out separately, although that's added expense so we don't like to do that too much these days, or it may be we hold things in the city centre like planning for real exercises and methods of actually getting people to come in and say what they feel."

The suggestion here is that wider resident engagement is sought by the local authority which would then feed into Visit York. However, one can see that the Council representation within Visit York is limited with the three Council representatives described as being "the least vocal within the Board" (Private Sector Director, Visit York). The implication of this, therefore, is that the resident community is not sufficiently represented within the York approach. What becomes evident is that the consultation work which the public sector conducts does not feed directly into Visit York. Residents are airing their opinions and concerns

through other mechanisms but these appear not to be shared with Visit York. This is highlighted by the Chief Executive of Visit York who noted that there were “areas that don’t work quite as well. In principle it does, but in practice maybe the flow both ways could work a bit better. I’m conscious that we don’t get a huge amount of feedback from the Council.” Adding to this, the Chairman of Visit York claimed that they could do more to encourage resident participation. For example, a working group was suggested which could provide an opportunity for local residents to attend and share their views regarding a specific aspect. Such a method was piloted during the redevelopment of the Visitor Information Centre, as the Chief Executive of Visit York explained:

“We did involve the residents in a forum when we were opening the Visitor Information Centre downstairs. We gathered small groups together to talk to them about what they would like to see in the Visitor Information Centre. What we could do is to do that periodically where we’ve got something that we’re thinking about, or even to get them back and say we’ve got a Visitor Information Centre, a new one that’s been open for a year come next May, what do you think? Have you used it? Have we got the right range of products?”

This suggests a willingness within Visit York to involve residents in discussions around decision making. However, despite this recognition of the need to engage with resident stakeholders, the Chief Executive of Visit York commented on the constraints and limitations of their engagement, describing how “the dilemma is, we’ve got the working groups, we’ve got all these other sector-specific groups, residents is probably one too many in some respects”, adding “we ignore them at our peril really.”

Although resident consultation is apparent through various public sector mechanisms conducted by the City Council, as a consequence of adopting a passive

and facilitative role within Visit York, this public sector consultation does not have a direct impact on decision making within the tourism governance arrangement. It is reasonable to assume from this analysis that resident groups are not engaged within this tourism governance structure. Rather, they are seen to be represented through the Council representation within the organisation. However, it seems that the three Council representatives who serve as Board Members within Visit York are not effective in their representation of resident groups. This research has shown that there is a lack of consensus regarding their role and representation of residents and limited scope for resident feedback and engagement in the tourism governance structure.

4.5 Interpreting Tourism Governance in York

Understanding the historical development and formation of tourism governance in York has provided a context in which the current arrangements and the factors which have contributed to this are understood. As a result, a number of themes have emerged from this analysis, including a conflict of expectations regarding the new arrangement, the diversity of stakeholder representation and engagement, and the dominance of an elite group in decision making. This section will elucidate on these issues further.

It would seem that there was a desire by the City Council that Visit York would become a leadership organisation for tourism in the city. In order to stimulate growth and investment it was thought there should be one leadership organisation for tourism in York, as the Chairman of Visit York explained “it was thought that it would be sensible to create a single body into which the Council’s money would go, [...] and you finish up with a single organisation. That organisation is much easier to understand and being more visible than a disparate, non-legal entity partnership, then it takes on the role of leadership of a sector of the economy.”

However, it is reasonable to assume that there are differing expectations of the role of Visit York, particularly between the public and private sectors. Interview respondents were asked what they considered the primary role of Visit York and interestingly the findings suggest that key informants in York hold conflicting views regarding the role of the organisation. For example, a public sector respondent noted that the role of “Visit York is to promote the city as a tourist destination, to work with the trade to improve quality of standards and to develop innovate strategy.” This is supported by an officer working in the City Council who suggested that:

“What we’ve said to Visit York is by working in partnership we expect you as a body to be setting that strategic direction for tourism. The idea of setting up this as a tourism partnership is actually about trying to get the different organisations working more closely together and taking a strategic overview of tourism, what was important in terms of how much tourism could contribute towards the local economy, how it could deliver that.”

It is becoming apparent that public sector officials interpret the role of Visit York as a strategic leader for tourism in the city. This is supported by another respondent working within Visit York who added that “Visit York is keen to provide leadership of tourism. Visit York has created a step change improvement in the way tourism is perceived and recognised by the Council. Compared to when it was a partnership organisation, Visit York has become much more influential” (Business Engagement Manager, Visit York).

In contrast to this, a number of elected Councillors suggested that the core role of Visit York is concerned with marketing and promotion of the destination. When interviewed one Councillor claimed that “the role of Visit York is to promote the city, to attract people to the city. Primarily, that’s its role as a marketing organisation.” This view of Visit York is commonly shared within the private sector,

with most respondents from the private sector tending to view the governance arrangement as a marketing organisation. For example, a private sector guest house proprietor stated that the primary role of Visit York should be “to promote travel and tourism in York and to bring visitors into the city and to publicise what the city has to offer in the United Kingdom and around the world.” This view was also supported by a private sector hotel manager, who stated that the primary role of Visit York should be “advertising York as a brand and creating a desire to visit.”

There are clear signs of a conflict of expectation regarding the role of Visit York between the private sector, elected councillors and public sector officials. The public sector considers Visit York a strategic leadership organisation for tourism, as evident in both the Service Level Agreement and from the primary interview data, whilst the private sector are keen that Visit York markets and promotes the city as a tourist destination. This contrast of expectations appears to be acknowledged by Visit York itself. The Chief Executive of Visit York claimed that “the primary role is destination marketing, now being a marketer, my definition of marketing includes product, quality, you know, it’s the whole thing, it isn’t just the promotional aspect of it. But our primary role is to get visitors to come to York, stay, spend, recommend and come back.” The Chairman of Visit York continues to describe how “the Council would like Visit York to be proactive, strategic and develop the tourism offer.” This can be interpreted as Visit York recognising its role as a destination marketing organisation but also its strategic leadership role of tourism in the city which the Council are keen for the organisation to adopt. The implication of this, however, is a duality of core functions, which can potentially lead to conflict between the different agencies involved.

The conflicting expectations of Visit York may be rooted in the history of tourism governance structures in the city. For example, when Visit York was created, the York Tourist Board, the original private sector membership organisation, and the Council operations merged to form one organisation for which the private sector

membership model was adopted. The private sector contributes funding via membership subscriptions and consequently perceives Visit York as representing the membership. A conflict of roles arises with Visit York deemed by the City Council as a leadership organisation representing the tourism sector as a whole, whilst the private sector membership considers Visit York as representing the interests of its paying members.

An example which emerged from this research of a conflict between different stakeholders is the development of a new hotel in the city. The Council were keen for the input of Visit York, as a strategic leader of tourism, to comment and partake in the development of this new hotel. However, private sector members, particularly small hotel and bed and breakfast proprietors, became increasingly concerned that Visit York was encouraging such a development which could potentially impact on their business. A guest house proprietor interviewee stated that “[Visit York is] really pleased to see all these budget hotels in York, sorry but we’re not. You’re putting the B and B’s out of business” (Guest House Proprietor, York). Unlike previously when the York Tourist Board was solely a membership organisation undertaking activities for members with no collaboration with the public sector, Visit York is considered a leadership organisation for the tourism sector and as a part publicly funded organisation now also works with non-members. This expectation is in part driven by the City Council. As a strategic leader of tourism in the city and whilst adopting a private sector membership model, with such membership concerned that their interests are protected, creates a remit for this organisation which ultimately results in a conflict of expectation. It is suggested here that such an approach is unsustainable for a strategic leadership organisations.

A further concern highlighted is the role of the public sector in the democratic mandate of Visit York. It is notable that the City Council was keen to develop a mechanism in which they could support and facilitate tourism development in the

city. The role of the public sector in York can be aligned to Brooke's (1989a) definition of an enabling organisation, referring to their role as one of advocacy, supporting and encouraging external agencies to provide for their community. However, rather than coordinate the partnership arrangement directly, the City Council appears to have transferred responsibility for tourism decision making to Visit York. As the Deputy Chief Executive of the City of York Council explained, the City Council were keen that Visit York adopted responsibilities for the tourism industry, with the Council providing a monetary and staffing contribution to allow the organisation to achieve this:

“We gave up a lot of the role that we previously had in tourism and the staff that we had previously employed in tourism, four staff actually, were transferred into Visit York. So to an extent we've put our money where our mouth is and moved our responsibilities for the day-to-day running and the development of tourism over to Visit York.”

This would appear to reflect the facilitation role which the public sector has adopted. The previous partnership arrangement between the public sector and private sector, First Stop York, arguably reflected the new urban governance role of the enabling authority (Mordue, 2007; Stoker, 2000). However, the public sector was keen to develop and strengthen this partnership arrangement and consequently, from a New Public Management perspective, the City Council has sought to adopt a market-oriented approach to tourism governance through the creation of a private sector organisation. For Painter (1998), this provides public sector managers with the ability to control and steer strategic development which creates targeted outcomes through the development of corporate plans that identify specific objectives. The creation of Visit York, a private sector led organisation, has allowed for what Painter (1998) describes as increased efficiency and effectiveness in tourism decision making.

However, the implication of this facilitation role which the Council has adopted is a lack of direct involvement in the management of the organisation. The Deputy Chief Executive of the City of York Council described the role of the public sector within the arrangement as “playing a true partnership role”, noting that the City Council “shouldn’t be dictating” or “shouldn’t be seizing control as that was the old way of doing things.” They suggested that the public sector “should be seeking to promote by discussion and debate how things need to move forward, and in any partnership that’s the way it’s going to be successful.” This implies that through adopting a facilitation role the local authority are able to take a strategic overview of tourism for the city as a whole.

The notion of having a facilitating role within Visit York is supported by a Council Director on the Visit York Board of Directors, who stated that the role of the Council should not be one of direct management of tourism but instead the Council should have a representative and facilitative role within the organisation. They describe how “representation is the answer rather than an active say because sometimes it’s easier just to represent or protect the Council’s investment rather than to try and micro manage something that is outside the Council’s remit if you understand me, I don’t think it’s up to the Council to do everything in the tourism sector but I think it’s a watching brief and facilitating is perhaps where we are.” This is supported further by a private sector Director of Visit York who also stated that “the Council has a watching brief” within Visit York. Furthermore a Councillor, who is a director of Visit York, also supports this stating “I feel that the tourism industry has been interfered with enough by politicians over the years and I think that we should not be interfering.” This can be interpreted as a lack of direct engagement of the Council within Visit York and the facilitative role which the public sector has assumed within the organisation.

In order to facilitate Council representation in decision making within the organisation, political representatives from the City Council are allocated three

Directorships on the Board. At the time of this research, these three seats were allocated to a political representative from each of the three main political parties. From the City Council perspective the role of these representatives is to represent the City Council, as the Deputy Chief Executive of the City of York Council explained, “we still have three Councillors who sit on the Visit York Board whose role is to ensure that the Council is represented.” They added that consequently this creates political accountability within Visit York, stating that “we do have political accountability on there because we do have three elected officials on the Board of Directors.”

From the City Council perspective it is clear that the role of the three political representatives is to represent the City Council in Visit York. However, when asked what they considered to be their role on the Visit York Board, a Councillor Director of Visit York stated that “my role officially is just as a protector of the public purse in that respect.” Furthermore, when asked who they represented on the Board they stated that they represented their political party but added further that as a consequence they represent the local residents and thus provide democratic accountability within Visit York. This is supported by another Councillor, a Director of Visit York, who stated that “I think local residents are not really represented on there, except through me and through the other Councillors.” They later added that they consider themselves as “a conduit if you like and that conduit, if it’s going back to the council, then inherently I’ll be thinking about what will residents think about that.”

What becomes apparent at this stage is that the Councillors appear to assume their role to be one of providing democratic accountability within Visit York and protecting the Council’s investment in the organisation. For Elliott (1997), within these governance structures, rather than the public sector taking a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism, which for Hall

(2000) can help ensure democratic accountability in the decision making process. In the York approach it is reasonable to assume that this notion of collaborative working is apparent. However, although the devolution of responsibility to an external organisation may increase efficiency, responsibilities for local decision making are arguably taken away from political representatives who are locally accountable (Yuksel and Bramwell, 2005).

With the Council adopting a facilitating role they encouraged the private sector to take a lead in economic decision making. Within Visit York this resulted in the creation of a Board of Directors of which the majority are private sector representatives. Local authorities need to ensure the economic health of a destination and thus balance the interests of the private sector with the interests of the resident population (Jamal and Getz, 1995). As expressed by Augustyn and Knowles (2000), there is a danger that private sector interests become more prominent in the decision making process and thus local communities are neglected. Public sector intervention in tourism is necessary to ensure the potential problems associated with the industry are minimised (Charlton and Essex, 1996). Although the Council do have input into the Visit York Board and the operations of the organisation through the three Council electoral representatives, the analysis has highlighted that Visit York has a Board of Directors which is dominated by private sector representation. There is a danger then that corporate needs could take priority over the interests of the locale. The changing role of local authorities in the United Kingdom, in particular, has highlighted concerns over resident stakeholding and representation. The outsourcing of public sector services, with partnership and collaborative structures becoming increasingly common, has consequently resulted in concerns that within these new governance discourses a democratic deficit has emerged with a lack of community representation.

It is reasonable to assume that in the York approach there is a lack of direct influence by the public sector representatives in strategic decision making and in

providing democratic accountability. As demonstrated in a number of responses from public sector officials, and as already outlined, the City Council was keen for the private sector to take responsibility for tourism decision making within York. For Hall (1999), however, this can result in a democratic deficit as such structures become dominated by business interests and include unelected representatives. This supports concerns highlighted by Goodwin (1993 p.161) who argues that in order to encourage economic development within tourism local authorities have transferred responsibility for this over to unelected institutions, 'effectively, an appointed agency is, in each case, replacing the powers of local government in order to carry out a market-led regeneration of each inner city.'

However, a number of key informants argue that there is accountability in Visit York. When interviewed the Deputy Chief Executive from the City of York Council argued that "there is no democratic deficit" suggesting that a "democratic deficit only occurs where you have got unelected quangos [quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations] delivering things who are not in any way accountable for their actions. Visit York is accountable, they're accountable through the members they have on the board, they're accountable through the service level agreement the Council has set up. There is no lack of accountability." This is supported by the Chairman of Visit York who added that there is not "a democratic deficit because we've got three Councillors on the Board. I don't think there is a democratic deficit because the money the City Council puts in to Visit York is as a result of a publicly negotiated political budget, so there's no doubt that the public have the ability to have their say."

Conversely, this view contradicts with other respondents, particularly private sector and Visit York officers, who felt that the City Council have contracted out their responsibility of tourism to a private sector organisation. In particular, this is supported by the Chief Executive of Visit York who suggested that the City Council "have contracted it out [tourism to Visit York], that's probably quite a good

expression actually.” However, an interview respondent, within the Economic Development Partnership believed that the Council had not out-sourced tourism, and instead noted the importance of partnership and shared responsibility.

“Well, I’m not sure contracted out is the right way, it’s about working in partnership and what we’ve said to Visit York is by working in partnership we expect you as a body to be setting that strategic direction for tourism, so in that sense that’s the remit we’re giving you. So in some respects it wasn’t done on the basis of we were looking to outsource and contract with somebody else to deliver a service we’re doing, it was saying, we’re currently doing this bit of the service, you’re doing other bits very well in terms of membership buy in and stuff like that, what can we do collectively around that so it’s a recognition really that there were just better ways of getting a partnership established.”

(Head of Economic Development, City of York Council)

Supporting this, the leader of the City of York Council stated that the role of the Council is important in Visit York, highlighting that “we don’t abdicate our responsibility by providing Visit York with resources, we are a very active partner in that partnership, but it is a genuine public, private partnership. There is an expectation on both sides to play their part.” They further stated that the local authority is able to provide a balanced and “wider view” for tourism development. Despite this, the Deputy Chief Executive of the City of York Council stated that contracting out tourism to Visit York “was the right thing to do”, adding it is “more effective, to proceed that responsibility to the private sector.”

In adopting a facilitation role the City Council are keen to develop partnerships with key economic industries within the city, “it just shows a complete change from a much more hands on, controlled focus approach to a much looser private sector led Council facilitation approach” (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). This

facilitating role of the Council allowed the private sector to have a stronger and more effective input into the future direction of the city. Visit York, therefore, is a private sector organisation through which the private sector is able to have a strategic role and leadership of a key economic sector within the city. The City Council has transferred the day-to-day management responsibility of tourism to a private sector organisation. However, in doing so, in order to create democratic accountability within this process, it is argued that the Council needs to have an active role within the organisation. The methods in which the Councillors represent the public sector arguably need to be explored in order to evaluate if a democratic deficit is apparent.

Yuksel and Bramwell (2005) suggest that there is a need to consider whether the dispersal of state power involves a strengthening of democratic accountability. Traditionally, within government, accountability is usually sought through local elections. However, within organisations where local government have transferred responsibility, particularly to private sector organisations as apparent in York, for Yuksel and Bramwell (2005) accountability becomes diffused. There is a need, therefore, for clear mechanisms of accountability, particularly when local power and decision making are transferred to quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations and partnerships, to ensure transparency for the decisions made. For Bramwell and Sharman (1999), within the context of collaboration, democratic accountability should be sought through local government, due to the electoral system. Conversely, it becomes evident in the York approach that the public sector representatives are passive in their role as a Director of Visit York explained:

“There have been moments when the Visit York board have been asked to pass comment on an economic development issue, but the Council members have abstained from passing any comment.”

This lack of active involvement of the Council representatives is echoed by a private sector director who was asked to describe the role of the City Council within tourism in York:

“In terms of direct intervention it’s relatively minimal. The Council has three members on the Visit York Board who are members of the Council, it’s got to be said that their engagement is relatively limited. They’re among the least vocal, least attending members of the board. It’s a complex industry and obviously it’s not central to what they do and they have quite a struggle sometimes, I think, getting to grips with what’s being talked about.”

If the Councillors who represent the public interest omit their voice within Visit York, this raises questions over who is then providing democratic accountability within the tourism organisation. What has become evident here, therefore, is that in York the change in the role of local government towards an enabling organisation, with the adoption of management principles and concerned with private sector collaboration, raises important questions regarding democratic accountability within these emerging structures. Whilst it is argued that this change in the re-orientation of local government creates efficiency in service provision (Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998), the capacity for collaboration with external organisations (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Pratchett, 1999; Stoker, 1998), and opportunities for local government to encourage decisions to be made in the interest of the locality (Brooke, 1989a), it is apparent that it has raised concerns regarding the democratic accountability of these governance structures.

An increase in private sector representation within Visit York potentially leads to private sector interests becoming more prominent in the decision making process and could thus have implications for the wider local community. Whilst for Bramwell and Sharman (1999) democratic accountability should be sought through

local government, Dredge (2006) argues that local government representation is problematic in that often it does not represent broader resident interests. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that in York there is a realisation of the implication of these structures, as outlined by Hall (1999), who suggests that this leads to tourism decision making being in the interests of the private sector and dominant elites, rather than in the interests of the destination as a whole. Whilst the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders can be problematic, due to the complexities of involving various stakeholder groups (Huxham and Vangen, 2000; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005), resident communities are seen as a legitimate stakeholder (Hall, 1999) of which their input into the decision making process is important (Hampton, 2005; Madrigal, 1995; Simpson, 2001).

Simpson (2001) argues that the exclusion of residents from the development process can result in local people being unable to recognise the potential costs and benefits of tourism, which could manifest itself into hostility towards tourists (Madrigal, 1995). Indeed, Meethan (1997) identified that in York until 1986, little attempt was made to understand the population's views on tourism. However, a survey commissioned by the Council found that although a significant number of residents recognised the benefits of tourism, 35% of residents were dissatisfied with the current levels of tourism activity (Meethan, 1997). Keogh (1990) suggests those residents who are more familiar with the positive and negative aspects of development proposals tended to view tourism development more favourably than those residents who were less informed. Madrigal (1993) found that residents who have strong positive attitudes towards tourism development believed that they were able to personally influence the decision making process and that businesses did not have too much political influence. The suggestion here, therefore, is for organisations such as Visit York to engage with the resident community in tourism decision making.

For Dredge (2006), local government can only represent what it perceives to be in the interests of the resident community. Adding to this, Murphy (1981) suggests that rather than the benefits of tourism being sold to the resident community, they should take an active role in the decision making process. It is evident here, however, that in York resident communities are not currently represented or engaged within the tourism organisation. It is argued, therefore, that the private sector dominates the tourism decision making process and despite the Council representation within the organisation, a lack of diversity in stakeholder engagement suggests that a dominant elite is apparent, influencing the decision making process. Consequently, it is argued here that a democratic deficit exists within the tourism governance approach. Although Council representation is apparent, it is argued that this is limited, with a lack of consensus regarding their role in the organisation and a passive attitude of public sector elected representatives.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has identified and evaluated the tourism governance structure evident in York and consequently a number of emerging themes have been identified with regards to the governance of tourism. These themes include the conflicting expectations of Visit York, the apparent dominance of the private sector in strategic decision making, and a lack of diversity in stakeholder engagement.

It was the intention of this chapter to identify and evaluate the current tourism governance approach established in York and in doing so it becomes apparent that the approach can be described as positioned within a centralised economic paradigm. When Visit York was established the private sector membership was considered a crucial element in engaging key stakeholders. However, a conflict has emerged between membership and strategic leadership in the management of tourism. As a private sector company, the York approach is directed by the private sector with a clear focus on economic development in tourism. Driven by the desire

to develop the economic significance of the tourism sector within the city, the York approach primarily focuses on place promotion activities, inward investment and product development. Private sector involvement is sought through membership schemes and through a largely private sector board of directors. Despite apparent public sector representation, it would seem that the new organisation has been unsuccessful in bringing together a range of stakeholders in the decision making process with a dominant elite being highly evident. Indeed, even within this elite group there are factions as evidenced by the rift between the guest house proprietors and large hotel managers. It is arguable, therefore, that a democratic deficit exists in the York approach to tourism governance.

By way of comparison, the following chapter will identify and evaluate the current approach of tourism governance in Seville. The next chapter outlines the results of the data analysis from both the examination of documentary sources and the in-depth interviews from the Seville case study.

Chapter 5

Tourism Governance in Seville

5.1 Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to identify and evaluate the tourism governance structure evident in Seville. In order to facilitate comparability between the two case study locations, this chapter adopts the same structure as the previous one and thus firstly an analysis of the historical development of tourism governance in Seville is presented. Secondly, the current tourism governance approach established in Seville is outlined and consequently a number of emerging themes are outlined and discussed.

Unlike York where there is much research documenting the development of both the tourism industry and the management of tourism in the city (see Section 4.2 onwards), scholarly research on tourism in Seville is limited. Therefore, this chapter provides a contribution to knowledge by identifying and evaluating the form of tourism governance apparent in Seville.

5.2 Historic Analysis of Tourism Governance in Seville

Seville is the capital city of both the autonomous region of Andalucía and the province of Seville. Located on the plain of the Guadalquivir river, which crosses the city from north to south, it is the 4th largest city in Spain with a population of almost 700,000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2014), with a rich and diverse history. Both the Roman period and Moorish era influenced its development, which is reflected in the architecture and other cultural aspects of the city. Seville has many typical urban historic aspects including attractions such as the Cathedral (Figure 5.1), which is the world's largest church attracting 1.3 million visitors in 2013 (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014), the Giralda Tower which in 2013 received just over 1.2

million visitors (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014), Torre de Oro, Plaza de España (Figure 5.2), and many historic palaces and houses. The city is home to a number of museums including fine art, archaeological, historical, and cultural. In addition, the city has many parks and gardens including the Alcazar's Gardens and the Maria Luisa Park. It also has strong cultural links with South America due to its role as a base from which the colonisation began and as the port through which the gold of South American civilisation was imported.

Figure 5.1 Catedral de Sevilla (Cathedral of Seville)



(Source: Author)

Figure 5.2 Plaza de España, Seville



(Source: Author)

Many festivals including music and theatre occur throughout the year, such as the Ancient Music Festival, Festival of New Spanish Music, and the International Festival of Movie Soundtracks. The most popular and important festivals, however, are the *La Feria de Sevilla* (Seville Fair, also referred to as *Feria de Abril*, April Fair) and the Holy Week procession. In addition, other popular locations in the city include the river, the shopping district, the old town, and the Jewish quarter. Seville, therefore, offers typical characteristics of a cultural urban tourist destination and as a result is becoming increasingly popular with both domestic and international visitors. In 2013, Seville received 6 million visitors. Tourism is a major source of wealth and employment, contributing 11% of the gross domestic product (GDP) to the city (Buitrago and Peral, 2005). The popularity of Seville as an urban tourist destination was heightened due to the product diversification apparent in Spain from mass tourism to urban tourism, with a greater focus on cultural tourism, including heritage, events, gastronomy, and local and regional character.

During the post-war period Spain became a popular tourist destination, especially for tourists from the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. In 1959, Spain received 4.1 million international arrivals (Baidal, 2004), however by 2013 this had dramatically increased to almost 100 million international visitors. Political stability within the continent and improvements in the transport infrastructure contributed to this emergence of mass tourism (Baidal, 2013). Spain is now the second most visited country in the world after France. With its mild climate, outstanding natural resources, the proximity to important tourism generating countries, relatively low price levels, and the extensive beaches of the Mediterranean contributing to the continued success of the Spanish tourism industry (Baidal, 2004; 2013).

The package holiday, which capitalised on the mass movement of people, led to a concentration of activity in a small number of core regions with much of the country remaining relatively untouched by tourism development (Simpson, 2001). Consequently, tourism became mainly concentrated along the coastal areas of Spain and is an essential economic activity there. However, during the 1990s, as a result of increased international competition the central Spanish government, along with its regional counterparts, recognised the need to refresh Spain's tourism product. The diversification of tourism which included the recognition of the cultural aspects of Spain resulted in an increase in the demand for urban tourism (Baidal, 2004; 2013), upon which Seville was able to capitalise. Subsequently, the introduction of tourism within these urban areas offered a potential for economic survival and facilitated the expansion of the industry throughout the country (Simpson, 2001).

It is apparent that regional tourism planning in Spain played a significant role in establishing the basis for a progressive spatial spread of tourism in the country. Tourism was considered a prime sector, i.e. one of fundamental importance to the country's economy and therefore worthy of supporting. However, there was a need for better communication between the different layers of administration in order to

ensure its success (Baidal, 2004; 2013). The suggestion here is that the creation of autonomous regions facilitated the development of the sector and this will now be explored.

Spain was formerly a highly centralised state, however, post-Franco Spain from 1975 onwards resulted in greater regional autonomy with the establishment of 17 autonomous communities (Pearce, 1996), creating a new intermediate tier of government characterised by decentralization (Baidal, 2004; 2013). The first four regions established were regions that are historically well defined and culturally distinctive, and included the Basque Country, Catalonia, Galicia, and Andalucía. Central government retained control and responsibility for international relations, defence, and the monetary system, as outlined under articles 148 and 149 of the 1978 constitution, whilst the autonomous communities gained control of economic development, transport, agriculture, environment, and tourism. Consequently, a new level of public sector decision making and intervention in tourism was introduced (Baidal, 2004; 2013).

During the Franco period national tourism policy consisted primarily of encouraging demand-led growth of international tourism in coastal areas. Apart from the provision of information offices, there was modest public sector intervention on a regional scale, with little concern given to regional or local interests and the consequences of tourism. However, the creation of the autonomous communities resulted in tourism departments at a local level pursuing a number of goals and implementing a range of economic, social, political, and environmental policies specific to that region.

During the 1990s, changes in market conditions and increasing competition were reflected in the growing maturity of the regional tourism organisations and a commitment by regional governments to tourism. In addition, the emergence of community level tourism organisations can be characterised not only by structural

changes in government but also by the increased budgets available for tourism. Particularly within Andalucía, the availability of European Union funding (then the European Community) allowed for the establishment of a framework for economic development with the enhancement of infrastructure and product development in order to increase distinctiveness and competitiveness.

These tourism organisations can take a variety of forms. They often lie entirely within the public sector, existing as either a government department, a semi-autonomous government department or as a commercial company. Also, a mix of public and private sector partnerships is becoming increasingly apparent. In addition, purely private sector organisations, although not common, are evident in some areas (the Seville Congress and Convention Bureau being a recent example). These tourism organisations may undertake a range of roles including marketing, visitor services, development, regulation, planning, research, coordination, and lobbying.

At a national level, central government responsibility for tourism rests with the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism and, through the State Secretary for Tourism, is responsible for defining and implementing tourism strategy and policy. The Instituto de Turismo de España (The Institute of Tourism in Spain) (Turespaña) is responsible for promoting Spain abroad as a tourist destination and is concerned with the marketing of Spain through Annual Marketing Plans (Baidal, 2013). In 2007, the total budget for the Institute was 148 million Euros, of which 76.8 million Euros was used for direct investment in campaigns and activities in promoting Spain as a tourist destination abroad (Baidal, 2013). The organisation works closely with the Tourist Offices of Spain, which are part of Spain's Embassies and Consulates. The Institute of Tourism in Spain works in cooperation with the regional and local government and the private sector. The functions of the organisation also include administrative coordination, quality enhancement, and sustainability. The creation of regional tourism organisations allowed for the increased promotion of regional

areas, focusing on a range of different product offerings. There is a high degree of cooperation between regional and national tourism organisations, with the sharing of resources and funding (Baidal, 2013).

It is clear then that decentralisation had a profound impact on regional tourism governance. The creation of autonomous regions allowed for the creation of regional tourism organisations which facilitated a mechanism to drive regional tourism promotion and development. Within the autonomous region of Andalucía, the government department responsible for tourism and its strategic development is the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Sport. Furthermore, the Andalucían Tourist Board, Turismo Andaluz, has direct responsibility for the marketing and promotion of tourism in the Andalucían region. In Seville, tourism is managed through Turismo de Sevilla, a public sector organisation having strategic responsibility for the development of tourism and the marketing and promotion of the city.

The emergence of tourism in Seville was initially prompted by the hosting of the Ibero-American Exposition World Fair in 1929, which celebrated the links between the city and South America. The World Fair was held in Seville between the 9th of May 1929 and the 21st of June 1930 and led to significant investment in and development of the city infrastructure. This included the modernisation of the city, new hotels and the widening of the medieval streets. A notable new building in Seville was the monumental Plaza de España, which today is a popular tourist attraction. A noteworthy result of the World Fair of 1929 was the development of the tourism department in the city. The City Council recognised the need for tourism promotion and “the tourism office within the town hall was created about 90 years ago” (Head of Promotion and Marketing, Turismo de Sevilla). Initially, the activities of the tourism office focused on the provision of tourist information, as noted by the Head of Promotion and Marketing at Turismo de Sevilla, “in the 20s our first plan ruled by the city was when Seville was getting ready to host the World Expo 1929.”

It is apparent that the core responsibilities of the tourism office continued to focus on marketing and promotion. However, in 1992, 63 years after the World Expo 1929, Seville hosted The Universal Exposition of Seville (Expo '92) which took place between 20th April and 12th October 1992. The hosting of this World Expo resulted in a significant investment in infrastructure, particularly the development of the transport network:

“Sevilla recibió una inversión pública en la expo 1992. Esto significó en la práctica, una actualización del tráfico por carreteras, ampliación del aeropuerto convirtiéndolo en aeropuerto internacional, ampliación de las instalaciones del puerto, y la alta velocidad en ferrocarril. Esto significó actualizar los distintos medios de desplazamiento a Sevilla. A partir de esas inversiones muy masivas en 1992, hemos seguido trabajando y haciendo un esfuerzo de inversión pública desde el propio ayuntamiento de Sevilla.”

Seville received a public investment for the 'Expo' in 1992. This meant, in practice, an upgrade of the road system, the expansion of the airport, making it into an international airport, the infrastructure of the port was also expanded, as well as the high speed trains. This meant a modernisation of the different means of transport from and to Seville. Since these investments, which were very big in 1992, we have continued to work and try our best to carry out the public investment from the City Hall of Seville.

(Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council)

A consequence of this development, and in particular the enhancement of the airport, was the provision of an infrastructure which could be utilised in the development of international tourism. The City Council were also keen to ensure that the developments that took place to support the event in 1992 would be utilised after the close of the exhibition:

“We had it big in 1992 with the World Expo, at that time more than 70 hotels, the beds were duplicated, so after the World Expo we had a lack of demand, a terrible crisis, but not many hotels closed so we started, when I was in charge of the local tourist board, we began to increase the business again and now a days we have 22,000 beds here in Seville.”

(Tourism Advisor, Seville Chamber of Commerce)

This can be interpreted as Seville experiencing a period of oversupply and lack of demand once the World Expo of 1992 had finished. Hosting the World Expo in 1992 strengthened the need for a more coordinated approach in promoting Seville as an international tourist destination, with the City Council keen to develop the tourism brand of the city to ensure sufficient demand. Consequently in 2000, as a result of the regional governance changes and with a keen desire to market Seville, the Turismo de Sevilla Consortium, a public non-profit organisation, was created to promote the city to both domestic and international markets and coordinate inward investment in tourism.

The above analysis has provided a context in which to understand the development of tourism governance in Seville, taking into consideration the internal and external factors which contributed to the development of these structures. The subsequent section will elucidate the current tourism structure evident in the city.

5.3 Current Tourism Governance Structure in Seville

As previously mentioned, the establishment of a tourism office in Seville was prompted by the need for a more sophisticated approach to the management of tourism, which in itself had become more diverse. The Consortium, although coordinated and based within the City Council, is not defined as a city hall department. It is a public sector organisation, directed by public officials, with active private sector participation, as a local government official explained:

“El turismo es una actividad económica, es una de las áreas que engloban dentro de su actividad política y de gestión. El Ayuntamiento tiene un organismo especializado en el Turismo que es el Consorcio de Turismo, donde participan representantes de distintos sectores empresariales, desde el sector de la hotelería, sector hostelería, agencia de viajes, el propio ayuntamiento, diputación de Sevilla, y representación de la administración autonómica.”

Tourism is an economic activity, it is one of the areas embraced by the politics and management. The City Hall has an organisation especially for Tourism which is the Consorcio de Turismo, which includes representatives from different business sectors, from the hotel sector, the catering sector, the travel agencies, as well as the City Hall, Council of Seville, and representatives of the autonomous administration.

(Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council)

Figure 5.3 Turismo de Sevilla Information Centre and Head Office



(Source: Author)

It would appear that initially the role of the Consortium was to provide visitor information. However, a number of interview respondents commented that since its inception the activities of the Consortium have expanded. This is particularly expressed by the President of the Seville Hotel Association who noted that activities of the Consortium include “planning, marketing and advertising.” The Director of the Seville Port Authority supports this, and in addition highlighted the research role that the Consortium has, “[t]hey are continually trying to promote research

into new markets and business tourism.” The role of the Consortium is thus summarised by the Chairman of the Seville Congress and Convention Bureau as “the tool for planning tourism from the town hall” with key activities including “tourism information, tourist promotion, and tourist support to local companies to develop themselves and provide Seville with a good image outside.” What becomes apparent here is the strategic role of the Consortium in coordinating tourism planning and development in Seville. This is supported by a number of private sector respondents but is particularly represented by the President of the Seville Hotel Association who noted that the Consortium is the “strategic organisation for tourism in the city” and consequently “do all the strategic planning for tourism in Seville.” This notion of the strategic role of the Consortium is reinforced by an official working within the Consortium who stated:

“We have different tasks as a tourism promotion organisation, mainly to increase the number of visitors to the city, the amount of income, the tourism business to promote Seville as a destination for all the different segments [...] from here we do the planning and we do all the contacts with different tourist operators, decision makers, international companies so that they make Seville their choice in order to hold their meetings here or to promote Seville in the different offers they have worldwide.”

(Head of Promotion and Marketing, Turismo de Sevilla)

In achieving this, the Chief Executive of Turismo de Sevilla defined the Consortium as a forum “of agreement and debate” between the public and private sectors. What becomes apparent is that the approach in Seville can be defined as a Destination Management Organisation. A Destination Management Organisation is categorised as providing a leadership role and encompassing not just the marketing and promotion of a destination but also facilitating inward investment and product development (Presenza, Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005). Traditionally, Destination Marketing Organisations were common in many locations, concerned with just the

marketing, promotion and attracting visitors to a locale. However, Presenza, Sheehan and Ritchie (2005) purport the need for Destination Management Organisations, such as the organisation evident in Seville, that focus on the strategic, competitive and sustainable perspectives in the development of the destination.

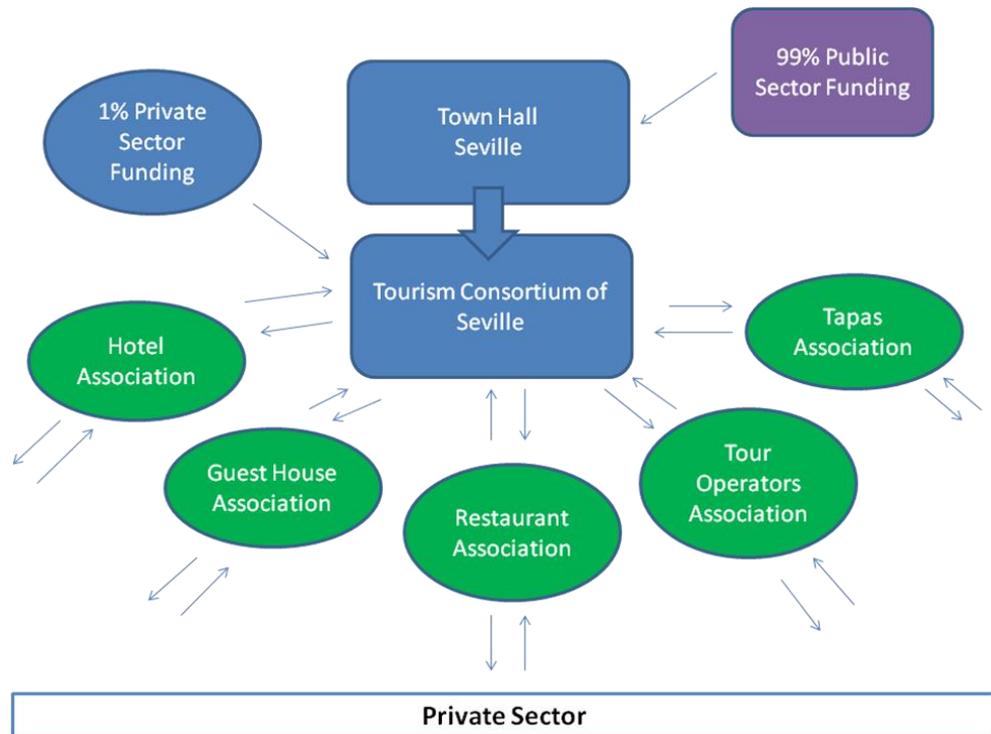
The role of the Consortium, therefore, extends beyond core functions of marketing and promotion, with evidence to suggest that it is a strategic leader of tourism, having a central role in the tourism planning and development process. This alignment to destination management is expressed by one interviewee who described the Consortium as “un foro de encuentro y participación donde todos los actores participan en la política dirigida al turismo. Es un foro de debate y acuerdo entre el sector público y privado. Es foro de debate.” (*a forum for discussion and participation, where all the actors and sectors involved take part in the politics directed towards tourism. It is a forum for discussion and agreement between the public and private sectors* (Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council)). From this quote it would seem that the public sector is considered as having a key role in the Consortium, which is guaranteed through the funding of the organisation. In addition, the Consortium is keen to work with the private sector and provide support and resources in the development of tourism as the Head of Economic Development in the City Council explained, “está dirigida por el sector público, pero el sector privado puede participar, es como una asociación entre el sector público y privado” (*It is directed by the public sector, but the private sector can participate, it is like a partnership between the public and private sector*). In order to further examine the ideas which have been introduced above, the subsequent section will explore how stakeholders are engaged in this current governance approach.

5.4 The Coordination of Stakeholders

It is reasonable to assume that both public and private sector stakeholders are engaged in the tourism decision making process within the Consortium. A method of achieving private sector participation in the Consortium is through a network of business associations. Private sector organisations are encouraged by the public sector to form their own membership associations, such as the Seville Hotel Association, with the president or a representative being a board member of the Tourism Consortium. As the Chief Executive of the Consortium explained, “we have created different forums where they've been represented Mesa Integral del Turismo (Committee for Tourism) Marketing, Promotion and Events, and Mesa de la Calidad Quality (Committee for Quality), and we work together in the promotion of the city.” Examples include the Hotel Association and the Restaurant Association.

The role of these private sector associations varies depending on the type of association and the business sector in which it operates and represents. For example, the Hotel Association works with hoteliers in the city and represents them on various committees, including representation on the Tourism Consortium. They also provide an on-line booking service, develop joint promotional materials, offer legal support and representation, and collaborate with other organisations, particularly securing commercial discounts for members. As the President of the Hotel Association explained, “we [the Association] work with the commercial industry here in Seville [...] we get arrangements with other companies which are interested to collaborate with the hotel industry [...] and we have also collective services for them, for example, we have a website and we produce a hotel guide annually.”

Figure 5.4 Structure of Turismo de Sevilla – Tourism Consortium of Seville



(Source: Author, 2014)

The involvement of these associations is through a series of meetings and various sub-group meetings around specific areas such as quality or marketing. The Consortium consists of representatives from private sector associations, usually the president of these associations, local neighbourhood associations and representatives from local and regional government. As outlined by the Head of Promotion and Marketing at the Consortium, “there is a group of experts, representative of all the professional associations in the city and every two or three months there’s an assembly [...] to discuss all the projects and everything so they give their opinion, they vote and they complain, they like, dislike [...] the hoteliers, the guides, the Travel Association, the tour operators, everybody has an association, the tapas bars [...] and they all have a representative who comes to the Consortium and votes and makes decisions on behalf of his sector within Seville.” Meetings are held regularly in order for the City Council and the industry as a whole to gain an understanding of the current situation within each sector and the issues,

challenges and opportunities which have arisen. Also, these meetings provide an opportunity for the City Council to consult with the private sector associations on any planning and development issues, including marketing and promotion, which is then fed back to the private sector via relevant communication mechanisms. The Director of the Seville Port Authority explained the activities which take place, noting that “every two months the president of the Board makes the appointment and 20 to 25 persons will spend a morning for a meeting and evaluate the situation.” They added that “each one can explain what happens in his sector, what’s the questions and what’s the problem” which results in “solutions” and “directions in order to promote” the city.

This is an indication that decision making within the Consortium takes place with all key representatives from both the private sector and the local authority. It is apparent that respondents felt this provides a good opportunity for the City Council and the private sector to share their perspectives on tourism and discuss project developments, including both infrastructure developments and marketing and promotional plans. This is indicated by the Director of the Seville Port Authority who described that, as a result of this engagement, the Consortium provides a mechanism for the public sector to take into consideration the views of the businesses in each sector, noting how “the authorities know very well what’s the feeling in the city, of the representants [representatives] and they are in the [direction] that the city wants. Of course, time by time the authority can do something by they own decision but normally they attend all the comments suggested by the representatives.”

The analysis of stakeholder views demonstrated that a number of private sector association members considered their involvement with the Consortium generally a positive experience. When asked to comment on their involvement the president of the Hotel Association commented that the relationship was “reasonable,” noting that “we have differences with them but at the same time we always look to

achieve the arrangements, the targets we have, not always we receive what we want from them, but that's normal dynamics of the relationship." This is further supported by the President of the Restaurant Association who noted that through their involvement with the Consortium they "know about the plans or about the programmes of the Council" and are aware of any strategic development within tourism and consequently able to make comment on such planning. Furthermore, the President of the Business Association of Travel Agents of Seville described his relationship with the Consortium as "normal." Findings from the research suggest that private sector representatives consider their involvement with the Consortium as providing them with an awareness of tourism planning and development within Seville and created an opportunity to have an influence in the decision making process.

However, by contrast a number of respondents highlighted incidences when engagement with the private sector appeared to be less than participatory. This was particularly expressed by one respondent who stated that "we try to get all together to get an agreement. We go to many meetings, we suggest, we have an opinion and we inform them what to do. Then normally they do what they want and not what we say!" (President, Business Association of Travel Agents of Seville). This is also supported by the President of the Restaurant Association who claimed that there had been occasions when their participation with the Consortium involved the sharing of planning and development information which had already been approved, noting how "we can give a lot of ideas about gastronomy in Seville, Seville as a gastronomy destination, but decisions are already made."

It is evident, however, that the involvement of the private sector through the encouragement of private sector associations appears to provide a mechanism for the Consortium to seek the input and opinion of the private sector in the tourism planning and development decision making process. Comments from private sector respondents suggest that this process has provided a genuine mechanism for their

involvement in this decision making process. However, it is reasonable to assume that in some incidences private sector consultation within the Consortium has been more illusory and gestural than real. Yet, unsurprisingly, the involvement of the private sector within the Consortium is considered to be of significant importance by the public sector and members from the Consortium, as the Chief Executive of the Consortium explained:

“It is important, since our initiatives are developed with the cooperation of the private sector in order to make the city a top destination. We must listen to the views and concerns expressed by the representatives, paying attention to support the quality of the hotels, the quality of the restaurants, as a nutshell, the quality of the tourist offer as a whole.”

This is also reflected by the Head of Economic Development at the Seville City Council who emphasised the importance of working with the private sector in tourism development, stating “of course, it is very important.” It seems that despite occasions when private sector involvement within the Consortium appears to be submissive, engagement through the associations suggests a mechanism for private sector involvement within the decision making process. However, it is suggested that this collaboration could be enhanced further with more effective engagement and responsiveness to private sector stakeholders in the decision making process.

What also becomes apparent is that the private sector associations participate in other areas of planning and development in Seville, as the President of the Business Association of Travel Agents of Seville explained, the Association also works with the Regional Tourist Board, Junta de Andalucía, stating that “we work with all levels.” It is evident that the City Council were keen for associations to be formed in which economic value could be enhanced. One example of this encouragement to form an association is the creation of the Spanish Language Schools Association of Seville. Although not directly a tourism related sector, the City Council recognised

the contribution language schools made in attracting international students to the city and the economic value this has on tourism. As the President of the Spanish Language Schools Association of Seville explained, “it was the local government, the Sevillian Government, who came to us and asked us to form an association in Seville because they also understood that this type of tourism promotes directly the destination and [...] this type of tourist, or language tourist, who come is a multiplier, they come themselves and very often they have visitors from their family, and in most of the cases they always come back.”

The City Council particularly recognised not only the marketing contribution the Spanish Language Schools Association of Seville made but also the employment contribution to the city. The formation of the association brought together language schools across the city and thus is able to contribute to tourism marketing and development in Seville. Through this collaboration the City Council and the Language Schools Association are able to develop joint promotional materials and consequently develop a common, strategic approach to the marketing and promotion of the city.

It would appear that resident groups are also represented within the Consortium through a mechanism similar to that of the private sector. Rather than resident representation sought directly through public sector engagement, each neighbourhood in the city has a neighbourhood resident association and representatives from within these associations are invited to engage in the Consortium. The involvement of resident communities appears to be an important element of the tourism planning and development decision making process, as indicated by the Chief Executive of the Consortium, who explained that “we arrange our promotional actions bearing in mind our community’s needs and interests, with their support and pro-active approach.” The involvement and representation of residents within the Consortium is further outlined by a member of a neighbourhood association in Seville who suggested that “the Consortium is a very

strong organ for [tourism planning] actually and through the Consortium of tourism it's possible to influence it." They added further that they "have a positive opinion of the participative process as it's more of a framework, it's not perfect of course but it's a huge improvement from what it used to be and actually if you make some reasonable proposals they usually end up in the document. Of course it involves you doing your work, you can't just get there and say the first thing that crosses your mind but it's usually taken on board by the authorities."

These comments are reflected by the Head of Promotion and Marketing at the Consortium who outlined how "it's important, when planning anything related to tourism, to listen to all the opinions of the associations of the different neighbourhoods which represents the citizens because they all of course have something to say, so we are very receptive to what they may talk about." What also becomes apparent here is that these neighbourhood associations participate not just in the Tourism Consortium, but also in other areas within the public sector, as a member of a neighbourhood association explained:

"We have the most important strategic forum being held now, Plan Sevilla 2020. So it's a kind of local framework, a massive plan for the city, and for instance we were invited to this talk and some other conferences, a forum on urban landscaping which is being held and discussed that kind of thing [...]. You have a massive plan of some kind, I don't know for instance the traffic plan in the centre, something like that, and they'll probably want to know our thoughts about that."

The analysis of stakeholder views demonstrates that these neighbourhood associations form an integral element of the local government planning, development and consultation process, within tourism decision making and also within the local planning and strategic development framework. When asked if they felt local residents were able to have an influence over the planning and

development decision making process within the city, a neighbourhood association member commented:

“I do feel that the citizens do have an influence [...] it’s a small set of people who are now willing to write and in an ideal world we would get more people involved in this kind of organisation and in this kind of decision making. But I would say that the mechanisms for the most part are there, so it’s a matter of getting people more involved.”

Within planning consultation there is a danger that minority view points are heard over the views of the silent majority (Madrigal, 1995). Although the neighbourhood associations provide a mechanism for local residents to have an input and influence tourism planning and development, concerns over a minority of individuals having a dominant viewpoint are evident. Resident participation in the tourism decision making process can be examined from two perspectives, firstly, the decision making process, allowing residents to become empowered in tourism development, expressing their concerns and desires, and secondly, tourism benefits, for example, increased employment opportunities (Ying and Zhou, 2007). The Seville structure of resident participation would suggest that the creation of neighbourhood associations provides a mechanism for resident participation and engagement in tourism decision making. This approach facilitates a process where residents can express their thoughts and concerns regarding tourism planning and development. However, concerns that community members feel intimidated attending formal meetings and as a result are unable to fully participate in decision making are often expressed (Dinham, 2005). The creation of neighbourhood associations, it could be argued, provides a more relaxed and familiar environment in which community members feel less intimidated and consequently able to fully express their views and concerns and actively participate in local planning and policy decision making.

Understanding and interpreting the historical development and formation of tourism governance in Seville has provided a context in which the current

arrangements and the factors which have contributed to this are understood. The subsequent section forms part of the wider analysis and will elaborate on the issues which have, thus far, emerged.

5.5 Interpreting Tourism Governance in Seville

The purpose of this chapter has been to identify and evaluate the tourism governance structure evident in Seville. Two key themes have emerged from this analysis, the extent of stakeholder engagement and the dominance of the public sector in decision making. These two themes will now be explored.

The shift from *government* to *governance* resulted in increased interaction between government and industry (Dredge, 2006). Judge, Stoker and Wolman (1995) argue that local governance should be about different interest groups working collectively on what they want for or out of a particular place and as a result, national and local governments are encouraging collaboration between the public and private sectors for local developments that focus on or incorporate tourism (Selin and Chavez, 1995). Rather than the public sector taking a dominant leadership role in the decision making process, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism (Elliott, 1997). It is reasonable to assume that the purpose of the Consortium in Seville is to facilitate just such a process, allowing both private sector and resident communities to have an active involvement in the tourism planning and development process. As evidenced by a local government official, the Consortium is “defined as a forum [...] where all actors and sectors take part in the politics directed towards tourism.” The Chief Executive of Turismo de Sevilla describes the Consortium as “creating a series of professional committees, involving all the local associations, hoteliers, restaurants, tour guides, plus the representatives from the city’s neighbourhood associations”, arguably making it able to facilitate collaboration between the public and private sectors and resident groups.

Findings from the research suggest that within Seville the encouragement of private sector associations and resident neighbourhood groups facilitates a process of allowing collective governance of tourism. For example, the establishment of associations arguably allows organisations to pursue their own goals and agendas, but also contribute to the wider strategic vision and leadership of the tourism sector in the city. This is apparent in the response of the President of the Hotel Association, who outlined the support that the association provides to its members, observing that the association works “with the commercial industry here in Seville,” whilst also noting the involvement of the association within the Tourism Consortium. It is argued that collaboration and partnerships can improve local democracy, creating an effective form of governance that encourages the participation of many stakeholders taking responsibility for policy and decision making (Carley, 2000; Greer, 2001). This seems apparent in Seville.

Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad (2005) suggest that partnerships are a good form of governance, allowing agencies to collectively manage the destination. However, within a collaborative approach partners may pursue their own goals and agendas without taking others into consideration. A balance is clearly required and this is often experienced in the power relations that play a key role in the building of such partnerships (Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008), with a need for a balance of power between the different parties so that all are seen as having an important role within the collaboration. There is a danger as Coulson (2005) suggests that partnerships infrequently include stakeholders who have equal access to power and as a result a stronger actor can dominate the decision making process, representing their corporate strategies and priorities more strongly than the key interest of the locale (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). This can create power imbalances and conflict. However, the creation of separate membership organisations, as in Seville, helps to eliminate this as these organisations are able to pursue their own agenda without dominating the strategic direction of the destination as a whole.

In Seville, power imbalances are addressed with the creation of associations and through the coordination of stakeholders which is facilitated by the central organisation, Turismo de Sevilla. Key stakeholders are able to participate in the development and delivery of a strategic vision for tourism within the city and a number of both private sector and resident stakeholders interviewed highlighted an overall positive response to their involvement in this process. This is particularly shown by the President of the Seville Hotel Association who described the relationship with the Consortium as “reasonable,” noting that “they [the Consortium] try to help us as much as they can.” For Jamal and Getz (1995), power is an important factor in determining the extent to which particular stakeholders are engaged in decision making. However, the ability to harness power to influence is often tempered by a lack of resources, skills or organisational ability to participate effectively in decision making (Garrod et al., 2012). What becomes apparent in the case of Seville is that the development of associations appears to provide stakeholders with the necessary resources, organisational ability, and thereby power, to have influence over tourism decision making.

Greer (2001) argues that partnerships can often struggle to combine a wide variety of interests and can therefore cause conflict and power imbalances between parties. Gray (1989) notes that essential to the success of partnerships is a set of interdependent stakeholders who recognise their success depends, to a certain level, on each other. In addition, the ability to accept legitimate differences of opinion and the willingness to resolve them through creative thinking are also necessary attributes to successful partnerships (Gray, 1989). Each stakeholder should have a sense of shared responsibility for decision making and ownership of these decisions. In addition, successful and effective partnerships are built on the involvement of a full range of key regional and local agencies and organisations (Carley, 2000). This appears to be facilitated and achieved within the Seville approach through the development of these associations which allows for all members to be aware of and have influence over policy, planning and decision making.

Consequently, the situation in Seville can be aligned to a 'lead organisation' governance approach as outlined by Provan and Kenis (2007 p.14). A lead organisation-governed network is a network in which an organisation has a central coordination and facilitation role. The network enables collaboration and provides leadership and support (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). The Seville approach, a government-led leadership organisation, is arguably an example of such an approach. As a council-led organisation, power is centrally coordinated within the Consortium and collaboration is encouraged with key stakeholders through the establishment of associations and interest groups. Within a lead organisation governance approach, members share a common purpose but also maintain individual goals. Seville's approach is to establish a common purpose through the Consortium with the development and delivery of a strategic vision for tourism in the city, whilst individual goals are maintained through the membership associations within both the private sector and resident community. As a result, network members are able to facilitate the development of a shared purpose and collective goals, whilst also being mindful of their own agenda and priorities. As Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan (2010) argue, it is difficult to manage various stakeholders involved and having a destination management organisation which is part of the public sector could help to ensure that, whilst the private sector are clearly represented and have an influence in the decision making process, the resident stakeholder also has the opportunity to take part in decision making.

From the perspective of Regime Theory, it is evident that the approach apparent in Seville is a form of regime which is characterised by interdependency and linkages between governmental and non-governmental actors involved in a complex relationship. It is clear that there is a shared sense of purpose and direction and the stakeholders involved are able to collectively influence policy formation and decision making. When a regime is formed, local government is no longer only an agency of authority and control but has an important role to play as an enabler and coordinator of the initiative (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). Clearly, the public sector in Seville is keen to provide a supportive environment for tourism

development within the city through encouraging the engagement of external agencies in tourism decision making. This is evidenced in a remark made by the Chief Executive of the Seville tourism organisation who noted that the primary role of the public sector within the Consortium is “co-financing and co-arranging the professional programmes, facilitating stakeholder engagement.” This is a key feature of the new role for local authorities (Brooke, 1989b; Elliott, 1997) and consequently it is apparent that the role of the public sector in Seville can be aligned to Brooke’s (1989b) definition of an enabling organisation. For Brooke (1989a), the public sector has a key role in encouraging and facilitating external agencies to engage in local decision making through advocating the interests of the local community. From a pluralistic perspective, rather than the power to govern centred within a small concentrated elite, the establishment and engagement of networks and associations within Seville would suggest that power is distributed between stakeholder groups within the destination. Within this pluralist discourse, it is evident that stakeholder groups are engaged in urban planning through an open political system accessible to active, organised groups, which for Judge, Stoker and Wolman (1995) is an important element of pluralism.

Judge, Stoker and Wolman (1995) also assert that from a pluralistic perspective, no single group should dominate urban processes or structures. However, the analysis highlighted that in Seville the public sector are perceived, particularly by some private sector stakeholders, as dominating the decision making process. This is highlighted by a number of respondents, including the President of a private sector association who noted that “we all get together very frequently to discuss planning and policy. Of course we have our own opinions and we try to influence the decisions being made, but they do not always listen.” Indeed, it would appear that there are occasions when “decisions are already made” (President, Seville Restaurant Association).

This is in contrast to Elliott's (1997) view of tourism governance. Within these governance structures rather than the public sector taking a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism. It would appear that whilst the public sector do facilitate and engage with stakeholder groups, they are perceived by the private sector as dominating the governance arrangement. However, in comparison, a number of respondents from both private sector associations and public agencies remarked on a positive relationship and engagement within the Consortium. In particular, they felt that they were able to have an active influence in the tourism planning and decision making process. Table 5.1 illustrates respondent comments regarding their involvement with Turismo de Sevilla.

Table 5.1 Respondents' Comments on Relationship with Turismo de Sevilla

How would you describe your relationship with Turismo de Sevilla?	
Business Type	Comment
Hotel Association	We have good connections with them.
Language Association	We have a very close collaboration with the tourism authorities of Seville.
Seville Port Authority	We have a good relationship.
Travel Association	Normal, I don't say very special, but yes, very normal relationship.
Restaurant Association	We know about the plans or about the programmes of the Council, not always we have the power to decide but sometimes we are able to influence the local policy, sometimes it's effective.
Congress and Convention Bureau	Excellent. Very good. It's basically the key member.
Airport	We are very good relation between us. A very tight relation and we inter-change data about this. Very good, very nice. Yes very estrecha, (<i>narrow</i>) narrow, no? Tight. I can influence in the planning of the local government.
Resident Neighbourhood Association	We have a good working relationship with them.

A mixed response regarding stakeholder engagement exists within the Consortium. Whilst it is evident from the remarks made by respondents shown in Table 5.1 that stakeholder groups are able to participate and contribute to the decision making process, it would also seem that some informants felt that the public sector dominated the decision making process. For Pratchett (1999), however, local government as the democratic institution representing the local community has a significant role in ensuring democratic accountability within these governance structures. There is a need to see partnerships and collaboration within the context of the public interest as opposed to corporate priorities (Elliott, 1997). Although

perceived as dominating the governance arrangement, one could argue that this allows the public sector in Seville to ensure that decisions made are in the interests of the destination as a whole, rather than in business or corporate needs and do not favour private or political agendas. In this sense, within Seville the public sector describe their role as “taking care and looking after every single aspect related to the city as a whole” (Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council), and although perceived by some private sector respondents as dominating the decision making process, it is suggested that the public sector are aiming to ensure that decisions are made in the public interest. For Elliott (1997), this is a fundamental role of the public sector within these governance structures.

It would seem reasonable to suggest that the approach evident in Seville is reflective of the political nature of Spain. Decentralisation of public sector decision making has characterised Spanish government (Baidal, 2013) and the Seville approach is an example of the decentralised management of tourism between a network of interdependent associations and neighbourhood groups. The management of Spanish tourism is heavily reliant on public sector funding and the tourism organisation in Seville is significantly publicly funded which affords its current approach and the engagement of such a wide and diverse range of stakeholder groups.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has identified and evaluated the tourism governance structure prevalent in Seville and consequently a number of emerging themes have been identified in the tourism governance approach. These themes include the extent of stakeholder engagement in decision making with the potential of networks and associations as a tool in the engagement of stakeholders, and the role of the public sector in facilitating collaborative provision whilst not being perceived as dominating the decision making process. What becomes apparent here is the engagement of a full range of key regional and local agencies and organisations to

actively contribute to tourism decision making in the city. There is potential then for this governance structure to facilitate democratic empowerment and ownership of tourism policy and decision making amongst stakeholder groups. This is, as others have identified (Bramwell, 2004; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Murphy, 1985), an important feature of collaborative governance.

The subsequent chapter examines the findings from both case study destinations and comparatively evaluates the governance structures evident and the implications of these approaches on stakeholder representation and participation in the tourism decision making processes. The concern of Chapter Six is the extent to which the structures apparent in both York and Seville are democratically accountable.

Chapter 6

Discussion

6.1 Introduction

This research is concerned with comparing and contrasting tourism governance in York and Seville and what this reveals about governance and accountability in tourism governance at a general level. Both Chapter Four and Chapter Five identified and evaluated the tourism governance approaches evident in York and Seville respectively. A number of themes emerged from this, namely the extent and diversity of stakeholder engagement, the dominance of stakeholder groups, tensions and conflict between and within tourism governance, and the role of the public and private sectors within these structures. Therefore, through a comparative analysis, the aim of this chapter is to critically examine these themes in the context of tourism destination governance.

Firstly, a critical appraisal of the emerging role of the public sector is given, which explores how the recognition of tourism for economic development influenced the changing nature of the public sector in the case study destinations. Secondly, the implications of the emerging role of the enabling local authority within the context of tourism governance are explored and the consequences this has had on democratic accountability. The mechanisms for the engagement of stakeholder groups are then examined, together with an evaluation of the potential for these governance structures in the management of tension and conflict. Finally, and to conclude this chapter, a framework for analysing and understanding tourism governance is proposed which provides a transferable and generalisable method for evaluating these structures.

6.2 Recognising the Value of Tourism

The decline of the traditional manufacturing economies apparent in many cities during the 1980s and 1990s both in the United Kingdom and Spain resulted in public sector organisations becoming concerned with urban regeneration and the development of innovative industries to stimulate new economic activity within a specific locality (Hughes, 1999; Stewart and Davis, 1994). Consequently tourism was increasingly considered a tool for economic regeneration and emerged as an important growth area (Thomas and Thomas, 1998). However, for Stewart and Davis (1994), this drive for regeneration resulted in local authorities recognising the value of collaboration with external agencies to stimulate urban growth (Stoker, 2000). Centred within an Urban Governance paradigm, local authorities emerged as 'enabling' organisations (Brooke, 1989a; 1989b; Deakin, 1994) and were particularly concerned with stimulating private sector involvement in local decision making through collaborative networks of governance (Connelly, 2007; Elliott, 1997; Gansler, 2003; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998).

As a result of this development, local governments became less concerned with direct service delivery, the traditional form of government (Worrall, Collinge and Bill, 1998), and instead transformed into more strategic agents, facilitating, rather than providing, growth activity (Brooke, 1989b). Although the current tourism governance structures in both Seville and York are distinctively different with regards to the organisational structure, purpose and stakeholder engagement, it would seem that the changing nature of the public sector, with the recognition of the value of tourism towards the local economy, facilitated the development of the differing approaches evident in each destination. This is consistent with previous research which has shown that the creation of collaborative arrangements in tourism are often instigated by the need for economic development activity (d'Angella and Go, 2009; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005).

In York, collaboration with the private sector was initiated within a place promotion initiative, First Stop York, which resulted in what Mordue (1998) described as an elitist growth coalition between core stakeholder groups. However, as the approach to tourism management matured, a single private sector organisation was then established in order to strategically lead on tourism development, inward investment and engage with a wider remit of stakeholder groups. It would seem reasonable to describe this approach as positioned within a centralised economic paradigm. As a private sector organisation, Visit York has a remit of tourism economic development and, despite being considered by some stakeholders as a strategic organisation, continues to primarily focus on place promotional activities, inward investment and product development as outlined in the 2008 Service Level Agreement between Visit York and the City of York Council. A core feature of the setting up of this organisation was the public sector adopting a “more facilitative role” in tourism decision making with the private sector having “greater responsibility without public sector interference” (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). This supports Ritchie and Crouch’s (2003) description of the main functions of a Destination Management Organisation (DMO), reporting to a private-orientated board which is business focussed. This is also in line with Brooke’s (1989a) notion of an enabling organisation and supports Dredge (2006), who suggests that collaboration between the public and private sectors can contribute to regional innovation and competitiveness. Indeed, the formation of Visit York allowed for the sharing of knowledge and resources which were traditionally lacking.

In comparison, the approach identified in Seville can be described as situated within a consultative economic paradigm. As evident in York, the necessity to develop the visitor economy in Seville was a key instigator for the development of a public sector partnership organisation, Turismo de Sevilla, which had a remit of strategically leading tourism development through the engagement of core stakeholder groups in the city. Rather than “handing over responsibility” for tourism decision making to a private sector organisation as has occurred in York,

the public sector were keen to facilitate and coordinate the arrangement. This is achieved through a series of networks and associations at a micro level. A key feature of this is consultation between the members of the network and the partnership organisation and consequently a range of stakeholder groups are able to participate in the tourism decision making process. This is in line with Ritchie and Crouch (2003) who suggest that for DMO's which report to a public-orientated board core activities tend to include sustainable community development and be concerned with a more holistic strategic focus.

Common to both York and Seville, however, is a reorientation of the public sector that facilitated the wider engagement of the private sector in economic decision making, which positions them both within the governance paradigm. For the emerging public sector enabling organisation, adopting a governance approach involves the development of public policy, business strategy and the delivery of public services through engagement with a diverse and wide ranging group of stakeholders and institutions (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Kooiman, 1993; Tombs, 2002). This implies that governance is strategic (Stoker, 1998; Stokes, 2008) and places a greater emphasis on democratic participation and empowering local participation and ownership of policy initiatives (Aistleithner and Hamedinger, 2003). This is in line with Bramwell's (2004) notion of effective governance arrangements. However, what becomes apparent from the analysis of stakeholder views is a number of deficiencies regarding the role of the public sector and the engagement of stakeholder groups within these tourism governance structures. It becomes appropriate, therefore, to deconstruct the term governance within the two case study destinations and critically explore the implications of these structures on public sector involvement and stakeholder engagement.

6.3 Strategic Partnerships

As established, governance is defined as a process of collective decision making (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Kooiman, 1993; Tombs, 2002), with the engagement of all relevant stakeholders being a key feature. This engagement and partnership between different interest groups is often achieved through collaborative governance structures (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003), which is evident in both York and Seville and supports previous research findings (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Brooke, 1989b; Dredge, 2006).

In Seville, it has been shown that governance is concerned with the engagement of a wide and diverse range of different interest groups in strategic decision making. As established in Chapter Five, stakeholders are engaged through a network of associations and neighbourhood groups. The public sector retains direct control of the partnership organisation with independent representatives from different sectors of the economy being a tool for communication. Power is centrally coordinated with a common strategic purpose established by the Consortium, whilst individual agendas are maintained and addressed within the associations. From a network perspective the approach identified in Seville can be aligned with Provan and Kenis's (2007) definition of a lead organisation-governed network. This is a network where a lead organisation has a central coordination and facilitation role with groups of autonomous organisations working collectively to achieve not only their own goals, but also the collective goal of the network (Provan and Kenis, 2007). This form of network facilitates collaboration with clear leadership and support mechanisms (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). It would seem then that the Seville approach correlates with Kimbu and Ngoasong's (2013) definition of effective governance which advocates a centralised coordinated approach where the engagement of a range of stakeholder groups is facilitated within a decentralised network that fully incorporates the overlapping functions of government and integrates tourism-related activities.

From a governance perspective this form of collaborative arrangement would be considered an effective form of empowering local participation and ownership of policy and decision making (Bramwell, 2004). Indeed, for Astleithner and Hamedinger (2003), governance involves moving away from the vertical and hierarchical systems of government towards a horizontal, network orientated framework with greater emphasis on democratic participation. Local governance should not be characterised as abdicating responsibility for decision making to private sector organisations, but rather should involve collaboration with public, private and voluntary sectors in the delivery of public services and in the development of policy. The analysis of stakeholder views in Seville suggests that the public sector has a central role in the leadership of the tourism governance structure and in the engagement of appropriate stakeholder groups. It would seem that local government is less concerned with direct service provision and has adopted a facilitation role in the development of the destination. This supports Brooke (1989a), who suggests that local government should coordinate and facilitate policy development through collaboration with stakeholder groups in ensuring desirable outcomes for the destination as a whole (Carter et al., 1991).

However, the findings also suggest that the public sector are perceived by a number of private sector stakeholders as adopting a dictatorial form of leadership within the Consortium and consequently the engagement of stakeholder groups is unreceptive. As summarised by one respondent:

“[I]t may seem that we are well engaged in the Consortium, of course we attend meetings, frequent meetings, they ask us our opinion, but then we discover the plans have already been approved. The consultation is then pointless.”

Although for the public sector it can be difficult to meet the expectations of all stakeholders who are consulted, it should be noted that a considerable number of

respondents highlighted a lack of responsiveness in decision making. It is also interesting to note that an official from the Consortium described the partnership as “directed by the public sector, but the private sector can participate,” they add that “it is like a partnership between the public and private sector.” It would seem reasonable to suggest here that the tourism governance approach in Seville is not a true form of partnership in the sense that successful and effective partnerships are built on the active involvement of a full range of key stakeholders (Carley, 2000; Fyall and Garrod, 2005). Although communication with a wide range of stakeholders is apparent, the approach identified in Seville contradicts Elliott (1997) who suggests that rather than governments taking a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration is to allow the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism. It would seem that the arrangement in Seville serves as a communication mechanism between relevant stakeholders and highlights concerns raised by Devine and Devine (2011) who suggest that public sector dominance does not necessarily lead to support for tourism. This supports Dieke (2000), who suggests that such state-centric bureaucratic structures do not promote better forms of interaction or coordination of stakeholder groups in tourism development.

Nonetheless, previous research also suggests that the active involvement of the public sector within these structures is important in ensuring democratic accountability within the tourism decision making process, particularly when these organisations are publicly funded and concern strategic destination planning (Hall, 2000; Midwinter, 2001). It is reasonable to suggest, therefore, that for effective destination management, the public sector should ensure that decision making is in the public interest and does not favour private or political agendas (Elliott, 1997; Jeffries, 2001). As the institution of democracy, local government has a vital role in enhancing democratic practices within these new forms of governance structures (Pratchett, 1999). The public sector is accountable to the electorate and therefore democratic accountability should be sought through local government representation (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Midwinter, 2001). This would correspond with the approach apparent in Seville, as one in which democratic

accountability is apparent as the public sector coordinates the arrangement. However, local government representatives' claims that they represent the views of the destination community are problematic in that often they do not represent the broader interests of these stakeholders (Dredge 2006; Garrod, 2003). An implication, therefore, is that tourism decision making is ultimately in the interests of a dominant elite, rather than in the interests of the destination as a whole, despite the involvement of local government.

In comparison, it would seem apparent that the tourism governance approach in York is reflective of the changing role of the public sector towards an enabling organisation. Governance here can be interpreted as the public sector working in partnership with the private sector in the development and delivery of tourism policy. However, it is reasonable to suggest that this approach lacks the potential to provide greater democratic empowerment through the engagement of a wide remit of stakeholder groups. As established in Chapter Four, the rationale for Visit York was to provide relevant private sector stakeholders with greater control and responsibility for economic decision making in tourism. Within this Urban Governance paradigm, the City of York Council were establishing themselves as an enabling organisation and as such moved away from a "controlled focus approach, to a much looser private sector led Council facilitation approach" (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). What is interesting to note here is the notion of economic decision making being private sector led. Indeed, the City Council described themselves as "handing much more to the private sector in terms of leading [...] particularly with regard to the economy" (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council). However, as established, such an approach raises concerns for a number of authors who argue that there is a need for tourism governance to be democratically accountable, particularly if they are publicly funded, and this accountability is best sought through the public sector due to the electoral system (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Elliott, 1997; Godfrey, 1998; Hall, 1999; Jeffries, 2001; Midwinter, 2001; Pratchett, 1999).

The approach in York can be aligned with Provan and Kenis' (2007) definition of a network administration organisation. From a network perspective, this type of organisation often comprises of incorporated membership associations, with an elected board who identify and implement a range of tourism development and promotional activities (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). Research which has evaluated these forms of tourism governance organisations has shown that council responsibility for tourism is often initially abdicated to these network administration organisations which have a strategic remit (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010). It would seem that findings from this research support this notion with Visit York having limited public sector representation.

The implication then of this, particularly when Visit York is a part publicly funded organisation, is the possibility of a democratic deficit, which is a result of a 'dispersal of power to unelected quangos and business interests' (Blowers, 1997 p.36). This corroborates with research by Hall (1999), who argues that the move towards governance has resulted in the creation of public-private sector organisations which are dominated by narrow business interests and include unelected representatives. As traditional functions of government are transferred, to varying degrees, to non-elected trusts, organisations or public-private sector partnerships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999), the interests of the destination as a whole are potentially overlooked as private sector needs prevail (Hall, 1999).

Accordingly, a clear distinction can be made between how tourism governance has been interpreted in the two case study destinations. Rather than adopting a New Public Management approach to tourism governance, as evident in York, where the public sector has embraced neo-liberal ideologies through the creation of Visit York, local government in Seville has sought to develop a forum for dialogue and communication between the different stakeholder groups, which for Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan (2010) is an essential feature in facilitating stakeholder engagement within destination management. So, rather than "handing over"

responsibility for economic decision making to a private sector organisation, as has happened in York, the Seville approach would seem to retain democratic accountability within the decision making process. This supports Judge, Stoker and Wolman's (1995) notion of governance which is concerned with different interest groups working in collaboration at a strategic level through a network where local government has a key role in ensuring decision making is in the interests of the locality, and placing greater emphasis on democratic participation (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003) and democratic accountability (Jeffries, 2001; Pratchett, 1999).

An important feature of governance is having an understanding of how stakeholder groups are engaged within these structures. Within an urban governance context, collaboration, partnerships and the community-based approach advocate the involvement of destination stakeholders within the governance of tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Murphy, 1981; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Wesley and Pforr, 2010). Indeed, it is reasonable to conclude that both forms of tourism governance structures evident in the case study destinations are founded upon a premise of engaging a wider range of stakeholders in economic decision making. Frameworks for stakeholder participation range from tourism forums to resident consultation through survey instruments (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Garrod, 2003; Murphy, 1988). However, although many tourism governance arrangements advocate the involvement of destination stakeholders, how this occurs in practice, particularly within an urban context, is often disregarded, with limited research evaluating approaches to tourism governance and their impact on stakeholder engagement (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Garrod, 2003; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Moscardo, 2011; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Zapata and Hall, 2012). In both York and Seville the structures adopted vary in the effectiveness of engaging with destination stakeholders. As outlined by Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), understanding how stakeholder participation is developed within an urban context might lead to a better understanding of the varying nature and contexts of stakeholder engagement and its effectiveness (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013;

Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). The subsequent section will build on this through a critical comparative analysis of the mechanisms used in the representation and participation of destination stakeholders in the tourism governance structures identified.

6.4 Engaging Destination Stakeholders

It has been established that a key feature of governance is the engagement of a wide variety of stakeholders and interest groups in decision making processes (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Jamal and Watt, 2011; Kooiman, 1993; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Wesley and Pforr, 2010). In addition, it is clear that the public sector has an important role in providing democratic accountability within these emerging structures (Aistleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Bramwell, 2004; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Midwinter, 2001; Moscardo, 2011). What has become apparent from the findings of this research is that within both York and Seville the role adopted by the public sector suggests a continuum from low involvement to high involvement. Consequently, this has an impact on stakeholder engagement and representation within the emerging governance structures. In Seville, the public sector is actively involved in co-ordinating the Consortium, and although criticised for dominating the decision making process, clear mechanisms of democratic accountability are apparent. In comparison, within Visit York the public sector has been keen to adopt a "hands off" approach, with the accountability mechanisms unclear and potentially omitted within the decision making process. Rather than the public sector dominating governance structures, as apparent in Seville, the need for accountability within the decision making process leads Dredge (2006) to suggest that a variety of destination stakeholders ought to be engaged within tourism governance which should also include resident groups. The suggestion here is that the engagement of key stakeholder groups would facilitate accountability within tourism governance structures and decision making processes.

However, the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders, including resident groups, does not necessarily result in decision making being in the interests of the whole community. Simpson (2001) highlights how, even when genuine community participation has occurred, the outcome does not necessarily mean true consensus within the community has been reached. For Newig and Fritsch (2009), such a proposition is optimistic due to the complexities of stakeholder collaboration. It is argued, however, that what becomes important is the adoption of a framework where a wide range of interest groups can engage in decision making within which consensus amongst the majority is achieved. Consequently, there is need to consider the emerging collaborative governance approaches such as partnerships within the context of the public interest as opposed to business and market needs (Hall, 1999). To achieve this, it is suggested that input into policy and decision making should be sought from a wide and diverse range of interest groups. Rather than representative democracy, true empowerment is needed here which facilitates control and authority over decision making (Timothy, 2007). There is a need to create opportunities for what Murphy (1981) advocates as participatory democracy in which local people are able to actively engage in local government.

It would appear from the analysis that the engagement of stakeholder groups in Seville is considered by the public sector to be of significant importance in facilitating and empowering local people in the decision making process. As summarised by the Chief Executive of the Consortium:

“Our approach is to allow members of the community, both industry members and residents, to feel that they have an active voice in tourism. I suppose it’s about giving them the power to influence and the associations are a vital tool in doing this.”

It is reasonable to conclude here that within the Consortium the philosophy regarding stakeholder engagement is concerned with empowering stakeholder

groups. This supports the work of Garrod (2003), who suggests that there has been a considerable shift towards a participatory planning approach within the context of tourism planning and management. Rather than dictating policy and decision making, local government advocate on behalf of destination communities and allows them to have an active role in the construction of policy, planning and decision making. Through a network of associations and neighbourhood groups, a diverse range of stakeholders are able to contribute to decision making through the forum and communication mechanisms established. For Kimbu and Ngoasong (2013), independent associations create a mechanism for the effective participation of all critical stakeholder groups in tourism decision making. However, as identified in Chapter Five, the analysis of interviews revealed that there is a disparity between public sector and private sector stakeholders regarding their engagement, with members of the private sector condemning the dominant leadership role taken by the public sector. It would seem then that in Seville true empowerment, advocated by a number of authors (Hall, 1999; Murphy, 1981; Timothy, 2007), is not totally achieved. Although it would appear that a framework for the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders within tourism decision making is apparent through the network of associations and neighbourhood groups, the dominance of the public sector prohibits effective governance as described by Bramwell (2004). It is suggested here that there is a lack of responsiveness to stakeholder engagement.

By way of comparison, the approach identified in the case of York has to a certain extent provided a number of private sector representatives with a greater influence on tourism decision making, but the analysis has shown that this has resulted in the exclusion of other stakeholder groups. Unlike the approach identified in Seville where a variety of stakeholders have input into the governance structure, the framework of tourism governance in York lacks what Greer (2001) advocates as the potential of collaborative governance to involve a diverse range of interest groups. In particular, resident groups appear to be excluded from the tourism governance organisation, with no direct representation and a lack of public sector engagement. Consequently, the approach prevalent in York can be described as a growth

coalition and echoes concerns raised by Hall (1999), who suggests that the impact of this type of governance approach is that private sector interests dominate the decision making process. The analysis has shown that Visit York resembles characteristics of its predecessor, the First Stop York partnership, which Madrigal (1995) criticised as it only served the narrow interests of its members. However, it is reasonable to conclude from the findings that the current approach in York reinforces these concerns.

There does, however, appear to be a disparity between private sector stakeholders regarding their involvement with Visit York. Whilst guest house proprietors criticised their lack of engagement with the organisation (see Chapter Four for detail), large hotel managers praised their level of engagement. It would seem that this can be attributed to these large hotel establishments in York being members of a private sector association which provided a tool for their engagement. Those respondent involved in the York Hoteliers Association described a strong relationship with Visit York, noting an active involvement in decision making and the sharing of information and resources. This correlates with the views of private sector stakeholders in Seville, who as members of a network of associations and interest groups in the city, stated how this provided a mechanism in which to influence the decision making process.

It would seem then that the engagement of stakeholder groups might be best achieved through what Stepney and Popple (2008 p.9) describe as 'communities of interest.' These communities are based on the notion that individuals can be members of an association, which is not necessarily based upon their geographical location, but instead the focus is on common beliefs and attitudes (Stepney and Popple, 2008). This challenges traditional ideas of community, i.e. the bonding of individuals within a geographical location, which for Cohen (1985) was lost due to urbanism and the industrialisation of localities. The development of urban areas presented new challenges for communities in terms of social relations and

belonging and consequently has resulted in the growth of new forms of community formed by such features as friendship and cooperation (Little, 2002). What has developed here is a deeper understanding of community formation and affirms the radical view that community is not one single group but rather a range of consciously formed associations based on common attitudes and beliefs (Delanty, 2003). In the context of tourism and collaborative destination management, these communities or associations provide members with a collective voice. This allows for the collective pursuit of common interests within a shared identity and capacity to influence more effectively, particularly in large urban areas (Little, 2002).

What the analysis has highlighted is that stakeholder associations in the case of Seville are formed on a commonality of interests, for example the management of an establishment within a particular sector, and have provided stakeholders with the capacity to partake in tourism decision making. For certain stakeholder groups a lack of legitimate authority and resources to engage in decision making represent a constraint. For Kimbu and Ngoasong (2013) then, there is a need for government to provide a defined context for all stakeholders to engage legitimately in tourism development. The suggestion here, therefore, is that an emerging framework for stakeholder collaboration is apparent in the case of Seville where local governance encourages and supports the creation of independent associations which facilitates this legitimate engagement of stakeholder groups. This correlates with Jamal and Getz's (1995) notion of effective community engagement where involvement in destination planning is achieved through the selection of key stakeholder representatives. It also supports the work of Bregoli (2012), who suggests that interlocking directors who sit on different boards and networks creates legitimacy. Consequently, in destinations where there is evidence of individuals on different boards, tourism strategies were more successful (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007).

Thus far attention has mainly focused on the capacity of these emerging governance structures to engage with private sector stakeholders within decision making processes. However, the participation of residents groups should not be overlooked and consequently the subsequent section will examine how residents, as stakeholders, are represented within tourism governance approaches.

6.5 Resident Stakeholder Engagement

Greer (2001) considers the formation of partnerships as providing opportunities for resident groups to participate in tourism planning and destination management. With concerns that the adoption of a facilitative role by the public sector compromises democratic accountability within the emerging tourism governance structures (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Hall, 2000), Murphy (1981) suggests that given the right political circumstances tourism can enable democratic citizenship by moving beyond the instrumentality of representative democracy to the active engagement of residents in the decision making processes. From a Social Exchange Theory perspective, resident attitudes towards tourism development are related to the perceived balance of power which exists between themselves and members of the tourism industry (Ap, 1990), with residents tending to view tourism development more favourably when they are able to influence the decision making process (Cook, 1982; Nunkoo and Ramkissoon, 2012; Ying and Zhou, 2007).

In Seville resident engagement is sought through a network of neighbourhood associations, which, from a community-based tourism perspective, creates a sense of local relevance to democracy and ensures that residents experience and exercise their power to influence policy making and the delivery of local services (Blackstock, 2005; Dinham, 2005). As established in Chapter Five, the analysis of resident views, albeit limited, suggested that their involvement in decision making was active. It is evident that resident engagement in the Consortium supports Murphy's (1981) notion of participatory democracy in which resident groups are actively involved in decision making. In comparison, the same level of direct resident engagement does

not take place in York. Although one official from Visit York noted the importance of resident engagement, claiming how “residents have an important role to play,” their active engagement is imperceptible, with another official from Visit York “unsure how residents are engaged.” For the Chairman of Visit York “in terms of 100 residents off the street into Visit York with their views, they [the residents] are not represented at all,” adding “we ought to do more of that [resident engagement] really.”

Rather than participatory democracy, as apparent in the Seville approach, it would seem that resident representation in Visit York can be described as representative democracy. The analysis of a number of stakeholder views suggests that resident representation is achieved “through the membership of different businesses because they’re all local people” (Chief Executive, Visit York) and the council representation. As a Visit York official claimed, “we [Visit York] don’t have a resident representative, but I suppose it would be said that the three elected Councillors fulfil that role, they are elected by the residents.” However, for Dredge (2006), local government can only represent what it perceives to be the interests of resident groups and rather than the benefits being sold to the local community, residents should have an active role in the decision making process (Murphy, 1981). It could also be argued that as directors of Visit York the three councillors have a primary legal responsibility to the company when acting in that capacity, a role that might compromise their responsibilities as elected representatives.

Whilst partnerships are praised for their ability to bring together a range of stakeholder groups (Bramwell, 2004), it would appear then that within Visit York, local residents are not fully represented. It is argued here that direct engagement with resident groups is needed within the York structure in order to create democratic accountability and to empower local participation within the tourism decision making process. This is further supported by Bramwell and Rawding (1994), who note that even if the local authority retain a lead role in a partnership,

business interests become more influential at a local level. They note that as these private sector representatives are not usually elected by the local population, the result is that these organisations are less democratic and less accountable to the local electorate.

For Murphy (1981) and Reid, Mair and George (2004), if tourism is to develop within a destination it is necessary for community members to become willing partners within the tourism decision making process. Although the community-based tourism approach is seen as a method of creating mechanisms for sustainable tourism development which involves resident groups in the decision making process (Blackstock, 2005), it has been criticised for being ineffective in involving key stakeholder groups. Hall (2007) argues that it is inevitable that some stakeholder groups will be excluded, noting that it is naïve to consider all stakeholder groups will have equal access to power in order to have an influence. For Simpson (2001), the concept of community participation in the tourism planning process is an idealistic proposition with little chance of effective implementation. Furthermore, when genuine community participation has occurred, the outcome of the planning process does not make the quality of decision making any better than public or private sector domination (Simpson, 2001). In order to realise resident engagement within the governance paradigm it is argued here that part of the role of the public sector should be to facilitate this engagement. As evident in Seville, the Tourism Consortium facilitates this process and creates opportunities for engagement of resident stakeholder groups. This corroborates with research by Garrod (2003) who purports that a bottom-up planning approach is needed which can facilitate the necessary engagement of resident stakeholders in the decision making process.

However, the practical implications of engaging with a wide range of stakeholder groups are evident, with a number of authors noting the complexities in managing and accommodating the various interests within collaborative governance

arrangements (Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan, 2010; Hall, 1999; Huxham and Vangen, 2000; Provan and Kenis, 2007), including time implications and tension and conflict (Greer, 2001). The ability to accept legitimate differences of opinion and the willingness to resolve tension and conflict are necessary attributes for successful stakeholder engagement (Carley, 2000; Gray, 1989; Hall, 2000; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010). Therefore, the subsequent section will explore how tension and conflict within the governance structures identified in both York and Seville are addressed.

6.6 Managing Stakeholder Tension and Conflict

From the analysis it would seem that tension and conflict between and within the governance structures is apparent in both Seville and York. As established in Chapter Four, it is clear, particularly from the City Council perspective, that Visit York should have a strategic remit, which is a key feature of governance within a new public management paradigm (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Stoker, 1998). For Elliott (1997), rather than governments having a dominant leadership role, the aim of collaboration with the private sector should be for the public sector to provide a supportive environment for tourism. For the City of York Council this strategic “drive has got to come from Visit York” (Deputy Chief Executive, City of York Council), with the organisation assuming a leadership role. However, what becomes apparent is that Visit York has rarely expressed this strategic function which has resulted in a conflict of expectation between private sector members, the public sector and Visit York. Consequently, Visit York has defaulted to operational functions and primarily focuses on place promotion activities rather than the wider perspective of destination management.

A key reason for this has been identified. It would appear that Visit York has been unable to deliver on this strategic function due to the membership structure which it adopted and with a conflict of expectations apparent. This is highlighted by the

Chief Executive of Visit York who was mindful that as an organisation they “have different demands and expectations placed on us and we tend to be quite diplomatic on the basis that we are not just a company of our members.” Whilst it is recognised here that the organisation should serve the interests of the wider community, a private sector board member of Visit York noted that as “a private sector membership organisation, an awful lot of staff time is dealt dealing with members.” This is supported by an officer working within Visit York who noted that as part of their role “we get them [the members] on board and try to keep them happy, that’s our primary role.” However, Beaumont and Dredge (2010) identified that a membership organisation is not an appropriate structure to undertake strategic functions within tourism. They found that within the case study which they analysed, there was a lack of capacity to promote good governance because the initial interests of the organisation were with the membership and not the wider community of stakeholders. This correlates with the findings of this research, with Visit York unable to take on the desired strategic functionality transferred to the organisation from the Council.

An example of this conflict was highlighted in the research and was concerned with the development of a new hotel in York (see Section 4.5 for further details) which frustrated small hotel and guest house proprietors, particularly when Visit York as a strategic leadership organisation was asked to comment and partake in supporting the development of this new hotel. As one guest house proprietor claimed, because they were not a paying member of Visit York, when they approached the organisation to engage in decision making they were refused on the grounds that in order to engage and attend meetings, both formal meetings and informal networking events, they needed to be a member. This echoes concerns raised by Beaumont and Dredge (2010), who argue that membership organisations are not an effective structure for strategic tourism organisation as they tend to only serve the narrow interests of the membership rather than the destination as a whole. It would seem then that conflicting functional roles is a major constraint on the tourism governance approach in York.

A consequence of poor engagement with certain stakeholder groups is hostility and a lack of coherence towards destination development, with interest groups pursuing their own agendas without taking others into consideration. This further exacerbates potential conflict between interest groups (Greer, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). In York, this lack of engagement resulted in Bed and Breakfast proprietors' establishing their own association, but this group does not engage with macro destination decision making, as one respondent claimed:

“[W]ithin our local area, because of a lack of engagement with Visit York, we have set up our own group. We are talking to each other and sharing concerns to try and get the best for our business. We meet socially and informally but it's a good way of keeping in touch with what's going on in our sector.”

The success of governance arrangements depends on the extent to which stakeholder groups can address potential tensions and conflict (Provan and Kenis, 2007), similar to the example highlighted above, and recognise that the success of the collaboration depends on their ability to accept legitimate differences of opinion and the willingness to resolve them (Grey, 1989; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010). There is a danger that as the number of stakeholders engaged increases, the governance structures can become very complex and consequently ineffective. Furthermore, Greasley, Watson and Patel (2008) highlight the need to balance power between the different parties so that all are seen as having an important role within the collaboration. A lack of power to influence the decision making process can often result in some stakeholder groups being excluded from policy making. For example, Thomas and Morpeth (2009) suggest that minority stakeholder groups can often struggle to influence decision making processes as elites or stronger stakeholder groups dominate and represent their corporate strategies and priorities more strongly than the key interest of the locale (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000). The implication of this, therefore, is that as different interest groups network

with each other, inefficiencies occur due to a lack of coordination (Provan and Kenis, 2007). There is a need then for effective conflict management.

In Seville managing a range of stakeholder needs has indeed given rise to conflict within the Consortium. For example, one private sector member noted that the short term approach of the public sector prohibits the long term vision apparent within the private sector, claiming how “they [Turismo de Sevilla] don’t have a long term vision, when the private sector engage with the public sector, what we get is short term decisions.” In addition, another private sector member noted that conflicts can often arise between different private sector groups, highlighting how “if we propose a plan for our sector in this part of the city, then other sectors in different parts of the city are unhappy. They see the plan as taking custom away from their businesses.” The implication of this is stakeholder groups becoming disengaged with the decision making process, pursuing their own priorities without coherence and consideration of the strategic direction of the destination (Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005).

In order to address this, Jamal and Getz (1995 p.198) suggest that within collaborative governance there is a need for a ‘convener’ between the different interest groups who is required to initiate and facilitate stakeholder engagement through reconciliation of the diverse needs amongst the different interest groups. Building on this, Provan and Kenis (2007) suggest that one solution to managing tension and conflict is to centralise the partnership activities around a lead organisation. Rather than different interest groups interacting with each other, they interact directly with a lead organisation which coordinates the network. Jamal and Getz (1995) suggest that local government may be able to perform the role of a convener due to its role and understanding of the destination. This is supported by Bramwell and Sharman (1999) who argue that the convener may want to retain direct control of the partnership particularly if they have invested resources and time in the collaboration. What becomes apparent is that the tourism governance

approach evident in Seville echoes characteristics of the approach outlined here. However, caution must be placed on the convener or lead organisation not dominating the decision making process as evident in Seville. Whilst a lead organisation may exercise influence and power over a network (Provan and Kenis, 2007), for Carley (2000) successful and effective partnerships are built on the involvement of a full range of key local agencies and organisations. For Provan and Kenis (2007), a key role of the lead organisation is the building of trust amongst the different interest groups to facilitate collaborative conflict resolution.

In the case of Seville it would appear that the Consortium, which taking into account Provan and Kenis' (2007) typology is defined as a lead organisation, facilitates conflict resolution amongst the interest groups. When asked how these conflicts are managed a private sector representative noted that they "try to work them out and to go on working [...] we talk, we have meetings and try to make an agreement with each other." Within the Seville approach, although the public sector are perceived to dominate, it is also apparent that there is engagement of a range of stakeholders who recognise the importance of their role within the Consortium and who understand that there is a need for partnership working. As the analysis of stakeholder views suggests, private sector officials recognise that there is a need to work together in tourism decision making, with one respondent claiming that "we must, we must, it is very important that we work together." This is supported further by officials within the Consortium who stressed the importance of working with the private sector in tourism decision making, highlighting that "the participation of the private sector in our programmes is key, our initiatives are focused on increasing the economic growth of the professional tourism sector, so we believe that their involvement is fundamental."

It would seem then that the Seville approach may provide a better form of tourism governance in responding to conflict between different interest groups. The ability for the different stakeholder groups to accept legitimate differences of opinion is

apparent and there is a clear willingness to resolve any tension which arises. This appears to be achieved through the public sector coordinating the partnership. By contrast, the approach in York lacks these attributes with the membership structure attributed as one reason for this. Whilst Jamal and Getz (1995) argue that within collaborative governance the public sector may be better at coordinating the partnership, they also suggest that a private sector organisation could be a facilitator of these structures. What is important here is that whoever facilitates the collaboration, there is a need for the involvement and inclusion of relevant stakeholder groups within the policy and decision making process.

A further conflict is evident in the case of York between the different levels of tourism management in the region. The abolition of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) in March 2012 resulted in the loss of government funding for regional tourism. Previously, Welcome to Yorkshire and Visit York had worked closely with each other, with shared membership schemes and in the implementation of tourism strategy which complimented the relevant brand and market interests. However, the need to secure funding resulted in the two organisations competing with one another for membership subscription. This resulted in a lack of coherence in the strategic management of tourism in York and Yorkshire and is another example of where a membership structure is not an appropriate approach for a strategic destination management organisation. In comparison, it is clear that in Seville, due to the high level of public sector funding received from national, regional and local government, Turismo de Seville is not in competition with the regional tourist board for funding. Instead, both organisations work in cooperation with one another in the strategic management of tourism. There is then a need for destination governance at different levels which complement each other and avoid conflict and duplication in the strategic management of tourism and the engagement of destination stakeholders.

6.7 The Meaning of Tourism Governance

Having examined the primary data in light of extant research, the purpose of this section is to interpret the meaning of these structures and arrangements as manifestations of tourism governance. Accordingly, by building on the three factors identified in the literature review and based upon this analysis and subsequent discussion, six dimensions are proposed as key features of the governance arrangements. These include:

1. The degree of stakeholder engagement;
2. The diversity of engaged stakeholders;
3. Responsiveness to stakeholders;
4. Strategic focus;
5. Responsiveness to stakeholder tensions and conflict; and
6. Accountability.

These dimensions, as identified and subsequently outlined, have emerged from both this study through the analysis of existing literature and the primary research conducted in York and Seville.

6.7.1 The Degree of Stakeholder Engagement

Whilst the level of stakeholder engagement differs within each approach, a key element of both these governance structures is the degree to which different stakeholder groups are engaged. A concern here is the extent to which stakeholder engagement within the decision making process can be described as passive through to active. Active engagement would suggest dialogue and inclusivity in decision making processes with mechanisms for stakeholder engagement including tourism forums to resident consultation through survey instruments (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Murphy, 1988). However, passive engagement denotes no engagement in decision making. In addition, the changing role of local government in tourism from a traditional public administration model resulted in collaboration, partnerships and networks becoming a mechanism to engage stakeholder groups in

the decision making process (Hall, 1999). However, although many tourism governance arrangements advocate the involvement of destination stakeholders, how this happens or should happen within an urban context tends to be overlooked. Understanding how stakeholder engagement is developed might lead to a better understanding of stakeholder participation within governance structures (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999).

This research has demonstrated that in York stakeholder engagement has been sought through the creation of a private sector organisation. Although the establishment of Visit York was motivated in part by the desire to provide the private sector with greater control and responsibility over economic decision making for tourism, it is evident that within this approach the engagement of certain stakeholder groups is passive rather than active. For example, it is apparent that within the York approach a select group dominates the decision making process. By comparison, within the Seville approach, rather than the creation of a separate private sector organisation, a forum for the engagement of destination stakeholders is evident. It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the arrangement in Seville provides the opportunity for a range of stakeholder groups to actively contribute to tourism decision making. This supports Carley's (2000) argument that successful and effective partnerships are built on the active involvement of a full range of key regional and local agencies and organisations. This research has shown that in Seville stakeholder engagement is indeed active, with the majority of stakeholder groups having a direct input into decision making. In Seville local governance is concerned with enabling that engagement to facilitate different interest groups working on what they want for or out of a particular place (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995). Rather than local governance being about engaging stakeholder groups through the handing over of responsibility for decision making to the private sector, which has implications as identified in York, in Seville local governance involves collaboration between the public, private and voluntary sectors in the delivery of public services and in policy development.

6.7.2 The Diversity of Stakeholder Engagement

What also becomes evident here is the diversity of stakeholders engaged within the governance approaches. Whilst the engagement of a wide range of stakeholders can be problematic, due to the complexities of involving various interest groups (Huxham and Vangen, 2000; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005), engaging with a wide range of stakeholders is an important element of governance (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Bramwell, 2004; Rhodes, 1997; Stoker, 1998). For Dredge (2006), there is a need for wider community involvement in tourism planning that extends beyond the involvement of private sector stakeholders to the involvement of resident communities. Resident communities are seen as a legitimate stakeholder (Baidal, 2004; Hall, 1999; Murphy, 1981; Pratchett, 1999) of which their input into the decision making process is important (Hampton, 2005; Madrigal, 1995; Simpson, 2001). An ideal collaborative approach emphasises the need for planning and decision making with a range of relevant stakeholders to ensure that policy and decision making is in the public interest rather than in the interests of an elite (Hall, 1999). However, Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan (2010) acknowledge the difficulties in managing various stakeholders within collaborations. Such criticisms of engaging with a wide range of relevant stakeholders are also recognised by Hall (1999), including time implications, the complexities of involving a wide range of stakeholder groups, and the possibility of political dissonance and conflict.

This research has highlighted how, particularly in York, the emergence of an enabling authority has created a democratic deficit almost inevitably as a consequence of the new structure. As a result, it is argued that there is a need for these structures to be considered from a public interest perspective, as opposed to private market interests which can often engender dominant voices. For Hall (1999) in particular, to achieve this there is a need for the participation of a wide and diverse range of stakeholders in the decision making process. This research has shown that within the Seville approach, stakeholder engagement is sought through

a diverse range of private sector and resident associations and networks, whereas in York the approach lacks this diversity of stakeholder engagement. This is arguably a result of the governance role which the public sector has assumed, which is consequently reflected in the tourism governance structure within the city. For example, it is evident that this lack of engagement from a diverse range of stakeholders is in part due to the membership structure which the organisation currently adopts, which as highlighted by Beaumont and Dredge (2010), is not an appropriate structure as it lacks the capacity to promote good governance as the initial interests of the organisation are with the membership rather than with the wider community of stakeholders. There is a need to consider partnerships and collaboration within the context of the public interest as opposed to corporate needs (Hall, 1999). To achieve this, it is suggested that input into policy and decision making should be sought from a wider range of interest groups, including, for example, community associations, the private sector, the public sector and voluntary organisations. This dimension is different to the first dimension as the concern here is with the diversity of stakeholder engagement, rather than how stakeholder groups are engaged.

6.7.3 Responsiveness to Stakeholders

A further characteristic of these governance approaches is the responsiveness to stakeholders. Within tourism governance, although stakeholders are consulted and described as being actively engaged in the decision making processes, their views and opinions do not necessarily directly influence policy development (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005). What becomes important, therefore, is the extent to which these governance arrangements are responsive to stakeholder engagement. The suggestion here is understanding how effective the structures and mechanisms are in responding to stakeholder participation. Empowerment is a key focus with all stakeholders able to participate meaningfully.

Within the Seville approach the public sector dominance of the decision making process limits the responsiveness to stakeholder groups. These findings are also echoed in York, with a lack of responsiveness to a particular stakeholder group noted by a Bed and Breakfast proprietor, who suggested that their attempts to engage with Visit York have been difficult with a lack of response to feedback or suggestions made. The Bed and Breakfast proprietor felt that this lack of responsiveness was due, in part, because they were not a subscribed member of the organisation. Approaches to tourism governance, such as collaboration, partnerships and the community-based approach suggest the importance of involving key community stakeholders in the decision making process (Murphy, 1981). However, it is argued that it is important that such engagement is not merely tokenistic, but rather that stakeholder input should properly inform the decision making process. There is thus a need to empower local participation and ownership of policy decisions and initiatives within a forum of information sharing and discussion (Bramwell, 2004; Bramwell and Lane, 2008). For Murphy (1981), there is a need to move beyond the instrumentality of 'representative democracy' to 'participatory democracy' where, rather than the benefits being sold to the community, citizens would take an active role in the decision making process.

6.7.4 Strategic Focus

The fourth dimension evident within these governance approaches is strategic functionality. Within many destination management organisations strategy is often referred to in the context of marketing (Stokes, 2008). However, as previously discussed, the emergence of the enabling authority led to the creation of strategic organisations (Brooke, 1989b) and as a result, tourism strategy came to be devised within a context of a wide range of stakeholder groups (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001; Stokes, 2008). In this sense, the notion of governance is about different interest groups working in collaboration at a strategic level (Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Stoker, 1998). Strategy, therefore, is based on 'both plans for the future and patterns from the past' (Mintzberg et al., 2003 p.142), to inform tourism

planning within the wider context of the destination. However, since many destination management organisations focus on marketing, wider strategic issues are often misplaced. There is a need for clear strategic goals within a collaborative domain, rather than individual competitive agendas (Fyall, Leask and Garrod, 2001).

It is evident from this research that in York there was a keen desire for the tourism organisation to become a strategic organisation for tourism. The City Council were keen for the involvement of the private sector at a strategic level, with the Council assuming a facilitating role. However, despite this ambition for Visit York, it is argued that it does not currently fulfil this role. The suggestion here is that Visit York lacks the desired strategic role due, in part, to the membership approach which it has adopted. As evident in York, it also becomes clear that within Seville there was a desire for the Tourism Consortium to become a strategic organisation for tourism within the city, which for Judge, Stoker and Wolman (1995) and Stoker (1998) is a key component of governance. In Seville, in order to develop the tourism economy, the City Council were keen to develop a strategic tourism organisation which engages with relevant stakeholders in the form of a partnership arrangement. Governance refers to the development and implementation of public policy through a range of public and private agencies, which for Stoker (1998) implies that governance is strategic. Accordingly, local governance within Seville supports Judge, Stoker and Wolman's (1995) notion of governance which is concerned with different interest groups working in collaboration at a strategic level.

6.7.5 Conflict Acceptance and Tolerance

The extent to which the governance approaches are receptive to stakeholder tensions and conflict is another important dimension evident in this research. Criticisms of the partnership approach include the complexities involved in managing the arrangement (Huxham and Vangen, 2000), particularly when the engagement of a diverse range of stakeholders can create tension. This is echoed

by Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad (2005) who argue that the presence of a partnership does not always guarantee that they will be successful, noting that strategies may lose coherence with partners pursuing their own goals and agendas without taking others into consideration. As a result, conflicts between parties can arise as the arrangement struggles to combine a wide variety of interests (Greer, 2001). An example of this is evident in York. From the City Council perspective, Visit York is seen as a leadership organisation for tourism in the city. However, the private sector membership regards Visit York as a lobbying organisation and believes that the organisation should look after the interests of the paying membership. Consequently, conflicts often emerge due to role duality within the organisation. An example highlighted in this research is the development of a new hotel in the city. The Council were keen for the input of Visit York, as a strategic leader of tourism in the city, to comment, partake and support the development of this new hotel. However, the membership, particularly small hotels and Bed and Breakfast establishments, became increasingly annoyed that Visit York was encouraging such a development which could potentially reduce their custom base. A conflict, therefore, arose with Visit York needing to manage the expectations of both the City Council and the private sector membership.

For Gray (1989), essential to the effectiveness of partnerships is a set of interdependent stakeholders who recognise their success depends to some extent on each other. The ability to accept legitimate differences of opinion and the willingness to resolve them through creative thinking are necessary attributes to successful partnerships. Each stakeholder should have a sense of shared responsibility for decision making and a sense of ownership of these decisions (Carley, 2000; Gray, 1989; Presenza and Cipollina, 2010). This is evident in Seville with stakeholder groups recognising the need to work together in the tourism decision making process. In addition, Jamal and Getz (1995 p.198) advocate that within collaboration there is a need for a 'convener' between the different interest groups who is required to initiate and facilitate stakeholder collaboration to help manage conflict and tensions. It becomes evident in the Seville approach that,

through their role as a convenor, the public sector is able to manage potential conflicts between stakeholder groups.

6.7.6 Accountability

The final dimension identified in this research is accountability. Accountability refers to the extent in which actors acknowledge and take responsibility for actions and decision making (Huse, 2005). For Dredge and Pforr (2008), good local governance is the degree to which it is transparent and therefore accountable for decision making. Supporting this, accountability is an important feature of governance for local authorities (Midwinter, 2001; Moscardo, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012). However, Stoker (1998) argues that the emergence of governance raises concerns regarding accountability. The creation of Visit York resulted in responsibility for tourism decision making being removed from the public sector to a private sector organisation. Although the devolvement of responsibility to an external organisation may increase efficiency, responsibilities for local decision making are arguably taken away from political representatives, who are locally accountable (Yuksel and Bramwell, 2005). Within the York approach, key informants noted that political accountability is sought through the three political representatives which serve on the Board of Directors and through the Service Level Agreement between Visit York and the City Council. However, as discussed, the three political representatives are the least vocal and do not directly feed back to the City Council. Similarly, the Service Level Agreement between Visit York and the City Council is not formally regulated.

What is clear in Seville is that resident groups are engaged within the partnership arrangement through the network of resident associations. This supports Hall (1999), who purports that there is a need for collaborative governance to be seen within the context of the public interest with input into policy and decision making sought from a wider range of stakeholder groups. Rather than the public sector claiming they represent the wider community, opportunities for engagement with

those communities should be introduced in order to fully understand their priorities and concerns (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Dredge, 2006; Garrod, 2003). In Seville, neighbourhood associations provide a means by which resident communities are able to participate in the tourism decision making process. As a result, from a community-based tourism perspective, Blackstock (2005) argues that allowing resident groups to actively participate in policy and decision making can create a renewed sense of local relevance to democracy and ensure that people experience and exercise their power in decision making and in the delivery of local services (Dinham, 2005). It would appear that in Seville the sense of democratic participation and representation of resident groups is facilitated within the partnership arrangement. This has created opportunities for what Murphy (1981) advocates as participatory democracy where by local people engage in local government. For Yuksel and Bramwell (2005), direct participation of stakeholder groups could potentially build support, increase understanding around issues of common concern, and demonstrate that governance is responsive and accountable. Within the Seville approach, the engagement of a wide range of relevant stakeholder groups would suggest that accountability for decisions made is enhanced.

Yuksel and Bramwell (2005) note the need to consider whether the dispersal of state power involves a strengthening of democratic accountability. Traditionally, within government, accountability is usually sought through local elections. Similarly, within organisations which operate for mutual benefit, for example in the Hoteliers Association evident in Seville, accountability is achieved through the reporting mechanisms to the membership of the organisation. However, within organisations where local government has transferred responsibility, particularly to private sector organisations, for Yuksel and Bramwell (2005) accountability becomes diffused. There is a need, therefore, for clear mechanisms of accountability, particularly when local power and decision making are transferred to quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations and partnerships, to ensure transparency for the decisions made.

A consequence of this is evident in York. It is apparent that the private sector dominates the tourism decision making process and despite the Council representation, there exists a lack of relevant stakeholder engagement and democratic accountability. Consequently, a democratic deficit exists within the current tourism governance approach. This correlates with research by Hall (1999), who identified that the creation of public-private sector partnerships has resulted in a democratic deficit within these organisations as they become dominated by business interests and include unelected representatives. For Stoker (1998), the solution to accountability within these structures would be for an increased role of the public sector in the steering and management of governance arrangements. It has been shown in this research that such an approach has, to a certain extent, been effective within Seville.

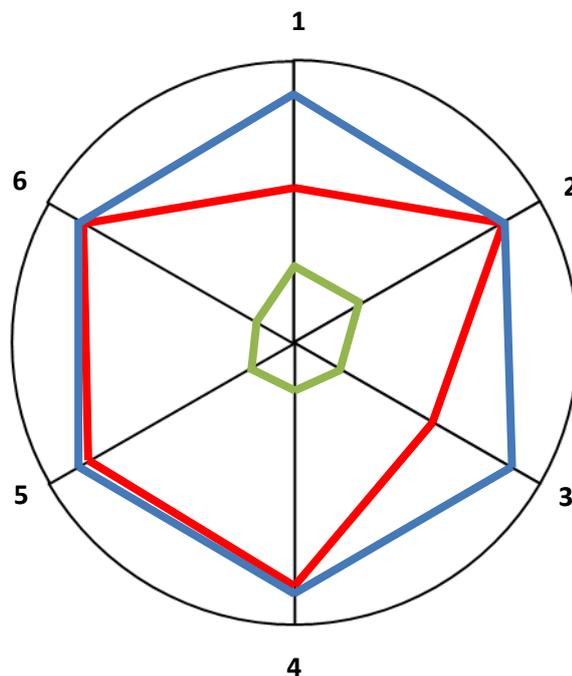
6.8 Evaluating Tourism Governance

For Scott et al. (2011), the complex nature of governance arrangements highlights the need for comparative research which identifies the features of tourism governance arrangements in order to improve our understanding of destination governance, particularly within an urban context (Maitland, 2006). In order to elucidate this further, and in an attempt to address this knowledge gap, it becomes apparent that these six dimensions can be taken forward to provide a transferable method in order to evaluate tourism governance structures. Using a radar chart, these six dimensions can be plotted to provide a graphical interpretation and analysis of tourism governance structures.

An ideal governance structure, which has a diverse range of active stakeholder engagement, with a high level of stakeholder responsiveness, is strategic, democratically accountable and is receptive to stakeholder tensions and conflict is shown in blue. Conversely, the York approach, which has a low diverse range of engaged active stakeholders, is not overly responsive to stakeholders, lacks strategic functionality, has evidence of a democratic deficit and is ineffective at

managing tensions and conflict between interest groups is shown in green. Whereas, in comparison, the Seville approach which has a diverse range of engaged active stakeholders, with a high level of stakeholder responsiveness, is strategic, democratically accountable and is responsive to stakeholder tensions and conflict is shown in red (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 A Framework for Evaluating Tourism Governance



It is the intention here that the six dimensions identified and plotted within a radar chart can provide a transferable tool and conceptual framework for future comparative analysis of tourism governance structures.

Table 6.1 Dimensions of Tourism Governance

1. The degree of stakeholder engagement	The extent to which stakeholder engagement within the decision making process can be described as passive engagement through to active engagement.
2. The diversity of engaged stakeholders	The range of stakeholders engaged. This could, for example include community associations, the private sector, the public sector and voluntary organisations.
3. Responsiveness to stakeholders	It is important that this engagement of stakeholder groups is not tokenistic, but rather stakeholder input informs the decision making process.
4. Strategic focus	Strategic decision making which is forward focused.
5. Responsiveness to stakeholder tensions and conflict	The extent to which the governance approaches are receptive to stakeholder tensions and conflict.
6. Accountability	The extent to which actors acknowledge and take responsibility for actions and decision making and can be held to account.

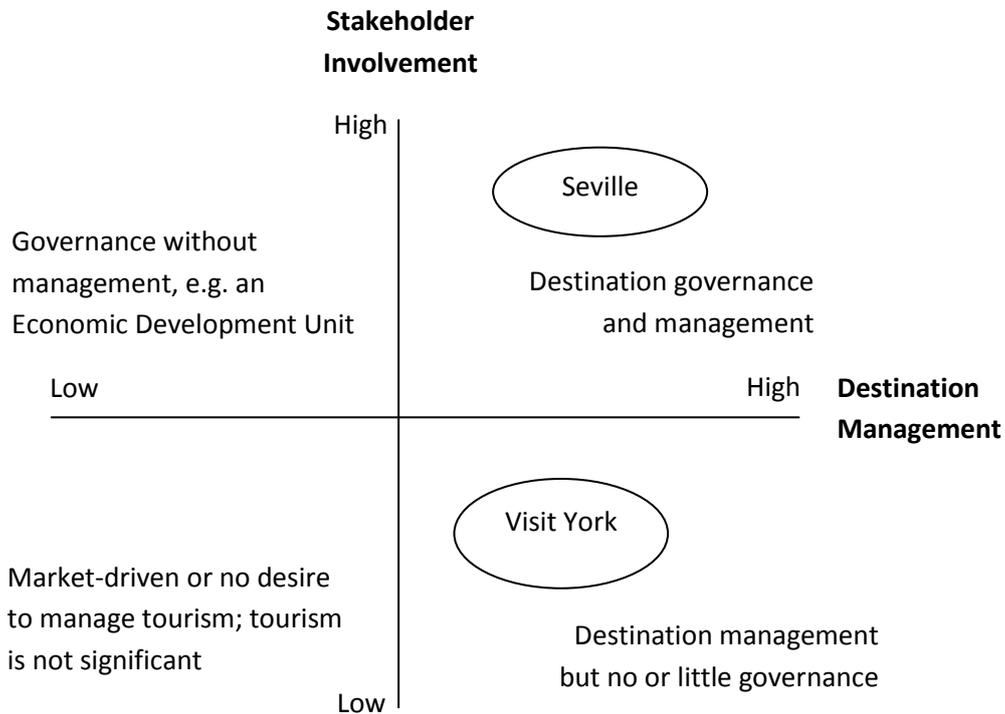
6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to compare the tourism governance approaches prevalent in both York and Seville and critically analyse these structures within the context of destination governance. It has been established that whilst both approaches identified are centred on the notion of urban governance, providing a greater involvement of the private sector in economic decision making (Gansler, 2003; Thomas and Thomas, 1998), the adopted role of the public sector within these structures vary and consequently has shaped the nature of stakeholder participation within tourism decision making. The facilitation role which the City Council has assumed within Visit York has resulted in the submissive engagement of the public sector and a lack of resident representation and participation. In addition, the membership structure which Visit York has adopted creates a tension between the membership and a conflict of expectation. Consequently, the organisation struggles to combine and respond to a variety of stakeholder interests and defaults to operational functions such as marketing and promotion rather than

strategic planning and development. Accountability is unclear and a democratic deficit is apparent.

In Seville, the public sector has retained direct control of the governance structure and facilitates stakeholder engagement through a network of associations and interest groups. Although perceived by some respondents as dominating the decision making process, democratic accountability is apparent. It is argued that this approach provides a framework which facilitates relevant stakeholder inclusion within tourism governance and on that basis it is concluded that less of a democratic deficit manifests itself in the Seville approach. The encouragement of stakeholders to form associations creates a legitimacy of participation through the development of organisational strength that facilitates a collective power base in which to influence decision making. As a result of this understanding, the two approaches can be shown in Figure 6.2.

Figure 6.2 Interpretation of Tourism Governance



Whilst it is evident that Visit York manages tourism well, it is reasonable to conclude that there is currently a lack of governance within the organisation. This is due in part to a lack of engagement of relevant stakeholders, in particular resident groups, which accordingly results in a democratic deficit within the approach. In comparison, the approach evident in Seville is aligned to a governance approach. Through the engagement of relevant stakeholders, the approach is a more effective and inclusive form of tourism governance. Whilst the Tourism Consortium is responsible for the management of tourism in Seville, the approach also serves as a governance tool, being strategic and inclusive of a wide range of stakeholders in decision making. What is offered here is a perspective of tourism governance which recognises the way in which governance is addressed within public policy and its shared features with tourism management. Tourism is a multi-sector industry, influenced by competing demands and, as such, requires a certain type of governance which recognises these challenges.

In the concluding chapter these themes and threads are drawn together in light of the research findings and the study concludes by reflecting on the distinction which can be made between destination management and destination governance.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws together the key conclusions of this thesis and outlines the substantive issues with which the research has been concerned. Consequently, it emerges that a distinction between destination management and destination governance exists and this distinction will be examined in light of the research findings, particularly where the study has identified the distinguishing characteristics of each term. The study concludes by reflecting on its potential limitations and outlines research avenues that merit further investigation.

7.2 Destination Governance

The study sought to gain an international perspective on the governance of tourism and investigate the extent to which the reorientation of the public sector, from that of a direct provider of public services to an enabling governance organisation concerned with facilitating service delivery, impacted stakeholder engagement and accountability in tourism decision making. This study was concerned with evaluating the tourism governance structures in two major tourist destinations: York in the United Kingdom and Seville in Spain. Within the context of urban governance, local authorities recognised the economic value of tourism and were keen to collaborate with the private sector in order to harness its potential for local economic development (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Gansler, 2003; Hall, 2011; Kooiman, 1993; Ruhanen et al., 2010; Stoker, 1998; Thomas and Thomas, 1998). Consequently, a myriad of destination management structures are evident at a national, regional and urban level, with collaborative destination management, in particular, often considered a good form of governance, improving democracy and allowing various interest groups to

collectively manage and influence policy decision making (Carley, 2000; Greer, 2001; Hall, 2000; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005).

However, these new forms of collaborative governance do not necessarily improve local democracy and engagement of stakeholder groups in economic decision making (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Hall, 1999; Moscardo, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013). As the transfer of decision making and thereby power is moved from traditional functions of government to non-elected trusts, organisations or public-private sector partnerships (Bahaire and Elliott-White, 1999; Dredge, 2006; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005), concerns are raised regarding accountability, particularly when these structures become dominated by narrowly focussed business interests and those of unelected representatives (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Hall, 1999; 2000; Mordue, 2007; Provan and Kenis, 2007; Stoker, 1998). There is a need then for these emerging governance structures to be examined within the context of accountability and transparency of their decision making processes (Dredge and Whitford, 2011; Moscardo, 2011; Penny-Wan, 2013), especially when they relate to tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Hall, 2011; Mordue, 2007; Scott et al., 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Critically, while many studies propose what governance should look like, few studies provide any evaluation of governance mechanisms in tourism and thus there is still much scope for further research in this area with a particular focus on how governance works in practice.

Accountability is an important feature of governance and local government, as the democratic institution at least in intent representing the local community, has a significant role in ensuring democratic accountability within these emerging urban governance structures (Midwinter, 2001; Pratchett, 1999). However, as apparent in this research, the pressure on the public sector and governance bodies tends to be to support and reflect corporate interests, the providers of attractions and the

hospitality and retailing industries. This imperative stems from the role and responsibilities that public agencies have in economic development and regeneration. For example, as demonstrated in the case of York, tourism has played a large part as a substitution industry, replacing the manufacturing industries that have declined almost to the point of extinction over the last twenty years. The findings have highlighted how the City Council has been obligated through its economic development, inward investment and employment growth policies to find suitable alternatives, which has largely occurred through the promotion of York as an international tourist destination.

The nature of tourism as a highly competitive international industry has intensified the kinds of pressures outlined above with tourism development considered central to economic growth where success is measured by the number of jobs created and the level of inward investment that is attracted to the city (Connelly, 2007; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Fyall and Leask, 2007; Howie, 2003; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). These imperatives are reflected in regional and sub-regional economic policies which place tourism close to the top of the economic agenda. Tourism in this context may become appropriated by corporate interests, arguably leaving a democratic deficit in relation to the involvement of community stakeholders and their interests. Within the emerging governance structures this has implications for host communities as the extent to which decision making is accountable becomes diffused. Notionally these interests would be represented through the membership of elected representatives on tourism development bodies, but as evident in the York approach, these tend to be dominated by corporate interests, albeit in the form of a public-private sector partnership, as the local authority has abdicated its responsibilities for the direct management of tourism. Similar arrangements exist in Spain where there is a history of significant public sector investment in tourism that can be detected in contemporary policy making in Seville. However, representation of destination stakeholders occurs through the engagement of both private sector and resident neighbourhood associations with clear accountability mechanisms apparent.

The goal of initiatives in tourism governance may be to reduce the democratic deficit with a broader range of local stakeholders actively involved in place decision making (Beritelli, Bieger and Laesser, 2007; Bramwell, 2004; Jamal and Watt, 2011). However, the implications of collaborative forms of destination management and their emphasis on democratic accountability remain largely untested. It is clear that different structures of tourism governance shape the nature of stakeholder participation (Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013), as apparent in York and Seville. Consequently, this research has been concerned with evaluating, by means of a comparison, two urban destination governance mechanisms in tourism and understanding the extent to which these structures provide democratic accountability.

In the case of Seville the public sector has a lead role in destination management within a networked approach between a wide variety of independent associations and neighbourhood groups. Community participation is a key feature of this arrangement and there is an emphasis on engagement and representation across a diverse range of stakeholder groups. Thus, engagement is strong and active, with stakeholders recognising the value of their contributions. The organisation of this is managed independently within the respective associations. In contrast to this highly democratic approach, in York similar to that of many United Kingdom destinations, the management of tourism has been outsourced to a private sector organisation, which primarily focuses on place promotion activities, inward investment and product development. This approach indicated a structure far from participatory and generally in democratic deficit with the ultimate effect of this being that a 'local elite' potentially dominates the decision making process. The implication of this is the development of tourism strategy and destination development that gives priority to economic growth over social factors and neglects to take into consideration how the benefits of tourism are distributed (Simpson, 2001). This results in a 'closing up' of the policy process and calls into question the democratic mandate of the public sector within tourism governance. Consequently, this situates the two approaches to tourism governance at opposite ends of a spectrum

and what becomes evident here is a duality between destination management and destination governance. The subsequent section will interpret this further.

7.3 Destination Management vs. Destination Governance

Destination management is considered to provide strategic leadership in marketing, investment and product development with the pooling of resources, knowledge and expertise within a destination (Carter et al., 1991; Greer, 2001; Huxham and Vangen, 1996; Jeffries, 2001; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005; Wilson and Boyle, 2004). Destination management is widely defined as the means by which complex strategic, organisational and operational decisions are made at a micro-level (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). In comparison, destination governance is the active involvement of multiple stakeholders who are engaged in influencing government policy (Jamal and Watt, 2011). Destination governance can, therefore, be defined as the mechanism for the development of policies and strategies with all relevant organisations and stakeholders through a network approach (Nordin and Svensson, 2007; Zhang, 2011).

The study suggests that two distinct approaches to governance are apparent in York and Seville. A managerial form of governance appears evident, particularly in York, where tourism activities are centralised around a destination management organisation. As discussed, in the case of York, stakeholder engagement exists, however, this is limited in its inclusivity. In comparison, a more strategic inclusive form of governance is evident in Seville. Although facilitated by a destination management organisation, tourism activities are decentralised amongst independent stakeholder groups and consequently, relevant stakeholders are able to have an active involvement in the tourism decision and policy making processes.

As established, many tourist destinations are now managed by a form of collaborative governance arrangement, particularly with the private sector (Holder, 1992; Jeffries, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008; Zapata and Hall, 2012). Collaboration both in the United Kingdom and Spain, therefore, has become a contemporary method of facilitating regeneration and urban governance (Buhalis, 2000; Carley, 2000). Traditionally, these arrangements were characterised as destination marketing organisations, concerned with marketing and promotion (Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Pike, 2004). However, as recognised in this research, destinations can often present complex challenges within tourism planning, management and development in that they must serve a range of stakeholder needs including tourists, tourism-related businesses, resident communities, and local businesses and organisations (Howie, 2003). Accordingly, destination *management* organisations have emerged which focus on activities that implement policy within the broader planning frameworks (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013), and are considered a sophisticated strategic and holistic approach to the management of the destination.

As a result, destination management and destination governance are terms which have become inter-related (d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi, 2010). The nature of tourism generates the need for the involvement of stakeholders in the destination management organisation's activities and therefore makes destination governance an important activity for these organisations (d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi, 2010). However, it will be argued here that a distinction between destination *management* and destination *governance* can be made.

Destination management organisations exist which are categorised as providing a leadership role and encompassing not just the marketing and promotion of a destination, but also facilitating inward investment and product development (Howie, 2003; Presenza, Sheehan and Ritchie, 2005; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013). As d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi (2010) note, the main purpose of a

destination management organisation should be to improve the development and management of tourism through the coordination and collaboration of relevant stakeholders. Given the highly fragmented nature of the tourism industry and the complex nature of managing a range of stakeholders, a key role of the destination management organisation is collaboration and coordination between stakeholder groups (Prideaux and Cooper, 2002; Fyall and Leask, 2007; Wang and Fesenmaier, 2007). Whilst the engagement of stakeholders is regarded by many as crucial to destination management, it is apparent that often management is centralised, typically around a public-private sector partnership, as evident in York. Therefore, d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi (2010) argue that certain features, such as the business model of a destination management organisation and the nature of the involvement of stakeholders in the organisation's management and activities needs to be evaluated to understand the extent to which they are accountable and engage with relevant stakeholders.

Indeed, as this research has shown, in the case of York the adoption of a membership model prohibited the involvement of all relevant agencies within destination management. This is in fact Beaumont and Dredge's (2010) main criticism of membership structures in tourism governance, going so far as to question the appropriateness of this form of governance in tourism. Therefore, for Palmer (1998) the governance style of a destination management organisation is a considerable factor in determining the success of the organisation. The nature of tourism characterised by a multifaceted and dynamic environment necessitates effective governance structures in order to manage the complexities involved, particularly in the coordination and engagement of stakeholders. However, despite the numerous destination management organisations which operate it is apparent that there are significant variations in the organisational structures and stakeholder engagement mechanisms (Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013).

In comparison, for Jamal and Watt (2011) governance is concerned with the involvement of multiple stakeholders who are engaged in decision making processes. As d'Angella, De Carlo and Sainaghi (2010) identified, central to the notion of destination governance is decentralisation which encourages stakeholder participation with the sharing of power amongst the different interest groups. It is argued here that within destination governance, stakeholders are interdependent, exchanging their resources and have semi-autonomous power. Supporting this, Jamal and Watt (2011 p.583) note that governance is a 'dialogic and pluralistic space' with the public interest governed by multiple stakeholders. The difference between destination management and destination governance, therefore, is that within destination governance management is decentralised, with stakeholder groups having their own agendas, but ones which connect with a central organisation. This kind of governance approach was demonstrated in Seville, with the public sector coordinating and facilitating the tourism organisation which engages with relevant stakeholders through a series of networks and associations, providing strategic governance for tourism in the city. This is in line with Kimbu and Ngoasong's (2013) definition of effective governance which advocates a centralised coordinated approach where the engagement of a range of stakeholder groups is facilitated within a decentralised network that fully incorporates the overlapping functions of government and integrates tourism-related activities.

As a result, destination management and destination governance can be placed at each end of a continuum. It is argued that in order to achieve effective stakeholder engagement, destination management organisations should move towards a destination governance approach which is based around a decentralised management structure. This would facilitate the engagement of relevant stakeholder groups who are interdependent and who engage in policy and strategic decision making at a destination level. It is suggested here that destination governance, as opposed to destination management, results in a higher degree of stakeholder engagement and participation in the decision making process, as apparent in Seville.

It is argued then that Visit York can be described as a destination management organisation. Management is centralised and whilst some engagement with stakeholder groups is apparent this is not fully inclusive. In comparison, the approach evident in Seville can be described as a destination governance organisation, whereby management is decentralised amongst stakeholder networks and associations with a high degree of stakeholder involvement evident in their approach.

Destination management and destination governance approaches can be aligned to two models of governance identified by Flagestad and Hope (2001) which includes a community-based model and a corporate-based model. Within a corporate-based model, destination management activities are usually controlled by a business organisation with centralised management and which establishes networks with local tourism service providers. In comparison, the community-based model consists of independent firms guided by their own strategies working in collaboration at a macro level (Flagestad and Hope, 2001). It is suggested here that these models are examples of the distinction that can be made between destination management and destination governance. The corporate-based model consists of centralised management activities and would suggest that not all relevant stakeholders are engaged in the decision making process. In comparison, the community-based model is built on a decentralised management approach, and as evident in Seville, the engagement of networks and associations facilitates relevant stakeholder collaboration in tourism decision making.

The move from *government* to *governance*, which resulted in the traditional centralised and bureaucratic approach of the public sector with direct responsibility for service provision change to the alternative decentralised and inclusive form of governance, led to the creation of public-private sector partnerships. However, in the case of York it is evident that the establishment of such a partnership resulted in management responsibility centralised within a destination management

organisation and consequently the tourism decision making processes are not entirely inclusive. It is argued that for destination governance to be realised, management needs to be decentralised amongst interdependent stakeholder groups, with coordination of this providing the strategic leadership of the tourism sector within a destination. Whilst Nordin and Svensson (2007) claim that centralised coordination can be effective, particularly when managing a range of stakeholders, this research has shown that through the creation of a lead facilitation organisation, as evident in Seville, decentralised management is possible. It is argued, therefore, that ultimately what becomes important is the facilitation and coordination of the governance approach adopted.

7.4 Research Contribution

A number of key contributions are identified from the research. The primary aim of this study was to gain an international perspective on the governance of tourism. Scott et al. (2011) highlight a lack of comparative analysis of issues within destination governance with much research often limited to fragmented and place-specific contexts (Liu and Liu, 2009). Therefore, this research explored case studies from York (United Kingdom) and Seville (Spain), both of which offer very different experiences at different stages in their development. For example, York is a mature destination but is facing increased competition, whilst in Seville investment in tourism is directly related to economic regeneration. By evaluating these two approaches to tourism governance in two different countries, this study contributes a more contemporary perspective of tourism policies and structures with an international dimension, thus far, largely lacking in studies of destination management.

Two forms of tourism governance structures have been examined and the mechanisms used to engage and represent destination stakeholders have been evaluated. Insufficient knowledge regarding the advantages and disadvantages of different local tourism governance approaches (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010;

Costa, Panyik and Buhalis, 2013; Hall, 2011; Zapata and Hall, 2012), with a particular focus on community involvement and representation (Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Timothy, 2007), provided a clear rationale for this research. Two different forms of governance structures with distinctive methods of stakeholder engagement and representation are apparent. This research has highlighted a framework for stakeholder collaboration which is centred on the engagement of networks and associations within a destination governance approach.

As a result, it is suggested that a distinction between destination management and destination governance can be made. While destination management is concerned with a centralised managerial form of governance, destination governance is inclusive of tourism activity, decentralised amongst independent stakeholder groups. Destination governance is concerned with the engagement of a diverse range of interest groups which is facilitated within a decentralised network that fully incorporates the overlapping functions of government and integrates tourism-related activities. It is suggested that destination management organisations should gravitate towards a governance approach, with a decentralised management structure that facilitates the engagement of relevant stakeholders who are interdependent and who engage in policy and strategic decision making at a destination level.

Finally, different types of governance structures exist and operate in tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Garrod, 2003; Hall, 2011; Spyriadis, Fletcher and Fyall, 2013; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005) and consequently the complex nature of governance arrangements necessitates the need for research which identifies the features of tourism governance (Dredge, 2006; Scott et al., 2011). In order to elucidate on this further, and in an attempt to address this knowledge gap, this study sought to draw the analysis together and provide a contribution to the understanding of participation in tourism governance. Six dimensions of tourism

governance have been identified (introduced and further outlined in Section 6.7) which can be taken forward to provide a transferable method for evaluating tourism governance structures. These dimensions are as follows:

1. The degree of stakeholder engagement;
2. The diversity of engaged stakeholders;
3. Responsiveness to stakeholders;
4. Strategic focus;
5. Responsiveness to stakeholder tensions and conflict; and
6. Accountability.

In terms of providing a conceptual framework from which an analytical tool is derived, the six dimensions identified can be plotted within a radar chart for future comparative analyses of tourism governance structures. This framework provides a clear visual representation of tourism governance structures. An ideal governance structure, for example, might include a diverse range of active stakeholder engagement, is highly responsive to stakeholder participation and receptive to stakeholder tensions and conflict, has a clear strategic focus, and is democratically accountable. Ultimately what is offered here is a method for evaluating the governance of tourism which acknowledges existing approaches whilst advancing them in significant ways. The framework provides a tool for understanding how tourism governance works in situ and can be used to explain and locate different styles of governance in different places. As a consequence, this can be used to evaluate governance structures in other tourist destinations. In particular, this framework addresses the requirement for research concerned with application and theory development which specifically examines local governance structures (Dredge, 2006).

7.5 Study Limitations

This study has a number of limitations that should be acknowledged. The purpose of this study was to gain an international perspective on the governance of tourism.

Whilst in-depth interviews have their limitations, including the need for sufficient time to conduct the interviews and replication being impossible, they did allow for the exploration of key themes and opinions with individuals who had relevant knowledge and experience in this field. As Rubin and Rubin (2005) highlight, such a method is useful in exploring deeper meanings regarding social situations and the significances attached to them by the actors involved. Although it is recognised that there are limitations to the techniques employed, the selected techniques were deemed best suited to the aims of the research and have arguably resulted in a greater understanding of the complexities of governance than a survey would have been able to reveal.

It is worth noting that more interviews were conducted in York than in Seville. This was due in part to ease of access as the researcher was based in York and thus had more time to arrange and conduct interviews in the city. Obtaining access to key informants was, by contrast, particularly challenging in Seville. However, through the support of colleagues the researcher developed and maintained a working relationship with the University of Seville. This then provided access to key informants who were able to provide rich insights concerning tourism governance. With regard to the sample size, for Silverman (2009) it is important to recognise that within a qualitative approach the emphasis should be on the quality rather than the quantity of the sample. Therefore, a purposive sampling strategy was used to generate rich and reliable data through the selection of relevant participants for interviews. There was no specific set number of interviews which needed to be conducted. Only when it was felt that the sample had been exhausted and the key issues had been uncovered and explored sufficiently by a wide range of respondents were the interviews stopped. The researcher did take care to ensure that respondents were comparable, i.e. in terms of their role in destination management, between the two locations in order to draw trustworthy conclusions.

A further limitation is concerned with the extent to which residents' views were explored. The focus on governance structures has necessitated research that draws data from those responsible for creating, and in many ways maintaining, existing governance structures. The views of host communities are crucial in tourism governance that is not in doubt, however, a full exploration of residents' attitudes towards tourism and its governance in the case study destinations would have gone beyond the scope of this study but presents an avenue for future research once the variations in structures of governance are fully surveyed and evaluated. This is in no way to diminish the significance and importance of this 'voice', but it needs to be engaged separately as the main focus of study.

Finally, comparative research is experiencing a revival in urban studies, yet McFarlane (2010) challenges whether universal comparisons can be made when conceptions and understandings of the city are often based on experiences and theoretical work involving those cities in the global North. Furthermore, there is a tendency for research of a comparative nature that attempts to compare cases that are considered to be of similarity (Kantor and Savitch, 2005). This potentially limits the applicability and transferability of the conclusions drawn and consequently led McFarlane and Robinson (2012) to argue that there is a need for comparative research which not only focuses on similar cities, but also on radically different cities. This would broaden the scope of transferability within urban studies and allow for more global comparisons to be made. In light of this, it is recognised that the theoretical focus and contributions of this study stem largely from a United Kingdom perspective, with both global North case study locations chosen based on core similarities and thus reinforcing the concerns raised here that there is a lack of comparative urban research which explores cases deemed to be radically different. Whilst the merits of this study have been articulated, further research which explores destination governance in cities considered fundamentally different from one another may offer a more global perspective on the issues raised and addressed in this study.

7.6 Recommendations for Future Research

As discussed in this thesis, partnerships can often struggle to combine and manage a wide variety of interests which can, therefore, exacerbate conflict and power imbalances between stakeholders (Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan, 2010; Greer, 2001; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). This research has shown that, as evident in the Seville approach, a broad range of stakeholders can be engaged and to a degree at least be managed. However, the data confirms that conflicts do still occur. It is not suggested then that Seville presents an ideal approach, but it does represent an improved form of governance compared to York in terms of promoting stakeholder participation and engagement and consequently the democratic deficit is reduced. Seville may then be regarded as a step in the right direction and a starting point for additional research which explores how conflicts between stakeholders in tourism can be managed in such a way as to promote democracy and democratic accountability further. In its comparison of two governance approaches in two major tourist destinations, this study has set a solid foundation for such research to take place.

More specifically, this research has identified both a mechanism for involving resident groups in the decision making process as well as a framework for assessing other destinations' approaches to governance. In Seville resident groups are engaged within the partnership arrangement through a network of resident associations which are encouraged throughout the city. From a community-based tourism perspective, Blackstock (2005) argues that allowing resident groups to actively participate in policy and decision making can create a renewed sense of local relevance to democracy, which ensures that people experience and exercise their power in decision making and in the delivery of local services (Dinham, 2005). The partnership arrangement in Seville promotes a greater degree of democratic participation, and consequently the representation of a broader array of community interests than the governance arrangements in York.

Nonetheless, despite the advantages of Seville's governance arrangements over York's, more research might fruitfully be conducted in a number of areas. Madrigal (1995 p.94), for example, is one of a number of authors who suggest that communities can be split into different categories in terms of their attitudes towards tourism development. It would seem that only 'lovers' and 'haters', recognising just the positive or negative aspects of tourism respectively, would feel strongly enough to participate in the decision making process (Madrigal, 1995). Those who appear to be the most informed, the 'realists', who recognise both the positive and negative aspects may not feel strongly enough to participate. A potential issue, therefore, is how representative these resident associations are of the local community. If, as Madrigal (1995) suggests, only lovers and haters are compelled to participate in the decision making process, then the realists would represent the silent majority in a community and this could, therefore, result in resident groups not being representative of the community as a whole. How, in other words, do we encourage stakeholders to participate in proactive decision making rather than waiting until they feel aggrieved enough by an issue to only then become involved in the political process? Further research which explores how representative these community groups are within tourism governance structures is needed. In addition, research that explores how to increase resident participation, in particular, targeting those groups who are reluctant to participate, would be valuable.

Finally, a framework for evaluating tourism governance structures has been outlined (see Section 6.7) and contributes both a method and a perspective that is available to evaluate governance arrangements in other tourist destinations. Six dimensions of tourism governance have been identified which can be taken forward to provide a transferable method in order to evaluate tourism governance structures. The framework provides a tool for understanding how tourism governance works in different places and can be used to explain and locate different styles of governance. Further research which applies this framework in different locations and circumstances would be useful. For example, it is clear that

as new forms of destination management structures emerge, these need to be examined within broader notions of governance, with an evaluation of the appropriate role of government and the changing relationships and expectations between government and local communities. This framework seeks to address this by providing a tool that offers a comparative analysis of issues within destination governance in relation to their impact on local community involvement and representation. It is quite possible that the framework will need to be adapted to suit local context, but as a broad tool to begin the exploration of the nature of governance structures in a range of destinations it should prove valuable.

7.7 Concluding Remarks

The main purpose of this study was to gain an international perspective on the governance of tourism. Different types of governance structures exist and operate in tourism (Beaumont and Dredge, 2010; Garrod, 2003; Hall, 2011), with governance structures constantly changing, searching for more suitable or effective forms by adjusting to specific contexts and situations (Bramwell and Lane, 2011). This study was concerned with how this works in two major tourist destinations from the United Kingdom (York) and Spain (Seville).

Tourist destinations are complex, with a mix of political and commercial activity that to varying extents, involve or employ different methods of participation in the tourism decision making process. However, inclusive planning that includes public participation at the local level is essential if the negative social and environmental effects of tourism development are to be avoided (Blackstock, 2005; Cook, 1982; Haywood, 1988; Ying and Zhou, 2007). As highlighted by Bramwell and Lane (2000), partnership arrangements need to ensure that relevant stakeholders from government, business and voluntary sectors are engaged in decision making which is based upon mutual respect and knowledge sharing. Nevertheless, active community participation is often scarce within tourism development. This has led Hall (2000) to argue that there is a need for partnerships and collaboration to be

based within the context of the public interest, as opposed to market and corporate needs, with the selection of key stakeholders who represent various public interests (Garrod, 2003; Getz and Timur, 2005; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Kimbu and Ngoasong, 2013; Timothy, 2007). Often, within the planning process, community members are only able to comment on planning designs, rather than participate in the design and implementation (Simpson, 2001). Indeed, this research has shown that in the case of York, although local residents participate in City Council feedback mechanisms, this does not directly feed into Visit York. Indeed, as Hall (2000 p.155) reminds us:

Unless there are attempts to provide equity of access to all stakeholders then collaboration will be one more approach consigned to the lexicon of tourism planning clichés.

As highlighted by Hall (2000), the collaborative approach can lead to elites dominating the planning and decision making process, as shown in the case of York. However, it is argued that the Seville approach provides a more effective mechanism in which all relevant stakeholders are able to participate in the tourism planning and decision-making process. This is achieved by engaging with 'communities of interest', either through a neighbourhood group or a private sector association, which have representation within the lead governance organisation, Turismo de Sevilla.

It is argued, therefore, that a key factor in the development of tourism planning and decision making is the need to create an environment where local stakeholder groups feel that change is occurring 'with us' rather than 'for us'. As noted in this thesis, the collaborative approach engages with this key factor and is acknowledged as an area of best practice within tourism management (d'Angella and Go, 2009; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Carley, 2000; Dredge, 2006; Fyall and Garrod, 2005; Greer, 2001; Judge, Stoker and Wolman, 1995; Reid, Smith and McCloskey, 2008). In order to develop collaboration and a sense of working 'with us', engagement

from a diverse range of stakeholder groups is sought (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005). However, the working 'with us' can often cause tensions between stakeholder groups due to the inadequacies of destination management organisational structures and difficulty in accommodating a wide variety of interests, potentially leading to or further cultivating conflicts and power imbalances between parties (Aas, Ladkin and Fletcher, 2005; Bornhorst, Ritchie and Sheehan, 2010; Greasley, Watson and Patel, 2008; Greer, 2001; Hall, 2000; Mordue, 2007; Provan and Kenis, 2007; Svensson, Nordin and Flagestad, 2005). The ultimate effect of this is that a 'local elite' potentially dominate the decision making process (Augustyn and Knowles, 2000), whilst the majority of stakeholders revert to changes happening 'for us' rather than 'with us'. Rather than being inclusive, this results in a 'closing up' of the policy process to other interest groups (Hall and Jenkins, 1995).

This thesis has been concerned with understanding the complexity and inherent dynamics of collaborative governance and the extent to which these emerging approaches are accountable and fully engage with all relevant stakeholder groups. It is argued that there is a need for collaborative structures of governance to enable a variety of interest groups to partake in decision making at the local level, which when combined can lead to the fulfilment of decision making which engages relevant stakeholders. This would facilitate Murphy's (1981) notion of democratic citizenship through 'participatory democracy' in which local people engage in government. Through a decentralised consultative governance approach, which has been identified in Seville, it is argued that a diverse range of stakeholder groups are able to have an active influence over the tourism planning and development process. The findings from this research suggest respondents in Seville felt that, in general, they were able to influence tourism decision making through engaging with a network of independent associations. Accordingly, this would move the collaborative approach from one of 'with us' and the inherent dangers of the move to 'for us', to that of 'by us'. As a result of this extension, communities of interest at a micro level are able to have an influence in the tourism planning and

development process at the local destination level, helping to ensure that any developments which are taking place in a destination have resulted from a 'by us' notion of participation.

In exploring these issues in two significant destinations this thesis has drawn attention to the political nature of tourism and the implications for democratic involvement. In doing so, it contributes both a method and a perspective that is available to evaluate governance arrangements in other tourist destinations.

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Appendix A – Case Study Protocol

Overview	Standard Procedures
Research aim	The overarching aim of this study is to examine, through an international comparative case study analysis, the extent to which tourism governance approaches advocate stakeholder interests in two case study destinations.
Research objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To identify and evaluate the governance of tourism in York, United Kingdom and Seville, Spain; 2. To assess the impact of these governance approaches on democratic accountability and transparency in the tourism decision making process; 3. To evaluate the mechanisms used in the representation and participation of destination stakeholders in local democracy and destination development in each case study destination; 4. To draw this analysis together to contribute a framework for understanding and evaluating participation in tourism governance.
Role of protocol in guiding the case study researcher	The protocol is a standardised agenda for the researcher's line of inquiry.
Data required to address the research questions	<p>Documentary sources</p> <p>Audio recorded interviews</p>
Data collection plan	<p>Key dates</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews in York, UK were conducted between August 2010 and December 2010. • Interviews in Seville, Spain were conducted during two separate visits to the city, the first being in June 2010 and the second in October 2010.
Pilot study	A pilot study was conducted in Lincoln, UK in May 2010.
Preparation prior to visits to case study locations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thorough exploration and frequent engagement with local and national media, including newspaper articles in both destinations regarding tourism, politics, planning and decision making; • Review of local policy documentation in each destination, including the local plan; • The review of national, regional and local tourism organisation websites; • Two familiarisation visits to Seville, Spain took place in January 2009 and February 2010 in order to establish contacts and to test the viability of the research.

Items to take to case study destinations	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interview schedule• Note book and pen• Consent forms• Dictaphone x2• Batteries• Camera• Business cards• List of key contact details
Data collection process	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Collection of relevant documentary evidence regarding tourism governance, tourism management and planning, local authority planning, minutes and statistical information. Requested copies of relevant documentation both formally and during the interviews themselves.2. Semi-structured interviews with relevant informants from both destinations. Each interview was conducted following the interview schedule and protocol. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed. Each informant signed a consent form and received a copy of the interviewer's business card.
Data analysis process	A thematic analysis was adopted as the tool for analysing the interview transcripts.
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interview transcripts were sent to all interviewees for verification;• Two visit to Seville in June 2011 and September 2013 also provided an opportunity to discuss the findings with key informants and confirm the results of the analysis;• The researcher also met with key informants in York to validate the interview responses and data analysis.

Appendix B – Interview Protocol

In accordance with the study objectives, key themes were established for the questions which emerged from the review of the literature, informing the conceptual framework that was used as a scheme of reference in guiding and designing the research methodology and data collection tools. As typical with semi-structured interviews, respondents were given the opportunity to develop and express their own themes and ideas. Thus, questions were not objectively predetermined. A copy of the question schedule and interview protocol is shown below. Questions were devised around the below themes in order to provide a guide during the interview process.

- The role of local government
 - Changes in local government
 - Involvement in tourism
 - Tourism management
 - Representation
 - Collaboration and partnerships
 - Accountability
- Private Sector and Tourism
 - The role of the private sector in tourism management
 - Involvement in tourism
 - Representation
 - Collaboration and partnerships
- Approaches to tourism governance
- Representation and participation in tourism decision making
- Attitudes towards tourism
- The role and involvement of the local community in tourism
- The representation of the local community in tourism
- Strategic functionality

Interview No:

Respondent:

Date:

Time:

Location:

Pre-interview information:

- **Thank participant for their involvement**

- **Purpose of this study**
This study seeks to explore tourism governance in York and Seville and the implications of these structures on stakeholder engagement in decision making processes.

- **Participation and withdrawal**
Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are free to withdraw at any time, without penalty or loss of benefits, and without the need to provide any reason. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not consider appropriate and still remain in the study without consequences of any kind.

- **Anonymity and confidentiality**
The information provided will remain confidential and no individual names will be used to secure personal beliefs. Access to raw data is only considered necessary for the supervisory team and examiners.

- **Signed letter of consent and distribute business card**

- **Explain interview structure**
Several questions will be asked to emergent issues related to tourism governance and the representation and engagement of stakeholders within these structures.

If you are unclear about any of the questions, please do not hesitate to ask for the questions to be repeated or to be clarified.

Also, if you are unhappy to answer any of the questions, please say so.

Appendix C – Stakeholder Analysis

In identifying the informants for this study an indication of their position, for example, whether they are major stakeholders within the locality, and their level of power and ability to influence decision making has been highlighted. Johnson and Scholes (1999) champion stakeholder mapping as a tool for identifying and interpreting stakeholder expectations and power in order to establish political priorities. Therefore, informants in this study have been mapped against their associated level of power and interest using the Power/Interest Matrix developed by Mendelow (1991) (see Figure C.1). The intention here is to highlight and contextualise how the power and interest of the study informants may inform and influence the tourism governance structures in the two case study destinations.

H (High) denotes a major stakeholder, with high power and high level of interest which can include key attractions, organisations and representatives from organisations directly involved in decision making; M (Medium) represents stakeholders who are considered to have some involvement or stake in tourism but may not directly influence decision making, for example Bed and Breakfast proprietors or minor attractions; and finally L (Low) denotes stakeholders who have relatively little interest or position to influence tourism decision making and this may include, for example, local residents.

Figure C.1 Stakeholder Power/Interest Matrix

	Low	High
Low Power	<u>L</u>	<u>M</u>
High Power	<u>M</u>	<u>H</u>

York

	Individual and Role	Category
1	Chair, Minster Quarter (Retail Association), former member of Visit York Board	M
2	Business Analyst, City of York Council, Represents the City Council on the Minster Quarter committee	L
3	External Relations Manager, Visit York	M
4	City Centre Manager, City of York Council	M
5	Manager, National Trust Property, National Trust	M
6	Chief Executive, York Museums Trust and member of the Visit York Board	H
7	Head of Economic Development, City of York Council	H
8	Business Engagement Manager, Visit York	M
9	Deputy Chief Executive, Director of City Strategy, City of York Council	H
10	Chairman, Visit York	H
11	Labour Councillor, City of York Council and Board member, Visit York	H
12	Leader, City of York Council	H
13	Board member, Visit York	M
14	Chief Executive, Visit York	H
15	Conservative Councillor, City of York Council and Board member, Visit York	H
16	Bed and Breakfast proprietor and member of Visit York	M
17	Bed and Breakfast proprietor and member of Visit York	M
18	Large hotel proprietor and member of Visit York Board	M
19	Large hotel proprietor	L
20	Labour Councillor, City of York Council	L
21	Restaurant proprietor and member of Visit York	M
22	Guest house proprietor, former Chair of the York Hospitality Association and member of Visit York	M
23	Restaurant Proprietor, Visit York Board member and organiser of the York Food and Drink Festival	M
24	Hotel manager and member of the York Hoteliers Association	M
25	Assistant Director, Communities and Culture, City of York Council	M
26	Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York	M

Seville

	Individual and Role	Category
1	Director, Seville Airport	M
2	President, Business Association of Travel Agents of Seville (AEVISE)	H
3	President, Seville Restaurant Association	H
4	Director, Seville Port Authority	H
5	Head of Promotion and Marketing, Turismo de Sevilla	M
6	President, Spanish Language Schools Association of Seville	M
7	Head of Tourism Policy and Planning Division Tourism, Commerce and Sport Ministry, Andalucía Regional Government	M
8	President, Seville Hotel Association	H
9	Head of Economic Development, Seville City Council	M
10	Chairman, Sevilla Semueve, Resident Association	M
11	Tourism Advisor, Seville Chamber of Commerce	M
12	Technical Member, Seville Tourism Plan, Turismo de Sevilla	M
13	Chairman, Seville Congress and Convention Bureau	H
14	Chief Executive, Tour Operator Co.	M
15	Chief Executive, Turismo de Sevilla	H
16	Member of Sevilla Semueve, Resident Association	M

Appendix D – Codes and Key Themes

Phase three of Braun and Clarke's (2006) data analysis process involved the sorting of different codes into potential themes. The emphasis within this phase is to begin identifying the relationship between the different codes and to consider how these codes could be combined. Therefore, codes were combined into potential key themes as shown below.

- **Theme 1 - The Role of Local Government**
 - The role of local government in tourism
 - Government attitudes towards tourism
 - The changing role of local government
 - Recognising the value of tourism
 - Local government as a facilitator (New Public Sector Management)
 - The management of tourism
 - Collaboration and partnerships
 - Culture
 - Conflict and conflict resolution
 - Political accountability
 - Strategy, efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery
 - Representation
 - Attitudes towards engagement
 - Democratic deficit

- **Theme 2 - Private Sector and Tourism**
 - The role of the private sector in tourism
 - Representation
 - Private sector involvement
 - Collaboration and partnerships
 - Culture
 - Conflict and conflict resolution
 - Accountability
 - Strategy
 - Attitudes towards engagement
 - Democratic deficit

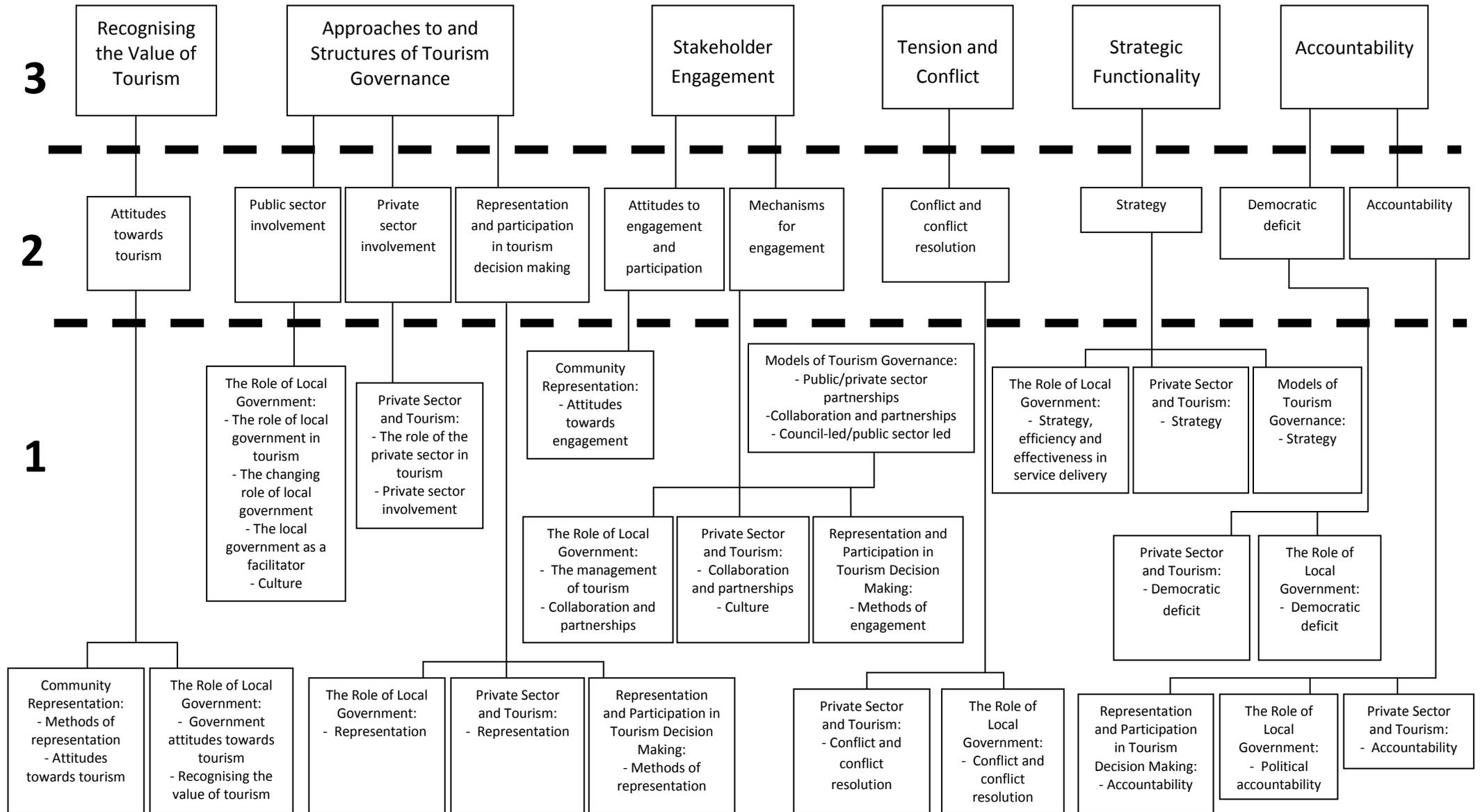
- **Theme 3 - Models of Tourism Governance**
 - Public-private sector partnerships
 - Collaboration and partnerships
 - Council-led / public sector led
 - Strategy

- **Theme 4 - Representation and Participation in Tourism Decision Making**
 - Methods of representation
 - Methods of engagement
 - Accountability

- **Theme 5 - Community Representation**
 - Methods of representation
 - Attitudes towards tourism
 - Attitudes towards engagement

Appendix E – Relationship between the Codes and Themes

The following diagram highlights the relationship between the codes and the themes which emerged from the data analysis process. Phase three of Braun and Clarke's (2006) data analysis process involved the sorting of different codes into potential themes, this is shown in section one of the diagram. Having identified the emerging themes from the data, during phase four the themes were further refined as shown in section two of the diagram. Finally, the themes were further refined in phase five of Braun and Clarke's (2006) data analysis process as shown in section three of the diagram.



Appendix F – Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to examine the suitability of the research questions devised to explore the research topic. The pilot study also provided an opportunity to identify potential practical problems in following the research procedure. Lincoln was chosen as the pilot study location due to its core similarities with both York and Seville, as according to Fainstein and Judd's (1999) classification, it can be described as a tourist-historic city.

A pilot study represents a fundamental phase of the research process designed to examine the feasibility of an approach that is intended to be used in a larger scale study (Leon, Davis and Kraemer, 2011). Pilot studies are considered an essential element of good study design and are often adopted for the pre-testing of a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or an interview schedule and to determine the resource requirements which are needed for the planned study (Polit, Beck and Hungler, 2001). Within qualitative research, Frankland and Bloor (1999) argue that a pilot study results in a clear definition of the focus for the study which subsequently enables the researcher to apply appropriate data collection and analytical tools. Piloting of qualitative approaches, particularly interview techniques, is also useful if the researcher lacks confidence or is a novice (Holloway, 1997). Pilot studies, therefore, can inform feasibility and identify modifications needed in the design of a larger study and are thus an important part of the research process.

Pilot studies do have a number of limitations. Completing a pilot study successfully does not guarantee the success of the larger study. Furthermore, problems or difficulties may not become obvious until the larger scale study is conducted. Although conducting a pilot study does not guarantee the success of the main study, it does increase the likelihood (Leon, Davis and Kraemer, 2011).

Location Context

The City of Lincoln, the administrative centre for the county of Lincolnshire, is situated 141 miles north of London. The county of Lincolnshire is located on the east coast of England, part of the six counties known as the East Midlands and is also home to small seaside resorts including Skegness and Cleethorpes. Lincoln is a small, historic city dominated by Lincoln Cathedral. It can be regarded as a progressive city with recent developments including Lincoln University in 1996. The city is home to a range of arts and cultural attractions including the Museum of Lincolnshire Life, the Usher Art Gallery, the Drill Hall, and the Lincoln Theatre Royal.

Historically the city's economy was based upon agriculture and later the engineering industry. Manufacturing continues to be a major employer with production including heavy machinery, light engineering products, automobile and electronic parts, and food products. The tourism, retail and service sectors are also increasingly important (East Midlands Tourism, 2014). The city is host to an annual Christmas market, an important economic event, which attracts a large number of national and international visitors.

Visit Lincolnshire, a destination management partnership between the public and private sectors, is responsible for the management and marketing of tourism in Lincoln and Lincolnshire. Visit Lincolnshire is a membership organisation, with membership ranging from local attractions, accommodation providers, and local and district government authorities. The administration of tourism within Lincoln is similar to that of Seville and in particular York and thus it was felt appropriate to draw upon Lincoln for the pilot study.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with officials from both the public and the private sector and the destination management organisation in May 2010. The sample provided an appropriate representation of each key sector and stakeholder which was explored within the larger research project.

The respondents included:

- Economic Development Officer – City of Lincoln Council;
- Policy and Planning Officer – City of Lincoln Council;
- Chief Executive – Visit Lincolnshire;
- Chair – Lincoln Hotel and Bed and Breakfast Hospitality Association;
- Head of Operations – Lincoln Chamber of Commerce;
- Head of International Trade – Lincoln Chamber of Commerce;
- Marketing and Communication – Lincoln Chamber of Commerce.

It was important that a reasonable range of stakeholders participated in the pilot study in order to give a sense of how well the questions were formulated. The interviews lasted on average one hour, with all key themes being discussed. Interviews were only stopped when the researcher felt that all the key themes and questions had been sufficiently explored. In accordance with the study objectives, during the interviews key themes were established for the question topics and these included:

- The role and involvement of local government in tourism;
- The role and involvement of the private sector in tourism;
- The representation of the private sector in tourism;
- The role and involvement of the local community in tourism;
- The representation of the local community in tourism;
- Perceptions and perspectives of stakeholder engagement; and
- Perceptions and perspectives of tourism decision making.

Questions were devised around the above themes in order to provide a guide during the interview process.

Reflection

Initial findings from the pilot study highlighted the governance approach taken in Lincoln towards tourism and the implications of this on stakeholder representation and engagement in tourism decision making. In particular, a conflict appeared apparent between stakeholders who were members of the tourism organisation, Visit Lincolnshire, and those which were not. Furthermore, it would appear that local resident representation is provided only through political representation within the tourism organisation. The interviews also highlighted that business associations are prevalent in the city which can be aligned to the notion of 'communities of interest' suggested by Stepney and Popple (2008 p.9). This represents an addition to the literature as an approach in which to engage stakeholders in the tourism decision making process. This challenges traditional ideas of community, i.e. the bonding of individuals within a geographical location, and suggests that communities of interest can be formed based on common beliefs and attitudes amongst members of an association (Stepney and Popple, 2008).

A thematic approach was adopted in the analysis of the pilot data which sought to identify and describe patterns and themes within the data set (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke's (2006) six phased approach was adopted in the analysis of the data with the purpose being to test the appropriateness of the analytical approach adopted, particularly Braun and Clarke's (2006) framework. A number of themes emerged from the data, as highlighted above, and it was felt that the framework adopted provided a clear and comprehensible approach, ensuring a rigorous analysis of the data. Thus, the researcher was confident in adopting this framework in the larger scale study.

As highlighted by Polit, Beck and Hungler (2001), a pilot study provides a means in which to test the research instruments employed. Interviews were adopted as the method of collecting primary data. It was felt that the questions used in the pilot study were appropriate and derived detailed and interesting responses from the

informants. Respondents were given the opportunity to develop and express their own themes and ideas which is typical of semi-structured interviews (Arksey and Knight, 1999; Jennings, 2010; Jordan and Gibson, 2004). The researcher was keen that conventional interviews were conducted around the key themes. The flexibility for participants to expand on areas which they feel important is one of the advantages of the qualitative approach (Jennings, 2010; Jordan and Gibson, 2004). However, during one particular interview the respondent appeared to use the opportunity as a platform to air his grievances about tourism and tourism decision making in the city. Unfortunately, this was not appropriate for the current study and the key themes were not explored. As a result, during the subsequent data collection process the researcher needed to develop and adopt appropriate strategies to ensure that respondents did not stray too far from the topic and scope of the research. For example, appropriate lines of questioning, including both open and closed questions, were adopted to facilitate the interview.

A further issue which arose during the pilot study was the use of the audio recorder. The digital recording did not function correctly which resulted in missing audio. Therefore, during the actual data collection process, a different model of recorder and two audio recorders were used in order to reduce the risk of data loss.

Piloting of qualitative approaches is useful if the researcher lacks confidence or is a novice, particularly if interview techniques are employed (Holloway, 1997). Interviewers need to be experienced and skilled when interviewing in order to establish rapport, adapt quickly to the personality and mood of the interviewee, and be able to relate to the respondent on their own terms (Leon, Davis and Kraemer, 2011). The interviewer must also know when it is appropriate to probe deeper, ask for elaboration or broaden the topic of discussion (Holloway, 1997; Leon, Davis and Kraemer, 2011). This will elicit more truthful answers. For the researcher the pilot study served as a training opportunity to develop his skills and confidence in interviewing. This exercise allowed the researcher to test his

interviewing skills, identify participants' behavioural reactions and evaluate the appropriateness of the interview process. Noticeable improvements included the researcher becoming increasingly relaxed during the interviews, less inclined to interject and more willing to wait for responses. The researcher also felt confident to probe for clarity and detail when required. The pilot study was, therefore, invaluable in allowing the researcher to develop his core interviewing skills.

After each interview informants were asked to comment and provide feedback on the interview process and to identify ambiguities and difficult questions. Feedback received was positive, with informants stating that they felt the questions were appropriate, they felt comfortable and relaxed and the interview was well delivered. This approach enabled the researcher to reduce the number of unanticipated problems, i.e. a lack of understanding or unclear questions, as he had the opportunity to gain feedback on each question and ensure that questions were interpreted in the way intended. It also provided the researcher with ideas, questions and clues which he may not have foreseen before conducting the pilot study (Arksey and Knight, 1999). For example, a number of respondents noted that conflict was apparent within destination decision making. The significance of this resulted in the researcher including a line of questioning on this theme in the larger study. As such the pilot interviews were used to improve the quality of interviews in the larger study and to allow participants to express their views fully.

In conclusion, the pilot study was deemed a success. It became apparent that the free form interviewing style, the question schedule and the data analysis framework could be successfully transferred to the data collection in York and Seville. Issues identified with the audio recording equipment were addressed in order to prevent a loss of data and the researcher was able to develop tools and strategies when interviewing to ensure respondents felt comfortable and stayed within the topic of the research. Perhaps more than anything else, the confidence that resulted from the successful pilot led to open and frank discussions with

stakeholders in York and Seville since the researcher felt less awkward in probing and searching for detailed responses. This may, of course, have transpired without the pilot study during the course of the actual data collection, however, because of the pilot study the researcher gained a 'head-start' in interviewing skills.



Appendix G – Research Consent Form

Research Consent Form

The main aim of this research is to understand the role of local government in the development of tourism policy and planning. To accomplish this, I will be critically evaluating the level of stakeholder representation and the techniques adopted in public participation within the tourism planning and development process.

This study is cross-cultural with interviews being conducted in Seville (Spain) and York (United Kingdom) in order to compare approaches of local governance and further understand their role.

If you (the interviewee) consent to participate you will be agreeing with the following statements:

- The research will involve an interview. The interview is semi-structured and will be recorded on an audio tape with the consent of the interviewee. Alternatively, notes will be taken.
- As the interviewee you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time without having to provide an explanation.
- The interviewee understands that every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality and privacy; their name will not be published.
- The interviewee will receive a full transcript of the interview in which they are invited to add comments, amend or remove any part of the transcript.
- The interviewee understands that the transcripts will be viewed and discussed by other academics.
- The interviewee understands that excerpts from the interview may be published as a result of this study.
- The interviewee understands that the interview transcripts may be archived both on paper and digitally for future research.

The above information has been adequately explained to me and I freely give my consent to participate in this research study.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix H – York: Context of Case Study Destination

As a leading city destination outside of London (Snaith and Haley, 1999), York attracted 7 million visitors in 2012 (Visit York, 2014a). With a population of 200,000, York is an important regional city that is part of the Yorkshire and Humber region in the North East of England. The purpose of this section is to provide appropriate context for York with regards to the current research topic. This section will present a brief historic overview of the city and, in particular, highlight the industrial changes which have occurred. In addition, a summary of the tourism sector in York, which includes key statistical information, is presented. This is also given within the context of both the national and regional tourism environment.

A Brief History of York

It has been remarked that the history of York is the history of England. With a history dating back almost 2000 years, York is one of England's most historic cities, which is visible in its buildings, monuments and street names. Located at the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Foss, the city centre, which is dominated by York Minster, the largest Gothic cathedral in Northern Europe, is encapsulated within an almost complete medieval wall, with a street pattern developed from Roman, Viking and medieval times.

In AD71 the Romans founded a fort, Eboracum, at the confluence of the river Ouse and river Foss. During this time the city became a centre of world importance for the Roman Empire and was the capital of Britannia Inferior, the Roman Province of upper Britain, having a lead role in the military, political and economic affairs of the north (Ottaway, 2007). The decline of the Roman Empire resulted in a period of York's history known as sub-Roman and is considered one of the most elusive (Hall, 2007). However, by the late 400s Anglo-Saxons were living in the area and established Eborwic as an important commercial centre. The Viking invasion of 866 transformed the city into Jorvik which became the capital of both Northumbria and

the Jorvik kingdom in the north of England. York's Viking settlers had a generally peaceful farming existence and Jorvik became a major river port in Northern Europe. Eric Bloodaxe, the last Viking ruler of the city, was driven from the city in 954 by King Eadred of Wessex (Hall, 2007). Known by its contemporary name York, during the Norman era the city prospered to become the second largest in the country and the Northern capital of England. The Minster was rebuilt and trade in wool and textiles flourished (Daniell, 2007). During the medieval period, York developed into a thriving international port, with a significant programme of building works in the city including two castles and a number of churches. Also during this period, the city gained the right to govern itself and briefly became the country's capital. The effect of the Norman conquest of York still remains in the current landscape of the city (Daniell, 2007).

During the 17th century, York became the principle city in the north of England. However, by the 18th century, although York was no longer a city of national importance, it became a social and cultural nucleus for the North, resulting in a number of notable buildings in the city, including the Assembly Rooms and Mansion House (Sinclair, 2007). It was during this period that increasing wealth and lifestyle changes demanded new housing equipped with the latest amenities. Consequently, new suburbs began to emerge outside of the city walls, along Blossom Street, Monkgate and Bootham which included a mix of town houses with spacious gardens and by the 1820s terraces of artisan houses (Sinclair, 2007).

At the beginning of the 19th century York was the sixteenth largest city in England. However, by 1901 it ranked forty-first with a population of 54,742 (Royle, 2007). The industrial revolution did not have as significant an impact on York as it did in other cities during the 19th century. It lacked a clearly defined commercial role and was largely considered a market town. Indeed, if it were not for the arrival of the railways the city could have stagnated. York's first railway was built in 1839, which was later redeveloped and became the largest station in Europe. This had a

significant impact on the York economy and facilitated the confectioners of York, notably Rowntree's Cocoa Works and Terry's Confectionery Works, to develop into national and international businesses, a tourism boom, and a city of learning with new schools and colleges. The medieval city was, however, still evident, with the Minster continuing to dominate the skyline and medieval houses still clustering the central streets. The city was still surrounded by its walls, despite attempts to demolish them in the 1820s. Visitors to York in 1820 would arrive by one of over thirty coaches running daily from all parts of the country, however, by 1839 visitors were likely to arrive by train (Royle, 2007).

By the 20th century, York continued to prosper as a major railway centre employing over 5,500 people directly and several thousand more in the manufacturing industries, including the carriage works. The opening of the University of York in 1960 was a significant milestone in establishing York as a centre of learning and the continued success of the tourism industry was also important. However, during the 1980s the two substantial economic sectors in York, confectionery and railway engineering, rapidly declined, with the closure of the final railway engineering works in 1995 (Meethan, 1997). It was during this time that the service sector started to grow, leading to the economy of the city becoming dependent on the service industry, within which tourism played a significant role (Meethan, 1997). Visitor numbers began to increase, resulting in the City Council introducing measures to manage and control visitors and implement conservation policies to protect and enhance the fabric of the city. The city centre saw an increase in tourism development during the 1980s which created a tourism enclave (Mordue, 2007). Industry and retail were decentralised from the city centre allowing for the development of leisure and specialist retail. In addition, purpose built attractions were constructed, such as the Jorvik Viking Centre, which were privately funded (Meethan, 1997).

What is apparent here is that the York economy has changed significantly over the last 20 years from manufacturing based industries to industries concentrating on the service sector, science and technology (Future York Group, 2007). Indeed, between 1984 and 2004, employment within the manufacturing sector fell by 65% (Future York Group, 2007). The closure or down-sizing of key significant employers in York such as British Rail Engineering and Terry's meant that the loss of employment in York was very significant compared to other areas in the United Kingdom. However, the growth in new sectors has absorbed the decline in manufacturing jobs ensuring York retains a low level of unemployment. There has been significant growth in hospitality, financial services and the public sector, with 75% of employment within the distribution, hotels and restaurants sector, the banking, finance and insurance sector, and in public administration and education respectively (Future York Group, 2007). Furthermore, the popularity of York as a tourist destination has seen considerable growth, with tourism now a leading sector of the York economy. With an average annual visitor spend of £606 million and 20,200 jobs in the tourism sector one in five of the local labour force, the city has seen huge investment in the tourism industry and infrastructure (Visit York, 2014b).

York is well connected on the transport network. The city is a principle destination on the East Coast Main Line between London and Edinburgh and has good road links. York is also served by a number of regional airports including Leeds Bradford International Airport and Manchester International Airport, which is reachable by train in two hours.

Tourism and York

The rich and diverse history of York is afforded to its popularity as a tourist destination. The city is well-known for its heritage and cultural attributes, notably York Minster. The city has a number of attractions including York Castle Museum (opened in 1938), the National Railway Museum (opened in 1975), the Yorkshire Museum (established in 1830), and the Jorvik Viking Centre, a pioneering attraction

developed in 1984. Some of the main historic features of York are summarised below:

- York Minster - the largest medieval church in Northern Europe, with a wealth of stained glass;
- The Bar Walls - the finest remaining circuit of medieval walls in England, built during the 13th and 14th century and standing two miles in length;
- The Shambles - one of the best preserved medieval streets in Europe;
- Merchant Adventurers Hall - a medieval Guild Hall, built 1357- 1362;
- Treasurer's House - the original home of the Treasurers of York Minster. Present building dates from late 16th, early 17th century;
- Clifford's Tower - 13th century stone tower on an artificial mound erected by William the Conqueror;
- St William's College - built c1475 for the Minster Chantry Priests;
- The Guildhall - dates from the 15th century;
- Mansion House - built between 1725 and 1730 as the official home of the Lord Mayor.

(Visit York, 2014a)

York can be attributed to Fainstein and Judd's (1999) definition of a tourist-historic city where the historic core has become the object for tourist consumption. For Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000), tourist-historic cities include natural resources, architecture and associations with historic events which form the primary attraction for tourists. This is evident in York with its rich and diverse history, the city walls, the medieval street pattern, and the range of architectural styles making it a leading tourist destination. In addition to these core attributes, the city also holds a number of events and festivals during the year. This includes St Nicholas Fayre and the York Festival of Food and Drink. The city is also one of the nation's principle shopping destinations, with many unique specialist and cultural shops within the core of the city (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2003).

In 2012, 7 million people visited York, of which 78% were day visitors and 22% stayed at least one night. Overnight leisure visitors stay an average of 3.3 days and the average length of stay of an overnight business visitor is 2.3 days. In 2012, day visitors spent £207 million and those visitors staying overnight spent £399 million. There were an estimated 15,133 bed spaces in York in 2012, of which 63% were in serviced accommodation and 37% in self-catering accommodation. Hotel room occupancy averaged 80.1%, 2% higher than in 2011 (Visit York, 2014b). York is described as a gateway to the Yorkshire region. For example, in 2005 of the 3.84 million visitors to the city, a third spent time in other parts of Yorkshire.

Since 2008, there have been a number of significant investments made to the York attraction portfolio, with the £2 million re-development of the Yorkshire Museum, a £1 million refurbishment of the Jorvik Viking Centre, and a £200,000 attraction refurbishment at the Castle Museum. In addition, in 2010 York's first five star hotel opened with an investment of £25 million and a £636,000 investment in improving facilities at the York Railway Station. Furthermore, a new Visitor Information Centre opened in 2010 with an investment of £900,000 (Visit York, 2014a; 2014b). A summary of key investment in retail, leisure and tourism since 1995 is given below:

- A £3.2 million City Screen cinema opened behind Coney Street;
- The National Railway Museum - £4 million scheme to improve facilities with a new wing for the museum, opened July 1999;
- The £1 million restoration of the Great West Door of York Minster completed as a key part of a £4 million restoration project;
- York Dungeon - £1 million expansion to double its size;
- £10 million Tattersall Stand at York Racecourse;
- £2 million investment by SMG Europe in the Barbican Centre – reopened May 2011;
- York Cocoa House opened in Blake Street in 2011. It offers chocolate tastings, workshops, retail services and café;

- York's Chocolate Story, a chocolate themed visitor attraction, opened in spring 2012;
- The Richard III Experience was re-launched in Monk Bar and the Henry VII Experience opened in Micklegate Bar, both in April 2014;
- York Theatre Royal undergoes a £4 million refurbishment in 2015. The entrance and café area will double in size, the outdoor colonnades will be enclosed and glazed, the auditorium will become more flexible, and a new performance space will open in the De Grey Rooms;
- Hotel developments have included:
 - £3 million, 90-bed Travelodge in Piccadilly;
 - £5 million, 80-bed Queens Hotel in Skeldergate, opened July 2000;
 - £2.5 million, 87-bed Premier Lodge in Blossom Street, opened October 2001;
 - £6 million, 104-bed Ramada Encore, opened 2002 on the corner of George Hudson Street and Micklegate;
 - A £2.5 million expansion and redevelopment of the Monkbar Hotel, including 57 new bedrooms, two new conference suites, three lounges and two new bars;
 - A £3 million, 350-seater conference centre and a £1.4 million leisure centre at the Royal York Hotel, September 2000;
 - Novotel completed a £2 million refurbishment of their Fishergate hotel;
 - £25 million, 107-bed Cedar Court Grand Hotel and Spa opened 2010. In 2011 it achieved Five Star Status (AA);
 - £10 million, 119 bed Hampton by Hilton Hotel, Toft Green opened 2012, creating 50 jobs;
- £90 million Monks Cross shopping development (200,000 sq.ft.) opened September 1998. Earlier, Asda opened a new 55,000 sq. ft. store at Monks Cross in an £18 million investment;
- £60 million Designer Outlet Village at Naburn opened in November 1998;

- York's Park and Ride Services have been expanded by the Rawcliffe Bar service (751 spaces) which opened in February 2000. This follows the completion two years earlier of the £1.3 million opening of the Grimston Bar site, Hull Road. In the summer of 2004, the Monks Cross Park and Ride opened (750 spaces) with an investment of £3.5 million and in the summer of 2014, the Poppleton Bar Park and Ride and Askham Bar Park and Ride opened;
- York Railway Station, £1.5 million on maintenance and improvement works;
- £2.2 million new Millennium pedestrian bridge across the river Ouse.

(Visit York, 2014a)

There are nine attractions in the York Big Attractions Group (BAG) including the National Railway Museum (NRM), YorkBoat, the Castle Museum, the Yorkshire Museum, York Minster, Clifford's Tower, Jorvik Viking Centre, York's Chocolate Story, and the York Dungeon. In 2013, these nine attractions welcomed a total of 2,819,476 visitors, which is the highest number of visitors recorded since 2005. Of these, 86% were leisure visitors, 6% were educational visitors, and 3% groups. Compared with 2012 there was an 18% increase in the number of visitors. The NRM welcomed the most visitors of the attractions in this group, with the Minster second and Jorvik Viking Centre third. There were several successful exhibitions at the attractions in 2013, including the Great Gathering of A4s at the NRM, the Richard III replica at the Yorkshire Museum, and the Orb and the Undercroft at the Minster. Visitor numbers have remained fairly stable over the last 9 years, at around 2.5 million. There was a peak in 2006 before the credit crunch caused a downturn in tourism generally. The healthy visitor numbers in 2013 have started to reverse this trend, with a record year (Visit York, 2014c).

There are twelve attractions participating in the York Small Attractions Group including the Bar Convent, Barley Hall, the Cold War Bunker, DIG, Fairfax House, Holgate Windmill, the Mansion House, the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Micklegate

Bar Museum, the Quilt Museum, Treasurer's House, and York Brewery. In 2013, these twelve attractions welcomed a total of 237,106 visitors. The number of visitors to attractions in this group ranged from approximately 2,000 to over 53,000 in 2013. Comparable visitor numbers from 2012 show that the number of visitors to the small attractions decreased by 5% in 2013 (Visit York, 2014d). The key facts on the progress of tourism between 1993 and 2007 are shown in Table H.1:

Table H.1 Comparison of York Tourism Data between 1993 and 2007

	1993	2007	Difference
Average length of stay (days)	2.7	3.9	31.6%
Total number of nights stayed by visitors	1.56mn	2.03mn	23.2%
Visitor spending (£million)	205	364	77%
Employment (jobs)	8,397	10,646	21.2%

(Source: Visit York, 2014a)

Since 1995, £250 million has been invested by both the private sector and public sector in tourism, retail and leisure facilities in the city (Visit York, 2014a). This investment demonstrates the importance of tourism for the local economy and is summarised in Table H.2.

Table H.2 Investment in York's tourism between 1995 and 2014

Year	Event
1995	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Stop York tourism partnership established • Visitor Survey starts October 1995
1996	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Residents First Festival between 6th and 7th January • York Racecourse Tattersall Grandstand officially opened • Bar Convent museum reopened • Establishment of York Tourism Training scheme • European Funding through Konver to boost marketing and product development activities • Friargate Wax Museum closed
1997	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Festival of Food and Drink between 20th and 28th September • Out-of-town budget hotels open, namely Holiday Inn Express and Travel Inn • First pre-Christmas shopping campaign
1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Stop York website launched • First dedicated tourism PR resource through First Stop York and York Tourism 2000 • Slug and Lettuce opened • Monks Cross and McArthur Glen out-of-town shopping centres opened • Production of the first trail guides to draw attention to many distinctive features of York, including the medieval churches and bar walls
1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Works, a £4 million extension to the National Railway Museum opened • Coffee chains start to open including Starbucks, Costa Coffee, Coffee Express • A1 brown signs erected • York Arts Centre closed
2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 3rd November - floods reach their highest levels - business in York setback for six months • Railway connection problems with huge national railway inspection programme • National Centre for Early Music opened • Rawcliffe Bar Park and Ride opened • City Screen cinema complex opened • Queens Hotel, the first of the city centre budget hotels, opened • Royal York Hotel conference centre opened in September
2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foot and mouth affects overseas visitors to the United Kingdom • Millennium Bridge opened • Jorvik Viking Centre reopened after a £5 million redevelopment • Designer Outlet Park and Ride opened

2002	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ramada Encore opened • First Christmas Lights switch on show outside the Minster • York Museums Trust launched • Admission charges dropped at the National Railway Museum
2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Funding secured from Yorkshire Forward for major investments in lighting and interpretation of the city • York Minster charges for admission
2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Railfest • £600 million new footbridge from York Station to the National Railway Museum • First Chinese Festival • First Roman Festival • Monks Cross Park and Ride opened
2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Royal Ascot at York • Establishment of York as a City of Festivals • City Art Gallery reopened after a £500 million refurbishment • Impressions Gallery closed
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relaunch of the ARC as DIG (March) • Constantine Exhibition at the Yorkshire Museum (March) and 1700th anniversary of the proclamation of Constantine as Roman emperor • Yorkshire Wheel opened (April) • Cold War Bunker opened (English Heritage, May)
2007	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Churchill Hotel, £1.5 million refurbishment • Hotel du Vin opened on The Mount
2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Visit York • £4 million refurbishment of all 200 bedrooms in the Park Inn, North Street • £2 million refurbishment of Ibis York completed • £4 million The Grand Tour display of paintings in outdoor city centre locations began in June • Quilt Museum opened in St Anthony's Hall • The Yorkshire Wheel leaves the National Railway Museum
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Welcome to Yorkshire (1st April) • New attraction at the Castle Museum – York Castle Prison (£200,000 refurbishment) • Tour of Britain cycle race – end of the first stage in York on 12th September
2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The new Visitor Information Centre opened in May, at 1 Museum Street • £1 million refurbishment of Jorvik Viking Centre completed • £2 million refurbishment of the Yorkshire Museum completed • The Cedar Court Grand Hotel and Spa (107 bedrooms) opened in May, following investment of £25 million • The 86 bed Premier Inn on Blossom Street opened • Micklegate Bar Museum reopened

2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Barbican Centre reopened in May after a £2 million refurbishment • Cedar Court achieved five star status • The Wheel of York returned (Royal York Hotel grounds)
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • York 800 celebration of York becoming an independent city • New chocolate attraction opened – Chocolate – York’s Sweet Story • £10 million Hampton by Hilton Hotel (Toft Green) opened • Wagamamas, Jamie’s Italian, Yo Sushi restaurants opened within twelve months
2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Revealing York Minster – new interactive galleries in the Undercroft and Treasury – opened, May • British Cycling National Circuit Race Championship, June • York Art Gallery closed for a two year refurbishment • The Wheel of York leaves the Royal York in September
2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Richard III and Henry VII Experience opened in Monk Bar and Micklegate Bar respectively • Tour de France Grand Depart day 2 6th July, with 100 day cultural festival leading up to the event

(Source: Visit York, 2014a)

Local Government in York

As a result of the Local Government Reform in 1996, York gained unitary authority status. The City of York Council has 47 councillors. As a result of the 2011 local elections the Labour Party won 26 seats to give them a majority of five seats. The Liberal Democrats had eight councillors, the Conservative Party had ten councillors, and the Greens had two with one Independent. York Council operates on a Leader and Cabinet style of governance. Councillors are appointed to the cabinet by the full council of 47 members. Cabinet members make decisions on their portfolio areas individually.

Tourism and the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom, tourism is one of the largest industries, accounting for 2.7% of the United Kingdom Gross Value Added (Visit Britain, 2014). In 2009, the tourism industry was worth approximately £115.4 billion. A total of 31.1 million overseas visitors came to the United Kingdom in 2012, spending a total of £18.6 billion (Visit

Britain, 2014). Between January and July 2013, this number was higher by 4%. In 2007, the United Kingdom ranked sixth in the international tourism earnings league behind the USA, Spain, France, Italy, and China. Similarly, during 2007, 53.7 million United Kingdom residents took domestic holidays of one night or more spending £11.5 billion (Visit Britain, 2014). Since 1999, international visitor numbers have increased from 21,506 million to 25,400 million (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). United Kingdom visitor spending in London accounted for 54%, the rest of England 33%, Scotland 8%, and Wales 2%. Domestic overnight tourism in 2012 included 57.7 million over night holidays of 1 night, spending a total of £13.8 billion, 18.9 million over night business trips spending £4.5 billion, and 45.1 million overnight trips to friends and relatives spending £5.1 billion. This is compared with 18.7 million United Kingdom residents who took overnight business trips, spending £4.5 billion and 47.8 million United Kingdom residents who took overnight trips to friends and relatives, spending £4.8 billion in 2007 (Visit Britain, 2014). Tourism then is the United Kingdom's sixth highest export earner contributing £3 billion to the Exchequer. In 2009, tourism contributed £96.7 billion to the economy with contributions per region being:

- England - £96.7 billion (8.6% of GDP)
- Scotland - £11.1 billion (10.4% of GDP)
- Wales - £6.2 billion (13.3% of GDP)
- Northern Ireland - £1.5 billion (4.9% of GDP)

Tourism expenditure is forecast to grow at an annual real growth rate of 3% per annum over the period 2010 to 2020, with spending by inbound visitors forecast to grow at a faster rate than spending by domestic residents. Holiday visits to the United Kingdom continue to rise and were up by 12% in the three months May to July 2013 compared with the same months a year earlier. The rise in earnings from overseas visitors continues and is up 10% in the 12 months to July 2013 compared with the same 12 months to July 2012. United Kingdom resident visits to Europe

were up 3% in 2013, whilst visits to North America were down by 9% and other countries down by 1% (Visit Britain, 2014).

In 2008, Visit Britain estimated that 1.45 million jobs directly related to tourism, accounting for 5% of all people employed in the United Kingdom (Visit Britain, 2014). However, this number is expected to rise, with a forecast that by 2020 the number of jobs that tourism supports will increase from 2.65 million to 2.90 million (Visit Britain, 2014).

British Tourism System

The political structure in England is a multi-party system which is dominated by the Conservative Party and the Labour Party. At present a coalition government between the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrat Party exists. Up until 2010, Britain was governed by the Labour Party, who were in power for 13 years, with the Conservative Party being in power for the 18 years previous to 1997. Until 1969, the involvement of the British government in tourism was minimal, adopting the attitude that the private sector was responsible for the industry and thus could manage tourism as they desired (Elliott, 1997). However, the fragmented nature of the sector, the poor supply of hotels and growing international competition resulted in the Development of Tourism Act 1969, introduced by the Labour Party. This established a Public Sector Management system for tourism and created a statutory framework for tourism administration with the British Tourist Authority responsible for the overall strategy (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). The British Tourist Authority, together with the Scottish, Welsh, and English Tourist boards, were tasked with encouraging the British people and those living overseas to take their holidays in Great Britain. The English, Scottish, and Welsh Tourist Boards were given responsibility for promoting their nations domestically (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013; Visit Britain, 2008). During the late 1970s, the Conservative Party provided grants and loans to deprived areas in the northern

parts of England in order to fund new development and regeneration projects, favouring those projects that focused on tourism.

In the 1980s, Labour authorities tended to be less enthusiastic about tourism development than the Conservative authorities. Many Labour councils considered tourism a low paid industry which should not be encouraged. However, the Conservative authorities who did support tourism development during this time recognised the job potential it offered. Tourism was considered a tool for local economic development and during the 1980s and 1990s there was an increase by Thomas, 1998). In 1992, under the Conservatives led government, the responsibility for tourism fell under the new Department of National Heritage which also became responsible for media and broadcasting, the Royal Parks Agency, sport, arts, galleries and museums, libraries, and heritage (Jeffries, 2001; Richards and Wilkes, 2013). Tourism was allocated approximately 5% of the departmental budget (Jeffries, 2001) and the first national tourism strategy was published in 1997 (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). During this time, the department made continuing efforts to improve the efficiency of the British Tourist Authority and the English Tourist Board, and encouraged collaboration between the public and private sectors by creating a consultative industry forum (Jeffries, 2001).

When New Labour entered government in 1997, the Department of National Heritage was renamed Department for Culture, Media and Sport, placing tourism high on the agenda (Jeffries, 2001). This also resulted in major changes to the national tourist boards, with the British Tourist Authority and the English Tourist Board merging to become Visit Britain on 1st April 2003. Funded by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, this new authority was established to promote Great Britain overseas and to co-ordinate the marketing of England domestically. In order to ensure definition between Visit Britain's international and domestic roles for the promotion of tourism, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport created the England Marketing Advisory Board to facilitate the creation, implementation and

delivery of a marketing strategy for England by Visit Britain (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). While the primary role of Visit Britain is to attract overseas visitors, other aspects of tourism promotion and administration is divided between four national boards which are under appointed chairmen and these include Enjoy England and Scotland Tourist Board. In October 2007, the England Marketing Advisory Board became known as Visit England, with the aim to raise the domestic tourism market throughout the English regions. Visit England is the tourism authority for England and fulfils a strategic leadership role in the management of tourism (Richards and Wilkes, 2013). Regionally the strategic responsibility for tourism was passed from regional tourist boards to the newly created Regional Development Agencies (Richards and Wilkes, 2013).

While at national level tourism is the responsibility of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, regional tourism was the responsibility of the Regional Development Agencies. During this time, Britain was unusual compared with other European states of a similar size, as it had no regional tier of government. However, in April 1999 eight Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) were created in the English regions, which were partnership bodies between the public and private sectors. Certain areas such as economic development were transferred from central government and decentralised to constituent parts of the United Kingdom. These agencies were primarily business-led and their aim was to increase regional competitiveness and performance. The RDAs received funding direct from central government and were responsible for tourism development and developing regional tourism strategies alongside their wider regional economic strategy (Richards and Wilkes, 2013).

In 2010, primarily in response to the need to reduce the national debt, the coalition government announced its intention to replace the Regional Development Agencies with Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs). Consequently, in March 2012 the Regional Development Agencies were abolished and smaller-scale partnerships

between local authorities and businesses were established. This had an impact on regional funding for tourism, particularly in Yorkshire, as Yorkshire Forward was a key funder for Welcome to Yorkshire, the newly formed Yorkshire tourist board.

Regional Tourism Management

In Yorkshire, a region in the north of England, tourism is a vital industry, worth over £7 billion. In 2009, visits to the area totalled 216 million, up 10% on 2008, with day visits making up the largest proportion of the Yorkshire and Humber tourism economy, worth £3.9 billion to the region, with over 194 million day visitors (Welcome to Yorkshire, 2014). In Yorkshire, which includes North Lincolnshire and North East Lincolnshire, stretching from the east coast to the Pennine range, Yorkshire Forward was the designated regional development agency responsible for improving the Yorkshire and Humber economy between 1997 and 2012. Yorkshire Forward was funded by central government and the European Union via the European Regional Development Fund and was responsible for providing regional strategic leadership for the visitor economy, developing the visitor economy strategy for the region and also supporting the region's tourism structures in delivering this strategy (Yorkshire Forward, 2008). The aim of the visitor economy strategy was to increase the value of tourism to the regional economy through quality and sustainable growth based on the assets and opportunities of the region and to use tourism to modernise the regional image of Yorkshire and the Humber. During 2007, Yorkshire Forward spent £60 million on helping people to gain access to jobs, skills and transport, £154 million to new businesses, and £97 million on regenerating cities, towns and rural communities (Yorkshire Forward, 2008).

In addition, and in partnership with Yorkshire Forward, the Yorkshire Tourist Board re-established itself as Welcome to Yorkshire and is responsible for promoting tourism in Yorkshire, improving visitor numbers and spending within the area. It is charged with the task of ensuring the region's tourism industry is sustainable for

future growth. It is also responsible for marketing initiatives, high profile PR campaigns, business support, and the protection and promotion of the official Yorkshire brand (Welcome to Yorkshire, 2014). Welcome to Yorkshire was part funded by Yorkshire Forward, until its abolishment in 2012, and now relies on a number of diverse income streams including membership subscriptions. Complementing Welcome to Yorkshire is a series of tourism partnerships around the region including Yorkshire Moors and Coast, West Yorkshire Tourism Partnership, and Visit Hull and East Yorkshire. These partnerships are responsible for local engagement and the visitor experience bringing together the public and private sectors in their area. Visit York is such a partnership in the City of York.

Appendix I – Seville: Context of Case Study Destination

Seville, the capital city of the Spanish region of Andalucía, is an important provincial city culturally, economically and socially. With a population of almost 700,000 (Instituto Nacional de Estadística, 2014), Seville is the third largest city in Spain, after Madrid and Barcelona. The purpose of this section is to provide appropriate context for Seville with regards to the current research topic. This section will provide a brief historic overview of the city and, in particular, highlight the industrial changes which have occurred. In addition, a summary of the tourism sector in Seville is presented, which includes key statistical information. This is also given within the context of both the regional and national tourism environment.

Brief History of Seville

Located on the plain of the river Guadalquivir, Seville is one of southern Europe's most historic and economically important cities. Originally founded as an Iberian town, it flourished under Roman rule in the second century as an important administrative centre known as Hispalis. In the early 5th century, the Silingi Vandals, a Germanic tribe, made Seville the seat of their kingdom. However, in AD 712 the city was conquered by the Muslims and renamed Isbiliya. During this period, which extended over five centuries, the city became an important cultural and commercial centre, with great prosperity and ambitious building programs. Notable building construction during this period included the Giralda, Alcazar, and Torre del Oro. In 1248, King Fernando III secured the surrender of the city from Muslim rule and subsequently the Moorish and Jewish communities were expelled from the city. It was at this time that many mosques were converted into Catholic churches or demolished and the local economy temporarily fell into decline. King Fernando III was succeeded by his son Alfonso X and from whom the city motto was later adopted, *NO & DO (Seville has not left me)*. During the period after the conquest of the city, a large Jewish population re-settled in Seville. Although they were not well treated, the Barrio of Santa Cruz became the Jewish enclave in the city.

The Spanish discovery of the Americas during the 16th century brought new prosperity to the city. Seville became the centre for the exploration and exploitation of America through the Casa de Contratación (*House of Trade*), which was established in 1503 to regulate commerce between Spain and the New World. Seville became the economic center of the Spanish Empire as its port monopolised on the trans-oceanic trade. The city was the site of the chief mint for gold and silver from the Americas and many Spanish emigrants sailed from Seville to the New World. Seville was also the main port of trade with England, Italy, and France. Consequently, for two centuries Seville held a dominant position in Spain's New World commerce and became the richest and most populous city in Spain, with approximately 150,000 inhabitants in 1588. During this period many mansions were built, including the Hospital of the Five Wounds (present site of the Andalusian Parliament, considered of cultural interest) and the construction of the Cathedral was completed. Seville was also the birthplace of important painters including Murillo, Velázquez, and Zurbarán. However, the economic crisis of the 17th century and the navigation ability of the Guadalquivir River becoming increasingly difficult, resulted in the Casa de Contratación (*House of Trade*) transferred to Cadiz and consequently, trade with America was diverted which resulting in the decline of the Seville economy.

During the 17th century Seville became characterised by the construction of a large number of convents and subsequently became known as the 'Convent City', with a total of 73 monasteries built during this period. In 1847, the April Fair, an annual gala following Easter, was established. In the 18th century, the Tobacco Factory opened in the centre of Seville and the Plaza de Toros de la Real Maestranza was built. Spain's Bourbon rulers managed to stimulate a limited economic revival in the city, but in the 19th century the French invasion, revolutions, and civil war halted such development. By this time, however, the railways had arrived in Seville and by the late 19th century rapid industrialisation began to revitalize the city.

The twentieth century began with the preparation for the 1929 Universal Exhibition. This resulted in significant investment in the city infrastructure, including the construction of the Plaza de Espana, the Maria Luisa Park, the Royal pavilion, currently used as offices of the City Council, enlargement of the port, development of a tram network, construction of an airport, and an improved communications network. Consequently, the city was revived as an industrial and commercial centre. Extensive damage to Seville during the Spanish Civil War, between 1936 and 1939, was limited as the city was held by the Nationalists throughout the conflict. The tobacco factory continued to be of great importance for the city's economy and in the 1950s the factory moved to modern premises. The original factory building is now home to the University of Seville.

During the 1980s, Seville had a declining economy, leading to little investment in the city. To regenerate and increase economic investment, the city government adopted an urban plan. The main priority was people, common spaces and social unity, creating neighbourhoods in which communities could thrive, and public transport systems which connected different areas of the city together effectively and efficiently. The City Government also strengthened public services to include health centres, police stations and community centres. In addition, urban environment was a key priority with the creation of green spaces for local communities and investment in different industries such as food and agriculture, the car industry, and environmental technology to help increase employment opportunities and economic investment. The Scientific and Technological Park was significant for increasing industrial investment in the city.

In 1992, the Universal Exposition World Fair opened in Seville, resulting in the construction of new monuments and the modernisation of the city. Noticeably this included the development of new roads, a train station which could serve the high-speed train connecting Seville to Madrid in less than three hours, new bridges were also constructed, as well as a theatre, an auditorium, and the Congress Palace.

Additionally, the river Guadalquivir, which had been diverted around the city for centuries, was brought back into its original riverbed. More recently in 2003, the city centre was closed to traffic and a number of notable buildings were restored. Also, a new subway connecting the city centre to the south of the city was built, with plans for future development of the subway currently in discussion (Diez, 2011).

Today, Seville is a leading city providing principle services for business in the south of Spain. The city has two universities, the University of Seville founded in 1551 and located in the historical centre of the city, and Univesidad Pablo de Olavide founded in 1997 and located on the outskirts of the city. Combined, both universities comprise of over 74,000 students. Seville is the political, economic and cultural capital of the autonomous region of Andalucía and has a historic colourful history which is reflected in the arts, architecture and other cultural aspects in the city. Seville has invested considerable funds in urban regeneration to attract inward investment to the area and create a city in which communities can thrive. Seville is described as 'the city of people', with community involvement in tourism development considered important. As an important urban tourist destination, tourism is a major source of wealth and employment, contributing 11% of the gross domestic product (GDP) to the city (Buitrago and Peral, 2005; Diez, 2011).

Tourism in Seville

The popularity of Seville as a tourist destination is afforded to its heritage and cultural attributes. In their study of cultural tourism in Seville, Gómez and Rubio (1999) conveyed that the city has spectacular attraction and cultural qualities that can be utilized as a resource in maximising the economic potential of cultural tourism. With approximately 300 monuments described as being of cultural interest, a variety of festivals and artistic legacy, Seville is an attractive cultural destination. Seville attracts over 6 million visitors a year and the city competes in both domestic and international markets (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). There are a

higher proportion of Spanish tourists from both local regions and Catalans, however, recently there has been an increase in visitors from America, Central Europe, and Japan. Visits to Seville are seasonal, often due to the weather conditions, however, the average length of stay in the city is between 2 to 3 days, with popular activities including walking and getting to know the city, visiting monuments and museums, and festivals and events (Buitrago and Peral, 2005; Diez, 2011). The primary motivation of tourist visits to Seville includes holidays, leisure and cultural activities. However, in recent years the development of business, exhibition and convention tourism has increased, with many visits to the city being conference and work related. The average expenditure per person in November 2007 was 5.88 Euros (Buitrago and Peral, 2005). Tourist visits to Seville are mostly self-organised trips or visits, with a number of visits organised by travel agencies. In 2013, 60% of visits were first time, while just over 20% of visitors had returned for a second or third time (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). Just over 30% of tourists arrived by air, whilst 25% of tourists arrived by train, and 25% used their own vehicle to travel to the city. In 2013, the hotel occupancy rate was 46%. A comparison of the average length of stay in Seville between 2009 and 2013 is shown in Table I.1.

Table I.1 Comparison of Average Length of Stay 2009 and 2013

Year	Average length of stay (days)
2009	3
2010	3.4
2011	3.7
2012	3.4
2013	3.9

(Source: Turismo de Sevilla, 2014)

The main historical attractions of Seville include the Cathedral, the Alcázar, the Archivo General de Indias which was declared a World Heritage Site in 1987, and the Museum of Fine Arts. The Seville Cathedral is the largest Gothic cathedral in the world, attracting just over 1.3 million visitors in 2013 (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). Its construction began in 1433 on the site of the former Great Mosque of Seville. The Giralda bell tower, measuring 104 meters high, was built in the twelfth century as a minaret of the defunct mosque in the style of the minaret of the Koutoubia mosque in Marrakesh, Morocco (Nieto et al., 1989). The Alcázar of Seville is the oldest royal palace in Europe. Built in 713 by the Arabs, it became the home of King Ferdinand III and successive monarchs thereafter after the conquest of Seville in 1248 (Palop, 2006). In 2013 it received just over 1.2 million visits (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). The Museum of Fine Arts was founded as a 'museum of paintings' by Royal Decree of 16th September 1835, and opened in 1845, with works from convents and monasteries disentailed by the Liberal government of Mendizabal. It is located in the plaza of the same name, occupying the former Convent of the Merced Calzada founded on land donated by Fernando III. It is considered the second most important gallery in Spain, only behind the Prado Museum and is home to the work of Seville Baroque painters including Zurbarán, Murillo, and Valdés Leal. Visits to these main attractions between 2009 and 2013 are shown in the table below:

Table I.2 Comparison of Visitor Numbers to Main Historical Attractions in Seville

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Cathedral	1,212.380	1,305.000	1,446.897	1,325.749	1,301.944
Real Alcazar	1,080.302	1,176.792	1,273.057	1,195.4763	1,218.639
Museum of Fine Art	292.992	290.742	237.140	188.823	212.536

(Source: Turismo de Sevilla, 2014)

Seville is particularly famous for its religious festivals, with two of the most important being Holy Week and the April Fair. During Holy Week, celebrated either

at the end of March or the beginning of April coinciding with the full moon, 69 guilds parade through the city. April Fair (Feria de Sevilla) originated in 1846, with the holding of an annual cattle fair in the city. It is traditionally celebrated in the month of April with the week beginning with the lighting of streetlights known as 'Alumbrao', and concludes on Sunday with a fireworks display.

In addition, many festivals including music and theatre events take place across the city throughout the year such as the Ancient Music Festival, Festival of New Spanish Music, Opera, and the International Festival of Movie Soundtracks. There are a variety of locations within the city which are enjoyed by visitors including the river locations, shopping districts, the Old Town, and the Jewish Quarter. The city offers a wide selection of night entertainment, with the area surrounding the cathedral containing a large number of bars (Diez, 2011). A summary of the key attractions in Seville are listed below:

- Santa Cruz Quarter – the old medieval Jewish quarter in the historic centre of Seville, with narrow, winding streets, and typical Seville style houses that have stately courtyards and balconies with wrought iron railings, decorated with flowers;
- The Collegiate Church of the Divine Savior – a Roman Catholic temple located in the Plaza del Salvador. It is the largest church in the city after the Cathedral;
- Flamenco Dance Museum – flamenco dancing is one of the best known symbols of Spanish culture. Seville is considered the birthplace of flamenco and the Flamenco Dance Museum is located in an eighteenth century building next to the Cathedral and the Alcazar;
- The Venerable Priest – a seventeenth century Baroque building currently the home of Velázquez Center, dedicated to the famous painter Diego Velázquez. It is located in the square that bears his name, Plaza de los Venerables, in the center of the Santa Cruz Quarter and close to the Murillo Gardens, the Cathedral, and the Alcazar;

- The Golden Tower – a dodecagonal military watch tower built by the Almohad Arab dynasty in order to control access to Seville on the river Guadalquivir. Constructed in the first third of the thirteenth century, the tower served as a prison during the Middle Ages. Its name comes from the golden glow cast by the river due to its construction materials, a mixture of mortar, lime and pressed straw;
- The Silver Tower – an octagonal tower, close to the Golden Tower and is believed to be built in the same period.

Other attractions in the city include:

- The Antiquarian;
- Town Hall of Seville;
- Basilica of the Macarena;
- Basilica del Gran Poder;
- Water Alley in Santa Cruz Quarter;
- Chapel of the Star;
- Pilate House;
- Salinas House;
- Castle of St. George;
- Museum of Ceramics in Triana;
- Mudejar Center;
- Marquis Algaba Palace;
- Convent of Santa Clara;
- Convent of St. Agnes;
- Sewing Queen;
- Hospital of the Five Wounds (Parliament of Andalucía);
- Hotel Alfonso XIII;
- Church of Madalena;
- Church of omnium sanctorum;
- Church of San Esteban;

- Church of the Divine Savior;
- Church of the Valley;
- Gardens of Murillo;
- Mushrooms (Metropol Parasol);
- Carthusian Monastery;
- Palace of Sant Telmo;
- Archbishop's Palace;
- Maria Luisa Park;
- Square America;
- Square Doña Elvira;
- Square Salvador;
- Square Spain;
- Royal Tobacco Factory (currently home to the University of Seville);
- Royal Shipyards.

The airport is an important transport link for Seville as the majority of visitors to the city are from overseas and travel by air (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). The city has good road and rail links between other major tourist destinations. Seville has developed a Transport Consortium which aims to provide efficient transport links in and around the city and the surrounding area. The formation of the Consortium has meant that the city has an efficient transport system which effectively allows visitors to move around the city and thus enhancing the visitor experience.

Local Government of Seville

The composition of the City Council of Seville since 2003 is shown in Table I.3.

Table I.3 Composition of Seville City Council

Political Party	2011	2007	2003
PSOE (Socialist Party)	11	15	14
PP (People's Party)	20	15	12
IULVCA (Communists and environmentalists)	2	3	3
PA (Andalucían Party)	0	0	4
Total number of Councillors	33	33	33

(Source: Seville City Council, 2014)

The elected mayor in 2003 and 2007 was a member of the Socialist Party. In 2011, the elected mayor was a member of the Popular-People Party. The composition of the Andalucían Regional Government between 2004 and 2012 is given in Table I.4.

Table I.4 Composition of the Andalucían Regional Government

Political Party	2012	2008	2004
PSOE (Socialist Party)	47	56	61
PP (People's Party)	50	47	37
IULVCA (Communists and environmentalists)	12	6	6
PA (Andalucían Party)	0	0	5
Total number of Councillors	109	109	109

(Source: Seville City Council, 2014)

The president of the Andalucían government is a member of the Socialist Party, supported only by his party or his party and the Communist Party. Relationships between the city and regional government have generally been good, particularly when the Socialist Party held a majority in Seville. However, when the Popular Party achieved a majority in Seville, relationships with the Andalucían government became strained, and consequently a number of Seville government proposals have been blocked amid the political nature in the region.

Tourism and Spain

Located in the south-east of Europe, Spain has a population of 46 million and is geographically diverse, from the oceanic climate in the North West, to the subtropical climate of the Canary Islands (Baidal, 2013). During the post-war period, Spain became a popular tourist destination, especially during the summer for tourists from the United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The development of tourism in the country, described as the Spanish tourism miracle, is intimately connected with the rise of mass tourism after the Second World War. In 1959, Spain welcomed 4.1 million international arrivals (Baidal, 2004), however, by 2013 this had increased to almost 100 million international visitors. The mild climate and

the extensive beaches of the Mediterranean are noted as reasons for the country's popularity with Northern European tourists, resulting in Spain becoming the second most visited country in the world, after France, with 40% of the market share (Baidal, 2013). In addition, political stability and improved transport infrastructure have contributed to Spain's success as a major tourist destination (Baidal, 2004). Diversification of the tourism offer to rural, urban and cultural tourism has facilitated the territorial spread of tourism. In June 2013 alone, Spain received 6.3 million visitors. In 2011, 83.5% of tourists who visited Spain were repeat visitors, while Spain's tourism spending annually was over 59 million Euros (Ministerio de Industria, Energía y Turismo, 2012).

The package holiday, which capitalised on the mass movement of people, led to a concentration of activity in a small number of core regions, mainly the coastal areas of Spain where tourism is an essential economic activity, with much of the country remaining relatively untouched by tourism development (Simpson, 2001). However, during the 1990s, as a result of increased international competition the central Spanish government, along with its regional counterparts, recognised the need to refresh Spain's tourism product. The diversification of tourism which included the recognition of the cultural aspects of Spain resulted in an increase in the demand for urban tourism (Baidal, 2013). Subsequently, the introduction of tourism within these urban areas offered a potential for economic survival and facilitated the expansion of the industry throughout the country (Simpson, 2001).

The new organisation of the Spanish government in 1978 saw the transfer of tourism powers to autonomous regions. This decentralisation introduced a new tier of involvement and decision making, leading to progressive regional tourism policies (Baidal, 2004). Central government continues to devolve powers to the regional governments, which might eventually have full responsibility for health care and education, as well as other social programs. Strategic planning moved from the business context to regional and urban planning in the 1980s, having a

strong influence on economic restructuring schemes for declining areas and sectors. This approach has been incorporated in to tourism planning and focuses on the search for competitiveness of firms and destinations in a changing and complex environment. In addition, the inclusion of the tourism industry within the regional development strategy saw an improvement in tourism policy (Baidal, 2004).

Tourism development in Spain has historically focused on resource exploitation, particularly in certain coastal areas. However, in order to facilitate a sustainable industry it is increasingly recognised that tourism development needs to be diverse (Ministerio de Industria, Energía y Turismo, 2012). Spain has established itself as a world leader in offering the sun and sand form of holiday. However, the country also boasts great diversity and variety in cultural and natural tourism, with good accessibility to most destinations. Spain has a good climate and is considered a safe country to visit (Ministerio de Industria, Energía y Turismo, 2012).

Tourism demand has continually grown in Spain since the 1960s. However, the global recession provoked a negative variation rate of international arrivals, with a gradual decrease in the contribution of tourism to GDP evident, from 11.6% in 2000 to 10.2% in 2010 (Baidal, 2013). Consequently, the National Tourism Plan for 2012-2015 outlines three key objectives for the growth of the Spanish tourism sector. Firstly, for Spain to become a leading international tourist destination, secondly for the industry to be sustainable economically, socially and environmentally, and thirdly to ensure the sector is economically profitable. In order to achieve this it is recognised that collaboration between the public, private and other social partners is crucial, nationally, regionally and locally (Ministerio de Industria, Energía y Turismo, 2012).

Spanish Tourism System

Central government responsibility for tourism rests with the Ministry of Industry, Energy and Tourism and, through the State Secretary for Tourism, is responsible for defining and implementing tourism strategy and policy. The Instituto de Turismo de España (The Institute of Tourism in Spain - Turespaña) is responsible for promoting Spain abroad as a tourist destination and is concerned with the marketing of Spain through annual marketing plans (Baidal, 2013). The organisation works closely with the Tourist Offices of Spain, which are part of Spain's Embassies and Consulates. The Institute employs over 500 staff, working in a variety of different areas including the Tourist Offices of Spain which are located abroad and central administration. In addition, the Institute of Tourism in Spain works in cooperation with the regional and local government and the private sector. The functions of the organisation also include administrative coordination, quality enhancement and sustainability. In 2007, the total budget for the Institute was 148 million Euros, of which 76.8 million Euros was used for direct investment in campaigns and activities in promoting Spain as a tourist destination abroad (Baidal, 2013). In line with the National Tourism Plan for 2012 – 2015, through the Institute of Tourism in Spain, the national government has launched a domestic tourism campaign. With the slogan, 'Spain, destiny in you', the aim is to stimulate domestic tourism demand throughout the country.

Also, operating at a national level is the Tourism Studies Institute which collates official tourism statistics, and Segittur a relatively new organisation created for innovation and technologies management in tourism.

Regional Tourism Management

Andalucía is Spain's second largest of its 17 autonomous regions. It is the most southerly of Spain's semi-autonomous regions with a population of 7 million, approximately 20% of Spain's national total. Covering an area of 87,300 km sq.,

Andalucía is made up of eight provinces, Cadiz, Cordoba, Jaen, Huelva, Almeria, Malaga, Granada, and Seville. Each of these has a character and culture of its own but what they all have in common is an interesting history which is reflected in the arts, architecture and other cultural aspects of the region. Andalucía was once Spain's poorest region, however, the area is now one of the most popular tourist destinations in Europe, attributed to its sandy beaches, beautiful countryside, and spectacular monuments and buildings, including the Alhambra in Granada. In Andalucía, the development of tourism is a major priority for the regional government. The Andalucía government considers tourism as a method to reactivate the economy, contributing to the regeneration and economic growth of the area, placing tourism development high on the political agenda (Ballesteros and Ramirez, 2006). The Andalucía government has become an active hotel promoter in rural areas in order to attract a different tourism segment to the region (Barke, 2004).

Andalucía has been one of the preferred destinations for international tourists because of its sun and beach offering. However, more recently the region has been recognised for its cultural attributes, including many cultural institutions such as the Museum of Fine Arts, the Andalucían Centre of Contemporary Art, the Theatre of the Maestranza in Seville, the Andalucían Library, the Andalucían Legacy Foundation in Granada, the Andalucían Film House in Cordoba, the Andalucían Centre of Flamenco in Jerez de la Frontera, the Andalucía Centre for Underwater Archaeology in Cadiz, the Andalucía Centre of Photography in Almeria, the Picasso Museum, and the Andalucían Centre of Arts in Malaga. Adventure tourism and sport tourism is also popular in the region, with golf, water sport, horse riding, and finishing activities on offer. In 2012, over 7 million visits were made to the region (Turismo de Sevilla, 2014). The average length of stay in the region was 9.3 days. Andalucía has been a popular costal tourist destination, with many tourists visiting costal resorts such as Malaga. However, more recently historic destinations, such as Seville, have started to grow and develop into popular cultural tourist destinations (Buitrago and Peral, 2005).

In Andalucía, tourism is managed through the regional government, the Andalucía Autonomous Regional Government, within the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Sport. The Director General is in charge of tourism quality, innovation, and enhancement of destinations and resources. In addition, direct responsibility of the marketing and promotion of tourism for Andalucía is with Turismo Andaluz, the Andalucía Tourist Board. The Andalucía Tourist Board works directly within the industry promoting tourism within the region. Additionally, the board conducts market research, provides grants and subsidies for tourism development, and professional training. The Andalucía Government developed a strategy, Plan for Tourism Quality Andalucía 2006-2008, which aimed to define a model of sustainable tourism development based on the quality of products and tourism services in Spain. The strategy aimed to improve the quality of tourism services facilitating increase visitor satisfaction.