

**LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
CITIES INSTITUTE**

**SUSTAINABLE TOURISM PLANNING
BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES:
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE LONDON BOROUGHES**

By CRISTINA MAXIM

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ABSTRACT

Sustainable development has become the main objective of the policy agenda for many governments and a key principle that underpins the planning process in the UK. Likewise, the concept of sustainable tourism has been widely embraced by managers and planners of tourist destinations, as it provides a platform for different stakeholders in the tourism industry to interact and discuss the impacts of their activities. Yet, despite the attention this concept has received, there still seem to be many gaps in the understanding of sustainable tourism development, especially when it comes to its implementation. This process is considered particularly difficult due to the conflicting interests that exist between the main stakeholders involved in tourism. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that local authorities can bring together and facilitate the cooperation between all these stakeholders, and therefore can play an essential role in the sustainable development of tourism in a destination.

However, when it comes to large cities, even though they are important tourist destinations and attract many visitors, the concept of sustainable tourism in urban environments has received little attention from researchers and policy makers. Therefore, this thesis aims to address in part the current gaps in tourism research by offering an insight into sustainable tourism planning in urban areas. Using a case study approach, it seeks to develop the current knowledge and understanding of whether local authorities in London have embraced and implemented strategies and measures to promote sustainable development of tourism. To achieve this, the research uses a comparative framework to examine how the London boroughs have integrated policies for sustainable tourism development into their main planning documents. This analysis is developed further through a discussion of the findings of an online survey conducted with representatives of the local authorities in London, and the results of semi-structured interviews with representatives of public and private organisations involved in tourism development in the capital.

The research found that even though most policy makers consider sustainable tourism important and recognise its benefits, only a small number of London boroughs promote its principles in their planning policy documents for tourism, and even fewer have put in place initiatives to implement strategies for sustainable tourism development. To help understand why this is the case, the study identifies drivers of success and constraints perceived by both, the survey participants and interview respondents, which influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at the local level. Considering these factors may help local authorities design and enact measures for sustainable tourism development in a destination.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BID	Business Improvement District
CS	Core Strategy
DCMS	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
DPD	Development Plan Document
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross domestic product
GLA	Greater London Authority
ICLEI	International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
IR	Interview respondent
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
LATI	Local Area Tourism Impact
LDA	London Development Agency
LDF	Local Development Framework
LEP	Local Enterprise Partnership
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPG	Planning Policy Guidance
PPS	Planning Policy Statement
RQ	Research question
SD	Sustainable development
SP	Survey participant
ST	Sustainable tourism
TfL	Transport for London
UDP	Unitary Development Plan
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the reader to the topic of this research and to offer an overview of the thesis. First of all, it discusses the rationale for this study by highlighting the importance of the research and the relevance of the approach adopted. It then presents the aim of the study, as well as the research questions formulated in order to address it. Finally, it briefly describes the content of the following chapters and presents a diagram of the thesis' structure to guide the reader through the study.

1.2 Rationale

Tourism is one of the fastest growing industries and without suitable measures promoted by both the public and the private sector, its continuous expansion is likely to put more pressure on the environment (Inskeep, 1987; UNWTO, 2007; Weaver & Lawton, 2010). In the absence of proper planning, local communities may become hostile towards tourism development, there could be a decrease in visitor satisfaction, and the environment may be damaged, all these factors contributing to the deterioration of a destination over the years (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Harrill, 2004). But if well-planned and managed, tourism could contribute to the conservation and regeneration of an area, to the economic development and to a better quality of life for both the host community and the visitors (Archer et al., 2005; Connell et al., 2009). Therefore, many researchers argue that planning is fundamental in order to achieve sustainable development of tourism in a destination (Testoni, 2001; Hall, 2008).

Sustainable tourism (ST) is a relatively new concept that has started to be researched by academics only two decades ago (Buckley, 2012). This is also highlighted by Weaver (2011, p.5), who notes that 'since the mid-1990s, discourses about the tourism sector have become increasingly dominated, at least rhetorically, by the ideas and ideals of sustainability.' At present however, sustainable tourism is considered to be one of the key areas of study within tourism (Connell & Page, 2008), and as a result there is extensive literature dedicated to the subject both in the academic and the public arenas. The concept is generally perceived as a 'positive approach' to tourism development that intends 'to reduce the tensions and friction created by the complex

interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holidaymakers' (Bramwell & Lane, 1993, p.2). Moreover, this concept has provided a platform for different stakeholders in the tourism industry to interact and discuss the environmental impacts of their activities (Saarinen, 2006). However, despite the attention received by ST, Liburd and Edwards (2010, p.230) point out that there are 'still many gaps in our understanding of the sustainable development of tourism', in particular when it comes to its implementation. This is also recognised by Dodds & Butler (2009; 2010), who mention that there are only a few studies on how and with what results sustainable tourism has actually been implemented in practice by local authorities (most of these studies are prescriptive, rather than being descriptive and trying to understand what happened and why). The implementation of ST is considered more complex than in the case of other industries due to the conflicting interests that exist between the main stakeholders involved in tourism, i.e. residents, tourists/visitors, the tourism industry and the public sector (Dwyer & Edwards, 2010). In addition, there are many economic, social and environmental conflicts that exist at local level, for example in regard to land use or resource allocation, and which planners for tourism try to resolve (Davoudi & Layard, 2001). Yet, striking a balance between all these factors can be a challenging task.

Furthermore, the concept of sustainability has received little attention in urban tourism research, in comparison to other forms of tourism (Law, 2002; UNWTO, 2004; Timur & Getz, 2008). Urban tourism is considered 'one of the earliest forms of tourism' (European Communities, 2000, p.21) which re-emerged in the 1980s due to a shift in tourist interest towards heritage and culture, and also as a means to regenerate historic city centres. Despite this, urban tourism is a relatively new area of research (Hinch, 1998) which has until recently been largely neglected by academics studying tourism (Ashworth, 1989; Law, 2002; Page & Hall, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Moreover, in the particular case of capital cities, Maitland (2009) points out that not much has been written so far about tourism development. This lack of research is due to the complex nature of the phenomenon of urban tourism (Bull & Church, 2001; Pearce, 2011) which is more difficult to study than other forms of tourism such as rural or seaside tourism. Among the factors identified to contribute to the difficulty in approaching this topic are the 'multifunctional nature of cities' combined with 'the multidimensional character of urban tourism' (Pearce, 2011, p.59) which also make it difficult to plan and manage this phenomenon. Moreover, although cities are important tourist destinations, the field of planning for urban tourism has received much less attention than for other forms of tourism. As a result, there has been very little literature written on this topic (Inskeep, 1991; Law, 1992; Evans, 2000).

The present research uses London as a case study to explore the complex realities of sustainable tourism planning and management in urban areas, and thus offers a new insight into these processes. Considering the characteristics and dynamics of this location would help better understand the factors that influence the implementation of sustainable tourism at local level. London is one of the largest cities in Europe attracting vast numbers of visitors, but it has been surprisingly neglected as a research subject with respect to sustainable tourism. London is also a world tourism city and an important gateway for the UK, with three out of four visitors to the country arriving through one of its airports. Moreover, almost half of the overseas visitors coming to Britain stay in London during their visit and make over half of their spending in the capital (LDA, 2009b, p.8). The city accommodates a fifth of the total national stock of hotel bedrooms and it plays multiple functions such as a centre of trade, a global financial centre, the home of national cultural institutions, and the seat of central government (Maitland & Newman, 2009b, p.66; Bull & Church, 1996), all of which contribute to the large number of tourists it attracts every year. However, despite the important role tourism plays in the economy of the city, and even though London has been a world tourist destination for many decades, there has been only limited research on the development of tourism in the capital, and especially on the planning and management of the sector.

Another aspect considered in this thesis is the role played by the government and the local authorities in the planning and management of tourism in a destination. According to a number of researchers, the demand for government intervention and tourism planning by local authorities is a consequence of the impacts that accompany the development of tourism (such as pollution, damage to the landscape, littering and traffic congestion), and which are mainly visible at the local level (Hall, 2008; Page, 2009). This view is also maintained by Kerr (2003) and Devine & Devine (2011), who underline that tourism development cannot be left only to the market forces as its economic, social and environmental impacts directly affect local communities. It is also considered that the local and central government have a set of advantages in managing the complex phenomenon of tourism due to their competences on a number of related policy areas which influence its development, such as infrastructure, spatial planning and transport (Dredge, 2007; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Therefore, Page and Dowling (2002) suggest that governments should assume a leading role in setting out tourism policies and plans to guide this activity. In the same time, Lane (2009) maintains that governments should also take the lead and bring together all tourism stakeholders. This approach would help identify viable solutions for sustainable tourism development which would be holistic and, more importantly, implementable. Moreover,

some academics consider that governments have the authority and power to maintain political stability, to provide legal and financial frameworks, security and social infrastructure, all of which are necessary for sustainable tourism development. More recently, other researchers have highlighted the shift in tourism policy from government to governance, with the latter considered 'a key requirement for implementing sustainable tourism' as 'it can enhance democratic processes, provide direction and offer the means to make practical progress' (Bramwell & Lane, 2011, p.411). All these aspects and their implications for tourism development in a destination will be discussed further in the next chapters.

1.3 Aim of the thesis

The present study seeks to address part of the current gaps in tourism research in terms of our limited understanding of the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policy in urban areas. London is used as an exploratory case study which contributes to the understanding of how public policies and strategies influence sustainable tourism development at the local level. Thus, the aim of the research is to develop the current knowledge and understanding of whether local authorities in London have embraced and implemented strategies and measures to promote sustainable development of tourism.

In addressing this issue, the present study seeks to find answers to the following research questions:

- RQ1. How the central government and other public authorities contribute to the sustainable development of tourism?
- RQ2. How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?
- RQ3. What are the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level?
- RQ4. What constraints and limitations affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level?

Therefore, the present research adopts a question-based approach, which is more common in social sciences (Veal, 2011), as opposed to a hypothesis-based approach that is more often used in natural sciences. The question-based approach is more appropriate for descriptive research, and as such it was deemed suitable when conducting the exploratory case study. This type of case study is favoured when little is

known about a phenomenon, and it would help identify the factors which influence sustainable tourism planning in London. The present work is built on the existing knowledge on public policies for the sustainable development of tourism and it focuses on the role of local authorities in developing and implementing such policies in urban areas. As a result, it contributes to filling the gap in the study of urban tourism by developing the knowledge and understanding of the public policies promoted by local authorities for sustainable tourism in cities.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is formed of eight chapters, comprising the literature review, methodology, findings and conclusions. Chapter 2 discusses the relationship between the concept of sustainable development and that of sustainable tourism, and reviews the conceptual ideas which underpin these two terms in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of issues that sustainable tourism involves. It also examines the objectives and principles behind sustainable tourism as they contribute to the implementation of the concept in practice.

Chapter 3 gives the context for the present study by highlighting the importance of urban areas as tourist destinations and the significance of the planning process for the sustainable development of tourism. The first part of the chapter analyses the phenomenon of urban tourism and explores the characteristics and advantages of world tourism cities such as London, which are recognized as important tourist destinations. In addition, it looks at the topic of sustainability in urban areas, with an emphasis on the need to adjust the principles of sustainability to the characteristics of each city. The second part of this chapter considers the importance and benefits of tourism planning, and highlights the fundamental contribution of this process to the sustainable development of tourism. Finally, the chapter examines the major role that governments and local authorities play in the planning and management of tourism, this aspect being the focus of the present research.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology developed for the analysis of sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities, using London as a case study. Therefore, it presents the methods adopted in this research and the rationale for their use. It also looks at the benefits of using the technique of triangulation, which comes as an advantage of using multiple methods. It then presents the methods employed in the research in terms of design, sample techniques, data collection and analysis.

Chapter 5 introduces London, which was chosen as the exploratory case study for this research project because it can significantly contribute to understanding how local authorities and central government can contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in a destination. It also gives an overview of the changes that have occurred during this research in the policy documents which influence the planning and management of tourism in London, thus highlighting the particularities of tourism development in the capital. The documents reviewed in this study are the new planning policy framework, the national planning policy guidance for tourism, the new tourism strategy for Britain and the new London Plan. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the main priorities of the latest London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13.

Chapters 6 and 7 present and discuss the results of this research, based on secondary as well as primary data analysis. Thus, Chapter 6 presents the findings of a comparative analysis on the planning policies towards tourism promoted by the London boroughs (secondary data analysis). First, it looks at the main planning documents produced by the local authorities in the capital and discusses the way they integrate tourism into the local development policies for their area. It then moves on to the comparative analysis of the planning policy documents for years 2000 and 2012, and thus it shows the direction of tourism policy in London over the past twelve years. After discussing where tourism sits among the main priorities of the London boroughs, the chapter continues with an analysis of the relevant tourism policy documents adopted by the local authorities in the capital and examines whether they incorporate sustainable tourism principles.

Chapter 7 expands this analysis by discussing the findings of a web questionnaire survey applied to representatives of the London boroughs. Its objective was to gather additional information on the planning and management of tourism at borough level and to identify any initiatives promoted by local authorities in London towards sustainable tourism. Moreover, it included questions that would help understand how respondents define sustainable tourism and how important they consider sustainable tourism principles. The survey also helped identify drivers of success, as well as limitations perceived by participants to have an influence on the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at a local level. Furthermore, to gather a more in-depth insight on planning towards sustainable tourism in London, the chapter discusses the results of semi-structured interviews conducted with a number of representatives of public and private organisations that are involved in tourism development in the capital. These interviews provided additional qualitative data that helped understand how different stakeholder organisations view sustainable tourism

development in London, what initiatives they promote towards ST development in the capital, as well as the drivers of success and the constraints and limitations they see in implementing ST policies at the local level.

Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the contribution of the current research to the body of knowledge on sustainable tourism planning in urban areas, notes the implications of this study for policy makers, and indicates potential paths for future research.

To offer an overview, Figure 1.1 below presents the structure of this thesis.

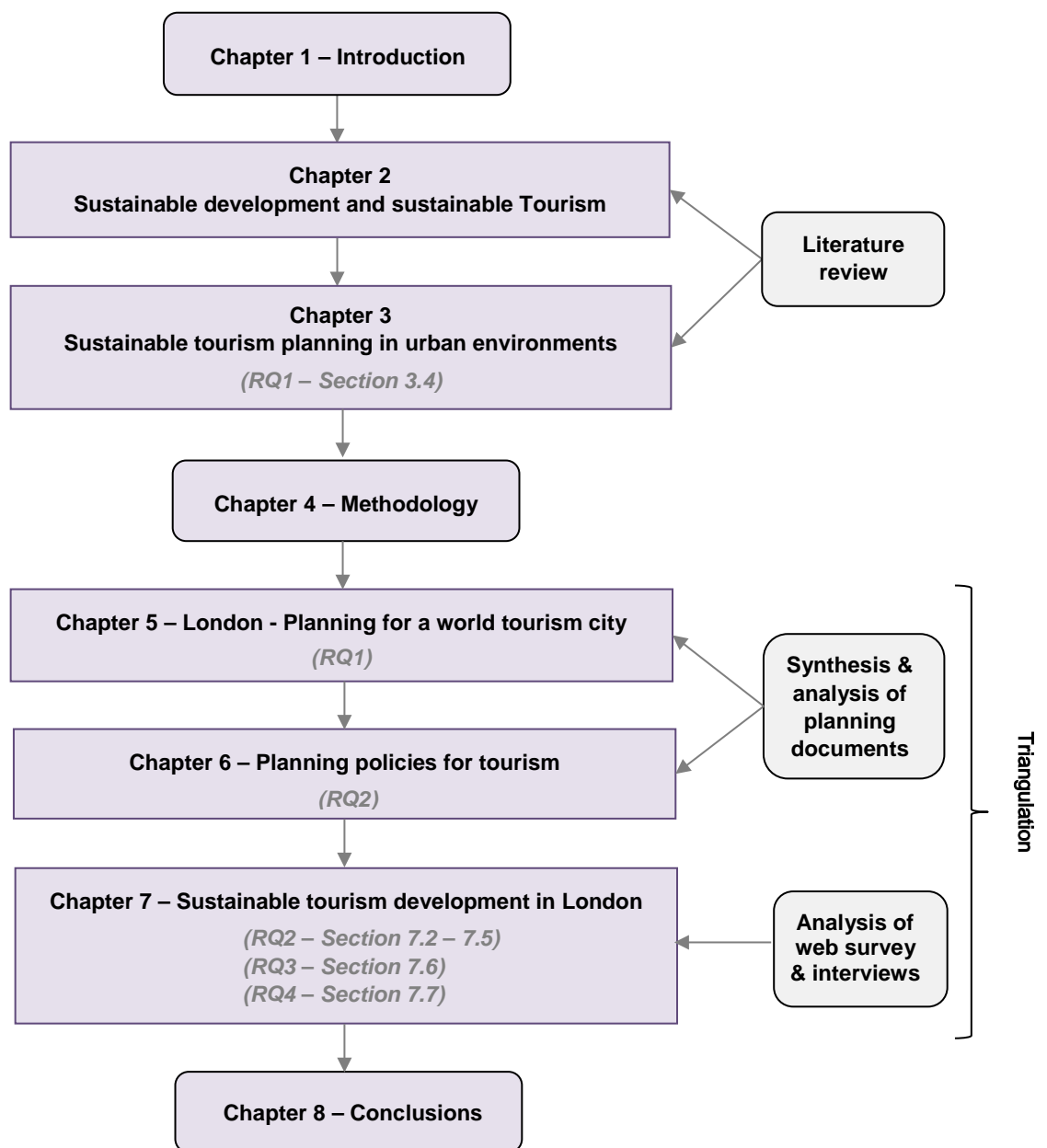


Figure 1.1 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 Sustainable development and sustainable tourism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between the concept of sustainable development (SD) and that of sustainable tourism (ST). The conceptual ideas which underpin these two terms and the debates around them are reviewed in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of issues that sustainable tourism involves.

The chapter begins with a short introduction on the impacts of tourism and their influences, which can be both positive and negative. It then focuses on the growth of tourism in cities, and in particular on the impacts associated with this growth. The origins and evolution of sustainable development are examined afterwards, with an emphasis on the 1987 Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). This publication is considered to be an important landmark in the evolution of the concept.

The discussion continues with a review of various interpretations, definitions, meanings and criticisms of sustainable tourism, with emphasis on the dynamic process nature of this concept towards achieving a balance between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability. In addition, the objectives and principles behind sustainable tourism are examined as they contribute to the implementation of the concept in practice.

2.2 Tourism and its impacts – an overview

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council website (WTTC, 2013), travel and tourism is 'one of the world's largest industries, supporting 255 million jobs and generating 9 per cent of world GDP'. Although the WTTC figures may be overstated, it is still generally accepted that tourism is one of the most important and fastest growing industries (Neto, 2003; Edgell et al., 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Page & Connell, 2009) and is comparable to agriculture and mining in terms of 'global order of magnitude' (Weaver & Lawton, 2010, p.3). Moreover, global tourism is proving resilient in the face of the financial and economic crisis as even though it saw a downturn in 2008 - 2009, by 2011 the majority of destinations exceeded pre-crisis levels of

international tourist arrivals, with an increase of 4.6% over the previous year (UNWTO, 2012). It is this rapid growth of tourism that puts pressure on governments and local authorities to formulate sustainable tourism policies and plans to manage this activity, as argued by Edgell et al. (2008).

For the present research that focuses on urban environments, which are complex environments that perform a variety of functions, it was deemed appropriate to adopt a wider definition of tourism that would enable the capture of data about different categories of tourism which may occur in cities (such as the international, domestic and local tourism, as well as day visitors). Therefore, tourism is considered 'the *sum of the* processes, activities, and outcomes arising from the relationship and the interactions among tourists, tourism suppliers, host governments, host communities, and surrounding environments that are involved in the attracting, *transporting*, hosting and *management of tourists and other visitors*' [emphasis in the original]. This definition is given by Weaver and Lawton (2010, p.2) and was developed on the earlier work of Goeldner and Ritchie (2006).

Although tourism is not something new, investigation of this complex (Pender, 2005) multidisciplinary (Mowforth & Munt, 2009) phenomenon has developed quite recently and has faced numerous obstacles (Weaver & Lawton, 2010). The fact that tourism operates across a number of other service areas and it serves visitors – people who do not take part in the local democratic process – contributes to its complexity (Stevenson et al., 2008). However, tourism has become a significant area of study and one of the reasons is its influence on people and the places where they live (Hall, 2008).

Towards the middle of the 1960s, the continuous economic growth which for many years had been the aim of governments and people across the world, started to be questioned as its negative consequences on the natural environment became apparent (Bramwell & Lane, 1993). This economic growth was also influenced by growth in tourism activities, and in 1981 an OECD report underlined that uncontrolled development of tourism causes serious damage to the environment. During the same decade, the negative impacts of tourism development were largely recognised by other commentators (Sharpley, 2009). Moreover, a number of earlier works that discuss these impacts were identified by Butler (2010), such as Bryden (1973), De Kadt (1973), Young (1973), and the seminal work of Mathioson and Wall (1982) – *Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social Impacts*. Consequently, for the first time efforts were starting to be made in managing more effectively the relationship between tourism and the environment and as a result, alternatives to mass tourism emerged. It is during this

time that the concept of *sustainable development* arose as a new paradigm, an alternative to the mainstream development theories which focused on economic growth. This new concept was seen as a means to integrate development policies and the environment, and thus as a way to achieve 'environmentally compatible tourism developments' (Dowling, 1993, p.17).

The impacts of tourism have been widely discussed over the years, both in relevant literature and in official documents. Although these impacts rarely exist in isolation (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000), they have been split into different categories based on the changes they trigger. These changes can be in an equal measure economic, sociocultural and environmental (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Hall, 2008). To these three categories, Sharpley (2009) and Saarinen (2006) add the political consequences of the development of tourism in a destination. Moreover, these impacts could be either positive or negative, and many researchers and organisations argue that this depends on how wisely tourism is planned and managed (UNWTO, 1998; Kerr, 2003; Neto, 2003; Pender, 2005; UNEP & WTO, 2005; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006; Ruhanen, 2008).

In terms of positive changes, there are a number of examples worth mentioning. To begin with, from an environmental perspective, tourism allows for the attractions in a destination to be maintained and restored through the revenues it generates. From a sociocultural perspective, it can help to revitalise traditional activities (i.e. handcraft) and preserve the local culture. Looking at these from an economic perspective, it means that tourism could contribute to the creation of new jobs and to an increase in the local economic activity (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; UNEP & WTO, 2005; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006; Mason, 2008). Indeed, for many years tourism was considered 'the goose that lays the golden egg' (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986, p.81), or in other words an ideal source of income and a viable solution to unemployment.

On the other hand, for some time now many articles, books and official documents on tourism have been paying special attention to the negative consequences of the tourism industry. The impacts of tourism on the environment are usually associated with the phenomenon of mass tourism (Sharpley, 2009). In this respect, a number of issues such as pollution, damage to the landscape, littering produced by tourists and traffic congestion have become of great concern. Yet, with regards to its detrimental social and cultural impacts, although there is disagreement about what these are and how they can be assessed (Harrison, 2010), a number of academics and organisations have argued that the interaction between tourists and hosts can contribute to the corruption of local cultures and traditions (Butler, 1974; English Tourism Council, 2001;

UNEP, 2011). This is one of the most visible effects of tourism on local communities and can lead to the loss of cultural identity. In addition, potential conflicts may arise between residents and visitors over the limited resources, but also if an increase in the number of tourists results in the overuse of local infrastructure and facilities. In terms of the unwanted economic impacts of tourism, these can include a rise in the prices of land, property and food, occurring in particular during the tourist season, and may lead to negative consequences for the local people (Hughes, 1994; Mason, 2008; Page & Connell, 2009). Given these potential conflicts, a number of authors have argued that the range and magnitude of these impacts can be largely mitigated by using appropriate frameworks to plan and manage tourism activities (Ruhanen, 2008; Dwyer & Edwards, 2010). The case of Venice is often given as an example of how a successful destination can lose its appeal if no proactive measures are in place to manage the development of tourism (Borg, 1998).

In trying to explain the reasons why tourism development in all its forms is accompanied by negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts, McKercher (1993a) identifies eight 'fundamental truths' (see Table 2.1). He argues that the recognition and understanding of these issues can help minimize the negative consequences of tourism. Even now these truths continue to be widely cited in academic literature and are still considered relevant to all types of tourism development (Sharpley, 2009).

Table 2.1 The eight 'fundamental truths' about tourism

- 1) As an industrial activity, tourism consumes resources, creates waste and has specific infrastructure needs.
- 2) As a consumer of resources, it has the ability to over consume resources.
- 3) Tourism, as a resource dependent industry must compete for scarce resources to ensure its survival.
- 4) Tourism is a private sector dominated industry, with investment decisions being based predominantly on profit maximization.
- 5) Tourism is a multi-faceted industry, and as such, it is almost impossible to control.
- 6) Tourists are consumers, not anthropologists.
- 7) Tourism is entertainment.
- 8) Unlike other industrial activities, tourism generates income by importing clients rather exporting its product.

Source: adapted from McKercher (1993a, p.6)

Yet, even though it is generally accepted that tourism development is accompanied by negative consequences, the actual contribution of tourism to all these unwanted effects

is still contested (Gössling et al., 2008). This is also discussed by Wall & Mathieson (2006, p.6) who identify a number of reasons why the negative impacts of tourism on the built and natural environment are 'almost impossible to measure'. For example, the almost impossible separation between changes caused by tourism development and those induced by other processes of modernisation; the complex interaction of tourism with many other local activities, in particular in cities where the tourism economy is formed of a number of sectors that would address the needs of both visitors and residents (such as transport or entertainment); and the fact that the environment itself is in a perpetual state of change even without human intervention. Consequently, without a baseline or benchmarks against which to measure the changes triggered by tourism, the authors mentioned above argue that it is impossible to assess them and to determine a balance between tourism development and environmental protection.

While acknowledging the difficulty in accurately delimitating the negative impacts of tourism development from the effects of other economic activities in a destination, the present study argues that efforts should be made towards minimising the unwanted consequences which accompany tourism. Without such measures, the continued expansion of tourism could contribute to the degradation of the environment that would affect the host communities (Neto, 2003; Butler, 2010). The degradation of the environment can in turn have a negative influence on tourism (OECD, 2008), as unattractive or degraded environments will result in decreased interest from tourists to visit that destination (Mathieson & Wall, 1992).

2.3 Cities and tourism

The number of people who live in urban areas worldwide is continuously increasing and this has been recognised by transnational agencies as well as governments (Ashworth & Page, 2011). In 1900 only 14% of the global population lived in towns and cities; however the level of urbanization has currently reached 50% of the total population, and up to 80% in major urbanized territories such as Australia or Northern America. In the United Kingdom, which is the focus of the present research, this figure is even greater, with 89.9% of the population living in urban areas. Furthermore, these levels of urbanization are projected to continue to rise and by 2050 are to reach 70% at a global level, with 94% in the United Kingdom (UN, 2008). Consequently, due to the fact that the large majority of the population in developed countries lives in urban areas, most of the policy making decisions and planning processes will take place there (Veal, 2002; 2010).

Urbanization is a 'major force' that contributes to the development of towns and cities (Page & Connell, 2009, p.471), which have been for many years one of the most significant tourist destinations (Edwards et al., 2008). Furthermore, the constantly increasing level of urbanization is believed to influence the phenomenon of urban tourism and to contribute to the repositioning of the tourism industry within national economies (Ashworth & Page, 2011). In addition, Maitland (2009) identifies a number of factors that have contributed to the growth of city tourism, such as airline deregulation which permitted the development of low-cost carriers, the expansion of the EU and the Eurozone which made travel easier between the EU countries, together with higher disposable income and changes in working patterns which encouraged people to take additional short breaks in cities – places that offer easy access and a diverse range of activities. Moreover, the growing interest in experiencing the multitude of cultural activities offered by cities can also be added to these factors (European Communities, 2000). As a result, one of the implications of the rapid urbanization and the growth of city tourism is a greater focus on urban tourism as a policy and research area.

The negative impacts of tourism noted in the previous section can also be seen in cities, the areas that this research focuses on. However, as pointed out by Page and Hall (2003, p.191), there are no 'comprehensive studies' that analyse all these detrimental effects put together, and the existing research only attempts to look at individual aspects one at a time. In his article '*Urban tourism and its contribution to economic regeneration*', besides the positive aspects of the tourism development in cities (such as the development of facilities and infrastructure that would bring benefits to the local communities, economic regeneration of an area, and civic pride), Law (1992) also notes a number of its negative consequences. For example, already existing congestion could get worse due to increased numbers of tourists, and conflicts may arise between the needs of visitors and those of local residents. In addition, Hunter and Green (1995) discuss a series of potential impacts of tourism on the built environment, such as changes in the residential, retail or industrial land use (e.g. a move away from residential developments towards hotels), overload of infrastructure, growth of built-up areas, damage to built assets, litter and air pollution.

Therefore, urban tourist destinations face a big challenge in finding solutions to strike a balance between the positive contributions of tourism to the local development and the inherent negative effects that accompany this activity (Sharpley, 2009). Moreover, Mason (2008) argues that many studies done so far tend to suggest that negative consequences generally exceed the positive effects of tourism. According to Ruhanen

(2008, p.434), this happens because 'inadequate or non-existent planning frameworks' are in place for the development of tourism. Consequently, it has been suggested that local authorities and the Government should look for solutions to accommodate the growth of population in urban areas coupled with the increase in the number of tourists (which both put pressure on the limited resources available). In order to address this issue, the concept of sustainable development was introduced in the 1990s as a possible framework to guide the development of tourism and to diminish some of its harmful consequences (Ruhanen, 2008; Sharpley, 2009). Although generally perceived as bringing a positive contribution to the society, when principles behind it are implemented (Butler, 2013), the term has been largely debated in the literature. Therefore, the next section takes a critical informed look at the definition of sustainable development and discusses how this term has evolved.

2.4 Sustainable development

2.4.1 The origins and evolution of the concept

Over the past decades the concept of sustainable development has become a 'buzzword' (Liu, 2003; Singh, 2012) that has been included in numerous policy documents and plans, as well as research publications. Sustainability initially emerged as an ecological term and has represented a concern in different social and environmental movements since the 19th century. Although often considered a recent phenomenon (Gössling et al., 2009), the early origins of the concept of sustainable development can be traced back, depending on the author, somewhere between the late fifties and the early eighties (see Table 2.2 for more details). The basis of the term originates in the debate over the relationship between the environment and economic development (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; O'Riordan, 1993; Hardy et al., 2002; Liu, 2003; Trotman, 2005). Consequently, Robinson (2004, p.153) argues that the concept emerged 'as an attempt to bridge the gap between environmental concerns about the increasingly evident ecological consequences of human activities and socio-political concerns about human development issues'.

Even though a full discussion of the evolution of sustainable development is not the objective of this research, a brief review of the most important events which contributed to its progress, together with the ideas and debates they brought to the forefront, is included in Table 2.3. Nevertheless, worth noting is the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, where a large number of governments agreed that

development and the environment are inextricably linked and that urgent action was needed in order to respond to the problems posed by environmental deterioration (UN, 2002). In the following years, three other significant conferences were organised by the UN with the aim to review and analyse the progress that had been made towards sustainable development since 1972.

Table 2.2 Illustration of the origins of sustainable development

Suggested Time Frame	Author	Arguments
1950s	Page and Dowling (2002) Gössling et al. (2009)	The idea of 'sustainable development' appeared in the late 1950s, as part of the debate over the conservation and management of resources.
	Hall (1998)	The concept of 'sustainable development' can be traced back to the middle of 19 th century, in the conservationist approaches of the management of National Parks.
	Hardy et al. (2002)	Although the emergence of the concept is usually traced back to the 1960s and 1970s, when an increase in the environmental awareness was seen, it actually originates many years earlier, and was expressed in different forms, such as the vision on conservation and community, or the economic theory.
1960s -1970s	O'Riordan (1993)	The origins of 'sustainability' date back to the mid-1960s, when a series of African-based conferences, which aimed to protect the habitat of wildlife on the continent, took place.
	Trotman (2005)	The early origins of the concept can be followed back either to the mid-1960s, when a number of conferences took place in Africa, or to the 1970s when the Coyoc Declaration on Environment and Development was signed.
	Liu (2003)	The concept of 'sustainability' appeared in the 1970s, having been introduced for the first time by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN).
	Bramwell and Lane (1993)	The term has its origins in the 1973 work of Dasmann, Milton and Freeman, <i>The Ecological Principles for Economic Development</i> , with the IUCN taking over and developing many of their ideas.
1980s	Robinson (2004)	'Sustainable development' was born around the early and mid-1980s, as an extension of the environmental debates of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s, as part of an effort to find a common ground for both environmental and human development issues.

Table 2.3 The evolution of sustainable development

Year	Organisation	Relevant Events
1962	United Nations	The 1962 UN Conference promoted the idea that a balance was needed between the social and economic development (Connell & Page, 2008).
1972	The Club of Rome	<i>The Limits to Growth: A Report for the Club of Rome</i> , comprises the results of a model which investigates five major trends, and many of the fundamental proposals of sustainable development are included (Farsari-Zacharaki, 2006).
	United Nations, Stockholm	During the 1972 <i>UN Conference on the Human Environment</i> , representatives of governments and of non-government organisations from 119 countries met in order to discuss environmental issues (Connell & Page, 2008). As a result of this conference, the UN Environmental Program was established (Farsari-Zacharaki, 2006).
1980	IUCN, UNEP and WWF	<i>The World Conservation Strategy</i> is considered to be one of the most important documents in the promotion of sustainable development (Connell & Page, 2008). It was in this document that sustainable development came for the first time to public attention (Gössling et al., 2009) and where a definition was first formulated (Trotman, 2005).
1987	WCED, Brundtland Report	<i>Our Common Future</i> , also known as the <i>Brundtland Report</i> , was the first document to underline the societal integrity and to put forward the three dimensions of sustainability (Farsari-Zacharaki, 2006). This paper also set out crucial objectives for the future of economic development and the environment (Connell & Page, 2008).
1992	United Nations, Rio de Janeiro	The first UN Conference on Environment and Development (the <i>Earth Summit</i>), brought together an unprecedented number of countries from all over the world, in an attempt to reach a common ground in terms of economic development and the environment. During the conference, five documents were produced, including the Agenda 21.
1997	United Nations, New York	RIO+5; The UN Special Session of the General Assembly was intended as a five years review of the progress made by governments in the implementation of the <i>Agenda 21</i> . The delegates reaffirmed that Agenda 21 remains fundamental for achieving sustainable development and the fact that it is more urgent than ever.
2002	United Nations, Johannesburg	RIO+10; The UN World Summit on Sustainable Development was intended as a ten years review of the progress made by governments in the implementation of the <i>Agenda 21</i> . It also identified the actions that would have to be given priority in order to achieve a better implementation of the goals set out in the agenda (UN, 2002).
2012	United Nations, Rio de Janeiro	RIO+20; During the UN Conference <i>The Future We Want</i> the delegates renewed their commitment to sustainable development, reaffirming all the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (1992). In addition, the delegates recognised the uneven progress achieved in the past 20 years, reaffirming their commitment to fully implement Rio Declaration, the Agenda 21 and other previous declarations adopted on sustainable development. (UN, 2012).

The first of these events, the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (also known as the *Earth Summit*, Rio de Janeiro), brought together an unprecedented number of organisations and countries from all over the globe. On this occasion, the participants agreed that both environmental protection and socio-economic development are essential to sustainable development. An important outcome of the conference was the adoption of Agenda 21, a global programme intended to help and guide governments translating 'a country's goals and aspiration of sustainable development into concrete policies and actions' (UN, 2002, p.8). Nevertheless, the conference ignited a perpetual debate over the meaning of this concept and how it can be implemented in practice.

In 2002, the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (also known as *Rio+10*; the second such conference organised by the UN) was intended to be a ten year review of the progress made by governments in the direction of sustainable development (UN, 2002). However, it was observed that despite the commitment showed by a number of governments worldwide for introducing the sustainability concept into their political agendas, the progress registered towards its implementation was rather slow. Besides the practical aspects considered to impede the implementation of this concept in practice (e.g. lack of resources, and no change in the patterns of consumption and production), researchers emphasise the contested nature of sustainable development concept (Farsari-Zacharaki, 2006), in particular the tensions between the two aspects to be reconciled – the need to protect the environment and development which implies growth.

During the latest UN conference in 2012, *The Future We Want* (once again in Rio de Janeiro, and known as *Rio+20*), delegates recognised that over the past 20 years there has been insufficient progress towards the integration of the three dimensions of sustainable development – economic, social and environment. With a number of prominent world leaders absent (e.g. the United States president, the German Chancellor and the UK Prime Minister), this summit has been widely criticised for lacking leadership and not making significant progress towards helping achieve sustainable development globally. The participants renewed their commitment to achieve sustainable development in all its dimensions and reaffirmed their commitment to fully implement the previously adopted declarations, including the Agenda 21, but no targets or deadlines were set in order to transform those global commitments in action.

2.4.2 Definitions and interpretations of sustainable development

To better understand the meaning of sustainable development, a number of definitions and principles which underpin this concept are discussed below. The first definition of the term was given in the *World Conservation Strategy: Living Resource Conservation for Sustainable Development* published by the IUCN, UNEP and WWF in 1980 (O’Riordan, 1993; Liu, 2003; Trotman, 2005). This document recognises the link between the three dimensions of sustainability, social, economic and environmental, but is mainly focused on ecological conditions and environmental limits within which the society must stay (Robinson, 2004; Farsari-Zacharaki, 2006).

It was not until 1987 that the most publicised definition of sustainable development (Page & Connell, 2009) that was ‘both widely adopted and criticised’ (Telfer, 2013), was given by the Brundtland Commission in their report *Our Common Future*. The report defines the concept as ‘*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*’ (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.41). This definition places the emphasis on human needs rather than on environmental protection, as was the case with the 1980 definition given by the IUCN et al. (Redcliff, 1992). It also highlights the equity dimension which comprises both intergenerational and intragenerational equity, together with the socio-psychological dimension (‘needs’ rather than ‘wants’) of sustainable development (Turner, 1993, p.4). Moreover, the Brundtland report considers the ‘critical environmental and development problems’ at a global level and concludes that economic growth in the long-term can only be achieved through the sustainable use of environmental resources (Dowling, 1992, p.40). But perhaps the most important contribution of the report is that it ‘put the issue of sustainable development more firmly on the international political agenda’ (O’Riordan, 1993, p.53), and as such it has influenced governments, communities, the industry and academics around the world (Telfer, 2013). As a result, the concept of sustainable development was subsequently included in the legislation of a large number of countries (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

This definition can therefore be considered a milestone, as it gave ‘real meaning’ to the concept of sustainable development (Aronsson, 2000, p.32), even though it has been subject to a wide range of interpretations and criticisms since then. Elliott (2006) for example highlights potential conflicts between the needs of present and those of future generations, while McCool (2013) raises a number of questions related to how the needs are defined or what should be sustained. Furthermore, while criticising the way

the concept of sustainable development is currently used or misused by some organisations, Butler (2013) acknowledges the importance of this concept as it deals with the wellbeing of the economic, social and environmental structures of this planet on which its inhabitants depend. Therefore, he identifies himself as a strong proponent of the principles behind it, which are considered to be of crucial importance to the implementation of sustainable development in practice (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Landorf, 2009; Lu & Nepal, 2009). These principles, as identified in the Brundtland report, include: holistic planning and strategic decisions; preservation of essential ecological processes; protection of both, human heritage and biodiversity; and limitation of development only to growth that can be sustained for the foreseeable future.

Moving on and looking at the interpretations of sustainable development, these can be divided into four types that range from very weak to very strong (see Figure 2.1). The very weak sustainability position, which is anthropocentric and utilitarian, puts the focus on growth and resource exploitation (Hunter, 1997). Its advocates consider that all resources are replaceable and that the environment is just capital in a different form and it is acceptable to exchange it for other forms of man-made capital (Stabler, 1997; Garrod & Fyall, 1998). On the next level, advocates of weak sustainability take a generally similar stance, also anthropocentric and utilitarian, but argue for sensible ecological limits on any replacement of environmental capital with man-made capital (Garrod & Fyall, 1998).

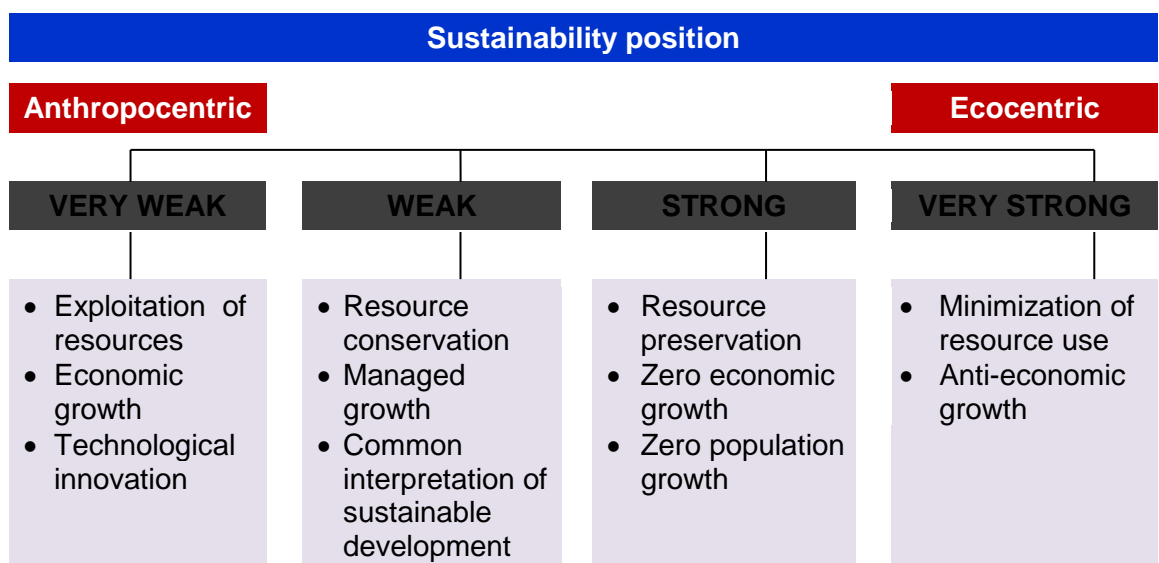


Figure 2.1 Degrees of sustainability. Source: Page and Connell (2009, p.443)

Nevertheless, supporters of strong sustainability go a step further by maintaining the principle of resource preservation. They argue that the present generation should not exhaust non-renewable resources, unless renewable ones can be passed on in exchange (Garrod & Fyall, 1998). Finally, the very strong sustainability perspective, also known as bioethical and eco-centric, is maintained by those who believe in resource preservation to the point where this must be achieved at any cost and natural resources should be utilised at a minimum (Hunter, 1997). As such, replacement of environmental capital with man-made capital is unacceptable, and renewable resources should always be used as alternatives if technically viable (Stabler, 1997; Garrod & Fyall, 1998). This broad spectrum of interpretations of sustainable development has contributed to the fact that there are no absolute measures or standards for the concept (Connell & Page, 2008), which raises the question of how to operationalize the concept in practice. Nevertheless, as noted by Hunter (1997) in his article '*Sustainable tourism as an adaptive paradigm*', the position commonly adopted by the Western governments in their policy documents is that of weak sustainability which involves managed growth and conservation of resources.

Still, even though sustainability is differently interpreted, defined and implemented by different organisations (Redclift, 1992; Mowforth & Munt, 2009), Lu and Nepal (2009, p.5) note that they all share the common view that resources need to be used in a way that is 'wise' and 'balance[d]'. However, the interpretation of what is 'wise' and 'balanced' represents the real challenge. This is not a straightforward matter as various stakeholders define these terms in different ways, in accordance with their values and ideologies (Hall, 2008). Therefore, tensions exist between the two groups supporting opposing views, those which propose the controlled use of resources – weak sustainability – and those which support the idea of resource preservation – strong sustainability (Mathieson & Wall, 1992; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Those tensions result in difficulties for policy makers in implementing the concept of sustainable development in practice, as they have to accommodate the various approaches on sustainability taken by different stakeholders.

Furthermore, Belmont (2007) argues that in order to achieve sustainable development, all three dimensions – environmental sustainability, economic well-being and social justice – have to be considered. These dimensions correspond to the three pillars of sustainable development and represent the triple bottom line approach to sustainability (economic, social and environmental). Yet, striking a balance between these three dimensions might be easier said than done as they are often in competition. Hunter (2002) also points out that finding a balance between development and environmental

protection is often considered to be a vision of sustainable development. Commenting on the view that it would be almost impossible to overcome the tensions which exist between these three dimensions, Trotman (2005) argues that sustainable development should not be seen as an end point. He therefore, proposes the conceptualisation of sustainable development as a continuous process towards achieving a balance between these three pillars and not a goal in itself. In a tourism context, Dodds (2007) notes that in reality – as a destination evolves through different stages – one pillar might overtake the others, for example when a destination grows the economic priority might overtake the social and environmental considerations.

Nevertheless, even though sustainable development has become a goal for many governments (at least rhetorical) and its merits are recognised, the term has been criticised by a number of researchers. In his recent book 'Critical debates in tourism', Singh (2012) notes some of the arguments around this concept and mentions that a number of academics consider the term to be ambiguous, illusive and difficult to implement. The concept is considered to be ambiguous or vague because it means many different things to different entities, which adds confusion to the political and academic debates (Robinson, 2004). Because its vagueness, it also attracts hypocrites such as promoters of cosmetic environmentalism and fake greenery, which brings again to the forefront the question of measurement – for example, how a particular product or service could be evaluated as green, what criteria should be used to decide this and so on. Nevertheless, the concept may well cultivate delusion as it could be seen as an oxymoron due to the contradictory nature of the two terms that are put together – sustainability requires a long term perspective, while development implies change (Robinson, 2004; Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Therefore, the lack of consensus on the meaning of sustainable development is considered by some researchers to be its 'main weakness' (Carvalho, 2001, p.136) as it makes it difficult to implement and translate its principles into actual policies and strategies (McKercher, 1993b; Saarinen, 2006; Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010). Still, other academics consider the vagueness of the term to be not only its weakness but also its strength as it makes it flexible and adaptable (Stabler, 1997; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Elliott (2006, p.10) goes further and argues that the attractiveness of sustainable development 'may lie precisely in the varied ways in which it can be interpreted and used to support a whole range of interests or causes'. However, she also acknowledges that despite some progress, there is a continuing debate over the most appropriate strategies to promote sustainable changes. Nevertheless, Butler (2013) notes that because it is vague, the concept managed to attract supporters from various

circles, including politicians, whose contribution is so important in promoting and implementing sustainable development principles in practice.

In spite of its criticisms, the concept of sustainable development (if implemented) is generally perceived by the research and policy communities as contributing to a positive change in the society. Therefore, sustainable development has been widely adopted by different organisations around the world in accordance with its WCED definition. For example, in 2001 the European Commission stated that 'All policies must have sustainable development as their core concern' and that the policies should look for ways to contribute 'more positively to sustainable development' [emphasis in the original] (European Commission, 2001, p.6). Looking at the particular case of the UK, in its Sustainable Development Strategy '*A Better Quality of Life*' produced by the DETR in 1999, the Government presents a view akin to that of the European Commission and shows a commitment to put sustainable development 'at the heart of every Government Department's work' (Evans et al., 2003). Furthermore, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2002) proposed a vision for sustainable development, and HM Government (2005) formulated a set of principles which should underpin all UK policies towards achieving sustainable development. In 2007, the Government reaffirmed its commitment to fulfil its social, economic and environmental objectives by the use of an integrated approach (HM Government, 2007). This has led to the requirement that all governmental agencies which are involved in development, planning or growth activities, are to be sustainable. However, when discussing the legal framework on sustainable development in the UK, Layard (2001, p.33) notes that even though governmental organisations are required to consider this concept, there is 'no legal control over what they decide' to do in practice. This goes back to the variety of interpretations of sustainability, and also to the issue of measurement and lack of criteria to evaluate its implementation in practice, aspects already discussed.

Finally, after critically reviewing the evolution and interpretations of sustainable development and recognising that it is a concept based in political rhetoric and compromises, throughout the rest of research the concept will be considered as a process towards achieving a balance between the three pillars of sustainability (Trotman, 2005) as opposed to an end state. In addition, from the theoretical perspectives discussed above, it appears that the interpretation likely to work in urban environments – which are both highly populated areas and heavily human modified environments – is the weak sustainability, which focuses on managed growth and resource conservation. As for the sustainable development definition adopted in the present research, this is the widely accepted definition given by the WCED in the

Brundtland Report and which has been discussed earlier. Having analysed the meanings of sustainable development, the next section takes the discussion further and looks at the application of the concept to tourism activities.

2.5 Sustainable tourism development

According to Buckley (2012), academics only started to research the topic of sustainable tourism two decades ago. This claim is also supported by Weaver (2011, p.5), who notes that 'since the mid-1990s, discourses about the tourism sector have become increasingly dominated, at least rhetorically, by the ideas and ideals of sustainability.' At present however, sustainable tourism is considered to be one of the key areas of study within tourism (Connell & Page, 2008), and as a result there is extensive literature dedicated to the subject both in the academic and the public arenas. For example, in May 2013 a simple search for the phrase 'sustainable tourism' on *Google Scholar* returned about 555,000 results (27% more results than two years before), and this number represents over a third of the total search results returned for the term 'tourism' (i.e. 1,550,000). Moreover, the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* – an academic journal dedicated entirely to this topic – has been published since 1993. But despite the large amount of literature published on this topic over the past years, in their book dedicated to '*Understanding the Sustainable Development of Tourism*', Liburd and Edwards (2010, p.230) come to the conclusion that there are 'still many gaps in our understanding of the sustainable development of tourism', in particular when it comes to its implementation.

According to Sharpley (2009), the roots of sustainable tourism development can be traced back to the 1980s, in the emergence of different strategies to encourage alternative forms of tourism. At the *Earth Summit* held in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro, an event considered to be an important milestone in the promotion of sustainable development worldwide, the sector of tourism received little attention (Hardy et al., 2002). But this changed with the publication in 1995 of the *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry* by the WTTC, WTO and the Earth Council, which increased the pressure on the tourism industry to better perform and support the sustainable development of this activity (Pigram & Wahab, 1997). Moreover, during the latest UN Conference on Sustainable Development held in 2012 (*Rio+20*), sustainable tourism was included among the thematic areas and cross-sectorial issues identified in the conference declaration as contributing to the three dimensions of sustainability (UN, 2012).

During the past two decades tourism policy and planning documents produced by different types of organisations have been increasingly considering the objectives of sustainable tourism development. However, mirroring the arguments on sustainable development implementation, Sharpley (2009) argues that the extent to which sustainable tourism policies have been translated into practice is debatable. This has been also suggested by other researchers who noted that there is a big discrepancy between the theories around sustainable tourism and the way it is conceptualised by academics, and the 'real world of tourism governance and industry', with little evidence showing the implementation of its principles in practice (Moyle et al., 2013, p.2).

In the particular case of the UK, over the years the Government has produced a number of policy documents intended to guide the sustainable development of tourism. To begin with, the *Tomorrow's Tourism* strategy (DCMS, 1999) set out a number of objectives in order to meet the requirements of the Agenda 21. Another document worth mentioning is the report '*Tourism and the Environment: Maintaining the Balance*' (English Tourism Board, 1991), which examines the relationship between tourism and the environment with an emphasis on visitor management. The third document, *Time for Action – A strategy for sustainable tourism in England* (English Tourism Council, 2001), put forward a number of indicators for sustainable tourism (such as CO₂ emissions by the hotel and restaurant industry; transport used on holiday trips by UK residents; number of tourism related businesses signed up to Bio-Diversity action plans; percentage of the total workforce employed in tourism), which were then reviewed five year later (DCMS, 2006). The latest document to be published, *Sustainable Tourism in England: A framework for action – Meeting the key challenges* (DCMS, 2009b), recognises that the success of tourism comes for a price, and identifies several key challenges considered important to be addressed in order to promote sustainable development of this activity (i.e. minimise the environmental impact and resource use; address the impact of tourism transport; improve the quality of holidays and make these accessible to all; improve the quality of tourism jobs; maintain and enhance the community prosperity and quality of life; and reduce the seasonality of demand). But despite the large number of policy documents adopted in the UK, no studies have so far been conducted to show how successful these measures have been in actually putting into practice the principles behind sustainable tourism.

It is now clear that sustainable tourism has become part of the public agenda and one of the main reasons which lead to its increased importance is the contribution of the tourism industry to climate change. This is now a widely recognised phenomenon

which can have a major impact on our current life styles (Lane, 2009). But in order to gain a better understanding of what sustainable tourism means, the next section looks at its origins and how the concept has evolved over time.

2.5.1 The origins and evolution of sustainable tourism

Before progressing any further, a brief review of the relationship between tourism and the environment is needed. This relationship is particularly important as tourism depends heavily 'upon values derived from nature' (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p.159), a view also shared by Sharpley (2009). It is not the intention of this study to discuss in detail the four stages that this relationship went through over the past 60 years – these have been well documented by Budowski (1976), Dowling (1992; 1993) and Page & Dowling (2002). However, it should be mentioned that while in the 1950s tourism and the environment were seen to be in a relationship of *coexistence* – tourism was generally considered to have a very limited impact on the natural environment – by the early 1970s this view had changed and the relationship was now considered to be of *conflict*. In the 1980s, a new stage was reached and tourism and the environment were seen as having a *symbiotic* relationship. This view evolved further and in the 1990s the relationship was described as one of *integration*, suggesting that the negative consequences accompanying the development of tourism can be diminished. It was believed that tourism can be developed in an environmentally compatible manner through the application of the concept of sustainable development, as defined by the Brundtland Report (see section 2.4.2).

Sustainable tourism is a new concept that similar to sustainable development has been facing difficulties with its definition and implementation. The concept has its origins in the rising concern over the negative impacts of tourism (Lane, 2009; Williams & Ponsford, 2009), which prompted consideration of a more sustainable approach to the development of this sector. According to Sharpley and Sharpley (1997), the concept is built on three basic principles of sustainability, i.e. maintain and preserve non-renewable resources; plan for the long term; and share opportunities and resources in a fair manner at a global level. One of the earliest interpretations of sustainable tourism was as a specific form of tourism (closely related to ecotourism) that 'encompassed elements of social justice, considerations of scale, and sensitivity to environmental impact within it' (McCool, 2013, p.216).

Sustainable tourism is seen by Hunter (1997, p.864) as an 'adaptive paradigm', a dynamic process able to respond to different situations and to articulate diverse goals

when it comes to the use of natural resources. Therefore, he argues that the concept can accommodate both interpretations of sustainable development – one based on strong sustainability and the other on weak sustainability (these are detailed in section 2.4.2). According to this argument, the weak sustainable tourism strategies would apply to environments already altered extensively, as is the case of inner cities, where tourism would have a relatively minor environmental impact, while the strong sustainability would apply to culturally or naturally undisturbed surroundings ‘where even a small increase in tourism-related activity could result in unacceptable environmental or sociocultural costs’ (Weaver, 2006, p.20). This is a useful way of conceptualising sustainable tourism, considering that each destination presents different characteristics and therefore different interpretations of this concept would be more appropriate to their particular circumstances (Hunter, 1997).

In addition, Hunter (1995) points out the perpetual debate around another two different perspectives on sustainable tourism. On the one hand, there is the view that a more holistic approach should be adopted with the focal point on sustainable development, as maintained by Butler (1998) and Swarbrooke (1999). This holistic approach is described by Choi and Sirakaya (2006, p.1286) as ‘ecologically responsible, socially compatible, culturally appropriate, politically equitable, technologically supportive and, finally, economically viable for the host community’. On the other hand, there is a narrow view that the focus should be mainly on the development of tourism and on turning it into a more sustainable activity. These two perspectives, which are again noted by Hunter in a later work from 2002 and also underlined by Miller and Twining-Ward (2005), have come to be commonly known as the tourism-centric approach and the parochial approach. As tourism is only one component of a complex social-ecological system (McCool, 2013) that could contribute to the sustainable development of a destination, this research adopts a holistic approach to sustainable tourism, as opposed to considering it an isolated activity.

Moreover, in her article ‘*A framework of approaches to sustainable tourism*’, Clarke (1997, pp.224–229) studies the evolution of the concept and identifies four stages which can help us understand how sustainable tourism has been referred to since its appearance. The first stage, named *polar opposites*, placed sustainable tourism and mass tourism in the opposite positions of ‘good’ versus ‘bad’. In the next stage, due to the recognition that both forms of tourism are actually using the same resources and facilities, the conflict between sustainable and mass tourism was taken down a few notches, from polar opposites to a *continuum* approach. The third stage, *the movement approach*, evolved following the criticism of the way sustainable tourism had been so

far understood and resulted in a 'demand to change mass tourism' with other, more sustainable forms of tourism. The latest stage – that of *the convergence*, portrays sustainable tourism as a 'goal' that all forms of tourism should aim for. And to these four stages Hardy and Beeton (2001) add another one, *the shift in perception*, which is a consequence of the change of context in which sustainable tourism has evolved over time – e.g. perception of scale has changed in relation to this concept (nowadays considered attainable at all levels, local, regional and national).

Given the complexity of the concept as so far illustrated, Weaver (2006) proposes *Jafari's platforms* model as a way forward towards a better understanding of the evolution of research on sustainable tourism. This framework identifies four platforms – *advocacy*, *cautionary*, *adaptancy* and *knowledge-based* – where each platform builds on the previous one. The advocacy platform (1950s and 1960s) is based on the idea that tourism has mainly a positive contribution to development. The cautionary platform (1970s) recognises the negative consequences of tourism development in a destination, and determined researchers to adopt a more critical approach towards tourism studies. The third platform, the adaptancy (1980s), promotes a number of alternatives to mass tourism (e.g. eco-tourism, community-based tourism) which were believed to be less damaging for the environment. The last platform proposed by Jafari – the knowledge-based (1990s) – acknowledges the complexity of tourism activities, an aspect which calls for a better understanding of this phenomenon. This in turn would provide more information to help take better decisions in terms of tourism planning and management (Moscardo, 2008). In addition to these four platforms, Macbeth (2005, p.966) proposes another two, the *sustainability* and *ethics* platforms, noting that 'no theory can now afford to disregard sustainability as a core concept and still claim to be comprehensive'.

Reviewing the debates presented so far, and considering that tourism is a complex phenomenon (Pender, 2005) that operates across a number of service areas, this research adopts a holistic approach to sustainable tourism (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006) which sees tourism as ultimately contributing to the sustainable development of an area, and not an end in itself. Moreover, recognising the process nature of this concept, sustainable tourism is viewed as a goal that all forms of tourism can aspire to (the convergence approach) and not a particular form of tourism such as ecotourism. The discussion on sustainable tourism is continued in the next section, which looks at a number of different definitions and meanings of this concept.

2.5.2 Definitions and meanings of sustainable tourism

To begin with, Bramwell and Lane (1993, p.2) argue that the concept of sustainable tourism is generally perceived as a 'positive approach intended to reduce tensions and friction created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holiday makers'. However, when it comes to its interpretation, Ruhanen (2008, p.435) points out the lack of a 'widely accepted definition' of sustainable tourism, a fact which contributes to the confusion that exists around this concept (see Table 2.4 for a selection of ST definitions). According to Beaumont and Dredge (2010, p.22), the uncertainty in defining sustainable tourism is due to its status as a 'dialectical concept', with its meaning depending on a variety of factors including the socio-cultural context where it evolves, how it is interpreted and who is involved. Furthermore, Farsari et al. (2011) underline that sustainable tourism has proved to be an adjustable concept that means different things to different people, with its various interpretations influenced by ethical stances and ideologies, resulting in various perceptions on the term.

In the late 1990s, WTO (1998, p.21) adapted the WCED definition of sustainable development to the tourism sector, and defined sustainable tourism as 'development [that] meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future'. This definition is also supported by Garrod and Fyall (1998) and Weaver (2006), with the latter author adding that this concept looks mainly at the way in which resources are managed (thus coming close to the weak sustainability), so that any negative consequences can be minimized, while the positive effects are maximized. It should however be noted that some researchers (e.g. Wall and Matheson, 2006) argue that these two actions are not possible at the same time and consequently compromises are needed.

More recently, WTO in partnership with UNEP defined sustainable tourism as that tourism which takes into account the impact of the current and future tourism activities, while also addressing the needs of the tourists, host community, industry and the environment (UNEP & WTO, 2005). Therefore, according to this definition (detailed in Table 2.4) sustainable tourism contributes in setting a balance between the different interests of tourists and the host communities, while also protecting the environment (Page & Connell, 2009). Moreover, it makes a clear mention of the triple bottom line of the economic, socio-cultural and environmental aspects of sustainability (Sharpley, 2009). This definition, supported by a large number of organisations and academics, is adopted in the present research as it acknowledges the different interests of the main

Table 2.4 Selection of definitions of sustainable tourism

WTO's definition of sustainable tourism - '... sustainable tourism should:

- 1) Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural resources and biodiversity.
- 2) Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
- 3) Ensure viable, long-term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders that are fairly distributed, including stable employment and income-earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.' (UNEP & WTO, 2005, p.11)

'Tourism ... is dependent upon a given stock of natural, constructed and socio-cultural attributes ... if sustainable development of these resources is to occur they must be managed in a way that allows the economic needs of industry and the experiential needs of tourists to be met while at the same time maintaining cultural integrity, preserving or enhancing biological diversity, and maintaining life support systems.' (Harris and Leiper, 1995, p. xx)

'The concept of sustainability is central to the reassessment of tourism's role in society. It demands a long-term view of economic activity, questions the imperative of continued economic growth, and ensures that consumption of tourism does not exceed the ability of the host destination to provide for future tourists.' (Archer and Cooper, 1994, p. 87)

'Sustainable tourism is a positive approach intended to reduce the tensions and friction created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and the communities which are host to holidaymakers. It is an approach which involves working for the long-term viability and quality of both natural and human resources. It is not antigrowth, but it acknowledges that there are limits to growth.' (Bramwell & Lane, 1993, p.2)

'To be sustainable (tourism) requires the establishment of an industry which includes consideration of the long-term effects of economic activity in relation to resources and, therefore, concerns for the twin needs of this and future generations.' (Curry and Morvaridi, 1992, p. 131)

'Sustainable tourism depends on: (a) meeting the needs of the host population in terms of improved standards of living in the short and long term (b) satisfying the demands of increasing tourist numbers and continuing to attract them to achieve this (c) safeguarding the environment to achieve the two foregoing aims.' (Cater and Goodall, 1992, p. 318)

'[Sustainable tourism involves] seeking a more productive and harmonious relationship between the visitor, the host community and the place (thereby achieving) a situation which can be maintained without depleting the resource, cheating the visitor or exploiting the local population.' (English Tourist Board/Employment Development Group, 1991, p. 15)

'Sustainable tourism development can be thought of as meeting the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future ... leading to management of all resources in such a way that we can fulfil economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems.' (Inskeep, 1991, p.461)

Source: based on the work of Garrod and Fyall (1998, p.515)

stakeholders involved in tourism and emphasises the importance of considering all three dimensions of sustainability.

In terms of the meanings of sustainable tourism, Aronsson (2000) groups them into five categories, i.e. long-time perspective, environmental concern, cultural sustainability, economic and social welfare, and intergenerational equity. More recently, Page and Connell (2009, p.446) acknowledge that the meaning of sustainable tourism is still vigorously debated in relevant literature, and group into two main categories the different views they have encountered. These views are either *development centred* (or *tourism-centric* as named it by Butler, 1993), where sustainable tourism is seen as a way to sustain the tourism sector, or *ecologically centred*, where environmental concerns take priority over economic growth. In relation to the second set of views, Bramwell and Lane (1993, p.2) emphasize that sustainable tourism is not an 'antigrowth' concept, but a positive concept which recognizes the limits of growth. These limits in turn can vary from one destination to another, and would also depend on the practices employed for the management of tourism (Testoni, 2001).

As is the case with sustainable development, the existing definitions of ST have been criticised for being complex, imprecise or non-operational (Gössling et al., 2009; Saarinen et al., 2009). According to Bramwell (2012), its complexity is demonstrated in that the concept varies from one place to another – across different geographical or spatial scale, and will also change over different periods of time. On the other hand, Sharpley (2009, p.xiii) points out the lack of consensus on a definition for this concept, and argues that 'the extent to which it can be translated into a set of practical policies and measures for the effective planning and management of tourism in the real world' is debatable. This is due the difficulty in adapting the ideas behind sustainable tourism development to such diverse contexts in which tourism occurs (e.g. socio-cultural, environmental or developmental contexts). In addition, the context of a global economy in which tourism evolves, predominantly oriented towards economic growth and efficiency (Stevenson, 2013), also influences the implementation of sustainability concept in practice. Still, while acknowledging the on-going debate over how this concept would apply to tourism industry, Ruhanen (2013, p.81) notes that 'there is relatively widespread agreement that destination-level planning and management for tourism should be based on the principles of sustainable development'. As discussed in Section 2.4, these principles are considered to bring a positive change in the society and are seen as crucial to the implementation of sustainable development. Ruhanen's point is further enforced by Bramwell (2012, p.45), who argues that despite the difficulties in implementing sustainable tourism in practice, it 'should not lead us to

abandon the concept' as it has 'great importance as a basis for critical evaluation of tourism development, as a framework for moral and normative judgement and as a focus for mobilisation'. He also mentions that other important concepts in our society (e.g. social justice or democracy) have been intensely debated but this does not mean that we should abandon them just because they are hard to define or are widely contested by some academics.

Therefore, despite the different views on sustainable tourism and its multiple definitions, according to Testoni (2001) it is widely accepted that its fundamental aim is to generate satisfactory outcomes for visitors, the host communities, the tourism industry and the environment. Yet, as Liu (2003) notes, an integration of such different and sometimes competing interests would not be easy to achieve in many destinations. However, he argues that 'sincere attempts at integration which include the involvement of local communities are more likely to be sustainable than development for which no effort is made to reach compatibility with local, economic, social and ecological conditions' (Liu, 2003, p.467). As such, the concept of sustainable development has provided a platform for different stakeholders in the tourism industry, that have in many cases conflicting interests, to interact and discuss the environmental impacts of their activities (Saarinen, 2006).

Having looked at the definitions and meanings of sustainable tourism, the next section will discuss the objectives and principles which underpin the concept and contribute to its implementation.

2.5.3 The objectives and principles of sustainable tourism

As well as putting their efforts into increasing awareness on the importance of sustainable tourism, various organisations and scholars have put together a set of objectives and principles that sit at the base of this concept. Therefore, this section discusses these principles as they are essential for the implementation of ST in practice and thus in achieving sustainable development of tourism in a destination.

One of the early instances when a number of objectives were put forward for sustainable tourism was the Globe '90 conference, which took place in Vancouver. On this occasion, the participants proposed five aims for the concept: to build up a better understanding and awareness of the important impacts of tourism on the economy and the environment; to encourage development and equity; to ensure a better quality of life for the host communities; to offer the visitors a touristic experience of high quality;

and to preserve the environment in its best condition (Mason, 2008). Of these objectives, Cater (1991) reiterates the last three by stating that the natural environment should be well maintained so that the tourist requirements are satisfied while the needs of the host communities are met both in the short as well as in the long term.

Later on, in 2005, UNEP and WTO identified twelve objectives and set an agenda to be implemented by organisations involved in sustainable tourism development. These objectives are: economic viability, local prosperity, employment quality, social equity, visitor fulfilment, local control, community wellbeing, cultural richness, physical integrity, biological diversity, resource efficiency, and environmental purity. These cover all three pillars of sustainability and also address issues related to visitors and local communities.

In the UK, where tourism is considered of 'crucial importance to the economic, social and environmental well-being of the whole country' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a, p.5), three main objectives for the sustainable development of tourism were identified by The English Tourism Council (2001, pp.6–7). According to these, managers in the field of tourism should endeavour to protect and enhance the built and natural environment of a destination, to support local communities and culture, and to benefit the local economy of that destination. These objectives reflect the three dimensions of sustainability which have been discussed in section 2.4.2. More recently, in its strategy for sustainable tourism in England, the Department for Culture, Media and Sport recognised that the success of tourism comes at a price. Therefore, based on a consultation process with the main stakeholders in English tourism, and considering the findings of a number of surveys and reports, the organisation identified six environmental and social challenges to be addressed in order 'to create truly sustainable tourism in England' (DCMS, 2009b, p.5). These are to minimise the environmental impact and resource use; to address the impact of tourism transport; to improve the quality of holidays and make these accessible to all; to improve the quality of tourism jobs; to maintain and enhance the community prosperity and quality of life; and to reduce the seasonality of demand. The document also identifies the local authorities as one of the stakeholders which could contribute to the achievement of these challenges. Although statistical indicators are established in order to measure the effectiveness of these actions, the document admits that a number of gaps remain and that there is still room for improvement.

Linking tourism development with the concept of sustainability, Müller (1994, p.132) proposed a 'magic pentagon' which suggests five objectives corresponding to each of

its angles. Based on this model, the five aims of sustainable tourism development are: economic health; subjective well-being of the locals; unspoiled nature and protection of resources; healthy cultures; and optimum satisfaction of guest requirements (see Figure 2.2). Therefore, if prior to Müller's article the main focus of academic analysis of policies for sustainable tourism development had been the protection of the environment (both natural and sociocultural), with the publication of this 'magic pentagon' it became apparent that there was a need to also consider other social and economic factors (Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997). However, even though this model looks like a very good analytical tool, on a critical reflection it remains only theoretical due to the difficulty in finding a perfect balance between all the conflicting objectives it involves (e.g. economic health and protection of resources).

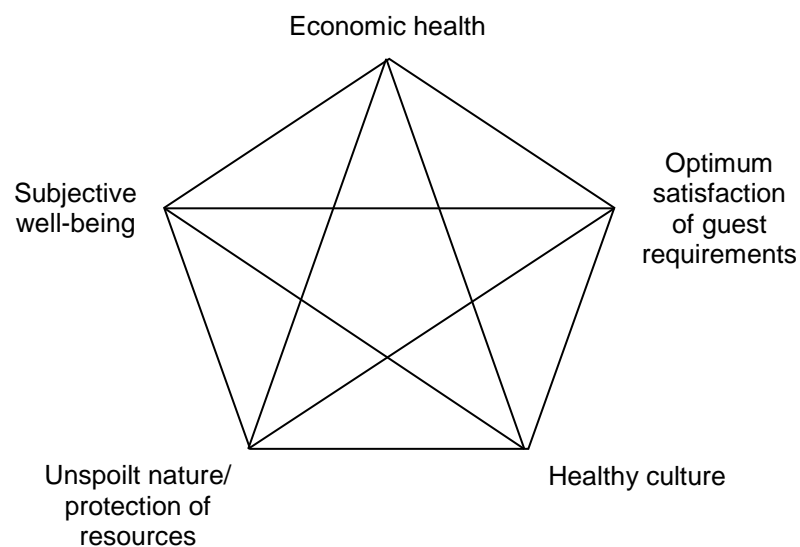


Figure 2.2 Tourism development and its magic pentagon. Source: Müller (1994, p. 133)

Over the past two decades many organisations and tourist destinations have started to incorporate in their tourism strategies a set of principles which were developed with the intention to operationalize sustainable tourism and to help with its implementation. But as with the definitions of ST, different organisations and academics have suggested different sets of principles for this concept (among them the English Tourism Board, 1992; Hunter, 1997; McKercher, 2003; the WTO, 2004; the South Australian Tourism Commission, 2007; Sharpley, 2009). Hunter (1995; 1997) summarises these principles in four groups of needs that must be satisfied, those of the tourists, of the private/public tourist operators and of the local community, as well as the need to protect the natural, built and cultural environment.

In its '*Agenda for a sustainable and competitive European tourism*', the European Commission (2007, pp.5–6) published a set of nine sustainable tourism principles and encouraged all organisations involved in tourism development to respect them. These are: to take a holistic and integrated approach, to plan for the long term, to achieve an appropriate pace and rhythm of development, to involve all stakeholders, to use the best available knowledge, to minimise and manage risk, to reflect impacts in costs, to set and respect limits where appropriate, and to undertake continuous monitoring. As it transpires even from the title of the document, the Commission adopts a rather weak approach to sustainability and would like to promote a sustainable development of tourism in Europe which is mainly oriented towards economic growth and competitiveness, a fact that is also reflected in the principles it proposes.

On the other hand, the same year the South Australian Tourism Commission (2007) proposes in its '*Design Guidelines for Sustainable Tourism Development*' a set of twelve principles for sustainable tourism development (which are detailed in Table 2.5). These principles have been embraced by a number of organisations and link the concept with the three pillars of sustainable development – economic, social and environmental (Sharpley, 2009). They also look to promote mutual benefits to both visitors and local communities, while safeguarding the built and natural environment upon which tourism depends profoundly. Therefore, this set of principles (which are discussed further) takes into consideration the main characteristics of sustainable tourism that were discussed in the previous section, and it will be considered in the present research when analysing the policy documents produced by the London boroughs.

To begin with, principle 11 included in the table below suggests that planners need to take into account the interests of both visitors and the host communities, which may often be in opposition. In light of this, another principle advises planners to consult the local community and consider their opinions (principle 5) when designing planning documents that guide the development of tourism, as this would be an opportunity to solve at an early stage any divergence between the interests of tourists and those of the host community. Even though satisfying both groups while also minimising environmental impacts (principle 1) can be a difficult task that requires compromises, it is argued that sustainable tourism can only be achieved if those responsible with tourism planning in a destination would carefully consider all these aspects. In addition, making efforts to enhance the visitor experience (principle 7) and to add value to the existing attributes of the area (principle 8) would contribute to an enriched visitor experience and would make tourists want to return to a destination. This aspect has

Table 2.5 Principles of sustainable tourism

- 1. Minimising environmental impacts:** Tourism should consider both local and global environmental impacts. At a local level tourism should seek to maintain the visual quality of landscapes and avoid having a physical impact on the immediate environment by minimising pollution of air, water or land and generation of waste. At a global level, tourism should pay attention to issues such as greenhouse gas emissions and use of non-renewable resources.
- 2. Achieving conservation outcomes:** Tourism should seek to support the conservation of natural areas, habitats and wildlife and minimise damage to them. A mutually beneficial alliance can be achieved between tourism and conservation. Through understanding and enjoyment comes greater appreciation, empathy, advocacy and protection for the resource.
- 3. Being different:** One of the keys to successful and sustainable tourism is achieving a clear sense of difference from other competing destinations. This can be achieved by basing development and marketing on the attributes and strengths of the destination. The development should reinforce the destination brand and brand values.
- 4. Achieving authenticity:** The attractions most likely to be successful, and those with the greatest enduring appeal, are those which are genuinely relevant to the history, industry, culture, lifestyle and natural resources of the district.
- 5. Reflecting community values:** This means representing the past, present and future aspirations of the local community in a living and dynamic way rather than embalming the past or imposing development. This involves listening to and responding to the community.
- 6. Understanding and targeting the market:** Understanding the broad market trends and the needs and expectations of specific segments is critical. This involves the development of specialised products based on the inherent attributes of an area.
- 7. Enhancing the experience:** People's motivation for travel is to seek something they cannot experience at home. The 'bundling' of attributes enhances the appeal of a place and the likelihood of visitation.
- 8. Adding value:** Adding value to existing attributes achieves a richer tourism experience and helps to diversify the local economy. This can include accommodation, sales outlets or dining, in association with established industries.
- 9. Having good content ('telling the story'):** Tourism development can interpret (present and explain) natural, social, historic and ecological features. Telling the story provides a more rewarding experience and ultimately helps conserve the destination.
- 10. Enhancing sense of place through design:** Good design respects the resource, achieves conservation outcomes, reflects community values, and is instrumental in telling the story. It is not just about form and function but also about invoking an emotional response from the visitor.
- 11. Providing mutual benefits to visitors and hosts:** Tourism is not encouraged for its own sake. It is an economic and community development tool and must take into account the benefits that both the host community and the visitor seek.
- 12. Building local capacity:** Good tourism businesses do not stand isolated from the communities in which they operate. They get involved with the community and collaborate with other businesses and stakeholders and help to build local capacity.

Source: the South Australian Tourism Commission (2007, p.10)

been underlined by a number of researchers (Page & Connell, 2009) who point out that tourist satisfaction can encourage repeat visits, and this is an important objective of any tourism organisation as it is one of the most cost effective ways to attract visitors.

At the same time, cooperation and partnership between different stakeholders involved in tourism development is essential in achieving sustainable development of tourism in a destination (Godfrey, 1998; Veal, 2010) and may help towards building local capacity for the development of this activity (principle 12). Moreover, promoting authentic attractions (principle 4) which have good design (principle 10) and are relevant to the local history and culture, while also 'telling the story' (principle 9), can enhance the visitor experience and contribute to the conservation of the area. Therefore, tourism can encourage the conservation of the built and natural environment (principle 2) and this could contribute to the distinctiveness and the appeal of a destination, which is so important in the case of cities. Nevertheless, tourism is a competitive sector and destinations are in competition with each other to attract more visitors and to retain business generated by tourism (Law, 2002; Hall, 2008). Consequently, understanding and targeting the market (principle 6) and differentiating from other competing destinations (principle 3) are essential if a destination is to survive in the long term.

Nevertheless, even though there is disagreement among researchers on the objectives and principles of sustainable tourism (Ruhanen, 2008), the real challenge lies in implementing them in practice. This is more complicated than in the case of other industries due to the conflicting interests which exist between the main four stakeholders involved in tourism, i.e. residents, tourists/visitors, the tourism industry and the public sector (Middleton & Hawkins, 1998; Dwyer & Edwards, 2010). In addition, although less important than those mentioned above, Swarbrooke (1999) includes another four groups among the key stakeholders that need be considered when speaking about sustainable tourism, and these are illustrated in Figure 2.3. Therefore, sustainable tourism is about finding a balance between the different interests of all the stakeholders concerned.

When looking at the progress made towards achieving sustainable tourism, according to a number of researchers, many tourism activities are far from being sustainable and there are many obstacles, such as lack of understanding and lack of stakeholder involvement, to be overcome for the concept to be implemented successfully (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Testoni, 2001; Liu, 2003; Williams & Ponsford, 2009). For example, Dodds (2007), and Dodds and Butler (2010) looked at the particular cases of Calvia (Spain) and Malta, and found a number of barriers which

affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies. These are related to economic priority over social and environmental concerns, stakeholder support, coordination between different government bodies, integration of tourism into wider policies, lack of resources, and focus on votes. The authors note that these barriers are a consequence of the complexity of the tourism industry which involves multiple stakeholders that often have different agendas.

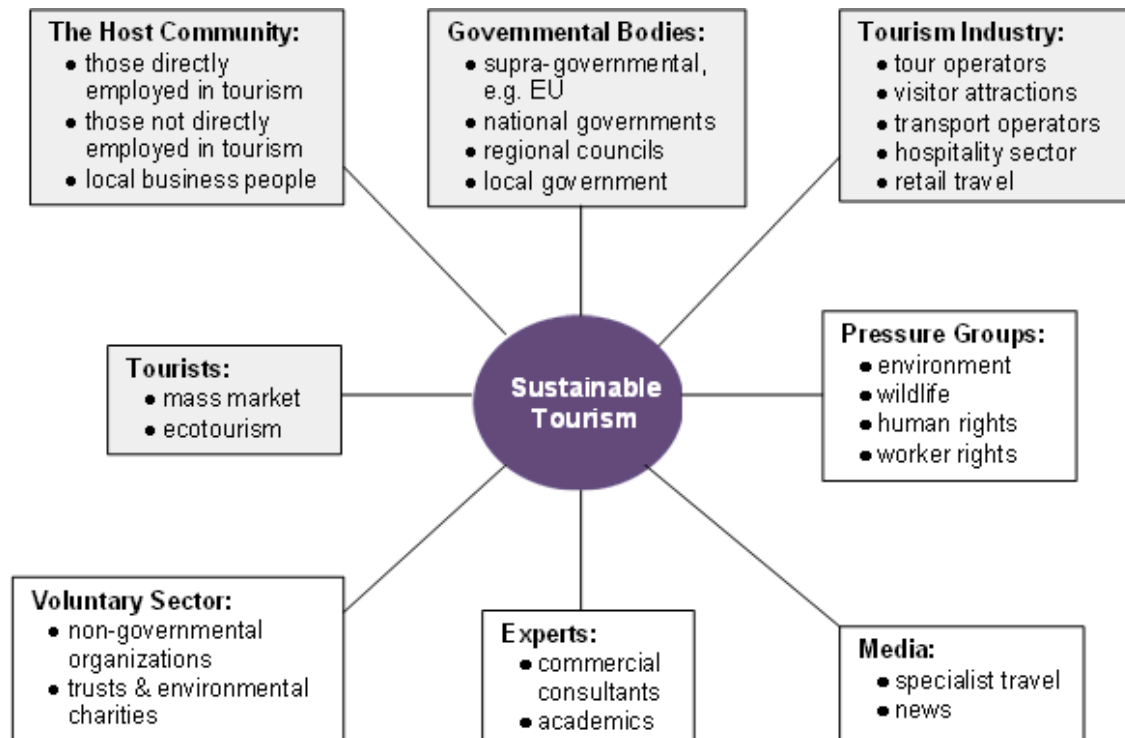


Figure 2.3 *The key stakeholders in sustainable tourism.* Source: adapted from Swarbrooke (1999, p.17)

Moreover, Dodds and Butler (2009) argue that despite its buzz word status, the actual implementation of sustainable principles by tourism organisations and governments is still very limited in practice. This is further supported by Sharpley (2009) and Butler (2010) who underline that even though governments adopted with much enthusiasm the ideologies of sustainable tourism, little evidence of real action has been seen so far. The need for both government and tourism organisations ‘to walk the talk’ and put ideas into action has been emphasised by Bramwell and Lane (1993, p.4) since the early 1990s. More recently, Ruhanen (2013) notes that policies promoted by the government ‘may give the appearance of a paradigm shift towards sustainable development, but in reality they are still pro-growth, and focused on traditional

concerns of economic returns'. Therefore, as Hall (2010) argues, despite the large number of publications and strategies for sustainable development of tourism, at a global scale this activity is currently even less sustainable than before. This suggests that more attention needs to be paid to the practical construction of the sustainable tourism concept and how its principles can be implemented in practice.

In trying to explain the reasons why tourism can be unsustainable, McKercher (2003) identifies four fundamental causes. First of all, tourism is in fierce competition with the local community and other industries for the same limited resources. Second, tourists and local residents have different needs and satisfying one category may not satisfy the other. Third, those who correctly understand tourism and how it can be sustainably developed are only a few, and this has led to many wrong decisions being made. And fourth, tourism is frequently imposed on local people at a magnitude they cannot cope with, which often causes serious social disruptions. Therefore, McKercher (1993b, p.398) concludes that if tourism is to 'survive sustainability', the industry must take a proactive approach to address the challenges of sustainable development and to integrate the needs of all stakeholders involved.

Finally, in order to summarise the debates over the two concepts discussed in this chapter (SD and ST), a diagram has been created to highlight the arguments that guide the present research (see Figure 2.4). This diagram is part of the conceptual map designed for this study, and included in the methodology chapter (see Figure 4.1).

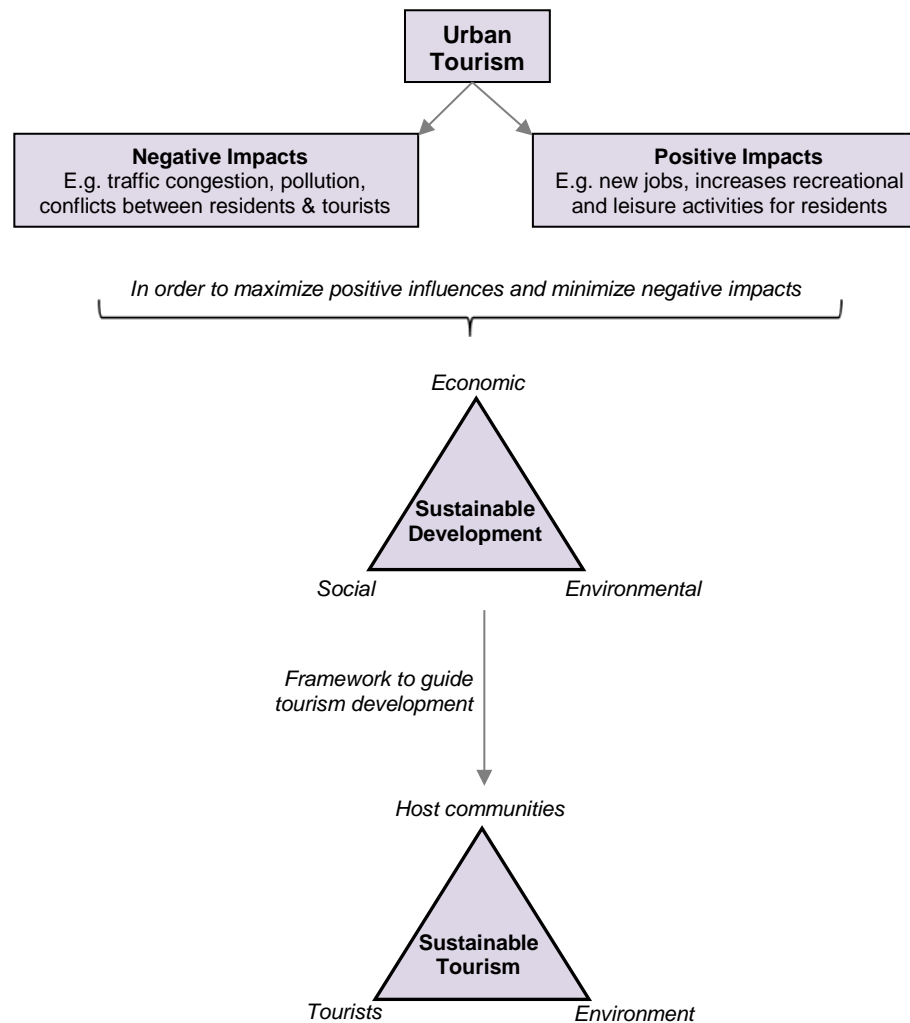


Figure 2.4 Sustainable development and sustainable tourism

2.6 Summary

So far, the discussion has highlighted the importance of the two concepts, sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and has discussed the reasons why it is important for policy makers to implement them in practice. The first part of the chapter included a review of different definitions and interpretations of sustainable development, and examined the main criticisms of the term. The discussion then pointed to the dynamic process nature of this complex concept that aims to achieve a balance between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability. It then introduced the four different positions of SD and it explains why the weak sustainability is more likely to work in urban areas, which are the focus of the present research. Cities are densely populated locations, consisting of environments which have been already altered extensively. Therefore, in this situations it seems more

pragmatic to adopt a rather weak approach to sustainability that promotes managed growth and resource conservation.

Further on, the chapter looked at the way sustainable tourism has developed and showed how the term has received similar criticisms to those of sustainable development. It then reviewed the ST definitions and analysed the objectives and principles that underpin it. The interpretation of sustainable tourism adopted in this research is that given in the UNEP and WTO (2005) report, which aims to balance the interests of the main stakeholders involved in tourism development while also considering the three dimensions of sustainability. The chapter also highlighted the lack of implementation of ST in practice and concluded that if sustainable tourism is to be achieved, governments and the tourism industry would need to take further steps and turn ideas into action. For this to happen, the principles behind sustainable tourism need to be put into practice by all those involved in tourism development in a destination.

The next chapter introduces the phenomenon of urban tourism, outlining its importance for the tourism industry. It then underlines the role of the planning process in the implementation of ST principles and looks at the role played by the public authorities in planning and managing this activity.

Chapter 3 Sustainable tourism planning in urban environments

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to give the context for the present research by highlighting the importance of urban areas as tourist destinations and the significance of the planning process for the sustainable development of tourism.

The first part of the chapter analyses the phenomenon of urban tourism, which has only recently been recognised as a distinct area of study. Therefore, it gives a definition for urban tourism and it looks at the factors which make its study more difficult than for other forms of tourism. One of the aspects that has contributed to the difficulty in studying this complex phenomenon has been the lack of knowledge and data in the field, combined with the fact that tourism is less visible in cities. In these environments tourism represents only one activity among many others embedded in the economy, and issues of sustainability may be viewed with less urgency than in more environmentally sensitive locations. The first part of the chapter also explores the characteristics and advantages of world tourism cities such as London, which are recognized as important tourist destinations. In addition, it looks at the topic of sustainability in urban areas, with an emphasis on the need to adjust the principles of sustainability to the characteristics of each city.

The second part of this chapter considers the importance and benefits of tourism planning, and highlights the fundamental contribution of this process to the sustainable development of tourism. Moreover, it reviews a number of possible approaches that local authorities can adopt when planning this activity and looks at their advantages. Finally, the chapter examines the major role that governments and local authorities play in the planning and management of tourism, this aspect being the focus of the present research.

3.2 The urban environment and its importance as a setting for tourism

3.2.1 Urban tourism and its importance

Urban tourism is 'one of the earliest forms of tourism' (European Communities, 2000, p.21) which re-emerged in the 1980s due to a shift in tourist interest towards heritage and culture, and also as a means to regenerate historic city centres. Therefore, urban tourism is a relatively new area of research (Hinch, 1998) which has until recently been largely neglected by academics studying tourism (Ashworth, 1989; Evans, 2000; Law, 2002; Page & Hall, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). However, over the past years this phenomenon has attracted more attention from researchers due to the rapid growth sustained by this form of tourism (Maitland, 2009). Yet, tourism development in capital cities remains a neglected subject among academics (Maitland & Ritchie, 2009) and more research is required in order to understand how the particularities of such environments influence the planning and management of this activity.

One of the reasons why scholars overlooked until lately the field of urban tourism is the absence of a simple and clear definition to identify this type of tourism (Ashworth & Page, 2011). Law (1992; 2002) describes the concept as that tourism which is accommodated by urban areas. Other authors argue that adding 'urban' to the term 'tourism' is only placing this activity in a spatial environment, without actually defining or delimitating it (Ashworth & Page, 2011). In an attempt to define this phenomenon, Edwards et al. (2008, p.1038) consider that urban tourism is '*one among many social and economic forces in the urban environment. It encompasses an industry that manages and markets a variety of products and experiences to people who have a wide range of motivations, preferences and cultural perspectives and are involved in a dialectic engagement with the host community.*' This definition acknowledges the complex nature of the phenomenon and the fact that tourism is only one activity among many others which form the economy of a city. However, these ideas are considered in more detail in the next section, which discusses the particularities of this type of tourism.

When looking at the relevant literature on this topic, it can be noted that the phenomenon of urban tourism has been only gradually recognised as a distinctive area of study since the 1980s, with very few exceptions limited in scope in the 1960s and 1970s (Law, 1992; Pearce, 2001; Edwards et al., 2008). The most influential study on

urban tourism, which ignited the interest in this topic, is considered to be the work of Ashworth (1989) '*Urban Tourism: An Imbalance in Attention*'. This article brought to light the double neglect of the field of urban tourism (Page & Hall, 2003; Edwards et al., 2008; Page & Connell, 2009). On one hand, scholars who studied tourism have neglected large cities, although a major part of tourism is set in this environment. On the other hand, authors who studied large cities have neglected the importance of the tourism industry to their economy. This situation was reiterated by Ashworth (2003) more than a decade later. More recently, Ashworth and Page (2011) note some progress towards understanding urban tourism and mention that the imbalance in attention observed by Ashworth several years ago is beginning to redress. However, they argue that more research is needed to help better understand the development of tourism in cities, and this should also engage with non-tourism related literature such as urban studies.

As mentioned earlier, since Ashworth's 1989 work, there has been a gradual increase of interdisciplinary research papers published in the area of urban tourism (Edwards et al., 2008). Consequently, Page and Connell (2009) compiled a list of key studies produced over the last thirty years, indicating the individual theoretical or conceptual contribution of each work to this field of research (see Table 3.1). What they observed is that these studies originate from a number of different areas, i.e. a sociological tradition, cultural studies, geography or urban studies. The authors also argue that the contributions of these works to the research of urban tourism are weakly integrated and the theories put forward are still limited to their very specific target readers. In an attempt to address these issues, Pearce (2001, p.940) provided an integrative framework for urban tourism, with an emphasis on subject cells in terms of scale (e.g. site, district, city-wide, regional, national) and themes (e.g. demand, supply, development, planning). However, his work highlights the need for further research that should adopt 'a more systematic, multiscale approach' for a better understanding of urban tourism.

In addition, Ashworth and Page (2011) identified a number of sub-themes within urban tourism that are found in the research published to date (as presented in Figure 3.1). The present study will contribute to three of these sub-themes: management and planning, sustainability, and city case studies. As noted in the previous chapter, although much has been written in the past two decades on the topic of sustainable tourism, there are still many gaps in understanding this phenomenon (Liburd & Edwards, 2010), and in particular its implementation. Moreover, the implementation of ST is more difficult in cities due to the multitude of stakeholders involved in tourism

development, and thus requires a good planning of this activity. Planning and management of tourism are two important areas of study within tourism research and their implications will be further discussed in section 3.3. Nevertheless, to contribute to the current knowledge of sustainable tourism planning in urban environments, the present research adopts a case study approach (more details are given in section 4.4). Therefore, the research combines these three sub-themes and looks at the sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities in London.

Table 3.1 Selected theoretical and conceptual contributions to the study of urban tourism

Author(s)	Year	Contribution
Jansen-Verbeke	1986	Elements of tourism – primary, secondary and additional
Ashworth	1989	Urban tourism: imbalance in attention
	2003	Urban tourism: still an imbalance in attention
Ashworth & Tunbridge	1990	The tourist-historic city
Burtenshaw et al.	1991	Users of the city (tourists, residents and leisure visitors)
Garreau	1991	Edge city
Mullins	1991	Tourism urbanization
	1994	Class relations and tourism urbanization
Law	1992	Urban tourism and its contribution to economic regeneration
	2002	Urban tourism synthesis
Roche	1992	Mega-events and micromodernization: on the sociology of a new urban tourism
Dear	1994	Post-modern human geography: a preliminary assessment
Page	1995	Urban tourism as a system
Castells	1996	The rise of the network city
Zukin	1996	The culture of cities and post-modern environment
Thrift	1997	Cities without modernity, cities with magic
Gladstone	1998	Tourism urbanization in the USA
Hannigan	1998	Fantasy city
Dear & Flusty	1999	Engaging post-modern urbanism
Page & Hall	2002	Modelling tourism in the post-modern city
Pearce	2007	Capital city tourism
Maitland & Ritchie	2009	Expanding the body of knowledge related to national capital tourism

Source: based on the work of Page and Connell (2009, p.476)

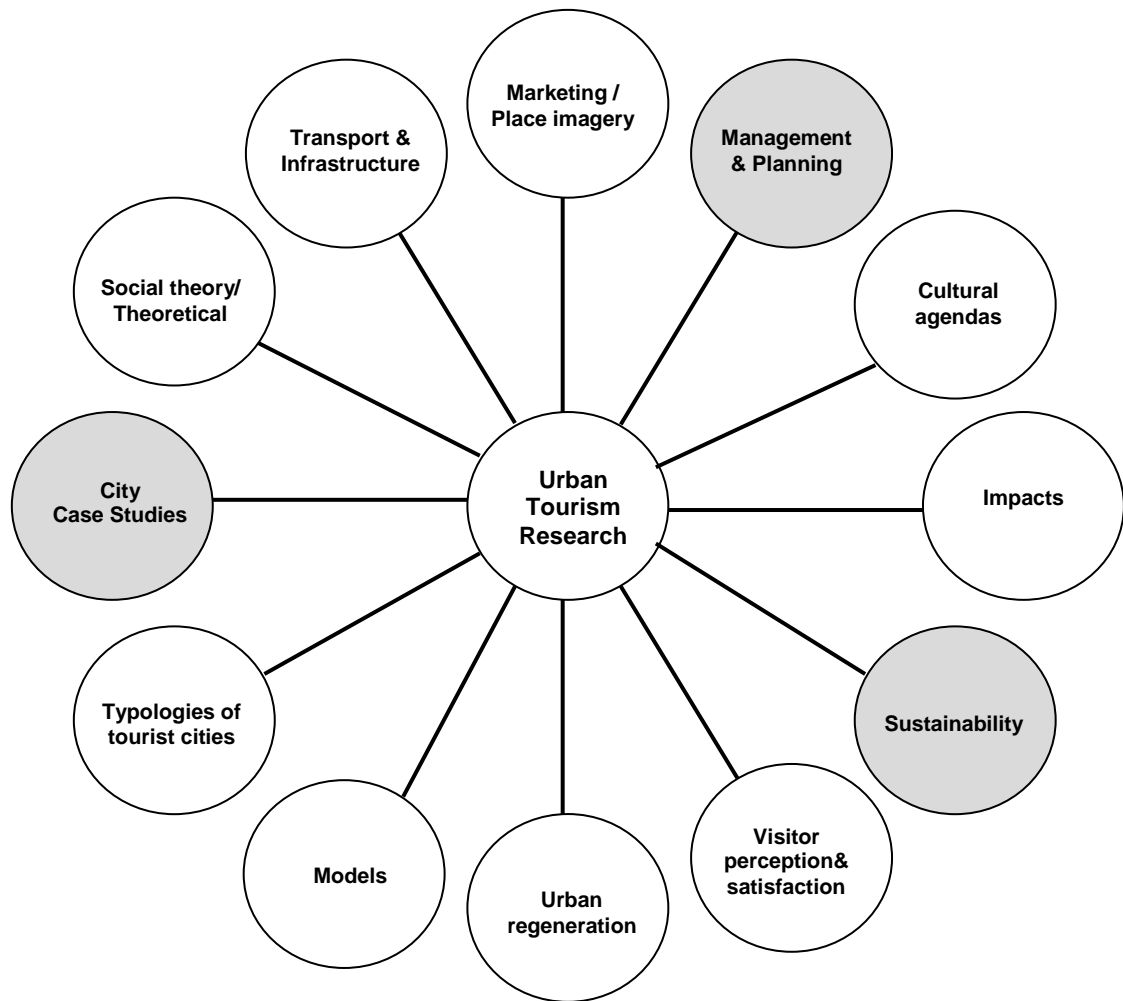


Figure 3.1 Sub-themes within the domain of urban tourism research. Source: Ashworth and Page (2011, p.2)

3.2.2 Urban tourism as a complex phenomenon

Researchers consider urban tourism to be a complex phenomenon (Bull & Church, 2001; Pearce, 2011) which is more difficult to study than other forms of tourism such as rural or seaside tourism. There are many factors which lead to this complexity and contribute to the difficulty in approaching this topic. Some of the most relevant aspects are discussed further on in this section.

To begin with, the ‘multifunctional nature of cities’ combined with ‘the multidimensional character of urban tourism’ (Pearce, 2011, p.59) make the analysis of this phenomenon more problematic. As mentioned before, tourism is less visible in cities, where it represents only one activity among many others embedded in the economy of the city (Ashworth, 1989; Law, 1996; Pearce, 2001; Edwards et al., 2008; Maitland & Newman,

2009a). As a consequence, the management and planning of tourism in urban areas is made more difficult by the necessity to consider a wide range of public and private entities which are linked directly or indirectly with the tourism industry (Edwards et al., 2008).

Another obstacle when studying this topic is the lack of data on urban tourism (UNWTO, 2004; Maitland, 2009), a result of the fact that every country tends to define and interpret this phenomenon in a different way. This scarcity of data, already underlined by Vandermeij (1984, p.123) almost thirty years ago, makes urban tourism one of the most 'misunderstood and underestimated' types of tourism. This situation in turn leads to further complications for policy makers, as accurate data is vital in order to ensure that the needs of tourists are properly addressed (Page & Hall, 2003).

Furthermore, in large cities such as London, the tourism economy comprises several sectors which address the needs of both, visitors and local community (Law, 2002), leading to a more complex relationship between residents and tourists. This situation is also recognised by Maitland and Newman (2009a) who note that the distinction between visitors and hosts is increasingly less clear in urban environments, as 'residents consume the city in ways that are similar to tourists' (Maitland, 2009, p.8). Consequently, in cities it is hard to recognise tourism as a separate activity restricted to precise areas or times. Furthermore, Pearce (2001) points out that tourists share and/or compete with the locals for the spaces, facilities and the services they use. This is further supported by Law (Law, 1996), who underlines that the tourism industry is often in competition with other local activities for a portion of the same limited resources. Moreover, as a result of globalisation, cities in different parts of the world are now in competition with each other in order to attract more visitors and to retain business generated by tourism (Law, 2002; Hall, 2008). These aspects add a further degree of complexity to the phenomenon.

In their paper '*Urban Tourism Research: Recent Progress and Current Paradoxes*', Ashworth and Page (2011) go further and identify a number of paradoxes that are characteristic of this activity. First of all, there is an outright contradiction between the importance of this type of tourism and the little attention it has received from academics, as well as the lack of a clear and precise definition of the phenomenon. Another paradox is that although there are many different reasons why tourists visit cities, these locations have the capacity to largely absorb tourism so that it becomes almost invisible both economically and physically. Furthermore, despite the fact that tourists use many amenities and services provided by the city, only very few of these

were specifically created with tourism in mind. Nevertheless, some visitors are attracted by the authenticity¹ of a city and not by the tourist attractions created specifically for them. Finally, even though tourism can add a significant contribution to the economy of a city, the places that gain the most benefits from this activity are those that rely on it the least. All these complex aspects have an impact on tourism planning and management in cities, and in particular on the sustainable development of this activity.

3.2.3 World tourism cities

Over time, cities have been classified by different researchers into different typologies which were determined based on the particular characteristics they present (Page, 1995; Law, 1996; Page & Hall, 2003; Maitland & Newman, 2009a; Page & Connell, 2009). Looking at London, the case study for the present research, it can be seen that it belongs to two different typologies – a national capital city, as well as a world tourism city. Yet, even though urban tourism has lately received more recognition both from tourism researchers and urbanists, not much has been written so far about tourism development in capital cities (Maitland, 2009).

Large cities are places which have always attracted travellers and visitors from other regions (Law, 1992; Maitland & Newman, 2009b), and in time they have become important centres for commercial tourism activities (Page & Hall, 2003). These locations have multiple roles, such as key gateways for domestic and international tourists, as well as staging posts and nodes for the transport system (Edwards et al., 2008). Building on the work of Burtenshaw et al. (1991), Ashworth and Page (2011) identify a number of areas and functions within cities, i.e. the historic city, the cultural city, the business city, the sport city, the nightlife city, the leisure shopping city and the tourist city. National capital cities such as London tend to accommodate several of these functions (Page & Hall, 2003; Maitland & Newman, 2009b), which makes them more attractive to visitors than other touristic locations.

Moreover, large cities are engines of development for their surrounding regions, as they are home to a large proportion of the jobs, businesses and higher education

¹ According to Maitland (2009, p.9), 'Some visitors deliberately seek out everyday life and the "real city". [...] These visitors value "getting off the beaten track", and away from tourist enclaves. They value the everyday and the presence of local people as markers of authenticity, and indicators that they are in the "real city".'

institutions, and contribute to the social cohesion of the area (European Commission, 2009). Tourism has become an important part of the economy in many such cities (Law, 2002; Wall & Mathieson, 2006), a fact that is now recognised by governments (Law, 1996; UNWTO, 2004). However, these cities have only recently started to be recognized as 'the most important type of tourism destination' (Law, 2002, p.1), a view also supported by other researchers (Page & Hall, 2003; Edwards et al., 2008; Hayllar et al., 2008).

Considering the particular case of world tourism cities, the second city typology that London belongs to, they present a series of advantages which contribute to the large numbers of tourists they attract. One of the main characteristics of these cities is that they accommodate world-class attractions (Law, 1996), and they are centres of business and cultural excellence. In addition, they offer visitors other benefits such as better developed attractions, easier accessibility through airports and better scheduled tourism services, a larger capacity to accommodate tourists and a variety of entertainment options, including sport events or the night life. Moreover, their large number of inhabitants means that world tourism cities also attract numerous visits from friends and relatives.

The reasons why people visit large cities can be divided into different categories, i.e. for business, conferences, big events or festivals, cultural and sports activities, sightseeing, shopping, restaurants, nightlife, gambling, or even to see friends and family. These visits are in many cases multipurpose, which coupled with the constant availability and operation of attractions during the whole of the year, makes such cities into all-year round destinations with a very low level of seasonality (Vandermeij, 1984; Page & Hall, 2003). Moreover, airline deregulation and visa simplification (as already mentioned in section 2.3) are also factors that have contributed to the large number of visitors attracted by this type of tourist destination (in particular within Europe) as it has made it easier for people to travel between different locations. Nevertheless, many tourists chose cities as their destination because they are in fact looking for the authentic experience of being in such a colourful and diverse environment. Consequently, urban areas attract both young people who come for entertainment activities or sport events, as well as older or better educated tourists who instead are looking for cultural or historical attractions (Hayllar et al., 2008).

As highlighted so far, large cities – and in particular capital and world cities – perform multiple functions and exhibit various characteristics which influence tourism development in those places. In addition, as noted earlier, many capitals are the main

gateway for tourists visiting that country and their success would have a direct impact on the number of visitors attracted by that nation. Therefore, in a globalised world that affects tourism development in most cities, the national capitals or global cities would 'need to negotiate the challenges of updating their appeal to visitors and maintaining their distinctiveness in the face of pressures from standardisation' (Maitland, 2012, p.1). Moreover, besides the complexities in terms of economic, social or political functions, these destinations have to deal with the diversity of the people experiencing such places either as residents, visitors or migrants (Stevenson & Inskip, 2009, p.107). Hence, it can be observed that world tourism cities exhibit a series of characteristics which add to the complexity when analysing the phenomenon of tourism in such environments. This makes the implementation of sustainable tourism principles more complicated, as policy makers would need to consider all these aspects that influence tourism planning and management in cities.

3.2.4 Urban tourism and sustainability

According to Elliott (2006, p.191), cities 'are central to attempts at meeting the goals of sustainable development in the sense that this is where the majority of world's population will soon be located, with all the associated physical demands [...] and the political, social and cultural requirements associated with the adoption of urban values'. However, the concept of sustainability has received little attention in urban tourism research, in comparison to other forms of tourism (Hinch, 1996; Law, 2002; UNWTO, 2004; Timur & Getz, 2008). Still, authors have highlighted a number of concerns to be considered by policy makers when planning and managing tourism in cities. They comprise aspects such as restoration and re-use of parts of the urban environment, the issues of congestion and air pollution, contestation of space, resource allocation, community involvement, political environment, as well as consideration of the concept of carrying capacity² (Law, 2002; Sharpley & Roberts, 2005). Furthermore, the topic of sustainability in urban areas is also discussed in the World Bank Urban and Local Government Strategy launched in 2000, which highlights the fact that urbanization can be beneficial when it is well managed (The World Bank, 2000, p.6).

² Carrying capacity is defined by Wall and Mathieson (2006, p.33) as '*the maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and the social, cultural and economic fabric of the destination and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by visitors*'.

In addition, Hinch (1998) identifies three important dimensions which contribute to the uniqueness of each city – the built, the natural, and the cultural environment. From a sustainability perspective, each dimension is threatened by different factors, e.g. the built environment by the general tendency towards the homogenisation of the design of buildings across cities (standardisation, a consequence of globalisation), the natural environment and the built heritage by new developments, and the cultural environment by the challenges posed by commodification.

On the other hand, there are a number of critics who dispute the benefits of the development of tourism in cities (Law, 2002) and its contribution to sustainable development. Some suggest that manufacturing or other types of industries are more reliable for the development of cities than tourism is. Others argue that tourism can only create jobs that are normally seasonal and low-paid, a view that is partially contradicted by Page and Hall (2003, p.91) who note that ‘urban areas have very little seasonal fluctuation’ due to the ‘all-year round operation of attractions that are less climatically dependent (e.g. museums, art galleries, [...])’. Also, there have been complaints about the fact that tourism requires spending by local governments on amenities for visitors while the needs of the local inhabitants should take priority. Other critics have underlined the likely negative impacts of urban tourism when it comes to existing congestion, overuse of facilities, as well as the conflicts that could possibly arise between the interests of tourists and those of the local community. In order to address these issues and to control the negative effects of tourism, Lane (2009) argues that it is important for tourist destinations to implement effective management techniques. This would help keep the negative impacts of tourism to a minimum and thus would contribute to the sustainable development of the industry.

For a tourism destination to be successful in the long term, Hughes (1994) proposes the European Community Models of Sustainable Tourism. This early model can also be applied to urban areas and includes three key elements, i.e. the prosperity of the local community together with the preservation of its cultural identity, the attractiveness of the location, and the ecological dimension, which in fact represent the fundamental aspects of sustainable tourism. Additionally, the model proposes another component considered to contribute to the achievement of ST – the effective political framework. Although political environments are rarely included among the pillars of sustainability, a number of researchers (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003; Butler, 2013) argue that beside the economic, sociocultural and ecological sustainability, there is a fourth pillar – the political sustainability, which should be considered when managing a destination. This view is

also supported by Choi and Sirakaya (2006, p.1277), who emphasise that ‘the context of sustainable tourism is a highly political one involving many stakeholders’.

However, as each city or town is unique, it is not feasible to attempt a generalisation of the positive and negative effects of urban tourism and of the solutions for maximizing or minimizing their respective impacts (Law, 1996; Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2005). As a result, the measures taken for the sustainable development of tourism in urban areas could vary from one destination to another, depending on the characteristics of each location and the aims of the local communities. Farsari et al. (2011, p.1130) also underline that ‘there is not an ultimate recipe’ to achieve sustainable tourism and this is due to the complex relationships between the factors which influence it. Consequently, some academics argue that more research is needed to identify the most suitable tourism policy strategies and management approaches that will contribute to building sustainable cities, while taking into account the economic, social, environmental and cultural aspects of urban areas (Paskaleva-Shapira, 2007). Having reached this point, the next section will focus on the planning process and its contribution to the sustainable development of tourism in a destination.

3.3 Sustainable tourism planning

As discussed in section 2.2, tourism is one of the fastest growing industries and without suitable measures promoted by both the public and the private sector, its continuous expansion is likely to put more pressure on the environment (Inskeep, 1987; UNWTO, 2007; Weaver & Lawton, 2010). In the absence of proper planning, local communities may become hostile towards tourism development, there could be a decrease in visitor satisfaction, and the environment may be damaged, all these factors contributing to the deterioration of a destination over the years (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Harrill, 2004). But if well-planned and managed, tourism could contribute to the conservation and regeneration of an area, to the economic development and to a better quality of life for both the host community and the visitors (Archer et al., 2005; Connell et al., 2009). Therefore, many researchers argue that planning is fundamental in order to achieve sustainable development of tourism (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Testoni, 2001; Hall, 2008), and that it becomes much more effective if also integrated with the process of policy making (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006).

Planning and policy formulation are two closely connected processes (Page & Hall, 2003; Hall, 2008; Mason, 2008). While tourism policies address the question of *what* is

required for the development of tourism in the long run, the planning process looks at *how* particular objectives should be achieved (Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006). Or as Veal (2011, p.9) notes, policies consist of 'statements of principles, intentions and commitments of an organisation', while plans are 'detailed strategies, typically set out in a document, designed to implement policies in particular ways over a specific period of time'. Therefore, to provide a better understanding of the issues surrounding sustainable tourism planning, the next section introduces the process of tourism public policy and briefly discusses its characteristics.

3.3.1 Tourism public policy

Based on the general definition of public policy given by Dye³ (2005, p.1), Hall (2008, p.10) states that tourism public policy is 'whatever governments choose to do or not to do with respect to tourism'. Despite its simple formulation, this definition highlights the fact that the government is the main actor in public policy-making, and has the power to make a choice and to decide whether to act or not to act on an issue (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003). In terms of public policy, the decision not to act is considered to be as important as the decision to act and non-decisions (e.g. considering an issue but deciding against introducing any measures) are seen as part of the policy output (Birkland, 2011). Goeldner and Ritchie (2006, p.405) however put forward a more specific definition which underlines the dynamic character of the tourism policy. According to them, 'tourism policy can be defined as a set of regulations, rules, guidelines, directives, and development/promotion objectives and strategies that provide a framework within which the collective and individual decisions directly affecting long-term tourism development and the daily activities within a destination are taken.'

According to Kerr (2003), the literature in the field of tourism policy is insufficiently developed and is missing specific approaches, frameworks and theories. Consequently, the formulation of tourism policy, considered a relatively new activity, is frequently neglected by governments. Therefore, a number of researchers consider that such policies become more of an ad hoc or incremental process (Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Ashworth, 2003). In addition to this weakness, Hall and Jenkins (1995) identify a number of other issues related to tourism policies. They highlight the lack of appropriate goals and objectives, the questionable assumptions on which the policies

³ Dye (2005, p.1) defines public policy as '*whatever governments choose to do or not to do*'.

are built, the lack of involvement of local communities in the policy-making process and the neglect of natural environment in favour of more tourism development. On the other hand, Veal (2002) argues that the public policy for tourism is generally oriented towards maximizing the benefits obtained by local communities as a result of the tourist activities hosted by the region, while in the same time minimizing the negative effects. Yet, he also point out that the benefits are mostly seen as economic advantages, while the negative consequences as environmental issues.

Furthermore, Edgell et al. (2008) notes that there are many professionals involved in tourism who lack an understanding of what tourism policy means in theory and practice. This is likely a consequence of the complex nature of tourism and also of the fact that tourism executives mainly focus on marketing tourism for economic purposes, rather than on understanding the public policy issues which influence it. Nevertheless, it has been argued that tourism policy is very important for the development of this sector due to a number of aspects: it defines the terms under which tourism organisations must function; it sets out the activities and behaviours which are acceptable; provides guidance for all tourism stakeholders; it facilitates consensus around the vision, strategies and objectives of a destination; it provides a framework for discussions on the role of tourism; and it allows tourism to effectively interface with other industries (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003, p.148).

As mentioned in section 3.2.4, many researchers have noted that the context in which tourism or sustainable tourism evolves is highly political (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). In this respect, Edgell et al. (2008) note that while tourism is an apolitical activity, all public decisions that influence tourism are made in a political context. In addition, Veal (2010) argues that tourism is not above politics and in order to understand why some governments promote or abandon certain tourism policies it is essential to understand the major political ideologies and their implications for public policy in relation to tourism. As such, he outlines the main features of seven ideologies which he considers to be the most influential in terms of UK politics (i.e. conservatism, liberalism/neo-liberalism, Marxism, democratic socialism, social democracy, the Third Way, and environmentalism) and discusses their implications for leisure, sports and tourism. Table 3.2 illustrates how these ideologies have contributed to the politics in Britain over the last six decades, and links them with the relevant political parties and governments. Some of these ideologies are of particular interest for this research as the parties promoting them are either currently in power (the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats who form the Coalition Government), or have been in power before 2010 (the Labour Party). The pre-2010 ideology is relevant to this study as a number of

policy documents that influence tourism development in the UK were adopted by the previous government (e.g. DCMS, 2009; *Sustainable Tourism in England: A Framework for Action*).

It should also be mentioned that the process of policy formulation comprises eight phases: setting the agenda, policy formulation, policy adoption, policy implementation, policy assessment, policy adaptation, policy succession, and policy termination (Dunn, 2004, pp.44–45). Relevant for this research is the policy implementation phase of which planning is a part of, and this is briefly introduced below. As such, implementation is the stage where a previously adopted policy is carried out by the appropriate administrative institutions which allocate financial and human resources for its implementation. In addition, Pigram (1992, p.81) sees policy implementation as ‘a bargaining exercise meshing political and social acceptability with economic and technical feasibility and with administrative reality’. He also notes that the problems which arise in the implementation stage have in general more to do with how decisions are put in practice and not that much with deciding what needs to be done.

In the case of sustainable tourism, the implementation process becomes more complex due to the need for an agreement between the objectives and values of the two main actors involved in the development of tourism – i.e. the public and the private sector. As de Kadt (1992, pp.69–71) points out, the fragmentation of government responsibilities and the ‘compartmentalized working links between civil servants and enterprises in the sectors their departments are supposed to regulate’ contribute to the difficulty in the implementation of sustainable tourism policies. At the same time, it has been widely recognized that sustainable tourism can only be successfully implemented through the consultation and cooperation of a wide range of stakeholders (Veal, 2010). Consequently, when designing sustainable tourism policies, the government and the local authorities would need to consider the opinions of the main stakeholders in tourism which have an interest in the area.

Having looked at the implications of tourism public policy on the sustainable development of this activity, the next section expands the discussion and considers the planning process and its effects on tourism development.

Table 3.2 Synthesis of political ideologies, parties and governments active between 1950 – 2010 in the UK

Ideology / Party	Government/PM	Dates	Principles – summary	Ideologies summarized			
				Change	Ec. growth	Role of the state	Social equality
Conservatism / Conservative Party	Winston Churchill Anthony Eden Harold Macmillan Alec Douglas-Home Edward Heath David Cameron	1951-1955 1955-1957 1957-1963 1963-1964 1970-1974 2010-	- a belief in stability and tradition rather than change; acceptance of a certain amount of inequality as part of the natural order of things; respect for 'traditional' institutions and values; a pragmatic acceptance of the role of government in supporting all of the above.	Against	For	Limited	Against
Liberalism; neo-liberalism/ Conservative Party	Margaret Thatcher John Major	1979-1990 1990-1997	- reductions in personal & corporal taxation; minimization of state regulation of private sector; reductions in industry protection & privatization of state assets; a shift in economic resources away from the public sector to the private sector.	For	For	Against	Against
Marxism/ Communist Party	Not in government		- capitalist society is characterized by the irreconcilable clash of interests between the capitalists and the workers; the relationship between capitalists & workers is an exploitation one; the state in capitalist countries merely plays the role of propping up the exploitative system by curbing and regulating some of the worst excesses of capitalism and providing it with a 'human face'.	For – by revolution if necessary	For	For – total control	Against
Democratic socialism / Labour Party	Clement Attlee	1945-1951	- an emphasis on equality and fraternity rather than liberty; defence of the interests of the working class as against those of the middle and ruling classes; belief in the power of the state to control capitalism through state ownership and control of key industries; belief that change can be brought about by democratic means.	For – by democratic means	For	For – extensive role	For
Social democracy/ Labour Party Social; Liberal Democrats	Harold Wilson James Callaghan In coalition In coalition	1964-1970 1974-1976 1976-1979 2010-	- a belief in social equality; support for a strong, interventionist state; - promotion of welfare services, including social security, education and health services; acceptance of a basically capitalist economy, suitably regulated.	For	For	For – but limited	For
Third Way / Labour Party	Tony Blair Gordon Brown	1997-2007 2007-2010	- a focus on the 'centre' of politics than a class-based left/right divide; keeping a balance between government, the market & 'civil society'; adopting the principles of 'no rights without responsibilities'; fostering a 'diversified society based on egalitarian principles.	For	For	For – but limited	For
Environmentalism/ Social; Liberal Democrats	Not in government		- the greens argue that economic growth should not be only the goal of society because unlimited economic growth, of a conventional kind, is incompatible with the continued survival of 'planet earth'.	For	Against	For – as regulator	Ambivalent

Source: summarised from Veal (2010, pp.21–41)

3.3.2 The planning process and its implications for tourism

Planning is one of the functions of management, and according to Leberman & Mason (2002, p.4) it attempts 'to create order from apparent chaos'. It is also considered a political action (Hall, 2008) as it tries to manage the conflicting interests of different stakeholders by taking appropriate decisions (Davidson & Maitland, 1997). This process is viewed as essential to the quality of people's lives due to its contribution to the prosperity, health and sustainability of local communities (HM Government, 2007). Moreover, it can be used in a multitude of contexts, it can be linked to various actors (e.g. governments, associations, groups or individuals), and it can take place at different geographical levels and at various scales.

In a more general way, planning is understood as 'organizing the future to achieve certain objectives' (Inskeep, 1991, p.25), an idea also supported by other academics and organisations (Williams, 1998; UNWTO, 1998; Dredge & Jenkins, 2007b). By planning, an entity creates action plans for future directions, establishes the target to be reached, the steps or actions needed to get there (Gunn & Var, 2002; Hall, 2002; Mason, 2008), and certain indicators that show when the target has been reached (UNWTO, 2004). There are three different possible approaches to planning as noted by Dredge and Jenkins (2007b, p.9), i.e. *communicative action*, *collaboration and partnership building*, and *capacity building*, all of which emphasize the interactive nature of this process. In light of this, they define planning as that activity of policy development which builds relationships between the different actors mentioned before.

According to Dredge & Lawrence (2007), there are a number of principles underpinning a good planning which policy makers may consider. These principles include being strategic, flexible, adaptive and responsive, accountable, equitable, informed, should consist of stages, and should promote active citizenry. In addition, Hall (2002) identifies other factors which can affect the planning process, such as changes in values over the time or conflicting values that require compromises, as well as its dependence on political factors.

Considering the case of the United Kingdom, which is the focus of the present research, Middleton with Hawkins (1998, p.103) look at the attitude of local authorities towards planning and distinguish three different periods: control and regulation in the 1950s, economic regeneration and facilitation in the 1970s, and sustainable development and private sector partnership in the 1990s. In addition, Lombardi et al. (2011, p.281) note that during the 1990s planning was seen as essential in order to

achieve sustainability, and therefore the UK government 'began to give formal support to the sustainable development agenda'. Consequently, three pieces of legislation were adopted – the Environment White Paper and the Town and Country Planning Act both in 1990, later revised through the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act of 2004. Moreover, the latest National Planning Policy Framework published in March 2012 emphasises that 'the purpose of the planning system is to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012, p.2) and also recognises the three dimensions of this concept – economic, social and environmental. However, this document has been strongly debated over its presumption in favour of 'sustainable development' (Holman & Rydin, 2012), with a number of organisations fearing that this will allow easy planning permissions for developments in order to encourage economic growth, without too much consideration of their associated social and environmental impacts.

Having discussed the general aspects of the planning process and its development in the UK, and highlighted its contribution to managing the conflicting interests of different stakeholders in a destination, the following section looks at the particularities of tourism planning and its different approaches and models.

3.3.3 Tourism planning approaches and models

The importance and benefits of planning for tourism development have been widely recognised by organisations, governments and academics around the world, including Butler (1974), Heeley (1981), Inskip (1991), English Tourism Board (1992), Department of the Environment (1992), WTO (1994; 1998), Page (1995), Williams (1998), Testoni (2001), Gunn and Var (2002), Department for Communities and Local Government (2006a) and Hall (2008). According to Page and Connell (2009, p.554), tourism planning is '*a process which aims to anticipate, regulate and monitor change to contribute to the wider sustainability of the destination, and thereby enhance the tourist experience of the destination or place.*' This definition acknowledges the important contribution of planning to the sustainable development of tourism in a destination, a fact also supported by other academics (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Hall, 2008).

Research on tourism planning is a relatively new field of study, but has developed considerably over the past ten years (Dredge & Jenkins, 2011). The recent book '*Stories of Practice: Tourism Policy and Planning*' (Dredge et al., 2011b) makes an important contribution in this area, as it presents a historical development of tourism planning and policy since the 1960s, when it started to receive greater attention from

academics and governments. In addition, the authors identify and review a number of papers published during the past six decades and which are considered to have influenced the evolution of tourism planning research (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3 Important works in tourism planning and their contributions

Seminal work	Author	Year	Liminal contribution
Vacationscape	Gunn, C.	1965 1988	Spatial planning designing destination regions
Tourism Planning	Gunn, C. with T. Var	1979 1988 1994 2002	Rational comprehensive systems approach to tourism planning with a focus on the destination level
The Tourism System	Mill, R. & Morrison, A.	1984 2002	The tourism system
Tourism: A Community Approach	Murphy, P.E.	1985	Ecological approach to tourism planning that balances community, environment and economic issues to enhance long-term success and survival System planning approach
The Politics of Tourism in Asia	Richter, G.	1989	The political dimension of tourism
Tourism Planning	Inskeep, E.	1991	Comprehensive integrated sustainable approach that reflect a modernist, rational-scientific approach
The Politics of Tourism	Hall, C.M.	1994	Tourism and Politics: Policy, Power and Place
Tourism and Public Policy	Hall, C.M. & Jenkins, J.	1995	Policy making processes, role of government, values in policy, roles and power of interest groups
Tourism Planning: Policies, Processes and Relationships	Hall, C.M.	2000	Sustainable tourism
Tourism Collaboration and Partnerships: Politics, Practice and Sustainability	Bramwell, B. & Lane, B. (eds)	2000	Theoretical and practical explorations of collaboration and partnerships building (from a special issue of <i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i> 1999)

Source: Dredge et al. (2011b, p.24)

Modern planning appeared in the late 18th century, as a reaction to the negative socio-economic consequences that accompanied the rapid urbanization brought about by the Industrial Revolution (Leberman & Mason, 2002; Hall, 2002). At that time planning was predominantly reactive and only recently it has become more of a proactive process. Its evolution in relation to tourism has been documented by a number of researchers, e.g. Inskeep (1991), Dredge et al. (2011b) or Costa (2001), with three different stages

having been outlined by the latter author. It is worth noting that only after the 1920s tourism planning finally surfaced as a distinct field of planning. The first stage mentioned by Costa was that of *classical planning* which lasted until the 1950s, and during which time the majority of tourism legislation focused on the need to protect rural areas. The second stage, of *rational planning*, covered most of the next two decades, extending until the 1970s, and saw a period of rapid growth for the tourism phenomenon. During this time tourism planning was still considered to be part of the process of town planning. In a later work, while still referring to the same period, Costa (2006, p.237) points out that '[t]he absence of proper planning policies, views and knowledge of what tourism was all about, helps to explain why, during this period, some forms of development were responsible for causing so many negative environmental, sociocultural and economic impacts'.

However, after the 1980s, a number of new approaches and models were proposed – such as those developed by Baud-Bovy (1982) or Getz (1986) – illustrating the emergence of a new body of knowledge in tourism planning. These new models shifted the orientation of tourism planning from an economic approach to a more interconnected view of all the systems involved or affected by the process. During this phase, which Costa (2006) refers to as '*Tourism planning towards maturity: 1980s – 1990s*', tourism planning started to emerge as a separate discipline and was recognised by both governments and academics as an important process for the success of tourism in a destination. The same author notes that after the 1990s, government budgets were shrinking and thus planners were left with fewer resources to implement policies. Therefore, the private sector became more involved in the planning process for tourism development in an area. As such, tourism planning has seen a shift from government to governance [see Hall⁴ (2011) and Bramwell (2010) for a discussion on governance and its implications for tourism policy]. According to Penny Wan (2013), the process of governance brings multiple stakeholders together and puts emphasis on democracy, collaboration, decentralisation, institutional arrangements and community participation. Dredge et al. (2011b) also observe that since the early 2000s the tourism research tended to be dominated by neoliberal values, such as public-private partnerships, collaboration and joined-up government.

⁴ Hall (2011, p.439) argues that '[g]overnance is an increasingly significant issue in the tourism public policy and planning literature [...]. It has assumed importance as researchers have sought to understand how the state can best act to mediate contemporary tourism-related social, economic, political and environmental policy problems at a time when the role of the state has itself changed, given the dominance of neo-liberal policy discourse in many developed countries'.

In terms of planning traditions, Getz (1987) identifies four different approaches to tourism planning, based on the principles that underpin this process, i.e. *boosterism*, *economic*, *physical/spatial* and *community oriented*. These approaches, which are neither sequential nor mutually exclusive (Dredge & Jenkins, 2007a), have been widely cited in the relevant literature (Simpson, 2001; Sharma, 2004; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008; Jennings, 2009). The first approach – *boosterism* – is based on promoting and advertising tourism activities, which are considered to have only positive effects. The *economic* (industry oriented) approach to tourism is focused on the financial benefits of tourism (income and employment) and its contribution to economic growth. The *physical/spatial* approach requires that development is based on specific spatial characteristics that would help reduce the negative consequences of tourism on the environment. Finally, the *community oriented* approach acknowledges the fact that tourism evolves in a social and political context and highlights the important role of stakeholder participation. To these ones, Hall (2008) adds a fifth approach – *sustainable tourism planning* – that deals with the issue of resource availability in the long term. It is worth noting that the last two traditions (i.e. community oriented and sustainable tourism planning) propose a bottom-up approach to planning, which involves local community participation, as opposed to the top-down approach that views planners as the main experts (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008).

Furthermore, there are a number of different approaches and models to tourism planning that have been discussed in relevant literature (UNWTO, 1998; Veal, 2002; Veal, 2010). These models have evolved from rigid forms of planning, as is the case of master plans, to more flexible forms, such as strategic plans (UNWTO, 2004). They can be applied by local authorities either individually or in combination, depending on the characteristics of the area where they are implemented. A brief overview of the most significant types of planning is given below.

To begin with, the *master plans* are physical plans which represent on maps the desired state and shape of an area in future (UN-Habitat, 2009). Yet, this type of planning was criticised by researchers due to its lack of flexibility and therefore other forms of planning were suggested (Smith et al., 2010). Another model is that of *collaborative tourism planning*, which puts emphasis on the involvement of all stakeholders in the planning process (Hall, 2000). A different approach proposed for the planning and management of the phenomenon of tourism is that of *integrated planning*. According to this model, tourism is a system which ‘cannot be planned in isolation’ (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008, p.96) and it needs to be incorporated into the general plans and development policies of a local area. These should be further

integrated into the regional, national and international plans and policies for tourism development (UNWTO, 1998). However, as Veal (2010, p.399) observes, the integration of tourism into local plans 'is less fully developed than other sectors' which is a result of the lack of attention given to this field until recently in relation to the local planning frameworks.

Finally, *strategic planning* is another model employed when planning tourism development in a destination and can be used in rapidly changing environments such as urban settlements (Dredge & Moore, 1992; UNWTO, 1998). This is a popular model, which focuses on medium and long term objectives (Veal, 2010) and aims to optimize the positive impacts of tourism in terms of economic, socio-cultural and environmental influences. According to Edgell et al. (2008), strategic planning puts emphasis on the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of tourism activities. However, UN-Habitat (2009) note that this type of planning often tends to be abandoned each time a different mayor or political party is elected.

In terms of its shape and scale, tourism planning could happen in a number of forms and structures, as well as at different scales of governance, space and time (Page & Hall, 2003; Hall, 2008). As the tourism policy overlaps with other policy areas, such as urban development, conservation and transport, a number of researchers argue that it is relatively rare for plans which impact the tourism industry to be exclusively dedicated to tourism in the first place (Heeley, 1981; Page & Hall, 2003). As a result, planning for this activity is usually a combination of economic, social, political and environmental aspects and this is a consequence of the various factors which influence tourism activities in a destination.

Nevertheless, planning and management are fundamentally required at all levels of tourism activity, including national, regional and local. However, it has been argued that effective action and further investigation are primarily needed at the local or destination level, where consequences of tourism are most evident (Heeley, 1981; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Hall, 2008). When speaking of planning at the local level, this generally means sub-regions, towns, cities, villages, resorts and some tourist attraction features (UNWTO, 1998, p.25). But although most decisions concerning the development of tourism are or need to be made at the local level, de Kadt (1992) underlines the lack of expertise and competences at this level, in particular in such areas as environmental and social sustainability. Other obstacles identified by researchers to limit the contribution of local governments to tourism planning are lack of recognition received by this sector on the political agenda, lack of resources, lack of

commitment to long-term decisions, lack of appropriate research and information, and lack of coordination and communication (Swarbrooke, 1999; Dredge, 2001; Dodds & Butler, 2010).

Therefore, in order to address the challenges of tourism development at the local level, Dredge (2007) identifies a number of factors which planners and policy makers should consider, such as the characteristics and dynamics of the location, the factors which influence the development of tourism, together with the dynamics of the local processes. Other factors to be considered are the institutional arrangements, the unique features and qualities of a destination, the attitude of the community towards tourism and its involvement in such activities. Inskip (1991) also notes the importance of involving the local community in the planning process, as this would help minimize the potential conflict between the interests of tourists and those of residents, and would therefore contribute towards sustainable development of tourism in a destination (Page & Connell, 2009; Dodds & Butler, 2009).

3.3.4 Sustainable tourism planning

Sustainable development has become an important objective of the policy agenda for all governments (Ruhanen, 2008) and a key principle intended to underpin the planning process in the UK (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a). Consequently, sustainable tourism, which is associated with the need for planning (UNWTO, 2004), is a concept widely embraced by managers and planners of tourist destinations. However, there are only a few studies on how and with what results this concept has actually been implemented in practice by local authorities (Dodds & Butler, 2009; 2010). Therefore, more research is needed in this area to help policy makers better understand the issues surrounding sustainable tourism implementation and how these could be addressed, as well as to identify cases of best practice.

In their study, Page and Dowling (2002) reviewed the most important papers on tourism and sustainability with implications for planning, including the early works of Mathieson and Wall (1982), Murphy (1985), Getz (1986), Inskip (1987; 1988), Gunn (1987; 1988), Pearce (1989), Romeril (1989), Ashworth (1992) and Fennel (1999). All these early authors, as well as those who tackled this topic more recently, e.g. Gunn and Var (2002), Weaver (2006), Hall (2008), Connell et al. (2009), Bramwell and Lane (2010), and Moyle et al. (2013), have underlined the importance of implementing sustainable development principles – with its economic, social and environmental dimensions – into the tourism planning process.

Furthermore, it has been argued that in order to achieve sustainable tourism development in a destination, the effective planning and management of the natural and built environment is essential (Edgell et al., 2008). In addition, UNEP and ICLEI (2003) have highlighted the need to involve all stakeholders in the tourism planning process, including the private sector, non for profit organisations and the local community. It is claimed that by following these recommendations, a number of positive results are likely, such as benefits for local people, satisfaction of tourists, and preservation of tourism products for the use of future generations (Edgell et al., 2008). However, Gunn and Var (2002) argue that there is no such thing as a correct or ideal method of planning and this is a consequence of the distinct particularities of each destination (Dredge, 2007). Still, it has been widely recognised that the development of tourism in the absence of a carefully designed planning process could lead to a whole set of negative consequences (Inskeep, 1987; UNWTO, 1994; Williams, 1998; UN, 2001; Testoni, 2001; Hall, 2008; Connell et al., 2009).

When looking at the implementation of sustainable tourism in practice, there are a number of studies worth mentioning, including Page and Thorn, from (1997) and (2002), and Connell et al. (2009). These authors have examined the implementation of sustainability principles in a framework for tourism planning, in the particular case of New Zealand. The first two studies, although carried out 5 years apart, revealed that there is no universal integrated approach to planning for the development of tourism. The third study recognises the progress made by the New Zealand government in adopting a national tourism strategy and developing policies to be implemented at the local level, but also underlines the 'major gap' between the tourism strategy and its implementation towards sustainable development of this activity (Connell et al., 2009, p.876).

Another two studies that are worth noting are those of Ruhanen (2004; 2008), which examine to what extent sustainable development principles were considered in the tourism plans produced by the local government in Queensland, Australia. The author came to the conclusion that even though most of the plans for tourism include goals and objectives related to sustainable development, the strategic actions mentioned by the majority of these documents do not effectively address this concept. This disparity is attributed by Ruhanen to the lack of understanding of the policy makers in terms of what sustainability means and how it can be implemented.

Testoni (2001) is another researcher who argues that there is often a gap between policy endorsements and the reality of its implementation, noting that the effective

implementation of policies for sustainable tourism in practice is very limited. This situation could be a consequence of the many economic, social and environmental conflicts that exist at local level and which planners try to resolve (Davoudi & Layard, 2001). The complexity in implementing sustainable tourism policies in practice is also highlighted by Farsari et al. (2011, p.1130; 1111), who note that there is no 'ultimate recipe' to sustainable tourism but there are various issues that need to be managed simultaneously in order 'to achieve a holistic approach integrating social, environmental and economic dimensions'. Furthermore, Testoni (2001, p.197) underlines that the implementation of sustainability principles into tourism planning is not an easy task and requires 'hard political choices'. This view tends to be confirmed by Dodds (2007) who identifies the lack of political will among the barriers that affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policy in Calvia, Spain.

To help with the implementation of this concept, Dwyer and Edwards (2010, p.20) identify a number of guiding principles for sustainable tourism planning; these are: responsibility in order to protect the built and natural environment; commitment and leadership at all levels; cooperation between the stakeholders involved in tourism development in a destination; education and training to improve public understanding and professional skills; social creativity and freedom. Hall (2008, p.65) goes further and argues that '[w]here voluntary procedures to promote sustainability have failed then increased regulation may be the only option available to gain the required outcomes'. This view is also supported by Bramwell and Lane (2010), as well as Pigram (1992, p.80), with the later author noting that in the absence of regulative measures developers are 'more likely to ignore the longer term consequences' of tourism development in favour of more immediate advantages such as economic benefits. However, regulation is not favoured by the tourism industry, nor by some governments, with a number of countries even considering the planning process as 'an unacceptable and dangerous government intervention' which can interfere with the free market (Kerr, 2003, p.32). Therefore, a tension exists between the proponents of more regulations and those which oppose it, an aspect that needs further examination but which is not covered by the present study.

Having reviewed the main issues related to sustainable tourism planning and its implementation, the next section looks at the particularities of tourism planning in urban environments.

3.3.5 Planning for tourism in urban areas

Although cities are important tourist destinations, the field of planning for urban tourism has received much less attention than for other forms of tourism. As a result, there has been very little literature written on this topic (Inskeep, 1991; Law, 1992; Evans, 2000). Consequently, tourism planning in urban areas has been lacking suitable models, such as integrated and sophisticated approaches that would help in dealing with the complexity of urban environments (Evans, 2000). Furthermore, the implementation of tourism planning and management in cities is influenced by the rapidly changing nature of the urban environment (Hinch, 1996). Therefore, the planning and management of urban tourism would have to consider all these changes.

In the case of the UK, Evans (2000) points out that reference to the tourism activity from an urban perspective and in terms of city planning systems has been mostly omitted both in public policies and in practice. As a consequence, there has been little interaction between the development of urban tourism and the process of city planning, and contact between the two has been limited to the bureaucratic level of development control, e.g. planning permission/refusal, building regulations/conservation or parking restrictions. Moreover, the actual existence of urban tourism planning as a distinct planning activity, as is the case for other sectors, is uncertain (Dredge & Moore, 1992; Page & Thorn, 1997; Ashworth & Page, 2011). This is a consequence of the fact that no single and/or well established unit is charged with the planning and management of urban tourism but 'almost everyone and no one' seems to be responsible for this process (Ashworth & Page, 2011, p.11). Therefore, the field of urban tourism planning is an under-researched area and this study contributes in filling the gap by addressing a number of its particularities in relation to the sustainability concept (see Chapter 4 for a full discussion on the research questions).

In order to facilitate the understanding of the planning function in urban environments, Campbell (1996) uses a simple triangular model to outline the divergent planning priorities and the conflicts which arise within a city (see Figure 3.2). In this model, the corners of the triangle point to the concepts of economy, environment and equity, which in fact correspond with the three pillars of sustainable development, i.e. economic, environment and social. The divergent priorities outlined by the model are therefore the economic growth, its fair distribution and its achievement without damage to the environment. As a result, planners must deal with three fundamental conflicting interests, i.e. the property conflict, the resource conflict and the development conflict.

Hence, the role of planners is to find a way to achieve sustainable development within this triangle of conflicting priorities.

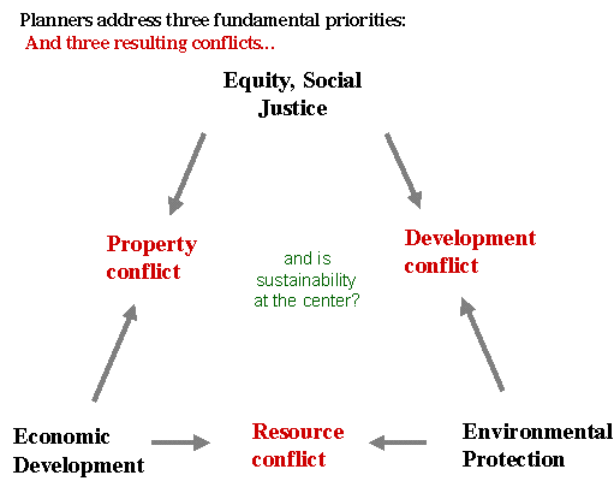


Figure 3.2 The triangle of conflicting goals for planning, and the three associated conflicts. Source: Campbell (1996, p.297)

Furthermore, in addition to the competing demand for the use of land which is found in the particular case of urban tourism planning, there can also be an increase in traffic congestion as a result of tourist concentration in central areas, and a possible degradation of the primary tourist attractions due to their overuse (Inskeep, 1991; UNWTO, 1998). Moreover, in capital cities such as London, planning for tourism may be complicated even further by the likely existence of competing agendas at different levels, i.e. local, regional and national (Page & Hall, 2003). Nevertheless, in a document produced during the previous government, the Department for Communities and Local Government (2006a) notes that when well planned, tourism can contribute to the sustainable development of cities and towns. For this to happen, it has been suggested that urban tourism plans need to be integrated in the general urban plans so that any conflicts which may appear could be effectively resolved at an early stage (Inskeep, 1991; Evans, 2000).

However, as planning is a process used by both private as well as public organisations, it should be mentioned that the present research looks solely at the public sector and focuses on planning at the local level. It is worth noting that in its global report entitled *Planning Sustainable Cities*, the UN-Habitat (2009, p.iv) points out that governments 'should increasingly take on a more central role in cities and towns' in order to guide development, but also to ensure that the basic needs of local communities are

addressed. Consequently, the attention turns now towards the role that the government and the local authorities play in the management and planning of tourism.

3.4 The role of Government and local authorities in sustainable development of tourism

According to a number of researchers, the demand for government intervention and tourism planning by local authorities is a consequence of the impacts that accompany the development of tourism, and which are mainly visible at the local level (Hall, 2008; Page, 2009). This view is also maintained by Kerr (2003) and Devine & Devine (2011), who underline that tourism development cannot be left only to the market forces as its economic, social and environmental impacts directly affect the local communities. Therefore, Page and Dowling (2002) suggest that governments should assume a leading role in setting out tourism policies and plans to guide this activity. More recently, other researchers have highlighted the shift in tourism policy from government to governance⁵, with the later considered 'a key requirement for implementing sustainable tourism' as 'it can enhance democratic processes, provide direction and offer the means to make practical progress' (Bramwell & Lane, 2011, p.411). Nevertheless, the contribution of public authorities to the development and management of tourism has been recognised by many authors and organisations (Law, 1992; Elliott, 1997; Godfrey, 1998; UNEP & ICLEI, 2003; UNEP & WTO, 2005; HM Government, 2007; Ruhanen, 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 2009).

The local and central government have a set of advantages in managing the complex phenomenon of tourism. These result from their competences on a number of related policy areas which influence the development of tourism, such as infrastructure, spatial planning and transport (Dredge, 2007; Dinica, 2009; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). Moreover, public authorities can set the conditions for future investments in tourism, legislate the access to land (e.g. long term leases), and decide whether or not to include tourism in their development plans (de Kadt, 1992). Additionally, the public sector can provide the necessary political stability and security, as well as the financial and legal frameworks needed for tourism activities (Elliott, 1997).

⁵ According to Bramwell and Lane (2011, p.412), 'The concept of governance is seen as broader than that of government, in recognition that often it is not just the formal agencies of government that are involved in governance tasks [...]. Non-state actors that can be involved in governance include actors in the business, community and voluntary sectors.'

Furthermore, governments are directly responsible for achieving sustainable development of a tourist destination. This is due to their power to adopt instruments in other policy areas which may contribute to sustainable tourism. In this respect, a number of organisations and researchers (UNEP & WTO, 2005; Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010) have underlined the need for governments to take a leading role in promoting sustainable tourism policies. They point out that tourism is a very fragmented industry and since sustainability is a concept associated with areas of public interest, governments are the only entities which have the tools needed to make a difference. These tools can be grouped into five main categories, which are measurement, command and control, economic, voluntary and supporting. Bramwell (2005) describes these instruments as zoning that can be used either to limit the number of tourists or to control development in sensitive areas; promoting codes of conduct in order to encourage sustainable tourism practices; to levy taxes on energy and waste in order to reduce pollution and overuse of limited resources; and to manage the infrastructure. Nevertheless, even the public considers the promotion of sustainable tourism to be the responsibility of governments. This conclusion was reached by a research on the public understanding of sustainable tourism conducted in England for the Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (Miller et al., 2010).

Therefore, a number of authors have highlighted a set of different roles that the public sector can take in contributing to the development of tourism (UNWTO, 1998; Gunn & Var, 2002; Hall, 2008; Edgell et al., 2008; Page & Connell, 2009; Dwyer & Edwards, 2010). Although they can vary in importance from one place to another, these roles are generally of coordination, policy formulation and planning, legislation and regulation, entrepreneurship, stimulation, marketing and promotion, education and training. Furthermore, Lane (2009) maintains that governments should assume the leading role and bring together all tourism stakeholders. This approach would help identify viable solutions for sustainable tourism development which would be holistic and, more importantly, implementable. However, as mentioned earlier, in recent years there has been a shift in the role of government from 'a traditional public sector model, delivering government policy, to one of a more corporate nature' (UNWTO, 2007, p.8) with an emphasis on public-private partnership and governance.

When looking at the different levels of public sector involvement in tourism, these include supra-national organisations (e.g. UN, EU), international organisations (e.g. WTO, UNESCO), national governments, government-funded agencies and local authorities (Page & Connell, 2009). At the national level, there are two main organisations in the UK which are important for the tourism economy. These are the

Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) which sponsors tourism and Visit Britain/VisitEngland, which are mainly funded by DCMS and promote Britain/England to the rest of the world. In addition, there are a large number of other governmental bodies which affect tourism directly.

However, it has been argued that the local authorities are the key players in the planning and management of tourist destinations (UNEP & ICLEI, 2003; Ruhanen, 2013) and their importance in the development of tourism has been widely recognised by scholars (Godfrey, 1998; Veal, 2002; Dredge, 2007). There is a whole set of reasons why the involvement of local authorities is vital in achieving sustainable tourism. According to the UNEP and ICLEI (2003), these factors include the complex nature of tourism activities, the acknowledgement that tourists react to destination characteristics and not only to exclusive products, the fragmented nature of the private tourism sector, and finally the tendency towards decentralisation in the public sector. In addition, local authorities are responsible with the preparation of tourism policies and strategies for an area, and with the adoption of principles for site planning, guidelines for tourist services, and development standards (Godfrey, 1998; UNWTO, 1998; Ruhanen, 2013). Their role is very well described by Jamal & Getz (1995, p.193), as a 'delicate task of juggling private sector interests with local resident needs and wants, in order to maintain the economic health of the community and ensure that development is sustainable'. Nevertheless, local authorities have been often criticized for being reactive rather than proactive when it comes to tourism planning (Dredge, 2001). This view is also supported by Ashworth and Page (2011), who maintain that a large proportion of planning for tourism at a local level is likely to be reactive and tends to address only those negative impacts of tourism which are perceived by the local people. This is a result of the considerable influence of the local residents who are also voters and taxpayers.

To summarise the arguments outlined in this section, governments play an essential role in promoting and implementing tourism policies and this is a consequence of the significant impacts which accompany the development of tourism in a destination. Moreover, governments have the authority and power to maintain political stability, to provide legal and financial frameworks, security and social infrastructure, all of which are necessary for sustainable tourism development. However, as mentioned before, although governments have adopted the concept of sustainable development with a lot of enthusiasm, much less has been seen on the part of real action towards its implementation in the field of tourism (Ruhanen, 2008; Dodds & Butler, 2009; Whitford & Ruhanen, 2010). Therefore, Carvalho (2001) suggests that governments should

make radical changes in the four areas it covers – economic, social, environmental and political – in order to promote sustainable development .

Finally, Figure 3.3 below presents the main arguments considered in this chapter and which were found to influence sustainable tourism planning in urban environments. This diagram, together with that presented in the previous chapter (see Figure 2.4), form the conceptual map designed for this study and included in the next chapter (see Figure 4.1).

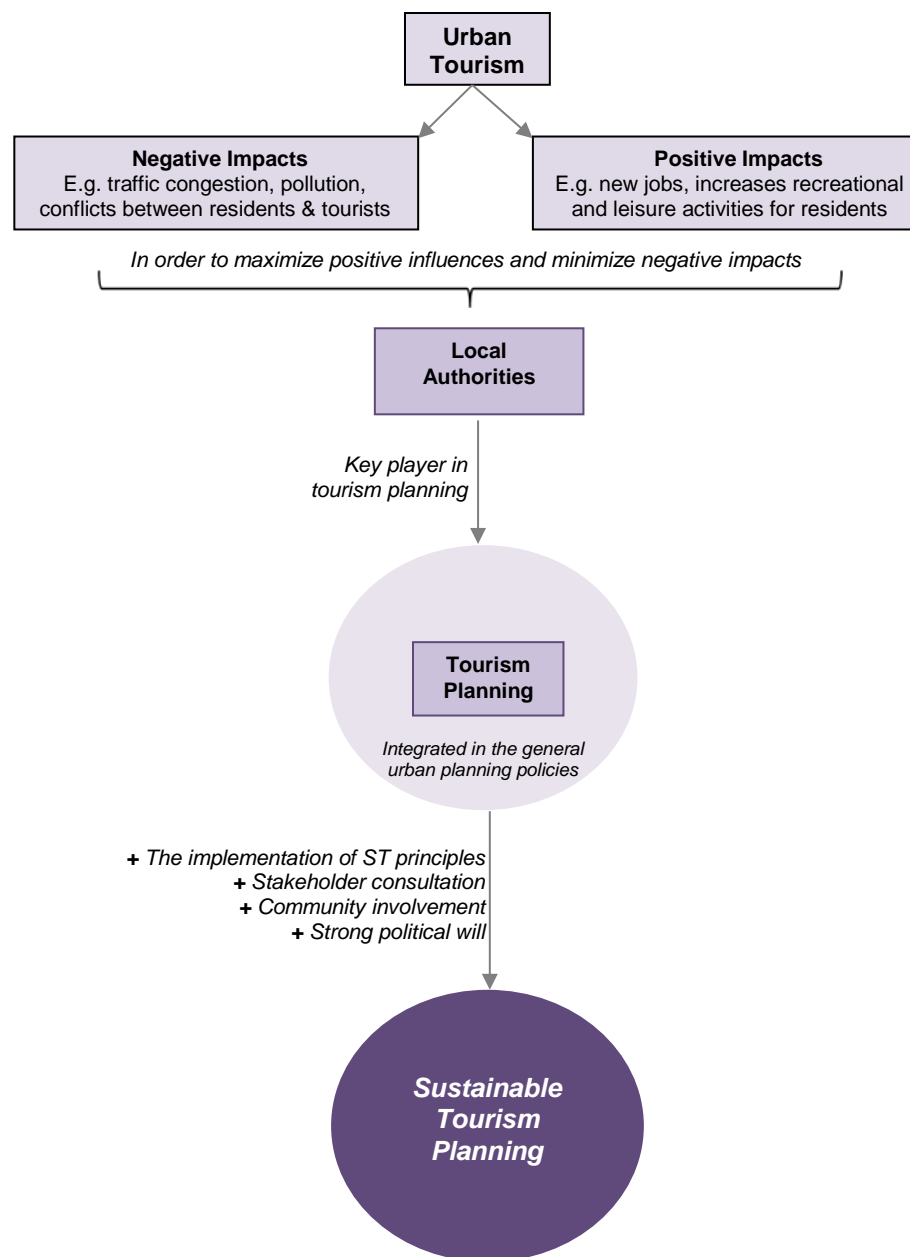


Figure 3.3 Sustainable tourism planning in urban environments

3.5 Summary

The first part of this chapter highlighted the importance of urban areas as a tourism destination and looked at the reasons why until recently urban tourism has been largely neglected by scholars. One of the main factors leading to this situation has been the absence of a simple and clear definition to identify this type of tourism. Additionally, the very limited availability of data on this field as well as the low visibility of tourism in cities has contributed to the neglect of this topic. As a result, the planning and management of tourism activities in urban destinations represents a complex task for governments, an aspect examined in detail in the previous sections. The discussion continued by introducing world tourism cities, such as London, which are places that have always attracted large numbers of tourists. This is a result of their particular advantages, which were also analysed in the first part of the chapter.

As the present research focuses on the planning of tourism by local authorities, the second part of the chapter started with a discussion on the tourism planning process and continued with a review of the main approaches and models for tourism planning. In addition, it underlined the lack of studies on this topic in terms of urban environments, which has led to a poor understanding of the process of planning for tourism in cities. Further on, it looked at why local authorities have an important role to play in the planning and management of tourism in a destination and therefore, in the sustainable development of this activity. Nevertheless, it was argued that sustainable tourism requires the cooperation of all stakeholders involved in tourism development in a destination. The final part of the chapter concluded that there is only limited research on the development and implementation of policies for sustainable tourism, which suggests that the implementation of such policies is very limited in practice.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology developed for the analysis of sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities, using London as case study. Therefore, it presents the methods adopted in this research and the rationale for their use. It begins with a short introduction of the aim of the study and the research questions, followed by an overview of the theoretical framework which underpins the study. The discussion continues with the methodology and the research approaches adopted, highlighting their advantages and limitations. It then looks at the benefits of using the technique of triangulation, which comes as an advantage of using multiple methods. Finally, the methods employed in the research are presented in terms of design, sample techniques, data collection and analysis.

4.2 Research aim and research questions

As discussed in the previous chapters, urban tourism is a relatively new area of research that emerged during the 1990s (Pearce, 2001) and which has been largely neglected by academics until recently (Page & Hall, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). However, in the last decade there has been a growing interest in the study of this topic due to the fact that urban areas have now been recognised as one of the most important tourist destinations, and consequently there was a need to better understand and manage this phenomenon (Edwards et al., 2008). In the same time, it is widely recognised that the development of tourism in urban areas is accompanied by both positive and negative impacts. Moreover, the negative impacts are considered to exceed the positive influences unless tourism is planned and managed (Page, 1995; UNWTO, 1998; Kerr, 2003; Mason, 2008; Connell & Page, 2008). In order to address this issue, the concept of sustainable development was adopted as a possible framework for tourism development so that negative consequences could be minimised while positive ones could be maximised (Ruhanen, 2008). Besides, it has also been argued that when planned and managed, tourism could contribute to the conservation and regeneration of an area, to its economic development and to a better quality of life for both the host community and the visitors (Connell et al., 2009). Thus, planning and

management of tourism could contribute to the achievement of sustainable tourism development in a region (Testoni, 2001; Edgell et al., 2008).

In light of these aspects, the present study seeks to address part of the current gaps in tourism research in terms of our limited understanding of the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policy in urban areas. London is used as an *exploratory case study* which contributes to the understanding of how public policies and strategies influence sustainable tourism development at the local level. Thus, the aim of the research is to develop the current knowledge and understanding of whether local authorities in London have embraced and implemented strategies and measures to promote sustainable development of tourism.

In addressing this issue, the present study seeks to find answers to the following research questions:

- RQ1. How the central government and other public authorities contribute to the sustainable development of tourism?
- RQ2. How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?
- RQ3. What are the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level?
- RQ4. What constraints and limitations affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level?

Therefore, the present research adopts a question-based approach, which is more common in social sciences (Veal, 2011), as opposed to a hypothesis-based approach that is more often used in natural sciences. The question-based approach is more appropriate for descriptive research, and as such it was deemed suitable when conducting the exploratory case study. This type of case study is favoured when little is known about a phenomenon, and it would help identify the factors which influence sustainable tourism planning in London. Furthermore, the present work is built on the existing knowledge on public policies for the sustainable development of tourism and it focuses on the role of local authorities in developing and implementing such policies in urban areas. As a result, it contributes to filling the gap in the study of urban tourism by developing the knowledge and understanding of the public policies promoted by local authorities for sustainable tourism in cities.

In order to answer the research questions, the present study employs both primary data (questionnaires and interviews with policy makers) as well as secondary data (as

detailed below). Blank (1994) is one of the researchers who recommends the use of both types of data in urban tourism studies, arguing that primary data is needed in order to better understand the particularities of tourism due to the unique characteristics of each city. Through the analysis of this novel information, the study expands our current knowledge on the sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities in London.

The secondary data considered for this research consisted of official documents (e.g. strategies, plans or guides) promoted by the local government for the development of tourism in London, as well as of relevant literature. The review of exiting literature on the topic is a very important stage in any study (Veal, 2011). Therefore, for this thesis an extensive literature review was conducted with the aim to determine the concepts and relationships underpinning the theoretical framework⁶ that would guide the study (see Figure 4.1). To begin with, the literature review focused on previous research and literature written particularly on the topics of 'sustainable tourism', 'urban tourism' and 'sustainable tourism planning'. The first step in this process was to identify the books and publications on these topics, through a thorough search of the library catalogue and based on the recommendations of the director of studies. This list was then expanded further with other relevant titles that were identified during the background reading. The next step was to conduct an online search through a number of appropriate electronic databases (e.g. Business Source Premier, Academic Search Premier) and to retrieve relevant articles. In addition, due to its particular significance to the research topic, the entire collection of the Journal of Sustainable Tourism was scanned through and all the article titles and abstracts were checked for their relevance to the present study.

As outlined in the previous chapter, the existing knowledge on urban tourism and sustainable tourism planning lacks a developed theoretical framework. Following the advice of Yin (2009) and based on a literature review, a number of theoretical propositions that influence sustainable tourism planning at the local level in urban areas were identified for this study. These propositions offered guidance on the type of data to be collected, as well as the strategies to be used in the analysis of this data. The present research adopts Sutton and Staw's (1995, p.378) definition of *theory*,

⁶ According to Sekaran and Bougie (2009, p.69), the 'theoretical framework represents your beliefs on *how* certain phenomena (or variables or concepts) are related to each other (a model) and an explanation of *why* you believe that these variables are associated with each other (a theory)'. [emphasis in the original]

which represents the ‘connections among phenomena, a story about why acts, events, structure, and thoughts occur’.

Figure 4.1 presents the conceptual map designed for this research in order to explore the current knowledge on the topic of sustainable tourism planning in London. This was created by combining the previous two diagrams introduced in Chapters 2 and 3 (see Figure 2.4 and 3.3). Thus, the *nodes* illustrated by boxes, triangles and circles represent concepts or items (e.g. urban tourism, local authorities, tourism planning, sustainable tourism), while the *arrows* depict the various connections between these nodes. *Labels* are used to specify what each node represents and what relationships exist between them (Berg, 2009, p.43). The assembly of these nodes, lines and labels represents the *propositions* or *elements of meaning* which guide the present research.

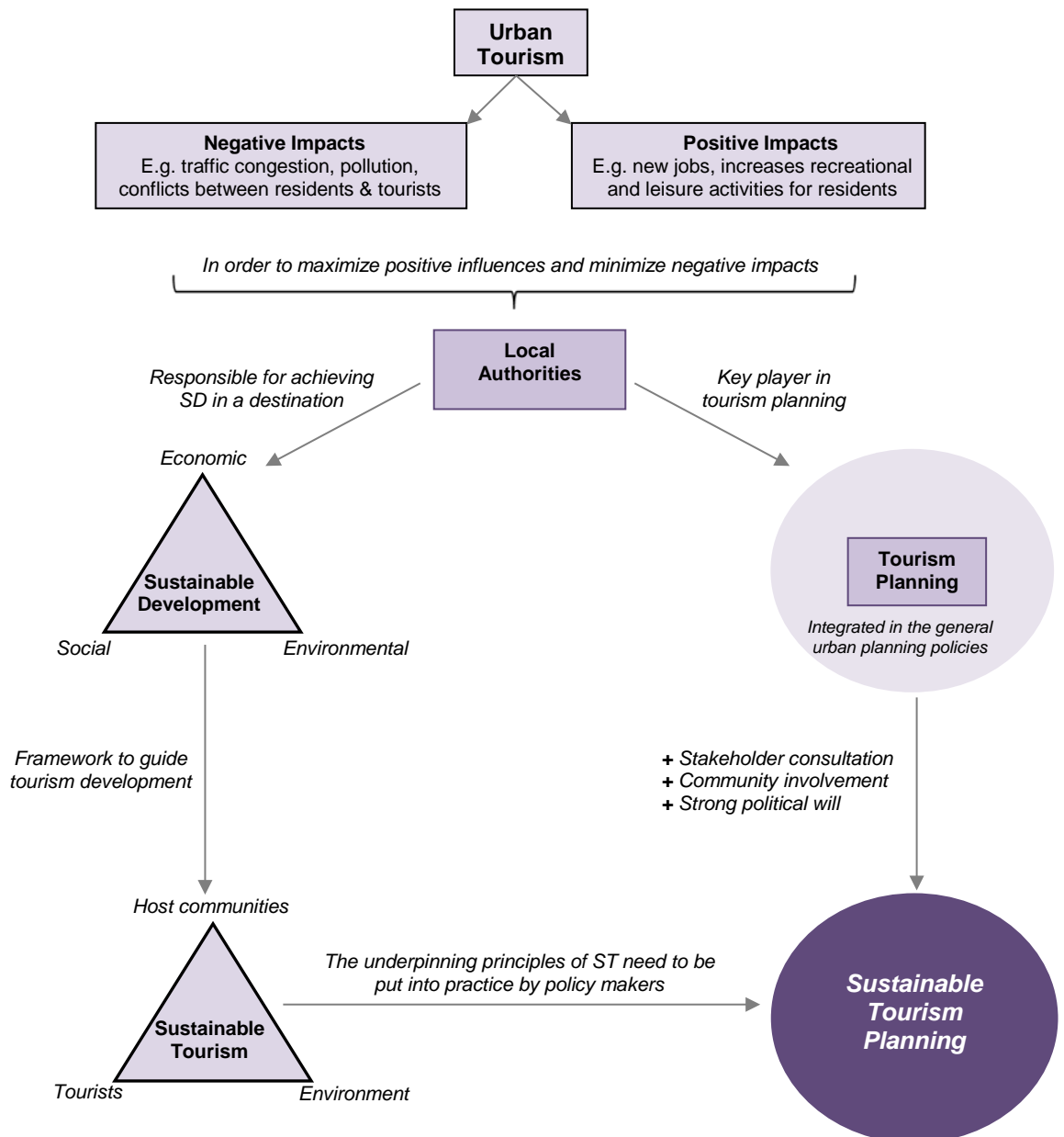


Figure 4.1 Conceptual map – Sustainable tourism planning

In answering the first research question, the study looks at the role of the public sector in achieving sustainable development of tourism, considering both secondary and primary data for this analysis. The research focuses on the public sector because it plays an essential role in the development of a tourist destination (UNEP & ICLEI, 2003; Ruhanen, 2008; UNEP & WTO, 2005). The need for government intervention and planning for tourism by local authorities is a response to the impacts that accompany the development of tourism and which can be seen in particular at the local level (Hall, 2008). However, it should be noted that the present work solely examines the role of the public sector as a key driver of sustainable tourism development and does not discuss the roles of other stakeholders, such as the private sector and the local communities.

In order to answer the second question, the research uses again both primary and secondary data on policies and strategies implemented by the London boroughs for the sustainable development of tourism. The processes of planning and policy are closely related (Hall, 2008) and to give a better understanding of the planning of sustainable tourism by the local authorities in London, this study includes a brief discussion on the public policies promoted in this area. The last two research questions deal with the drivers of success and the limitations that affect the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level. These questions are answered once more by means of primary and secondary data, which once collected was synthesised and analysed.

Using Pizam's model for planning a research, Figure 4.2 illustrates the overall research process and the main steps followed in planning the present study. This figure indicates the specific methodology and research approach that was adopted, the chosen methods of data collection, the sample techniques used in identifying the respondents, as well as the tools and software employed in the data synthesis and analysis.

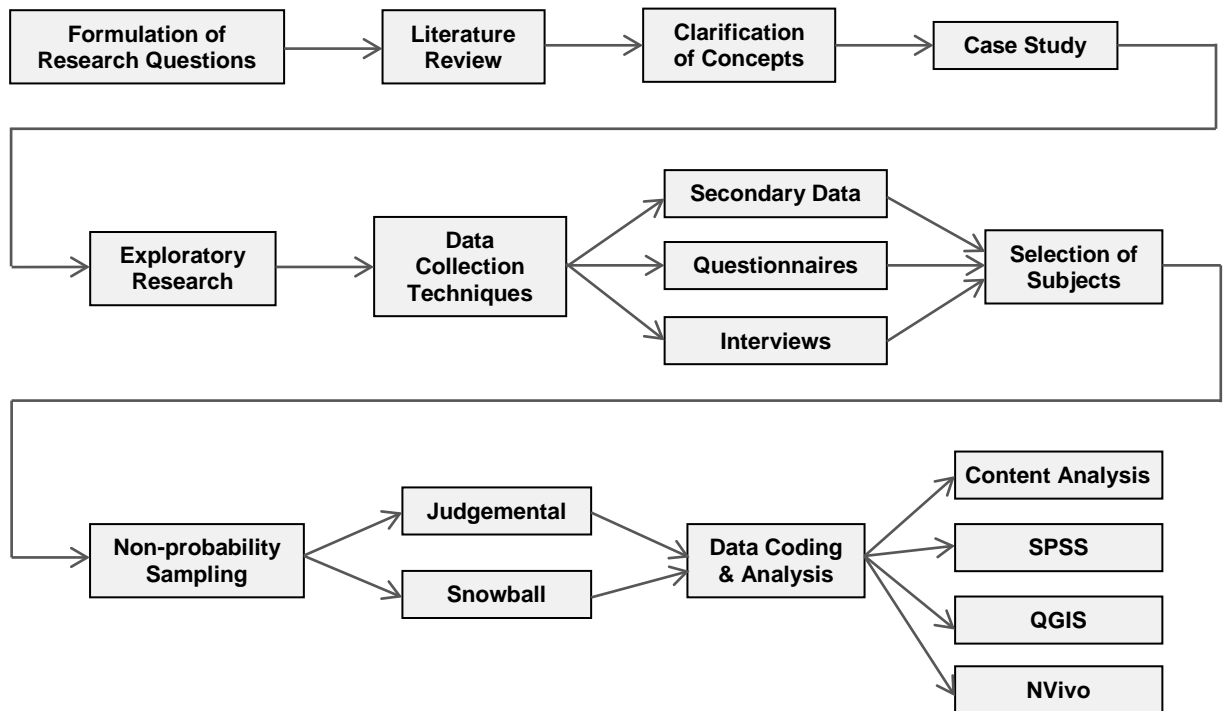


Figure 4.2 Steps taken in planning the present research. Source: adapted from (Pizam, 1994, p.92)

Finally, the study adopts the research design model proposed by Berg (2007, p.24), which comprises the following steps: it begins with an idea, it moves on to gathering theoretical information, it then reconsiders and refines the initial idea, it examines the possible design, it re-examines the theoretical assumptions, and if needed it refines again the original idea. This is not a linear progression but a *spiralling research approach* (see Figure 4.3) which takes one or two steps backwards with every two steps forward, in such a way that no stage is left behind until the completion of research. Therefore, this approach offered the flexibility to adapt the research during the processes of design, collection and analysis of data.

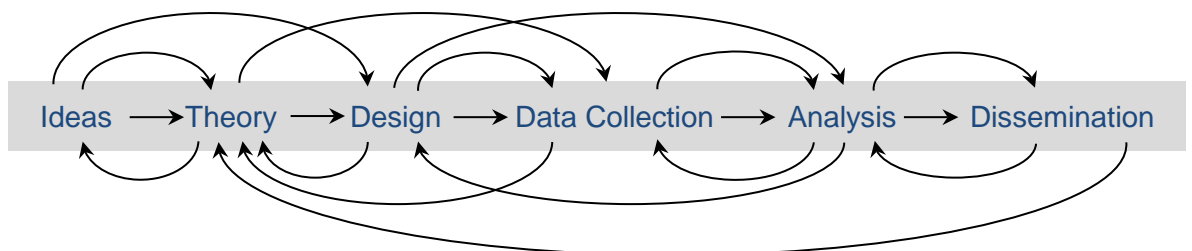


Figure 4.3 The spiralling research approach. Source: adapted from Berg (2007, p.24)

4.3 Case study methodology

4.3.1 Rationale for adopting a case study methodology

Tourism planning and policy is a relatively new area of research which draws from a variety of disciplines and fields such as policy studies, public administration, politics or organisational studies (Dredge et al., 2011b). In addition, the fact that tourism policy is rather ambiguously defined has led to the use of a variety of methods and approaches in its study (Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Kerr, 2003). This variety of research strategies employed by tourism studies was also underlined by Page (2009) and Walle (1997, p.535), with the latter author noting that 'a plurality of equally valid research strategies exist within tourism'. Furthermore, Phillimore and Goodson (2004) point out that the possibility of combining different approaches and research methods without being limited to certain disciplinary boundaries is one of the main strengths of tourism research. For the present work the case study approach was deemed the most appropriate research method to analyse the complex phenomenon of urban tourism, and the reason why this method was favoured as well as its advantages and limitations are discussed further on.

According to Gerring (2007), the case study is employed in many situations when little is known about a topic and when the scope of research is thus to contribute to the current knowledge of a phenomenon, in our case urban tourism. Veal (2011) also underlines the merits of the case study in tourism research as it helps in understanding complex phenomena by analysing individual examples (in our case London). Therefore, the main characteristic that distinguishes case studies from other research methods is its focus on a 'bounded situation or system', which allows an in-depth examination of the studied phenomena (Bryman & Bell, 2011, p.60). Consequently, the case study research has been widely used in community planning and when investigating tourism destinations (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008; Yin, 2009).

But before discussing in more depth the use of the case study approach in the present research, its definition is examined further. Yin (2009, p.18), an important contributor to the development of case studies as a distinctive research method and who dedicated

an entire book to discussing their design, gives a '[technical] definition'⁷ structured in two parts. The first part of the definition puts forward the case study as an appropriate method in those situations when there is a need for an in-depth understanding of a real-life phenomenon as well as of the contextual conditions in which it takes place. The second part makes reference to other technical characteristics of the case study, including the data collection and data analysis strategies. In this respect, the case study has the advantage that it can deal with a variety of evidence (i.e. documents, interviews, questionnaires or observation) and it usually combines qualitative and quantitative data. This part of the definition also introduces the technique of 'triangulation', which is used in the present research and is discussed in more detail in section 4.3.5. In light of all these characteristics, the case study approach was chosen for this work as it would contribute to the understanding of the complex phenomenon of urban tourism in London, through the analysis of a variety of data collected through different methods (i.e. policy documents, questionnaire and interviews).

As mentioned in section 3.2, urban tourism is only one activity among many others embedded in the economy of the city (Edwards et al., 2008) and there are several sectors of the local economy which will address the needs of both visitors and the local community (Law, 2002). Therefore, the planning and management of tourism in urban environments is a difficult task that cannot be achieved without taking into consideration the characteristics and dynamics of the location, as well as the other factors which influence the development of tourism. This is the main reason why the case study was favoured in this work over other research methods, for example the survey, which has an extremely limited capacity to investigate the context in which a phenomenon occurs (Finn et al., 2000; Yin, 2009). Another advantage of this method is that it allows researchers to 'generate new knowledge about the topic when the existing knowledge is inadequate and incomplete' (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008, p.77). As discussed in Chapter 3, urban tourism is a relatively new area of research that shows a lack of knowledge and understanding. Therefore, the case study allowed the

⁷ Yin's (2009, p.18) [technical] definition of case study:

1. 'A case study is an empirical inquiry that
 - *investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when*
 - *the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. [...]*
2. *The case study inquiry*
 - *cope with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result*
 - *relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to coverage in a triangulating fashion, and as another result*
 - *benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.'*

exploration of the complex realities of sustainable tourism planning and management in urban areas, and offered a new insight into these processes.

Furthermore, case studies present a number of other advantages (Finn et al., 2000; Simons, 2009; Berg, 2007) which were taken into account when choosing this research method. As such, the case study can provide rich, detailed, in-depth and unique information on urban tourism, contributing to a deep understanding of this phenomenon. It also offers the possibility to capture various patterns and nuances of urban tourism that otherwise could be overlooked by other research methods. In addition, it has the capacity to explore and provide an understanding of the sustainable tourism planning and management processes as they unfold in a public organisation, by using multiple methods of data collection and triangulating the results. Finally, the case study has the advantage of giving flexibility in choosing the methods of data collection and data interpretation (although some authors see this as a lack of rigor and consider it a disadvantage), allowing investigators to adapt their strategy while the research progresses.

4.3.2 Single-case, embedded case study design

When looking at the types of case study research, this can involve single-case as well as multiple-case studies (Yin, 2009). There is a debate among researchers on whether the multiple-case study research has more value than single-case study. According to some authors, when determining the appropriate number of cases to be studied, the researcher would have to consider how much is there known already about that specific topic (Eisenhardt, 1989; Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). In support of the single-case study, Gerring (2007, p.1) states that '[s]ometimes, **in-depth knowledge on an individual example** is more helpful than fleeting knowledge about a large number of examples. We gain better understanding of the whole by focusing on a key part' [emphasis in the original]. Therefore, the use of a *single-case study* (i.e. London) was preferred in this research as it offered the opportunity of an in-depth exploration of the complex phenomenon of urban tourism and it provided a better understanding of the factors which influence the sustainable tourism planning in an urban setting.

Furthermore, in addition to the holistic view it gives on the sustainable tourism planning by local authorities in London, the present work analyses the policies and strategies promoted by each of the 33 London boroughs in terms of tourism development. As a result, the research adopts an *embedded case study design* (Yin, 2009, p.50) where the 33 London boroughs represent the subunits of the analysis. Therefore, the process

of sustainable tourism planning and management in London is examined by means of a holistic approach, but also in terms of its development at the borough level.

According to Yin (2003), there are five different types of single-case study: the critical case, the unique case, the revelatory case, the typical (representative) case and the longitudinal case. For the present research, London was considered a typical case of *world tourism city*, an urban tourism destination that accommodates world-class attractions and attracts a large number of visitors, but where tourism is only one activity among many others embedded in the economy of the city (see section 3.2.3 for a discussion on the characteristics of world tourism cities). There is no doubt that each city is unique in its setting, built, natural and cultural environment, and institutional arrangements. However, as Simons (2009, p.30) points out, when choosing the case to be studied it is not essential to look for typical cases, as each is unique to some extent, but to keep in mind that 'there may be commonalities between cases in similar contexts'. Therefore, it is believed that the findings of this research – in particular the drivers of success and the constraints found to influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies – could prove useful for other local authorities in the planning and management of tourism in large cities or other tourist cities.

4.3.3 Exploratory research

As noted in Chapter 3, despite the important role that public policies play in the development of tourism, there are few studies that consider this subject and there is a recognised need for more research on this topic (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Moreover, this is a relatively new field of study and the literature in this area is insufficiently developed in terms of approaches, theories or frameworks (Kerr, 2003). In such situations, when the existing knowledge on a subject is poor and it lacks conceptual frameworks, Yin (2009) recommends the adoption of an exploratory study. Mason et al. (2010) also acknowledge that there are many topics in the field of tourism which are still not fully understood or are under researched, and in these situations researchers may wish to employ an exploratory study. When referring to this type of research, Pizam (1994) underlines that exploratory studies allow the investigator to become more familiar with the problem studied and to produce hypothesis for future research, while Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) emphasise its strength in predicting possible relationships between different variables.

Therefore, by adopting an exploratory study the present work seeks 'to discover, describe and map patterns' (Veal, 2011, p.6) in the area of sustainable tourism

planning in urban environments. Thus, this type of research allowed the investigator to better understand the phenomenon of urban tourism, as well as to identify the factors which influence sustainable tourism planning at the local level. In addition, it contributed to identifying relationships between different variables (e.g. drivers of success in implementing sustainable tourism policies), which helped in formulating hypotheses for future research.

4.3.4 Qualitative approach

According to Yin (2003), case study research can adopt either a qualitative or a quantitative approach, depending on the type of data collected and analysed. Traditionally however case studies have been associated with qualitative approach (Gerring, 2007). Although Bryman and Bell (2011) do not consider such an association appropriate, they acknowledge that qualitative methods are favoured by researchers in the design of case studies. In addition, the large majority of exploratory research in social sciences adopts a qualitative rather than a quantitative approach (Mason et al., 2010; Sarantakos, 2005). This may be due to the advantage of the qualitative over the quantitative research, as it gives an insight into how a phenomenon happens and why it happens, a benefit underlined by a number of authors (Dredge et al., 2011a; Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). With this in mind, in order to gain a better understanding of the phenomenon of urban tourism and of the factors which influence the sustainable tourism planning in cities, this research uses a qualitative approach. This comprises an extensive literature review of the relevant topics, as well as a qualitative analysis of primary and secondary data.

The current thesis adopts the extensive definition of qualitative research given by Lincoln and Denzin⁸ (2003) and which is built on the earlier work on cultural studies of Nelson et al. (1992). This complex definition acknowledges the multi-disciplinary character of qualitative research, which can be applied to all human disciplines, as well

⁸ Lincoln and Denzin (2003, p.613) define qualitative research as:

'an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and sometimes counterdisciplinary field. It crosscuts the humanities and the social sciences, and the physical sciences. Qualitative research is many things at the same time. It is multiparadigmatic in focus. Its practitioners are sensitive to the value of the multimethod approach. They are committed to the naturalistic perspective and to the interpretative understanding of human experience. At the same time, the field is inherently political and shaped by multiple ethical and political allegiances. Qualitative research embraces two tensions at the same time. On the one hand, it is drawn to a broad, interpretive, postexperimntal, postmodern, feminist, and critical sensibility. On the other hand, it is shaped to more narrowly defined positivist, postpositivist, humanistic, and naturalistic conceptions of human experiences and its analysis.'

as the tensions that accompany it. According to the same authors, when performing qualitative research a variety of approaches, methods and techniques can be employed, and none of them is privileged over the others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Furthermore, Veal (2011) notes that this type of research focuses on gathering in-depth information and rich descriptions of a small number of people or cases. This was also intended for the present study, which gathers in-depth information about the factors that influence the sustainable tourism planning in London, using different methods of data collection. Moreover, the qualitative approach allows the examination of the process of tourism planning in a wider context, such as the analysis on how London boroughs have integrated tourism initiatives in their main development plans.

In their article reviewing the methodological approaches employed in the study of tourism, Riley and Love (2000) note that a number of researchers criticise the qualitative research as a 'soft' or 'non-scientific' approach. Cohen (1988) for example, criticises the use of the qualitative approach in tourism research on the grounds of ill-defined research methods and unsystematically collected data. However, more recently qualitative studies have become increasingly valued by researchers and the qualitative methods are now well defined (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004). Furthermore, Yin (2003, p.33) argues that similar to quantitative research, the qualitative research can also be hard-nosed, data-driven and a truly scientific approach.

Nevertheless, the present study employs both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis, as the two methods are considered complementary to each other rather than competing (Finn et al., 2000). Therefore, at different stages in the research the use of qualitative methods was considered to be more appropriate than quantitative methods and vice versa. For example, a number of interviews were conducted with policy makers in order to identify the factors which influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level. This method allowed the collection of rich data and contributed to an in depth analysis of this information, while also offering the opportunity for clarifications (e.g. using probing questions). In addition, qualitative methods were employed when analysing the policy documents produced by the London boroughs, as the intention was to look for patterns rather than statistics. On the other hand, quantitative methods were used when gathering information related to the sustainable tourism planning at borough level (i.e. web questionnaires) as these allowed a systematic collection of data from a large number of subjects and permitted an objective comparison of this data.

4.3.5 Multi-method research strategy

The multi-method strategy has been advocated by a number of researchers and has been used in the analysis of complex phenomena as a way to enhance the understanding of such realities (Finn et al., 2000; Pansiri, 2006; Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008; Mason et al., 2010). In addition, Denzin and Lincoln (2003, p.8) point out that qualitative approach is 'inherently multimethod in focus', while Yin (2003; 2009) argues that multiple sources of data collection strengthen a case study research. Moreover, it has been recognised that the combination of methods adds rigor, complexity, richness and depth to an inquiry, and helps to compensate the limitations of each of the individual methods through the strengths of the others (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Simons, 2009). In addition, using multiple methods of data collection also limits the personal and methodological biases, enhancing the generalizability of the research findings (Decrop, 2004; Finn et al., 2000). Finally, the embedded case study design used in the present research relies on more holistic strategies of data collection for the analysis of the main case – i.e. London (such as policy documents and interviews), as well as on other more quantitative techniques for gathering information on the subunits of the case (such as questionnaires) (Yin, 2009).

Multi-method approach also favours the use of triangulation, which increases the validity of the research (Decrop, 2004). In our case, this procedure allowed the investigator to look at the research topic from more than one perspective, which helped to increase the amount of data and to enrich the nature of the information collected (Sarantakos, 2005), and hence to increase the knowledge and understanding of sustainable tourism planning in urban areas. As mentioned earlier, this study combines qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis, and thus allowed for the findings of each investigation to be verified against the others, therefore contributing to the validity of the research (Finn et al., 2000; Veal, 2011). Moreover, there are different types of triangulation – these correspond to combining data sources, methods, investigators and theories (Decrop, 1999; 2004). The present research performs the first two types, using multiple data sources to investigate the phenomenon of urban tourism, and combining quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection. As noted by Simons (2009), these types of triangulation are common in case study research and they contribute to the richness of the case under analysis.

In light of all these aspects, a multi-method approach was considered the most appropriate in studying the phenomenon of urban tourism, and in particular the sustainable tourism planning by local authorities in urban areas. In order to gather the

necessary information to answer the research questions, a number of data collection methods were employed, including secondary data analysis (i.e. policy documents), questionnaires and interviews. As a result, the analysis of the plans and strategies for tourism produced by the London boroughs and the central government helped in understanding the measures that the public authorities in the capital adopted for the implementation of sustainable tourism policies in their area (and thus contributed in answering the research questions 1 and 2). In addition, the questionnaires conducted with the representatives of the 33 London boroughs helped in answering the research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4. Finally, the interviews with policy makers gathered more in-depth data that contributed in developing a better understanding on the factors which influence sustainable tourism planning in urban areas and thus helped in answering the research questions 1, 3 and 4.

4.3.6 Comparative framework

The research also adopts a comparative framework to analyse the policies promoted by the 33 London boroughs towards tourism development. This comparison is based on the main development planning documents of the London boroughs for years 2000 and 2012 (the Unitary Development Plans and the Core Strategies). The data for 2000 was adopted from the work of Evans (2000) who looked at the Unitary Development Plans (UDPs) produced by the London boroughs, while for 2012 it was collected from the current Core Strategies (CSs). More information about this analysis and the particular aspects compared is given in section 6.2. In addition, a comparative analysis was conducted on the current policy documents promoted by the 33 London boroughs to guide the development of tourism. This analysis looked at whether these documents incorporate or not the principles of sustainable tourism (see section 6.3). Therefore, the comparative analysis of the planning policies promoted by the London boroughs for the development of tourism contributes to a better understanding of the main factors which influence sustainable tourism planning at local level in urban environments.

4.3.7 Limitations of case study research

Case study research has a number of limitations which have been underlined by scholars (Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009) and these were taken into account when using this method. First, there is a risk of accumulating piles of data which is then difficult to process. In order to mitigate this risk, the documents that were analysed in the present research were carefully selected and only the most relevant were included in the

examination (i.e. tourism/ visitor/ leisure/ cultural/ arts strategies, plans or studies, and the core strategies of London boroughs). In the same time, in the literature review were included materials (e.g. books, articles, research papers, reports) that focused mainly on the topics of 'sustainable tourism', 'urban tourism', 'tourism planning' and 'sustainable tourism planning'. For the interviews and questionnaires, only those questions required in order to gather relevant data in terms of the research questions were included when designing the instruments.

Second, the subjectivity of the researcher constitutes another limitation for the case study and is an inevitable factor that accompanies this type of research. This limitation was overcome by appropriate monitoring and discipline from the researcher (Simons, 2009), especially in understanding the case and in interpreting the data. In addition, since the case study could not capture the reality of the moment when the research was conducted, the timing of the study is clearly specified. Moreover, the research includes details on data interpretation and how this was constructed so that the reader can make his/her own judgements on the relevance of the findings and their significance.

Finally, as noted by a number of researchers (Dann et al., 1988; Mitchell, 2000; Hammersley et al., 2000; Yin, 2009; Mitchell, 2000; Gerring, 2007), the case study approach has often been criticised because it provides little basis for generalising the findings – 'scientific generalisation'. Although the findings from case studies cannot be generalised when compared with those obtained from experimental design or random sample surveys, a number of inferences can still be made and these may be applicable for other contexts. Therefore, Yin (2009) argues that in case study research another type of generalisation applies – 'analytical generalisation' – which is oriented towards theoretical propositions rather than enumerating frequencies. For example, the factors found to positively or negatively influence the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level could also apply to other destinations.

4.4 Methods of data collection

The present study has taken into account the three principles of data collection proposed by Yin (2009, pp.101–123), which are considered essential in order to conduct a high-quality case study research. Therefore, it uses multiple (as opposed to single) sources of evidence, allowing the process of triangulation to be performed. Moreover, a case study database was created, allowing other investigators to review

the evidence directly, without limiting them to the case study reports. Therefore, the case study notes, documents, tabular materials and narratives (e.g. interview transcripts, questionnaires, extracts from *Core Strategies*) were stored in a format that will allow easy access at a later date, but will protect the identity of the respondents. Finally, a chain of evidence was maintained, thus increasing the reliability of the information included in the case study.

As mentioned in the previous section, the methods of data collection employed by the present research comprise secondary data analysis, interviews and questionnaires. In the following sections, each of these methods is discussed in more detail.

4.4.1 Secondary data analysis

According to a number of researchers (Simons, 2009; Yin, 2009), it is important to consider existing documents relevant to the chosen case study prior to the collection of primary data. Therefore, before conducting the interviews and questionnaires, the main planning documents produced by the 33 London boroughs, together with their tourism policy documents were examined. These documents are of public interest and most of them were available to download directly from the websites of the respective local authorities. These provided useful information about issues which were then further explored during the interviews and questionnaires (e.g. what measures have been taken by the local authorities for sustainable tourism planning in London). Among the benefits offered by this method is that it requires less time and effort to collect data from existing documents when compared to gathering primary data. In addition, secondary data sources are stable and they can be reviewed repeatedly and contain exact names, references and details about an event. On the other hand, this type of data analysis also has a number of drawbacks which were taken into consideration, such as that the documents may have been designed for a different purpose and may not be ideal for the research, or the data could be too complex and may prove difficult to use (Finn et al., 2000; Yin, 2009; Bryman & Bell, 2011; Veal, 2011).

As this research focuses on the tourism planning process, first of all the study examines the main planning documents (the *Core Strategies* – CSs) of the London boroughs and *The London Plan*, in terms of their implications for the development of tourism. The CSs used in the analysis were collected during the year 2011 from the internet websites of the local authorities in London, and a final check for the latest versions of these documents was done in July 2012. At that time three quarters of the London boroughs had already adopted their CSs (25 boroughs), another 5 were at

submission stage, while 3 boroughs were at different earlier stages (i.e. issues and options, consultation draft and preferred options). Appendix 1 comprises a list of the policy documents included in the analysis, their issue dates, and whether they are adopted or otherwise, their current stage in the adoption process.

Therefore, although a small number of the CSs were not yet adopted, their consultation drafts were unlikely to see significant changes in terms of tourism development before adoption, and as such those drafts were considered in the analysis. The examination of these documents offered a useful assessment of how each borough integrated tourism in their development plans, and helped evaluate the strategic consideration and the significance they gave to tourism. A detailed discussion on the importance of integrating tourism policies into the general plans and development policies of an area (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008) is included in section 3.3.3.

In addition, to better understand the policies and strategies that guide the development of tourism in the capital, the present research also includes an analysis of the tourism policy documents promoted by the local authorities in London (i.e. *tourism/ visitor/ culture/ arts/ events* strategies and plans). In the first instance, an examination of the latest *London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13* offers a holistic view of the main priorities which are promoted for the development of tourism in London. Afterwards, a qualitative content analysis conducted on the tourism policy documents produced by the 33 London boroughs offers a better understanding of how local authorities have considered the principles of sustainable tourism in their policy documents. In terms of data collection, the strategic documents which guide the development of tourism at the local level were obtained from the websites of each of the London boroughs. Before starting the collection of the documents, the 33 boroughs were contacted by post in October 2010 and were asked to provide a copy of any tourism policies, plans or strategies (including any documents on cultural activities) that they had produced in the last five years. A third of the boroughs (11 out of 33) responded to this request, but none of them offered any additional information beside what was already available on their websites. In the case of the 7 boroughs that did not reply when first contacted by post, but for which evidence was found on the internet that a tourism policy document may exist, a subsequent email was sent to them. They were asked to provide a copy of the latest versions of these documents, which were then added to the analysis. Moreover, it was found that a number of boroughs had integrated tourism into their culture, arts or events strategies, in which case these documents were retrieved and included in the analysis. Therefore, a total of 43 documents that guide the development of tourism at the borough level formed the base for the analysis (of which 12 are

tourism and visitor strategies or studies, while the others are culture, events or arts documents).

The technique of *content analysis* was used to analyse both the main planning documents as well as the tourism policy documents produced by London boroughs. According to Bryman and Bell (2011, p.291), content analysis is an 'approach to the analysis of documents and texts that seeks to quantify content in terms of predetermined categories and in a systematic and replicable manner.' In the case of both types of documents, a number of concepts and themes were first selected and then a search for those terms was performed throughout the analysed documents. To present the results, a table was designed showing the occurrence of these specific concepts or themes (even if different terms may have been used to describe them). This technique allowed the researcher to analyse the documents in a systematic way (Finn et al., 2000) and to measure the frequency with which the themes occur. However, this method has limitations, such as the subjectivity of the researcher in interpreting the text and the difficulty in understanding why specific things happen (Bryman & Bell, 2011). To address these drawbacks and improve the validity of the research findings, the results of the document analysis were triangulated with those gained through primary data collection and analysis (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008).

4.4.2 Web questionnaire survey

4.4.2.1 Questionnaire design and administration

Questionnaires are a popular method of data collection in tourism research (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008), and a very effective method for gathering information in a systematic way from a large number of subjects. Its main advantage is that it allows the collection of a large amount of data in a short period of time and with a lower cost than other methods such as interviews. In addition, as the same questions are used for all respondents, data gathered through questionnaires can be compared and is relatively easy to analyse (Finn et al., 2000; de Vaus, 2002). Therefore, questionnaires were considered to be the best technique to gather data from the 33 local authorities in London regarding sustainable tourism planning and management in their area.

The first decision that was made with regard to the questionnaires was whether they would be applied face-to-face, by post or online. Due to time constraints, as well as changes in the structure of local authorities in London occurring at the time of the research (e.g. budget cuts leading to job losses), it was decided that face-to-face

questionnaires would be impractical. In terms of postal questionnaires, it was observed that in response to an enquiry sent by post to all 33 London boroughs, 9 out of the 11 responses received were sent by email and not by post. Moreover, Bryman and Bell (2011, p.661) note that due to their advantages, there is currently a 'considerable growth' of online surveys. In light of these aspects, it was finally decided that the most suitable option would be to conduct a survey based on online questionnaires using the SNAP software package.

When compared to postal questionnaires, online surveys offer a number of advantages, such as faster response, more attractive format, mixed administration when needed (i.e. web or online), fewer unanswered questions resulting in less missing data, better response to open questions, and better accuracy as the data entry is automated (Bryman & Bell, 2011; Veal, 2011). However, there are also disadvantages to this technique of data collection, such as the fact that online surveys usually have a low response rate, the researcher cannot be certain about who actually completed the questionnaire, there are confidentiality and anonymity issues if the responses are sent by email, and there is a risk of multiple responses. Thus, to improve the response rate for the present study, reminders were sent to those respondents who did not complete the questionnaire by a certain date. In addition, to address any concerns over confidentiality and anonymity, the research used the technique of web survey. More specifically, the questionnaire was placed on a web server and the potential respondents were invited to visit this web page in order to complete the questionnaire (Berg, 2007). Therefore, the subjects did not have to send their responses by email but the data was automatically saved on the server. Moreover, web surveys are better suited when the questionnaires include filter questions (as in our case) since they can be designed to automatically skip those questions that are not applicable to a respondent and progress to the next relevant question.

The web survey focused on the process of tourism planning in London, as well as on the measures promoted by local authorities towards sustainable development of this activity. In terms of question types, the survey included a small number of open-ended questions, while the majority were formulated as closed type questions that are quicker and easier to answer. However, where appropriate, the option '*other*' was included along with predefined response options. This gave respondents the possibility to specify any additional information that may be applicable in their case, but which was not included in the predefined options. Furthermore, open-ended questions were employed in those situations where the use of predefined options could have prevented the respondent from giving rich information on a specific topic (e.g. when asking about

the drivers of success in developing sustainable tourism policies at the local level). In addition, two types of scale questions were also included in the questionnaire, i.e. Yes/No and Likert scale (Finn et al., 2000). Moreover, filter questions were used in those situations where certain questions were relevant only to a particular category of respondents. Finally, specific rules were followed when formulating the survey questions: avoid jargon, avoid ambiguous and leading questions, avoid long and double questions, and formulate questions as clear and simple as possible (Finn et al., 2000; Bryman & Bell, 2011; Veal, 2011).

The questionnaire contained clear instructions on how it should be completed and was accompanied by a description of the objectives of the study (Finn et al., 2000). Furthermore, the participants were assured that all information they may provide will be kept confidential. Therefore, the *implied consent* was indicated by the free will of the subjects to complete the questionnaire (Berg, 2007). Appendices 2 and 3 include a World version of the instrument and the covering letter that was attached to the questionnaires.

Prior to conducting the survey, the questionnaire was critically examined by two academics and an experienced researcher, all familiar with the topic of this study. In addition, following the recommendation of Veal (2011), the questionnaire was piloted on a few subjects who had a profile similar in broad terms to the target population. This helped identify and correct any errors in the design or the content of the questionnaire, and to ensure that all questions and instructions are well understood by respondents (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008; Finn et al., 2000; Bryman & Bell, 2011). Based on the recommendations received, a number of questions were either reformulated or removed from the survey, and the sequence of questions was revisited.

4.4.2.2 Sample design

The target group for the questionnaires consisted of the representatives of the 33 London boroughs who are involved in the planning and management of tourism. In terms of sampling methods, the *judgemental sampling* (Pizam, 1994) was considered to be the most appropriate technique for the selection of possible respondents from each organisation. This is a non-probability technique which is best suited when certain subjects are considered more appropriate than others to participate in a survey due to their knowledge and experience on aspects relevant to the research topic (Sarantakos, 2005; Pansiri, 2006; Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). In order to compile the list of possible respondents, an email was sent in August 2011 to the planning departments

of each borough asking them for the contact details of the person responsible with tourism planning and management. Afterwards, in November 2011 the questionnaires were at first sent to the person responsible for the planning of tourism in each borough (where such a person existed) or otherwise, to the heads of the planning departments. In the case of those boroughs where no answer was received after a second reminder, the heads of the planning policy units were then contacted and asked to complete the questionnaire. These representatives were deemed to be in the best position to provide the most accurate information in terms of tourism planning and management in their borough. Ultimately, 31 of the 33 London boroughs responded to the survey (yielding a satisfactory response rate of 94%) and these answers formed the basis of the analysis. Moreover, the two boroughs which did not complete the questionnaire sent email responses stating that tourism is a very small sector in their area and that they do not have any policies towards promoting sustainable tourism development.

4.4.2.3 Data analysis

In the case of surveys, the most important decisions in relation to the analysis of data were made early on when the questionnaire was designed. As a result, the gathered data was already pre-structured. Once the data was collected (using the SNAP software) it was imported for analysis into the SPSS software. This is a 'powerful statistical analysis and data management package' (Finn et al., 2000, p.164) that allows the researcher to quickly analyse the data in a multitude of different ways (Bryman & Cramer, 2011). In addition, Quantum GIS (QGIS) was used to produce maps and to help visualise similarities and differences between the tourism policies adopted by the 33 London boroughs.

Furthermore, the closed questions included in the survey allowed the use of two types of variables in the analysis of the data collected: *nominal variables* which apply to the Yes/No questions, and *ordinal variables* which apply to the Likert scale questions (Finn et al., 2000). Although the questionnaire is a quantitative technique, the open-ended questions rely on qualitative evidence, as the present research looked for categories rather than numbers (Yin, 2009). Therefore, for the open-ended questions, this research adopted the general inductive qualitative approach (Thomas, 2006), which is discussed in more detail in section 4.4.3. Accordingly, the answers were considered repeatedly so that a number of patterns could be extracted and appropriate categories (themes) identified.

4.4.3 Semi-structured interviews

4.4.3.1 Interview design

Interviews are one of the most important sources of data collection in case study research (Yin, 2009) and have been widely used in tourism studies (Pizam, 1994). They provide rich data and help to explore and understand complex processes and phenomena (Bell, 2010). Therefore, in this research they facilitated the collection of additional information and clarifications subsequent to the analysis of the tourism policy documents promoted by the London boroughs, and on top of the data gathered through questionnaires.

Interviews have advantages as well as limitations, which have been highlighted by a number of researchers (Pizam, 1994; Jordan & Gibson, 2004; Sarantakos, 2005; Yin, 2009; Simons, 2009). In terms of advantages, they allowed in depth analysis and probing by focusing directly on sustainable tourism planning in London; they provided perceived causal inferences and some explanations; and they offered the possibility to handle more complex questions. On the other hand, interviews are prone to personal bias of the interviewer; they can be inaccurate due to poor recall; they rely on the willingness of the interviewee to participate in the study; and they are very costly and time consuming. In order to overcoming these weaknesses, in the present research the interview data gathered from the policy makers was corroborated (through data triangulation) with information collected from other sources, such as documents and questionnaires. In addition, all respondents agreed for their interviews to be audio-recorded, which contributed to an accurate reportage and allowed the interviewer to fully concentrate on the interview process.

Altinay and Paraskevas (2008) identify four main interview techniques, of which the semi-structured interview was considered to be the most appropriate for the present research. This type of interview strikes a balance between unstructured interviews which favour a broad investigation, and structured interviews that involve a limited predetermined set of questions. Semi-structured interviews include a number of specific questions, but also allow more *probing questions* to be asked during the interview in order to help clarify aspects or elaborate on a specific topic (Finn et al., 2000; Berg, 2007). Thus, they combine the flexibility of the unstructured interviews with the comparability offered by key questions. Moreover, this interview technique was chosen for its advantages in seeking new insights on a phenomenon, in identifying

patterns and understanding the relationships between different variables (Bryman & Bell, 2011).

The interviews included in this study were conducted with 23 key stakeholders within London public and private organisations that implement strategies and measures for the development of tourism in the capital. These organisations play different roles in the planning and management of tourism in London, and thus the information gathered from their representatives varied considerably on certain questions. Therefore, for this stage of data collection semi-structured interviews were preferred to the survey method used in the earlier stage, as they offered more flexibility in terms of the questions being asked (Veal, 2011). As such, they allowed the researcher to change the sequence of questions and to modify or omit those questions which seems inappropriate for a particular interviewee. Moreover, the interviews proved particularly useful in gaining rich data on factors that could influence the sustainable tourism planning at local level, and which were not evident from the responses to the questionnaires.

4.4.3.2 Sample design

The target group to be interviewed as part of this study consisted of policy-makers and other key stakeholders within the public sector which are involved in the development of tourism in London. Therefore, the research population was formed of the public organisations responsible with the planning and management of tourism in London. It should be mentioned that due to the difficult economic environment, 2011 brought many alterations in the structure of the UK public sector. Important changes occurred for the main bodies that were responsible at that time with the management of tourism, including the London Development Agency and Visit London. As stated on the website of VisitEngland (2011b), these represent ‘the biggest structural changes in public support for the industry since the 1969 Development of Tourism Act’. Consequently, the framework for tourism administration that encompasses the organisations responsible for the coordination, planning and delivery of tourism activities in London as identified by the LDA (2009b) in its latest London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13 has changed considerably (see Appendix 4 for a diagram of these organisations).

Given this changing landscape, it was not an easy task to identify the appropriate subjects for the study. In such situations, the most suitable sampling tool for the selection of relevant organisations to be included in the research was considered to be the *snowball technique* (Berg, 2007; Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008). This is a non-probability type of sampling where the researcher ‘builds up a sample of a special

population by asking an initial set of informants to supply names of other potential sample members' (Finn et al., 2000, p.119). Therefore, the initial group of organisations considered relevant for the research consisted of the Greater London Authority (GLA), the London Development Agency (LDA), London & Partners (used to be Visit London), the Thames Gateway London Partnership and Transport for London (TfL). During the interviews conducted with the representatives of these organisations, the respondents were asked to recommend any other organisations or persons they may consider relevant for the research and which were knowledgeable in terms of planning and management of tourism in London. Afterwards, these possible new subjects were contacted in order to arrange additional interviews. This process continued until saturation, meaning that the researcher considered that no more substantial data could be acquired through additional interviews (Sarantakos, 2005). As a result, a number of other London partnerships, business improvement districts (BIDs) and London boroughs were added to the initial list of organisations. Finally, a number of large tourism organisations or lobby groups were also contacted for interviews. Their opinion on the sustainable development of tourism in London was deemed relevant at this stage of the research, as beside the public sector, the tourism industry is the other important stakeholder in the development of tourism in a destination.

When selecting the interview subjects from each organisation, the present research employed the *purposive* or *judgemental sampling* technique (discussed in section 4.4.2). Therefore, a single interview was conducted for each organisation with the key person responsible for the development of tourism, and who was in the best position to provide information on the topic of sustainable tourism planning in London. The exception is London & Partners, where two respondents were interviewed as the first respondent recommended one other person in his organisation. As a result, a total number of 23 interviews (out of the 56 organisations contacted) were conducted with representatives from five different types of organisations (see Appendix 5). It should be noted that 3 of the respondents preferred to give telephone interviews (which were also recorded) and one respondent sent his answers to the interview questions by email.

Finally, even though the researcher attempted repeatedly to arrange an interview with representatives of the GLA, the main organisation responsible with tourism planning in London, eventually this was not possible. As mentioned before, the timing of research coincided with a difficult economic environment that brought important structural changes and budget cuts for the main organisations responsible with tourism management in London (including the GLA, LDA and the London boroughs). This, together with the London Mayoral elections which took place in the same period as the

interviews were conducted, as well as the hosting of the 2012 London Olympic Games, may have contributed to the impossibility of arranging an interview with the GLA. Moreover, although 14 boroughs (from different regions of London and which attract large as well as low numbers of tourists) were contacted for an interview, in the end only 5 participated in the research. Nevertheless, the majority of the boroughs that were contacted but did not participate in the study sent email responses noting that they did not have any initiatives or policies for sustainable tourism development at that time.

4.4.3.3 Data collection

The first step in the process of data collection through the interview method was to compile an initial list of relevant organisations to be included in the study. The next step was to develop the interview guide, which is a useful tool when conducting semi-structured interviews. This comprised a number of questions that were considered relevant for the study and which helped in answering the research questions (see Appendix 6). Most of these are open-ended, but a number of probe questions were also included – these encouraged respondents to provide additional information on the factors that influence sustainable tourism planning in London. The lack of additional resources (time in particular) did not allow the researcher to pre-test the instrument, as Berg (2007) advises. Nevertheless, the preliminary questions were critically examined by two academics familiar with the research topic, one of which matched the profile of respondents that the interview was aimed at. Based on their recommendations, a number of questions were either reformulated or removed from the interview guide, and the sequence of questions was revisited.

Finally, in order to record the answers as accurately as possible, the interviews were recorded on an audio device (with the free and informed consent of the interviewees) and the responses were then transcribed. Additionally, the four codes of ethics identified by Christians (2003), i.e. informed consent, deception, privacy and confidentiality, and accuracy, were followed during the entire research process.

4.4.3.4 Data analysis

A number of analytical decisions were made during the data collection process (in the interviews), such as which question should be asked next, when should a particular question be asked and when was it better for the interviewer to remain silent (Gomm, 2004). Furthermore, as all interview questions were open-ended, a general inductive

qualitative approach (Thomas, 2006) was adopted for the data analysis. This provided a systematic set of procedures that helped with the analysis of data and thus contributed to the validity of the findings. Therefore, the steps followed in the process of data analysis were reading and annotating the data, creating categories, assigning categories, splitting and splicing categories, linking data and connecting categories (Dey, 1993). Consequently, the first stage was to identify the main themes related to sustainable tourism planning. After becoming familiar with the data by carefully and repeatedly reading the transcripts, the answers were placed into categories – a process known as ‘coding’ (de Vaus, 2002). The data was coded with the help of the NVivo software, ‘one of the most widely used’ qualitative data analysis computer software package (Veal, 2011, p.401), and then examined in terms of the differences and similarities between categories in order to identify relevant patterns and connections.

4.5 Validity of research

In order to improve the quality of case study research, Yin (2009, pp.40–45) identifies a set of tactics to be employed for the ‘Four Design Tests’, a widely used technique in social sciences methods. The four tests consist of construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability. To increase the *construct validity* (which Yin describes as ‘identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied’), the present research used multiple sources of data collection and established a chain of evidence (e.g. the interviews were recorded and transcribed). The second test – *internal validity*, seeks ‘to establish a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are believed to lead to other conditions’ (Yin, 2009, p.40). Therefore, although this is an exploratory case study, during the data analysis phase efforts were made to identify patterns and a number of casual links were determined between different factors which influence sustainable tourism planning in London. In addition, the questionnaires applied to representatives of the London boroughs contributed in collecting comparable data from relevant subject, while the semi-structured interviews conducted with policy makers helped in gathering rich information on the research questions. Therefore, the results for each of the data collection methods employed were checked for accuracy using the technique of triangulation. In terms of improving the *external validity* – which refers to the generalizability of the research findings – a number of theoretical propositions were identified and a conceptual map was constructed to help with the research design. As discussed in section 4.3.7, although single-case case studies ‘offer poor basis for generalizing’ (Yin, 2009, p.43), this type of research relies on analytic

generalisation and not statistical generalisation. Finally, *reliability* refers to 'the capacity of measurement to produce consistent results' whenever repeated (Sarantakos, 2005, p.88). Therefore, a case study database was developed to offer information on the data collection process that was followed, and consequently to increase the reliability of the study.

4.6 Summary

The chapter started by introducing the aim of the study and the research questions to be addressed. It then continued with a discussion on the theoretical propositions which guide the present research and it explained the reasons why a case study methodology was chosen. This approach is considered the most appropriate to help understand the complex phenomenon of urban tourism, a relatively new area of research, as it can also capture the context in which this phenomenon evolves. As such, through an in-depth examination of the planning and management of tourism in London, this research identifies a number of factors that are believed to influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies in the capital. Next, the chapter examined the research methods employed in terms of their design, sample size, data collection and analysis, and discussed the reasons behind their selection. At different stages of research this study uses both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection as they are considered complementary one to each other. This combination of different research methods and data collection allows the use of triangulation, which would ultimately increase the validity of the study.

The next chapter introduces the characteristics of London, which is used as an exploratory case study, and discusses a number of policy documents that influence the planning and management of tourism in the capital.

Chapter 5 London – Planning for a world tourism city

5.1 Introduction

London is one of the largest cities in Europe attracting vast numbers of visitors, but it has been surprisingly neglected as a research subject with respect to sustainable tourism. London was chosen as the exploratory case study for this research project because it can significantly contribute to understanding how local authorities and central government can contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in a destination, and thus help answer the first research question (RQ1).

It should be noted that the timing of the research coincided with a number of important changes that influenced the planning and management of tourism in London. To begin with, following the May 2010 elections, a new government was installed formed by a coalition between the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. The localism agenda, with the aim to promote bottom-up driven policies, represented a major part of the programme of the new Coalition Government. Thus, in November 2011 the Localism Act was adopted with the intention to shift the power from central government to local authorities and to give more power to neighbourhoods. This act also abolished all regional strategies with the exception of London, the capital being the only place in the UK allowed to maintain its strategic document – the London Plan. Furthermore, the London Development Agency – the main organisation responsible with the development of tourism in the capital – was abolished in March 2012. Prior to this, in April 2011, Visit London – the official tourism marketing organisation for the capital – together with another two promotional agencies (Think London and Study London) had been integrated into a new organisation, London & Partners. In addition, a new tourism strategy for Britain called '*Government Tourism Policy*' was produced in March 2011 by the DCMS, followed by a new London Plan published in July 2011 by the Greater London Authority (GLA). Moreover, considerable changes in the planning system in the UK were brought in by another document – the new National Planning Policy Framework – which was published in March 2012.

Therefore, this chapter gives a brief overview of the changes introduced by the documents mentioned above, and highlights the particularities of tourism development in London. It firsts discusses the characteristics which make London a world tourism city and continues with a review of the changes brought by the new planning policy

framework. Then, it discusses the national planning policy guidance for tourism, and it outlines the main priorities set out in the new tourism strategy for Britain. Next, the chapter looks at the new London Plan (the main strategic document that guides the development of the city) and examines whether this makes any references to the development of tourism in the capital. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the main priorities of the latest London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13.

5.2 The London context

London, the exploratory case study for the present research, is one of the largest cities in Europe and its current population of 8.20 million is projected to reach 9.37 million by 2021 (Office for National Statistics, 2012, p.5). London is also a world tourism city (see section 3.2.3) and an important gateway for the UK, with three out of four visitors to the country arriving through one of its airports. Moreover, almost half of the overseas visitors coming to Britain stay in London during their visit and make over half of their spending in the capital (LDA, 2009b, p.8). The city accommodates a fifth of the total national stock of hotel bedrooms and it plays multiple functions such as a centre of trade, a global financial centre, the home of national cultural institutions, and the seat of central government (Maitland & Newman, 2009b, p.66; Bull & Church, 1996), all of which contribute to the large number of tourists it attracts every year.

According to GLA Economics (2012, p.2), London is 'one of the most visited cities in the world' accommodating nearly 15 million international visitors each year. However, the total number of visitors to the capital is much higher as it also includes domestic tourists, local tourists (visitors from the city itself) and day visitors. As a result, tourism is the second most important sector for the economy of the city after financial services, and it contributes 12 percent of its GDP (Maitland & Newman, 2009b). Furthermore, over the past few years London has hosted four exceptional events, the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, The Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations also in 2012, and The Royal Wedding in 2011. These events are expected to enhance the image of London and the UK worldwide and thus bring more tourists in the near future.

The capital offers a large variety of attractions, including historic buildings, cityscapes, parks and promenade areas, cultural establishments, numerous restaurants, pubs and clubs, specific attractions such as Madame Tussauds or the London Zoo, and also hosts various cultural or sport events (Bull & Church, 1996; Stevenson & Inskip, 2009), all of which attract different categories of tourists. Among the top attractions are historic

buildings such as the Houses of Parliament and the Tower of London, a number of well-known museums for example the British Museum and the Natural History Museum, art galleries including the National Gallery and Tate Modern, and parks and gardens such as Hyde Park and Kew Gardens (GLA Economics, 2012). London is also a multicultural city, home to around fifty ethnic groups, and more than 300 different languages can be heard on its streets (Maitland & Newman, 2009b). When considering the main motivations for tourists to visit London, these were divided by Bull and Church (2001, p.145) into four broad categories: holidays, visiting friends and relatives, business/ conferences, or others which may include educational or religious reasons.

However, despite the important role tourism plays in the economy of the city, and even though London has been a world tourist destination for many decades, there has been only limited research on the development of tourism in the capital, and especially on the planning and management of the sector. The most recent works include those of Bull and Church (1996; 2001) – the first of these two papers discusses the London tourism complex, while the later highlights two areas for future research, i.e. the growing trend in short-distance tourism and the increasing importance of visiting friends and relatives; Bull (1997), who reviews some of the problems that London needs to address in order to increase visitor numbers; Long (2000), who examines a particular case of inter-organisational collaboration for local tourism development in London (*Discover Islington*); Evans (2000), who presents a critique of tourism policy in London; and Maitland and Newman (2009b), who review tourism trends in London and examine two different tourism areas – Islington and Bankside. A possible reason for the lack of research on tourism development in London may be that tourism was recognised only in the 1990s as an important contributor to the economy of the capital, when it started to be included in the development policies of local authorities. But as the number of tourists is expected to increase in future years, in part as a result of the hosting of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, and with the population of the city projected to increase, accommodating more visitors could become a pressing issue which policy makers would need to address sooner rather than later. In their work, Bull and Church (1996), Long (2000), and Wall and Mathieson (2006) mention a number of problems associated with the sustainable development of tourism in urban areas. London is already facing some of these issues, such as land use conflicts between hotels and residential developments, the concentration of main attractions in the city centre, the pressure added by tourists on transport facilities and traffic congestion. Most of these concerns have already been highlighted since the early 1970s by the Greater London Council, the administrative body of the local government for Greater London between 1965 and 1986 (Burkart & Medlik, 1981). Although some measures

have been taken in this direction (e.g. trying to reduce the pressure on central London and spread the benefits of tourism across the capital), it looks like more action is needed in order to accommodate in a sustainable way the growth of population coupled with the increase in the number of tourists.

Following this overview of London as a case study for the present research, the next section looks at the national planning policy documents and how these influence the planning and management of tourism at local level.

5.3 National planning policy guidance for tourism

This section will first outline the main changes brought by two important planning policy documents introduced by the UK Government over the past two years, and will then discuss the recommendations included in the practice guide for tourism planning in the UK. The first document examined is the Localism Act, which came into force in 2011 and which intended to transfer the power from central to local government – a change from top-down to a bottom-up approach to planning. As mentioned earlier, localism and local governance are considered key priorities for the new Coalition Government, formed by the Conservatives and the Liberal Democrats. A major change proposed by this Act which relates to the planning system is the abolition of Regional Spatial Strategies (except for the London Plan), with the intention to strengthen local authorities and make them more accountable to the communities they serve (Lowndes & Pratchett, 2012). Another important change is the introduction of Neighbourhood Development Plans, which makes it possible for members of local communities to design policies and plans for their own area (neighbourhood). Therefore, local authorities and local communities received more power to decide what is best for their area. However, the success in implementing this bill still remains to be seen as the major cuts in public spending introduced over the past two years have considerably affected the budgets allocated for local governments.

The other major policy document produced by the Government is the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), which was published in March 2012 (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2012). One of its aims was to simplify the previous national planning guidance which was considered ‘too complex, slow, expensive and hard to predict’ (DCMS, 2011, p.38). An important change brought by this new strategy is the presumption in favour of sustainable development, which was welcomed by the business sector but was opposed by a number of organisations and

members of the public. For example, a number of conservation bodies feared that in order to encourage economic growth, the policy would allow developments to get planning approval much easier and without giving sufficient consideration to protecting the environment. In terms of its interpretation of sustainable development, the document adopts the definition proposed by the Brundtland report (see section 2.4.2). As with the Localism Act discussed above, the new planning framework promotes localism and gives local authorities and neighbourhoods the central role in creating local plans.

With respect to guidance for tourism planning, there is currently no specific Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) or Planning Policy Statement (PPS) for tourism, as the *PPG 21: Tourism* was superseded in May 2006 by the *Good Practice Guide on Planning for Tourism*. This shows a relaxation of the planning provisions for tourism development, as the guide has more of an advisory role rather than requiring local authorities to consider it when preparing their plans, as it would be the case with a PPG or PPS. Still, the new document is a useful tool designed to guide the local authorities and the tourism industry with their planning decisions related to tourism development. The first part of the Guide identifies a number of benefits of tourism which can contribute to the 'economic and social wellbeing of local communities as well as to individuals' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a, pp.8–19). In the case of urban environments, these benefits are associated with the contribution of tourism towards the regeneration of such areas, help towards increasing urban vitality, development of mixed-use schemes, supporting of services and facilities, and facilitating access by sustainable means of transportation. The document acknowledges that if these benefits are to be achieved in a sustainable manner, local authorities must follow the planning guidance as well as a number of general principles of the planning system. When looking at the section on '*Principles of the planning system*', the guide mentions sustainable development as the core principle which underpins planning, but it does not explain how this should be implemented in practice. Instead, it mentions a number of positive outcomes which are expected from all forms of development, including that of tourism: well designed, safe and accessible development; more efficient use of land; economic growth; vibrant town centres; reduced need to travel; protected and enhanced built and natural environment, and safeguarded natural resources. These outcomes reflect the three dimensions of sustainability – economic, social and environmental – which are strongly emphasized throughout the guide.

In the case of those local authorities for which tourism development is a key issue, the guide advises that specific tourism policies and objectives should be included in their development plans. The document also specifies a number of key considerations that local authorities may take into account when designing the tourism policies for their region:

- maximise the benefits of tourism;
- identify optimal locations (should be accessible to visitors and situated in areas where they do not harm sensitive environments);
- carefully consider the design of new developments (should be attractive to users, functional, and prove efficient use of natural resources);
- integrate development with its surroundings (should have a positive impact upon landscape, ecology and the historical setting);
- and avoid adverse impacts.

Furthermore, the guide recognises that a number of local authorities may set the framework for tourism development within a broader approach to economic growth and regeneration, in which case this should be acknowledged in their core strategy (the main development plan for an area). This is in fact the case for most London boroughs, which chose to integrate tourism among other policy documents for their area (more details will be given in Chapter 6).

Finally, the Guide emphasizes the importance of the consultation process, and underlines the advantages that are likely to result when the local community is involved in the consultation process from an early stage of new developments. One such example is that it could help 'in overcoming later objectives or help to identify ways of making the proposal more attractive and thus more profitable or successful' (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a, p.33).

After reviewing the national planning policy guidance for tourism in the UK, the next section looks at the changes brought by the new tourism strategy for Britain and how this influences the planning for tourism at local level.

5.4 The new tourism strategy for Britain

The new tourism strategy for Britain – *'Government Tourism Policy'* – notes that the tourism industry has been often underestimated and emphasizes its potential for the economy of the UK (DCMS, 2011). The main priorities set out by the document focus on growth and economic development and in particular on how to make tourism in

future more productive, competitive and profitable. Therefore, the first aim of the strategy is to attract 4 million additional overseas visitors to Britain over the next 4 years. In order to achieve this target, a £100m marketing campaign is proposed for promoting the country abroad, a fund created through a partnership between the Government and the private sector. The intention of the campaign is to get the most out of the opportunities offered by the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games. The other two stated aims are to increase the number of UK residents who holiday at home and to improve the productivity of the tourism industry. However, the strategy makes no references to the other two dimensions of sustainable tourism development – the social and environmental aspect. Consequently, it does not specify how this growth in the number of visitors would be accommodated in a sustainable way that would avoid negative impacts on the local communities or on the natural and built environment.

A similar view, towards the growth of the tourism industry, is also expressed by VisitEngland – the national tourist board for England, in their latest strategy *England: A Strategic Action Plan for Tourism 2010-2020*. Although it acknowledges the need for the tourism industry to consider sustainable principles and practices, the document proposes the concept of *wise growth* rather than using that of sustainable tourism. According to VisitEngland, *wise growth* is expected 'to link and balance the growth aspirations of the Strategic Framework with the principles of sustainability in tourism' (VisitEngland, 2010, p.1). When looking at the set of principles proposed for this concept (i.e. inclusive, engaging, well-being, caring, distinctive, fun and appealing, viable and efficient), it becomes apparent that in fact the emphasis is on growth and not so much on addressing the negative impacts that accompany the development of tourism. Therefore, the view on sustainable tourism put forward by VisitEngland is towards a very weak or growth oriented sustainability (see section 2.4.2).

Furthermore, in his foreword to the new tourism strategy for Britain, the Prime Minister David Cameron underlines that 'this strategy will ensure decisions on local tourism policy are driven by those that know their area best and allow the industry to take responsibility for its own future' (DCMS, 2011, p.4). This illustrates the major changes brought in by this new strategy, which orientates tourism development and destination marketing activities towards the local level and the private sector, so it is no longer dependent on public funding. These actions aimed at shifting the power away from central government to the local level, are in line with the localism agenda promoted by the Coalition Government, which has been discussed in section 5.3. Moreover, the private sector is expected to take responsibility and work in partnership with other

bodies in order to fund Destination Management Organisations (DMOs), which will be responsible for coordinating the development of tourism in their area. In addition, DMOs are expected to work together with Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs) and thus integrate destination management activities into the wider economic strategies of the region. The strategy also promotes a partnership between local authorities, local attractions and business, noting that in future local authorities should 'have a strong financial incentive to invest in local Tourism Bodies, because of the sector's excellent prospects for driving economic growth' (DCMS, 2011, p.25). These changes (e.g. the promotion of public-private partnership for tourism development, and the push of tourism decisions towards the local level and the private sector) could be seen as examples of neo-liberal measures and localism initiatives adopted by the Coalition Government (see Table 3.2, section 3.3.1).

With the strategic policies that guide the development of tourism at national level broadly outlined, the next section discusses the implications of the current London Plan for tourism development in the capital.

5.5 The London Plan and its implications for tourism

To begin with, it should be noted that the Greater London Authority (GLA) is an elected organisation that covers all 32 London boroughs and the City of London, and is the strategic administrative body for Greater London. As mentioned on their website (GLA, 2013), the organisation comprises the Mayor of London, who is in charge of the GLA, and the London Assembly. According to the 1999 Greater London Authority Act, the Mayor is responsible with the promotion and development of tourism in London. Furthermore, the Mayor is responsible for publishing the London Plan, which is the spatial development strategy for London. This is a strategic plan that sets 'an integrated economic, environmental, transport and social framework for the development of London' over the next 20 – 25 years (GLA, 2011b, p.10). It also provides the policy context for the local planning policies of London boroughs and it is considered essential to achieving sustainable development of the region. The most recent London Plan – 'Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London' – was published in July 2011 and is the result of a full review of the Plan produced three years before (GLA, 2008). The review was proposed by Boris Johnson, the Mayor of London, with the aim to make the Plan shorter, more clear and user friendly, and thus to make it easier to find policies on particular issues (GLA, 2009).

Therefore, the new Plan includes an introductory chapter which outlines the context and the Mayor's vision for London, and six other topic-based chapters – 'Places' (the spatial strategy for London), 'People' (housing and social infrastructure), 'Economy', 'Response to climate change', 'Transport' and 'Living places and spaces'. One of the underlying principles of the Plan is that growth and development will be supported as long as they contribute to the sustainable development of the region (GLA, 2011b). It also mentions that in order to succeed over the long term, the three pillars of sustainable development must be taken into account (i.e. economic – 'economic success', environmental – 'making the kind of step change needed in environmental issues' and social – 'improving the health, wealth and quality of life of Londoners'). It should be noted that the document adopts the definition of 'sustainable development' proposed by the Brundtland report (see section 2.4.2).

The Plan sets out a vision for the sustainable development of London for 2031, which states that: 'London should: excel among global cities – expanding opportunities for all its people and enterprises, achieving the highest environmental standards and quality of life and leading the world in its approach to tackling the urban challenges of the 21st century, particularly that of climate change' (GLA, 2011b, p.32). This vision is supported in its implementation by six objectives which are integral to the concept of sustainable development:

1. A city that meets the challenges of economic and population growth;
2. An internationally competitive and successful city;
3. A city of diverse, strong, secure and accessible neighbourhoods;
4. A city that delights the senses;
5. A city that becomes a world leader in improving the environment;
6. A city where it is easy, safe and convenient for everyone to access jobs, opportunities and facilities.

Tourism is one of the indicators that the Plan takes into account when measuring the status of London as a 'world city', a fact which underlines the importance of tourism for the economy of the city. In support of this aspect, the document notes that the number of visitors attracted by London in 2007 stands at over 26 million overnight visitors, comprising 16 million from overseas and 10 million from the UK, with a significant number of visitors coming for business (GLA, 2011b, p.123). In addition, more recent data shows that tourism supports about 226,000 jobs which account for nearly 5% of the total employment in London (GLA Economics, 2012, p.2). Another study on accessible hotels in London (GLA, 2010a), reaffirms that tourism plays a key role in the London economy and it maintains that despite the short term decline of the sector due

to the global economic downturn that started in 2008/2009, tourism is likely to remain an essential contributor to the economy of the city.

The Plan also mentions the Mayor's vision for tourism, which sets out a number of key objectives: to develop the quality of accommodation; to enhance visitor perception of value for money; and to improve the inclusivity and accessibility of the visitor experience (GLA, 2011b, p.123). Although the Plan does not include a specific policy for tourism development, there are a number of policies which make reference to tourism (listed below), with policy 4.5 entirely dedicated to visitor infrastructure:

- Policy 2.4: The 2012 Games and their legacy, which promotes the Olympic Park and venues as international visitor destinations for sport, recreation and tourism;
- Policy 4.5: London's visitor infrastructure (under the chapter dedicated to London's economy), which has the following strategic priorities:
 - a. support London's visitor economy and stimulate its growth, taking into account the needs of business as well as leisure visitors and seeking to improve the range and quality of provision especially in outer London;
 - b. seek to achieve 40,000 net additional hotel bedrooms by 2031, of which at least 10 per cent should be wheelchair accessible;
 - c. ensure that new visitor accommodation is in appropriate locations;
 - d. support provisions for business visitors, including high quality, large scale convention facilities in or around the Central Activities Zone;
 - e. recognise the need for apart-hotels in the context of the broader policies of this Plan;
 - f. promote, enhance and protect the special characteristics of major clusters of visitor attractions including those identified in Strategic Cultural Areas (e.g. West End, South Bank/Bankside/London Bridge, Greenwich Riverside, South Kensington Museum, Lee Valley Regional Park).
- Policy 4.6: Support for and enhancement of arts, culture, sport and entertainment provision, with their cultural, social and economic benefits to residents, workers and visitors;
- Policy 7.25: Increasing the use of the Blue Ribbon Network for passengers and tourism, which is the 'London's strategic network of waterspaces [...] and covers the River Thames, canals, tributary rivers, lakes, reservoirs and docks alongside smaller waterbodies' (GLA, 2011b, p.241).

Therefore, the Plan promotes London as an international visitor destination and acknowledges the important role of accommodation provision in offering a world-class experience to visitors. It supports the growth of the tourism economy through the provision of new visitor accommodation with suitable disabled access, the creation of appropriate facilities for business visitors that include high quality and large scale convention centre capacity, and the provision of arts, culture and entertainment facilities. In addition, it promotes increasing provision for visitors in outer London 'in order to extend the benefits of tourism across the capital and reduce pressures on central London' (GLA, 2011b, p.124). The high concentration of tourists in central London is also noted by the LDA (2009b, p.7) in their tourism action plan, which underlines that the majority of tourism activities take place in inner London, while outer London boroughs receive only slightly over 30% of the total visitor spend.

A search through the entire Plan (excluding the Endnotes section) returns 159 results for the term 'sustainable', which shows that the concept tends to be used in the document as a buzzword (Liu, 2003). It is added as an adjective in front of many other terms, such as 'sustainable management of growth', 'sustainable quality of life', 'sustainable legacy', 'sustainable regeneration', 'sustainable supplies of electricity and gas', 'sustainable modes of travel', 'sustainable urban drainage systems', or even 'sustainable success'. Lombardi et al. (2011, p.273) point out that '[t]he UK government has integrated the goal of sustainability into urban regeneration policies, yet the proliferation of definitions and conceptualisations of sustainability render the term so poorly understood and slippery that it can be easily pressed into the service of almost any ends', also arguing that the 'growth-first' philosophy remains dominant in this country.

Yet, the London Plan does not contain any reference to the concept of sustainable tourism. However, it mentions that the Mayor 'supports a more sustainable approach to the way the tourism industry operates in London' by reducing the CO₂ emissions, water use and waste generation (GLA, 2011b, p.125). To help with these, the Mayor proposes three programmes:

- *Green Tourism for London*, a scheme for hotels, guesthouses, theatres, attractions and venues in London;
- *Public London Cycle Hire Scheme*, a public bike sharing scheme for shorter journeys around the capital (more information at http://www.visitlondon.com/travel/getting_around/london-cycle-hire-scheme);
- *Legible London* project, a new pedestrian way finding system to help people walk around the Capital (more information at <http://www.tfl.gov.uk/microsites/legible-london>).

Nevertheless, the way the term 'sustainable' is interpreted in this document equates more with environmental sustainability, as it only focuses on the environmental dimension of sustainable development.

Having discussed the London Plan and its recognition of the importance of tourism development in the city, the next section reviews the London tourism action plans and discusses the main priorities for the development of tourism in the capital.

5.6 The London tourism action plans

First of all, it should be noted that the structure and implications of urban management in London have changed considerably since the late 1990s. Therefore, for the purpose of this research only those documents related to tourism which were issued after 2000 are reviewed in this section. Nevertheless, a detailed discussion of tourism in London before 2000 can be found in the work of Bull and Church (1996; 2001), Bull (1997), Long (2000) and Church et al. (2000).

The first policy document for tourism in London post 2000 was presented by the Mayor in 2002, two years after the creation of the Greater London Authority and the Executive Mayor. As mentioned before, these institutions are the central point of coordination for London and have the authority to make strategic decisions for the city as a whole. The 2002 tourism policy document outlined four main strategic priorities for the development of tourism in London, i.e. growth, dispersal, resources, and diversity and inclusion. This was succeeded by the London Tourism Action Plan 2003-06, a document produced by the London Development Agency (LDA) with the aim to deliver the priorities mentioned before. Accordingly, the Action Plan identifies four main strategic areas: Leadership & Promotion, Market Development, Product Development, and Evidence & Intelligence.

In 2005, London won the bid to host the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, which added to the importance of tourism development and gave an opportunity to spread the benefits of tourism across London. This new tourism landscape required a fresh long-term vision for tourism, which was developed during a consultation process conducted by the LDA in late 2005. The result was an overall ten year vision for tourism which stated that '[b]y 2016, London will be recognised as the leading global city for tourism and as a constantly evolving destination. London will deliver a high quality visitor experience, continually surprising and exciting our visitors with a vibrant, contemporary

and diverse offer in a historically and culturally rich environment. Tourism in London will contribute to the economic success of the city and the quality of life for Londoners.’ (LDA, 2006, p.3) In order to achieve this vision, five key themes were identified and detailed in the document: a global city, a quality visitor experience, a sustainable and inclusive city, professionalism at every level, and industry support and partnership. When comparing these five new strategic priorities against the four which were included in the 2002 plan for tourism, a major shift can be seen from a focus mainly on growth in terms of tourism development, towards a focus on quality and sustainability in tourism. Furthermore, in order to support the delivery of this vision, two Action Plans were issued. The first Action Plan was in place from 2006 to 2009, and was followed by a new one covering the period 2009 - 2013. For the purpose of this research, only this latest Action Plan is discussed in this section.

The London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13 begins by underlining the importance of tourism to the economy of the city. In addition, in the Mayor’s foreword, it is stated that tourism has to play an important role in the recovery of the economy of London during these difficult economic conditions and therefore extra support and advocacy for the city’s tourism industry is needed. However, it should be noted that when emphasizing the importance of London to the UK visitor economy, the plan shows inconsistencies in the figures presented in terms of visitor expenditure and employment. For example, the Mayor’s foreword notes that tourism ‘is worth over £16 billion per annum and employs 285,000 people’ (LDA, 2009b, p.3), while later on in the document the LDA gives a different set of figures, stating that ‘[t]ourism helped to support 253,000 jobs and resulted in £22 billion of visitor expenditure’ (LDA, 2009b, p.7). This lack of accurate data on tourism in London, in particular at the borough level, has also been pointed out by a number of researchers such as Bull and Church (2001), and Maitland and Newman (2004).

In an attempt to address this issue and to measure tourism value and volume at borough level, the London Development Agency (LDA, 2009a) produced borough level tourism estimates for the year 2007, a set of data that was generated using the Local Area Tourism Impact (LATI) model. Two years later, a new set of estimates was produced by GLA Economics (2011), this time presenting the results for years 2008 and 2009 (see Appendix 7 for a background on the approach used for this model, and Appendices 8 and 9 for the estimates for year 2009). Although this is a commendable initiative, there is a question mark over the accuracy of the data. When comparing this data against that included by a number of London boroughs in their Core Strategy, some significant differences can be noted. For example, when looking at the Borough

of Camden, the Core Strategy mentions that the visitor economy contributes with £566 million per annum (expenditure data based on the Study of the Visitor Economy in Camden conducted in 2009 by the Acorn Consulting), while the LATI model estimated the tourism spending for year 2009 at £1.525 billion, which is almost three times the figure given in the CS. A similar situation can be found in the case of the City of Westminster, where the figures on tourism expenditure given by the two documents are significantly different (over £5 billion according to the Core Strategy as opposed to £6.068 billion according to the LATI model). Therefore, it appears that the boroughs tend to use in their planning documents their own data on tourism and not the estimates produced by the LDA. However, as there is no other study or source where this data can be collected from for all 33 local authorities in London, the estimates produced using the LATI model are considered in this research but only as indicative numbers and not as absolutes.

Returning to the latest London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13, this focuses on capitalising on the Olympic and Paralympic Games opportunities and on contributing to the delivery of the tourism activities needed to ensure a successful experience for the visitors during the Games. The document sets out a number of priorities for the period 2009 to 2013, which are briefly outlined below:

- to support jobs in tourism businesses;
- to promote and deliver a *world class sense of 'Welcome'* during the Games;
- to capitalise on the opportunities provided by the Games and Cultural Olympiad, in order to maintain the position of London as a leading destination for international tourism;
- to exploit the attention received by London during the Games and increase its reputation as a leading global sporting, cultural and business events city (LDA, 2009b, p.20).

Furthermore, this latest Action Plan includes a number of objectives for each of the five key themes identified in the London Tourism Vision 2006-16. The objectives of the first theme, *a global city*, are focused on maintaining London's global position as a leading visitor destination, capitalizing on the opportunities offered by the 2012 Games and maximizing the role of London as a gateway for the rest of UK. For the second theme, *a quality visitor experience*, its objectives include the delivery of a visitor information network and of an inspirational 'welcome' during the Games, an improvement in the quality of the accommodation and the measurement of the quality of visitor experience. For the third theme, *a sustainable and inclusive city*, the objectives focus on the improvement of the sustainability and environmental performance of the visitor

economy in London, the improvement of the accessibility of the visitor experience during the Games, and the assurance of a high quality of the public transport, central to the Games and to the legacy of visitor experience. For the fourth theme, *professionalism at every level*, its objectives relate to access to employment and development of the workforce. Finally, for the fifth theme, *industry support and partnership*, the objectives are directed towards accurate and timely intelligence, improved communication, coordination and support within the tourism industry, and hotel development.

The Action Plan, published during the previous Government, also mentions that the London Development Agency (now abolished) will cooperate with the London boroughs in order to ensure that outer London will reach its full economic potential in terms of tourism. Moreover, the plan identifies two regions that need a particular focus in the planning and development of tourism – East London and the Lea Valley – which are key to the legacy of the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

Although the term 'sustainable' appears a number of times in the plan (e.g. 'sustainable and inclusive city' or 'sustainable forms of transport'), there is no mention of the concept of 'sustainable tourism' in the entire document. Nevertheless, it can be said that the Action Plan adopts the 'parochial approach' (Hunter, 1995) to sustainable tourism, which is a more holistic approach that focuses on achieving sustainable development through tourism (more details are provided in section 2.5.1). However, the document places less emphasis on the impacts of tourism development on the local communities, although they are an important stakeholder to be considered when planning this activity (Getz & Timur, 2005).

Finally, the policy framework within which the Tourism Action Plan is delivered is defined by a number of statutory and non-statutory strategic documents published by the Mayor, with the most important ones outlined below. The first two, the *London Plan* (discussed earlier) and the *Economic Development Strategy*, are of direct relevance to the development of tourism in the capital. The Economic Development Strategy sets out the Mayor's five objectives for the economic development of London, with the first objective emphasizing the contribution of tourism to the economy of the city. The actual wording of this objective is 'to promote London as the world capital of business, the world's top international visitor destination, and the world's leading international centre of learning and creativity' (GLA, 2010d, p.10). Another relevant document is the *Mayor's Transport Strategy* (GLA, 2010c, p.6), a statutory document which together with the London Plan and the Economic Development Strategy discussed above forms

the 'strategic policy framework to support and shape the economic and social development of London over the next 20 years'. The main priorities which are relevant for tourism are to improve the public transport, to encourage the use of more sustainable modes of transport (such as public transport, walking, cycling and the Blue Ribbon Network – based around the river Thames), and to improve safety and security on the public transport system. The last policy document mentioned here is *Cultural Metropolis: The Mayor's Cultural Strategy – 2012 and Beyond* (GLA, 2010b), which highlights the strong link between the cultural sector in London and its visitor economy. The most relevant priorities set in this document and which relate to tourism development in the capital are to maintain London's position as a world city for culture, to promote high-quality cultural events in order to animate London's public realm and attract visitors to the city, and to ensure that culture contributes to the legacy of the 2012 Olympics and Paralympics Games.

To summarise the main findings of this chapter, London (the case study for this research) is a world tourism city that attracts many visitors but which has been neglected as a research area in terms of sustainable tourism planning. An examination of the national and regional policy documents which influence tourism planning at local level shows that the central government has given local authorities, including the London boroughs, more power to decide what is best for their area. Local authorities are also encouraged to work in partnership with the private sector in order to attract more funds, so that tourism development in their area is no longer dependent on public funding. Nevertheless, although tourism is considered an important contributor for the economy of the country as a whole, and for the capital in particular, there are fewer planning provisions at national level to guide local authorities in adopting policies for tourism development – currently only a good practice guide has been put in place, and this has more of an advisory role. Finally, even though sustainable development is considered a core principle for tourism planning in the UK, there is only very limited guidance to help local authorities implement this concept in practice.

5.7 Summary

In order to better understand how public policies and strategies produced by the central government and other public authorities influence sustainable tourism development (RQ1), London was chosen as an exploratory case study for the present research. The capital is a world tourism city that attracts vast numbers of visitors through a large variety of tourist attractions, but also accommodates a very large population. However,

despite the important role that tourism plays in the economy of the city, there is only limited research on its development, and even less on sustainable tourism development in London. One of the findings of this chapter showed that the concept of sustainable development is promoted in all planning policy documents produced by the central government as well as by the Greater London Authority, which makes the capital a good case study to research sustainable tourism development.

First of all, the chapter introduced the context of the research and highlighted a number of changes that have influenced the development of tourism in London in recent years. To begin with, one of the important events to affect tourism development in the UK has been the 2008 global financial crisis, which prompted deep budget cuts. As a result, a number of public organisations responsible with the development of tourism in the capital have been either abolished or restructured. In addition, over the past couple of years, a number of new national and local policy documents that influence the development of tourism in the capital were adopted. Through the changes they proposed, these documents have a significant impact on the planning and management of tourism in London and therefore it was considered important to review them. Their examination helped to better understand the context in which tourism in London evolves, as well as to identify the measures taken so far by the Government and other public authorities for the sustainable development of this activity (thus contributing in answering RQ1). Therefore, the first aspects discussed were the changes brought by the new Coalition Government, with their focus on the localism agenda. Next, the new planning policy framework was introduced briefly, with its presumption in favour of sustainable development, as well as the change in the planning policy guidance for tourism – from a PPG to a good practice guide, with the later document actually having more an advisory role. Further on, the chapter outlined the main priorities set out in the new national tourism strategy for Britain, which is mainly oriented towards economic development and tourism growth. The next document examined was the new London Plan, which is the main strategic document guiding the development of the capital, including the development of tourism. It was found that although the Plan does not include a specific policy for tourism, there are a number of policies which make reference to the visitor economy and these were reviewed. Finally, the chapter concluded with a detailed analysis of the measures included in the most recent London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13 and underlined the holistic ‘parochial approach’ (a weak approach) to sustainable tourism adopted by the LDA in this plan.

The following two chapters present the results of this study, with Chapter 6 discussing the findings of a comparative analysis based on the main policy documents that influence sustainable tourism development at borough level. Chapter 7 then presents the results of a survey conducted with representatives of local authorities in London, which focused on sustainable tourism planning and management in the capital.

Chapter 6 Planning policies for tourism – Results of secondary data analysis

6.1 Introduction

As it was argued in Chapter 3 and drawing on a review of current literature, governments and local authorities continue to play an important role in producing and implementing tourism policies to guide the development of this industry. These bodies are considered by many authors and organisations to have the authority and power, as well as the necessary tools to address the negative impacts which accompany the development of tourism in a destination, and thus to contribute to the sustainable development of this activity (UNEP & WTO, 2005; Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010). When looking at London, the case study for the present research, it can be seen that tourism is a non-statutory function for local authorities and therefore the resources allocated and the policy measures adopted for the development of this activity differ from one borough to another. In addition, there is only limited information available on the current tourism planning policies promoted by the local authorities in London and little is known on whether these strategic documents take into account sustainable tourism principles. Therefore, to contribute to the existing knowledge on this topic, the next sections present the findings of a comparative analysis on the planning policies towards tourism promoted by the London boroughs.

The chapter first looks at the main planning documents produced by the 33 local authorities in the capital and discusses the way they integrate tourism into the local development policies for their area. It then moves on to the comparative analysis of the planning policy documents for years 2000 and 2012, and thus it shows the direction of tourism policy in London over the past twelve years. After discussing where tourism sits among the main priorities of the London boroughs, the chapter continues with an analysis of the relevant tourism policy documents adopted by the local authorities in the capital (e.g. tourism/visitor or culture strategies and policies), examining whether they incorporate sustainable tourism principles. As a result, this analysis will offer a better understanding of the current tourism policies and strategies promoted by the London boroughs that may contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in the capital. Therefore, it contributes in answering the second research question (RQ2 – *How the*

policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?).

6.2 Comparative analysis of the London boroughs' planning policies towards tourism

As previously mentioned in section 3.3, tourism is a complex phenomenon that overlaps with other policy areas, and as a result the strategies and plans which influence the development of tourism are very rarely dedicated exclusively to this activity (Page & Hall, 2003). This view is also supported by Pearce (2011), who underlines that in most cases tourism is only a part of broader urban policies and does not have a separate strategy for its development. Therefore, to only look at the current tourism strategies and plans produced by the London boroughs would not be sufficient for gaining an overview of the planning and management of tourism in the capital. This aspect is also noted by Smith and Stevenson (2009, p.100) who argue that 'tourism policy cannot merely be understood by analysing strategies and plans dedicated merely to tourism. Wider policies, strategies and plans also need to be taken into consideration'. Hence, this section first of all examines the main planning documents issued by the local authorities in London and looks at whether they promote any policies for tourism development. Such an analysis was previously undertaken more than ten years ago by Evans (2000), who compared the main local planning documents in place at the time. However, since 2000 there have been numerous changes in the local development planning policies, and also in the way tourism is seen by planners. Therefore, a comparison between the development plans of 2000 and 2012 will assess not only how each borough has integrated tourism in their development plans, but will also show the direction of tourism policy in London over the past decade.

As such, the comparative study included in this section is based on the main planning documents of the London boroughs from the years 2000 (Unitary Development Plans – UDPs) and 2012 (Core Strategies – CSs). As mentioned earlier, the data for 2000 was adopted from the work of Evans (2000), while that for 2012 was collected from the current Core Strategies. To provide a better understanding of the documents being compared, a short overview of the local planning frameworks of the two periods is included further on.

The Local Development Framework is the current spatial planning strategy which was introduced by the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004. The Act brought a

major change in the planning system by replacing the UDPs, which represented the statutory plans for an area, with the Local Development Framework (LDF). A schematic representation of the two planning frameworks and their structure is given in Figure 6.1. This scheme shows the changes brought in by the LDF, a new planning system meant to better involve the local community and other stakeholders in the planning process. Details about the LDF are given in the Planning Policy Statement 12: Local Spatial Planning, which establishes the national policy framework that guides the creation of local development frameworks. According to the document, each local planning authority has to produce the Development Plan Documents (DPDs) for their area, with the Core Strategy being the principal development document (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005b).

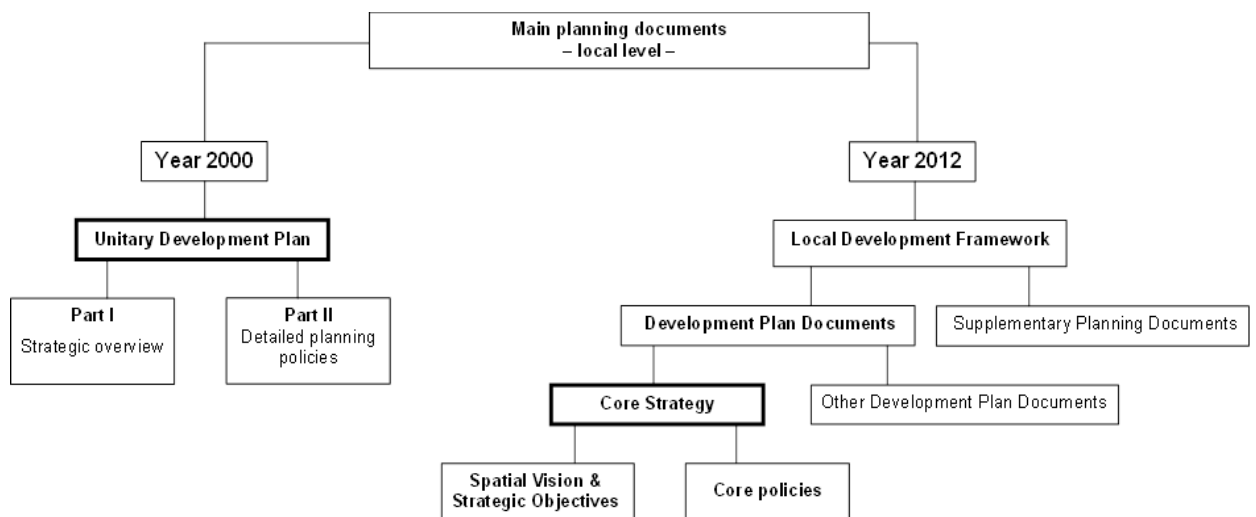


Figure 6.1 Main planning documents at a local level for the years 2000 and 2012

In addition to the CSs, there are other DPDs which provide further details that are not suitable to be included in a CS, such as site specific allocations of land, or area action plans. All development documents to be produced by local authorities, as well as the specific deadlines, are set out in The Local Development Scheme which is an integral part of the LDF. All DPDs, including the CSs, are subject to a sustainability appraisal, which identifies and evaluates the social, economic and environmental impacts of the plans. Besides, the sustainability appraisal helps to ensure that the development documents are in accordance with the principles of sustainable development, a requirement of the European Directive 2001/42/EC. Furthermore, according to Section 24 of the Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004, the DPDs of all London boroughs must be in 'general conformity' with the London Plan. An example is given in Figure 6.2 to help better understand where the Core Strategy sits in relation to the

other development documents that are all part of an LDF, as well as in relation to the National Planning Policy and the London Plan. This figure shows a schematic representation of the Local Development Framework documents proposed by Harrow Council, one of the local authorities in London.

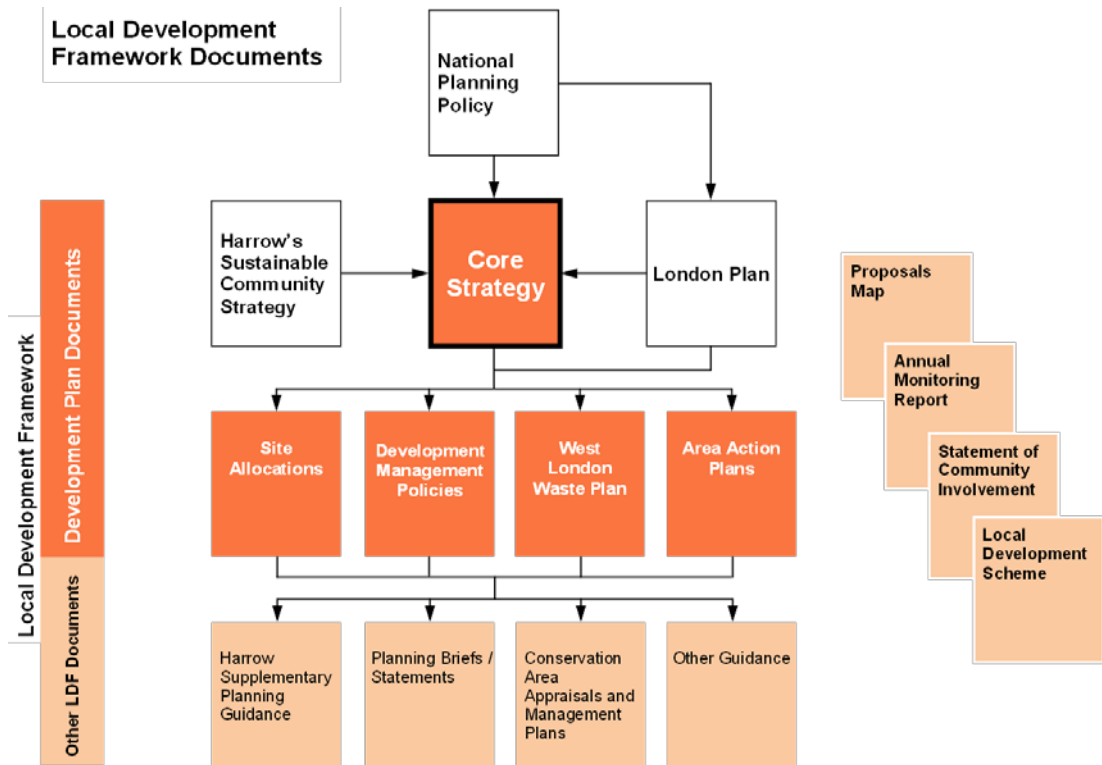


Figure 6.2 Harrow Local Development Framework. Source: Harrow Council (2012, p.5)

Therefore, the Core Strategy plays a key role in the development of an area and is designed to cover a period of minimum 15 years from the date of adoption. According to the Department for Communities and Local Government (2005b, p.7), the CS should include:

- an overall vision for the development of the area;
- strategic objectives, focused on the main issues to be addressed;
- the proposed delivery strategy for achieving these objectives, which sets out how much, where, when and by what means that development will be delivered;
- the proposed arrangements for managing and monitoring the delivery of the strategy.

The Core Strategies adopted by the London boroughs reflect the concerns and the themes included in the London Plan (see section 5.5).

The CSs are large documents of over a hundred and fifty pages each, or even three to four hundred pages in some cases. Moreover, the information on tourism is often covered in different sections of the document and in different policy areas, which is why only relevant passages were extracted and summarized. These selections were assembled through a search of the entire documents for relevant terms, i.e. *tourism*, *visitors* and *culture (creative industries)*. Two examples of such extracts which underpin the analysis are included in Appendix 10 (i.e. an outer and an inner London borough). Thus, the comparative analysis on the Core Strategies of the London boroughs is based on extracts collected from these documents and which comprise information on policies related to tourism development.

The reason why the terms 'culture' and 'creative industries' were considered when searching through the CSs is that more recently tourism in cities is often associated with activities related to arts, culture and creative industries (Howie, 2003). This association has been promoted by a number of official documents issued over the past twelve years by different UK bodies. As an example, the report issued by the Department for Communities and Local Government (2006b, p.4), *Regeneration through Culture, Sport and Tourism*, encourages local authorities 'to adopt the more inclusive term culture rather than leisure in the strategic planning for regeneration'. The term 'culture' is used by the report in a broader sense, which is intended to encompass tourism, as well as a number of other activities such as the built heritage, arts, sports, museums and creative industries. This broader definition for 'culture' was also proposed a few years later by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2000) in their *Progress Report on Local Cultural Strategies*.

Furthermore, the overlap between tourism and other activities such as arts and culture is also highlighted in the latest *Good Practice Guide on Planning for Tourism* (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a). In the same time, the association of tourism or visitor economy with culture and creative industries can be found in the framework for sustainable tourism in England produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2009b). Moreover, the latest *Mayor's Culture Strategy – 2012 and Beyond* reiterates the strong link between the visitor economy and the cultural sector in London, stating that '[c]ulture is widely recognised as a major factor in London's success. It is a key reason why people visit – seven out of ten tourists cite culture as a reason for their stay.' (GLA, 2010b, p.17) Therefore, the rich cultural environment offered by London has a significant contribution to the millions of international visitors which are attracted each year by the capital.

Going back to the analysis of the planning documents, the specific aspects considered relevant are based on the work of Evans (2000) and were chosen in order to allow a comparison between the data on tourism included in the main planning documents from the two time periods. These aspects are compiled into the main column headings of Table 6.2 (included in the next section) and the rationale for considering each of them is given below:

- *Tourism 'Strategic'*: evaluates the degree of strategic consideration given by each borough to tourism;
- *Tourism 'Context'*: presents the policy or chapter relevant to tourism which shows the importance assigned by local authorities to tourism in their main planning documents;
- *Hotel/Accommodation (CS)*: as London concentrates a large number of accommodation facilities, it is important to look at the attitude of local authorities in each borough towards the development of hotels and other accommodation facilities;
- *Promote New Visitor Attractions*: this is another useful indicator for the tourism development policies of the London boroughs, as it shows the attitude of local authorities towards promoting new attractions and thus attracting more visitors to their area;
- *Dominant Rationale* (as per Table 6.1): synthesizes the rationale which underpins the tendency towards encouraging and promoting tourism development or, in some cases, towards restricting this activity;
- *Accommodation capacity*: the number of beds/rooms registered in each borough gives an overview of the scale and distribution of accommodation facilities across London (this shows where most of the tourists are concentrated).

Table 6.1 Local Authority rationale for tourism policy and promotion

Rationale	Objectives
Social	Improved local amenities, cultural facilities, festivals and events, and public transport; local consumption and trade, jobs for residents, civic pride; local/regional identity.
Economic	Jobs and wealth creation and retention; inward investment - private and public; taxation (on property); property valuation; World City role, intercity competition; employer (re)location and retention.
Environmental	Conservation of built and natural heritage; urban design; public art; cultural quarters; town centre/public realm; safety/crime prevention; land-use zoning and reclamation.
Control	Carrying capacities; quality control (hotels, retail); employment protection (pay, health, seasonality); parking/congestion (pedestrian and road); pollution/litter; price inflation (property rents and values); protection of housing & heritage/conservation areas.

Source: adapted from Evans (2000, p. 311)

In addition, for the purpose of this study two different geographical sub-divisions of the London boroughs are used and both were adopted from the proposals included in the latest London Plan (GLA, 2011b). In the first sub-division, the 33 boroughs are split into fourteen inner and nineteen outer London boroughs (see Figure 6.3).

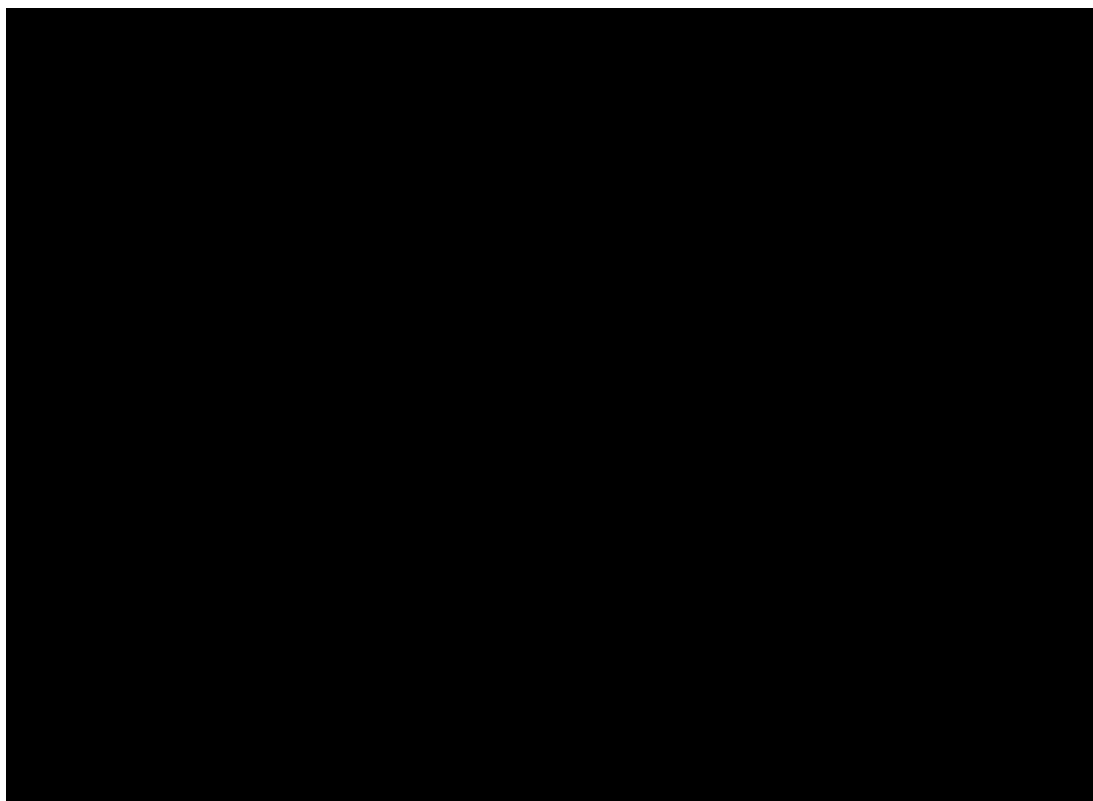


Figure 6.3 Inner and outer London boroughs

In the second sub-division, they are grouped into five different sub-regions, i.e. North, South, East, West and Central (see Figure 6.4). These sub-divisions help to identify and illustrate any trends and patterns that may be found in the planning for tourism development among the different sub-regions of London.

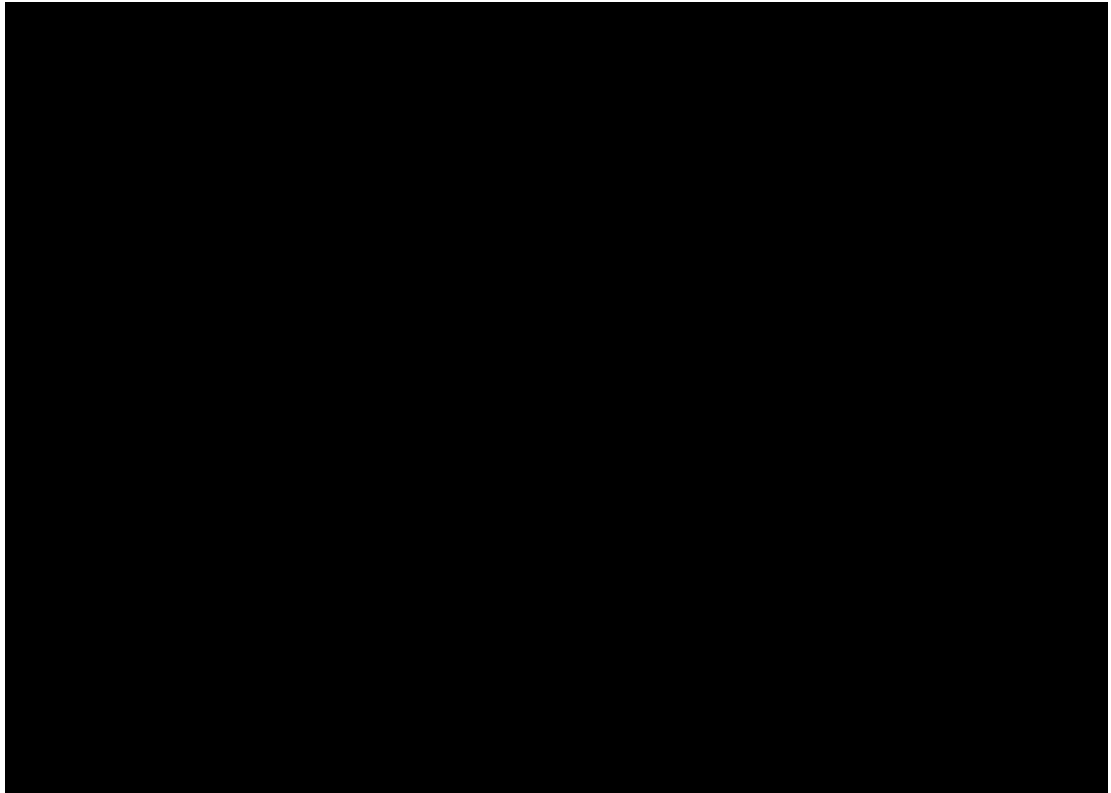


Figure 6.4 London boroughs grouped into the five sub-regions

Moreover, as discussed in section 3.3.1, tourism is not immune to the political environment since all the decisions which influence the development of this activity take place in a political context. Therefore, in order to understand whether different political ideologies influence the aspects related to tourism development that are discussed further, a map was created showing which political party holds a majority in each of the local councils in London (see Figure 6.5). It should be noted that for simplicity, the analysis will refer to the City of London as one of the London boroughs even though it is a city in its own right, and it employs a voting system that is now unique in the UK (i.e. residents as well as businesses can register to vote).

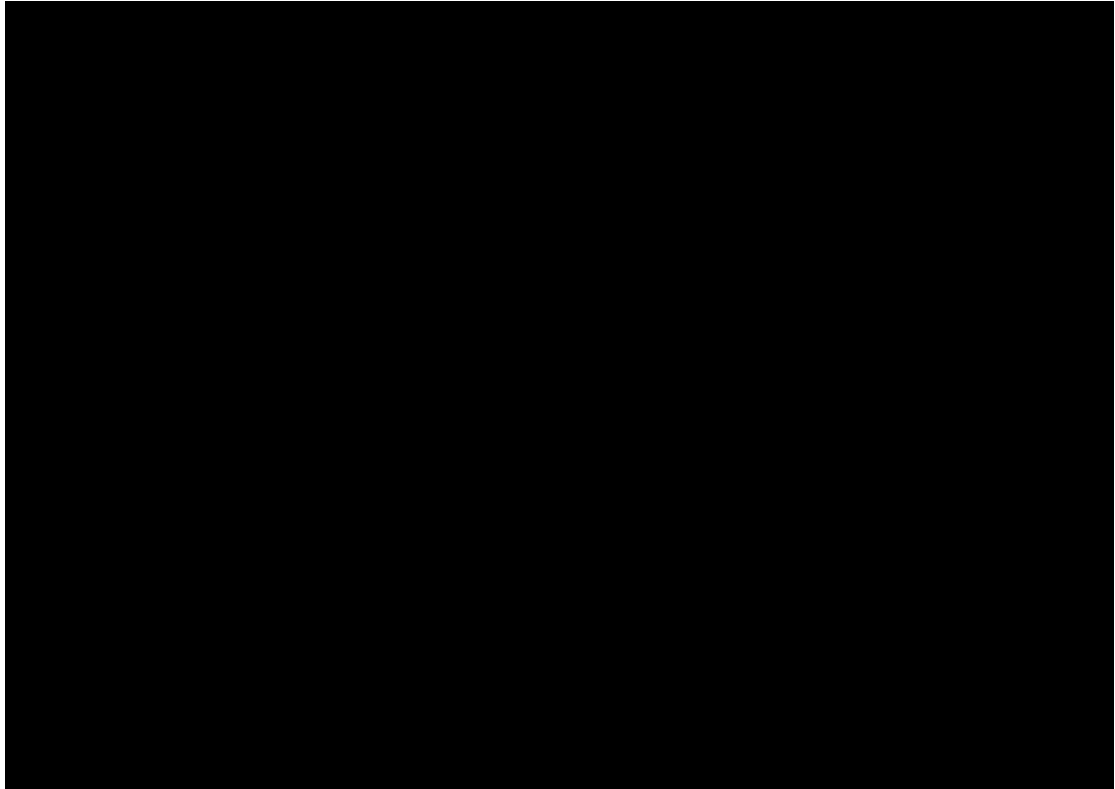


Figure 6.5 Political parties holding a majority for each local council in London

6.2.1 The strategic consideration given by the London boroughs to tourism

Moving on to the findings of the comparative analysis illustrated in Table 6.2, the first column (*Tourism 'Strategic'*) shows the degree of strategic consideration that is given to tourism by each of the local authorities in London. In the case of the Core Strategies, if one or more of the terms *tourism*, *visitors* and *culture (creative industries)*, is found in any form or combination within the Spatial Vision and/or Strategic Objectives, this is recorded in the table using a dot '•'. Otherwise, if none of these terms can be found, a dash '-' is used instead. For the Unitary Development Plans, if any mention of *tourism* and/or *visitors* was made in Part I of these documents (which is the strategic overview for the borough) this is again illustrated in the table by a dot '•', or otherwise by a dash '-'. As mentioned earlier, the data for UDPs was taken from Evans (2000), so a comparison between the two periods of time is possible.

Table 6.2 Comparative tourism policy analysis of the London boroughs CSs and UDPs

Borough	Tourism 'Strategic'		Tourism 'Context'		Hotels / Accommodation (CS)			New visit attraction		Dominant Rat. (Table 6.2)		Accommodation capacity	
	CS Spatial vision & Strat object)	UDP Part I Strategy	CS (Core Policy)	UDP Part II Chapter	Develop	Control/ Restrict	Town Centre/ Site	CS	UDP	CS	UDP	No. of rooms +No. of units ⁹ (2010)	No. of beds (1997)
Barking and Dagenham	●	-	Cult & Tour	Arts & Tour	●	-	●	●	●	Social	Social	506	80
Barnet	-	-	Town Cent / Com	Leis & Tour	●	-	●	●	●	Social	-	1418	1017
Bexley	●	●	Jobs / Town Cent	Tour & Leis	●	-	-	●	●	Ec / Social	Economic	321	509
Brent	●	●	Town Cent	Tour & Hotels	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Social	Economic	1758	1204
Bromley	-	●	-	Rec, Leis & Tour	●	-	-	●	-	-	Social	518+338	250
Camden	●	-	Town Cent / Economic	Economic	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Social / Environment	Social / Economic	16233+402	18717
City of London	●	●	Visit, Arts & Cult / Town Cent	Visitors	●	●	-	●	-	Social/ Control Environ	Economic	3266+802	314
Croydon	-	●	Employ / Town Cent	Hotels & Tour	●	-	●	-	●	Ec / Social	Economic	1998+93	2784
Ealing	-	●	Open space	Employ	●	-	●	●	●	-	Economic	1667+21	1316
Enfield	●	●	Visit & Tour	Arts, Rec & Tour	●	-	●	●	●	Social	Social	432+329	326
Greenwich	●	●	Tour/ Ec/ Town Cent	Tourism	●	-	●	●	●	Social / Ec	Social / Ec	640+517	588
Hackney	●	●	Town Cent	Arts / ACE	●	●	●	●	-	Social	Social	1054	852
Hammersmith and Fulham	●	-	Employ / Com	Employ	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Social / Environ	Economic	3679+67	988
Haringey	●	●	Cult & Leis	Leis & Tour	●	-	-	●	●	Social / Environ	Economic	442	3833
Harrow	●	●	Town Cent	Rec, Leis & Tour	●	-	●	●	●	Social / Environ	Social	832+2	529

⁹ According to the LDA, the number of rooms includes Bed & Breakfast accommodation, Hostels and Hotels, while the units correspond to Accommodation Agencies, Caravan Parks, Self-Catering Agencies, Self-Catering Apartments and Serviced Apartments.

Borough	Tourism 'Strategic'		Tourism 'Context'		Hotels / Accommodation (CS)			New visit attraction		Dominant Rat. (Table 6.2)		Accommodation capacity	
	CS Spatial vision & Strat object)	UDP Part I Strategy	CS (Core Policy)	UDP Part II Chapter	Develop	Control/ Restrict	Town Centre/ Site	CS	UDP	CS	UDP	No. of rooms +No. of units ⁹ (2010)	No. of beds (1997)
Havering	●	-	Culture	Employ	●	-	●	●	-	Social	Social	560	383
Hillingdon	-	●	Employ/Skills/Cult	Tourism	●	●	●	●	●	Ec / Social	Economic	9004+88	10025
Hounslow	●	●	Town Cent/ Ec&Jobs	-	●	-	●	●	-	Economic	Economic	2614+3	1929
Islington	●	●	Retail / Town Cent	Visitors	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Control	Economic	1113+15	2894
Kensington and Chelsea	●	●	Town Cent / Arts & Cult / Hotels	Hotels / Leis & Rec	●	●	●	●	-	Control / Environ / Social	Control	14191+1862	23725
Kingston	●	●	Ec& Employ/TownCent	Rec & Leis	●	-	●	●	-	Ec / Social	Social	1014	541
Lambeth	●	●	Economic	Arts & Tour	●	-	●	●	●	Economic	Social	2587+1	613
Lewisham	●	●	Conservation	Leisure	●	-	●	-	●	Economic	Economic	272+20	849
Merton	●	●	Town Cent	Leis, Rec & Tour	●	-	●	●	-	Ec / Social	Social	421+30	487
Newham	●	●	Town Cent / Jobs	Leis & Rec	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Environ	Environ	2682+30	349
Redbridge	●	●	Cult & Rec	Rec, Leis & Tour	-	-	-	●	-	Social	-	673	534
Richmond	●	●	Visit & Tour/ Town Cent	Cult, Ent & Tour	●	-	●	-	-	Social	Economic	1248+83	1011
Southwark	●	●	Jobs & Business	Com / Soc Hous / Trans	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Social	Social	3660+140	1544
Sutton	-	●	Town Cent	Com & Leis	-	-	-	●	-	Social	-	254	406
Tower Hamlets	●	●	Town Cent / Employ	Arts, Ent & Tour	●	-	●	●	-	Control/Ec/Soc	Control	3856+682	1515
Waltham Forest	●	-	Tour & Visit/ Town Cent	Industry	●	-	●	●	●	Ec / Control	Economic	487+5	318
Wandsworth	-	●	Town Cent	Leis & Rec	●	-	●	-	●	-	Social	527+109	360
Westminster	●	●	Tour, Arts & Cult/ Hotels	Tour,Hotels& Ent	●	●	●	●	●	Control	Control	33913+2484	60502
Total	26	27	Tour / Visit - 7	Tour / Visit - 19	31 CS (30 UDP)	5 CS (4 UDP)	27 CS (14 UDP)	29	21	Soc - 23; Ec - 17 Environ - 7 Control - 6	Soc - 13; Ec - 15 Environ - 1 Control - 3	113840+8123	141292

Note: Abbreviations include: Core Strategy – CS; Unitary Development Plan – UDP; Arts, Culture & Entertainment – ACE; Attractions – Attrac; Community – Com; Culture – Cult; Economic – Ec; Employment – Employ; Entertainment – Ent; Environment – Environ; Housing – Hous; Leisure – Leis; Rationale – Rat; Recreation – Rec; Social – Soc; Tourism – Tour; Town Centres – Town Cent; Transport – Trans; Visitors - Visit

When comparing the findings of the analysis on CSs and UDPs, although a number of changes can be seen, most boroughs consider tourism to be a strategic area and include it in the strategic part of their development plans (26 CSs against 27 UDPs, out of 33 London boroughs). This finding highlights the significance of tourism for the capital and shows the importance of this investigation in contributing to a better understanding of the tourism policies promoted by local authorities in London. For a better overview of the results, Figure 6.6 presents a map that shows which of the inner and outer London boroughs do or do not include tourism in the strategic part of their CSs and UDPs.

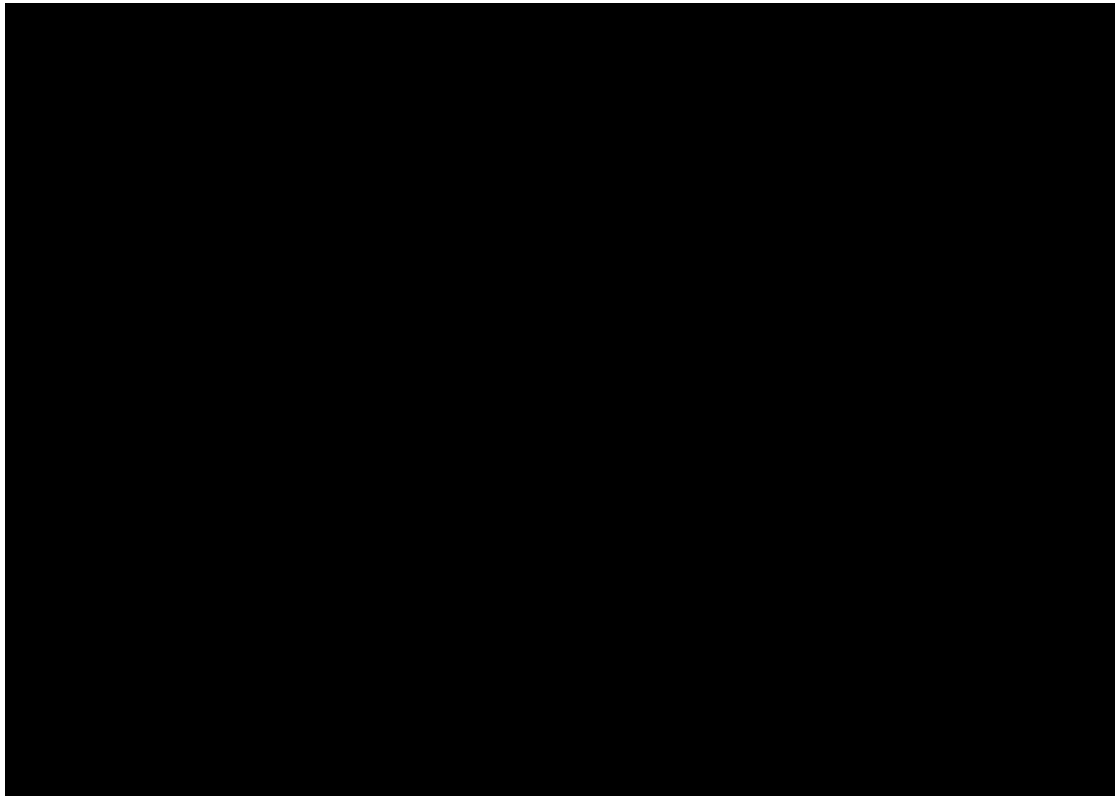


Figure 6.6 Boroughs which include ‘tourism’ among their strategic priorities in the CSs and UDPs (Inner and Outer London)

It is worth noting that the majority of inner London boroughs include tourism among the strategic priorities for their area in both documents (i.e. 12 boroughs in year 2000 and

13 boroughs in year 2012, out of the 14 inner London boroughs). Indeed, the importance given to tourism by the inner London boroughs is not a surprise as most tourists coming to the capital tend to visit and stay in the central parts of the city, while the outer London area is often neglected (London Assembly, 2006).

Moreover, in 2000 all boroughs in West and South London except Hammersmith & Fulham included tourism in the strategic part of their UDPs (see Figure 6.7). However, this situation changed considerably by 2012, when only about half of these boroughs kept tourism among their strategic priorities and included it in their spatial vision and/or strategic objectives for the area. It is surprising that Hillingdon – which is home to Heathrow Airport – does not mention tourism in the strategic part of its CS, although in other parts of the document it does recognise that tourism is a significant contributor to the economy of the borough.

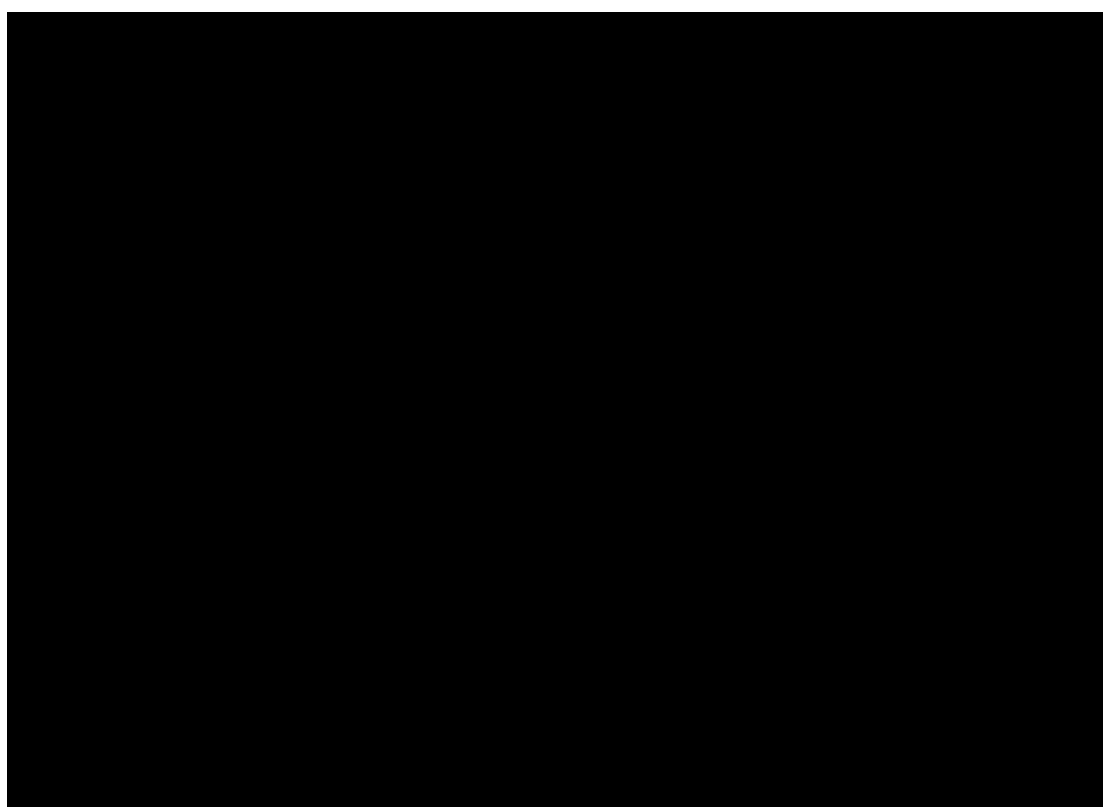


Figure 6.7 Boroughs which include ‘tourism’ among their strategic priorities in the CSs and UDPs (London Sub-Regions)

When looking at East London, an increase can be noted (from year 2000 to year 2012) in the number of boroughs which mention tourism among their strategic priorities. If in 2000 seven out of the ten East London boroughs included this activity in the strategic overview of their UDPs, by 2012 all these boroughs made reference to tourism in the

strategic part of their CSs. The special attention given to tourism in the case of these boroughs is likely to be a result of East London being host to the 2012 Olympic Games and therefore anticipating an increase in the number of tourists visiting the area. In this respect, the regeneration of East London and the development of tourism are among the legacy outcomes expected as a result of hosting the Games (DCMS, 2009a). Likewise, over the past years the London Development Agency produced a number of strategic documents which encouraged the spread of tourism benefits across all London boroughs, and in particular supported the growth of the tourism industry in East London (LDA, 2004; LDA, 2009b). As a final note it should be said that no clear correlation can be seen between the political party that currently holds a majority in the respective local councils and whether they consider or not tourism as one of their strategic priorities.

6.2.2 The importance given to tourism by the London boroughs

Another strong indication of how much importance is given to tourism by each borough is whether their respective main planning documents include a dedicated chapter/core policy on tourism, or whether this is combined with other activities (see the *Tourism 'Context'* column of Table 6.2). Even though the majority of London boroughs mention tourism among the strategic priorities in their CSs, only four out of the 33 boroughs have included a dedicated core policy for visitors and tourism, i.e. Enfield, Greenwich, Richmond and Waltham Forest (see Figure 6.8). In addition, three other boroughs have a core policy which combines tourism/visitors with other activities, such as arts and culture, i.e. Westminster, City of London, and Barking and Dagenham. In the same time, even though it does not have a dedicated policy for tourism, the borough of Islington specifies in its CS that it retains the 'Visitors to Islington' policy which was included in its 2007 UDP. In the case of the remaining boroughs, although tourism cannot be found in the title of any core policy, references to tourism are made within other core policies such as Town Centres, Culture, Employment, Economic or Community.

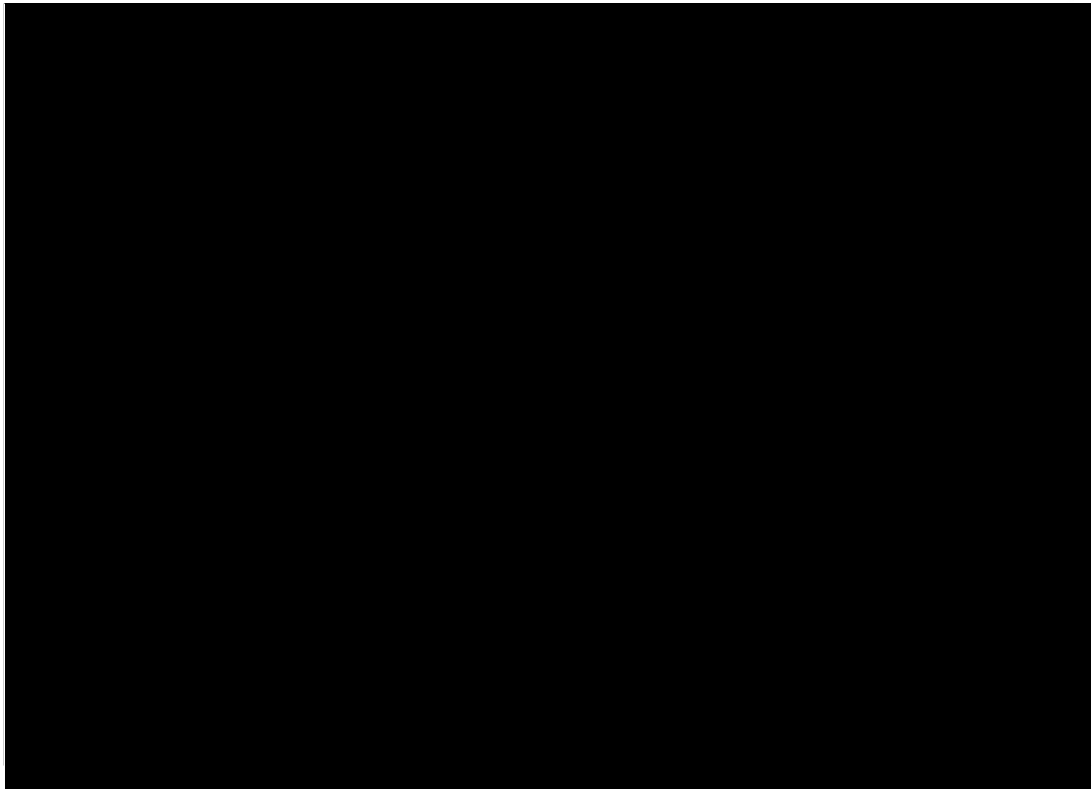


Figure 6.8 London boroughs which have a tourism or visitor core policy/chapter in their CSs and UDPs

When comparing the findings on Unitary Development Plans and Core Strategies, a major shift can be seen in how much importance is given to tourism. If in 2000 more than half of all boroughs in London had a dedicated or combined chapter on tourism/visitors in their UDPs, in 2012 less than a quarter have such a core policy in their CSs. A possible explanation for the large number of boroughs that included a specific chapter for tourism in 2000 is that the *PPG 12: Development Plans*, which guided the planning policies at the time, mentioned tourism among the strategic topics to be considered by the local authorities when designing their UDPs (Evans, 2000). This requirement has not been maintained in the new *PPS 12: Local Spatial Planning* that replaced the PPG 12, and which sets out the government policy on LDFs and CSs. Furthermore, no reference to tourism or visitors is made in this new planning policy statement. Moreover, as discussed in Section 5.3, there is currently no specific PPS or PPG for tourism, but only a good practice guide to help local authorities with planning for tourism. Nevertheless, the guide recommends that those local authorities for which tourism is a key issue should include specific tourism policies in their CSs. However, although tourism is an important contributor to the economy of London and most of the local authorities recognise this by mentioning tourism among their strategic priorities, it seems that this recommendation was followed only by a small number of the London

boroughs. Another possible reason for the absence of a dedicated core policy on tourism in the majority of CSs could be that the London Plan – the spatial development strategy for the capital which influences the local development plans – does not include a specific policy on tourism. Instead, it contains a number of policies which make references to tourism, such as ‘London’s visitor infrastructure’, ‘Games and their legacy’ or ‘Support and enhance the provision for arts, culture and entertainment’ (see section 5.5). As mentioned in the previous chapter, London is the only place in the UK which still has in place a regional strategy (the London Plan), all the others having been abolished by the 2011 Localism Act.

On the other hand, while a large majority of the UDPs mentioned tourism in a single chapter, and this activity was generally combined with arts, culture and leisure (Evans, 2000), most of the current CSs make passing reference to tourism in more than one of their core policies. The spread of aspects related to tourism among two or three core policies could be a result of the relaxation of planning provision for tourism development in the UK, but may also reflect the fragmented nature of this activity, especially in urban environments (Law, 2002). Therefore, tourism is mentioned most frequently in core policies dedicated to ‘Town Centres’, followed by economic related policies such as ‘Economic’, ‘Employment’, ‘Retail’ or ‘Jobs’, and ‘Culture’ – which is usually combined with arts, leisure or recreation. The integration of tourism activities into core policies focused on town centres and economic growth can be explained by the important role played by tourism in creating vibrant town centres and supporting the economic growth of a region. These vital contributions of tourism are underlined by the Department for Communities and Local Government (2006a) in its guide on planning for tourism, and are also highlighted by Human & Sharp (2010). As for the association of tourism with activities related to culture and arts, this topic has already been discussed in some detail earlier in section 6.2.

6.2.3 The attitude of local authorities towards hotel development

Table 6.2 also includes data on planning policies for hotels and other forms of tourist accommodation promoted by the London boroughs in their CSs (see the *Hotel/Accommodation* column). These policies are crucial for the development of a region, as they have environmental and economic effects which can affect residential areas. When looking at the attitude of local authorities towards hotel development, the situation has not changed significantly since 2000 as the vast majority of boroughs (31 out of 33) support hotel development subject to a number of restrictions. These

restrictions are usually related to sustainability issues, such as environmental considerations, public transport links, car parking spaces and wheelchair accessibility. In addition, according to their CSs, all boroughs will resist the transformation of residential accommodation into units for tourist use, a policy that was also included in the UDPs. Evans (2000) notes that at the time the preference of local authorities for housing development (in particular social/affordable housing) over tourism development was an indication of the electoral power of the local people over businesses. Nevertheless, the policy in favour of hotel development adopted by the majority of boroughs in their CSs is in accordance with the current London Plan (GLA, 2011b), which sets a target of 40,000 net additional hotel bedrooms to be in use by 2031. It should be noted that at least part of this added capacity was intended to support the demand generated by the 2012 Olympic Games and by the subsequent development of tourism expected as a result of this event.

It can also be seen that most boroughs direct development of tourism accommodation units towards town centre areas and other appropriate sites (see Figure 6.9). This approach is again in accordance with the recommendations of the London Plan (GLA, 2011b) and the Planning for Town Centres guidance document (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2009).

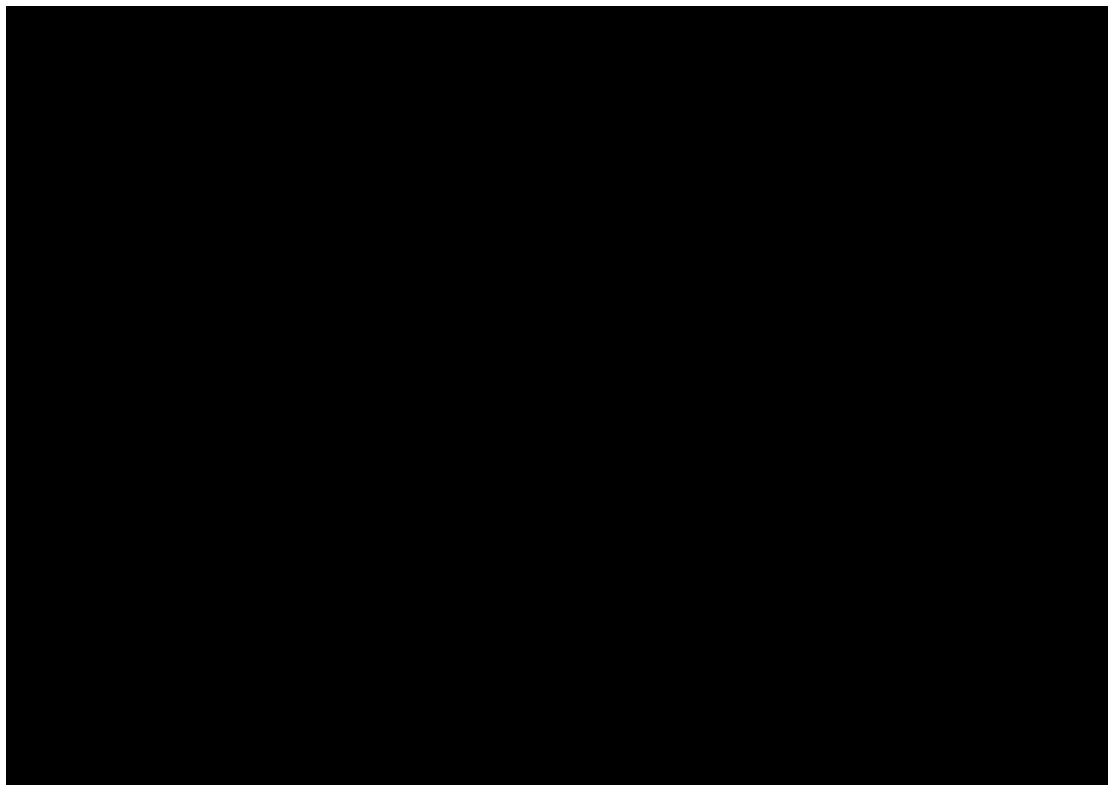


Figure 6.9 Hotel development policies included in the CSs

Both documents encourage the full exploitation of town centres and the location of future developments in these areas, as long as they do not compromise existing local amenities. Town centres are complex environments which perform a multitude of functions, and as a result are considered to be the most suitable sites for future hotel developments. They offer easy access by public transport, allow the development of mixed use facilities which in turn contribute to their vitality and viability, and offer visitors the possibility to easily reach other attractions and facilities in the area.

On the other hand, five of the London boroughs have adopted a restrictive policy towards hotel development. For example, the City of London refuses new hotel developments where they may create amenity problems or compromise the business function of the city, while the City of Westminster directs hotel development specifically to streets and areas which have a predominantly non-residential character. In addition to the three inner London boroughs which are among the most developed areas of London (Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea, and City of London) and Hillingdon which is home to the Heathrow Airport, the borough of Hackney has also adopted a restrictive policy towards hotel development in those areas which have been designated as Priority Employment Areas. Finally, once again, no direct correlation can be found between the boroughs that promote or restrict hotel development, and the political party that holds a majority in the respective local councils.

6.2.4 The attitude of London boroughs towards promoting new visitor attractions

Over three quarters of all London boroughs (29 out of 33) encourage the creation of new visitor attractions in their Core Strategies, with most oriented towards new or enhanced arts and culture facilities within the borough. This is in line with the recommendations of the London Plan which promotes and supports the development of new arts, culture and entertainment facilities. The same trend could be seen also twelve years ago, when two thirds of all boroughs were promoting policies that encouraged the development of new visitor attractions. Furthermore, four inner London boroughs which did not encourage such attractions in their UDPs (i.e. City of London, Tower of Hamlets, Kensington and Chelsea, and Hackney), are currently promoting new attractions in their development plans (see Figure 6.10).

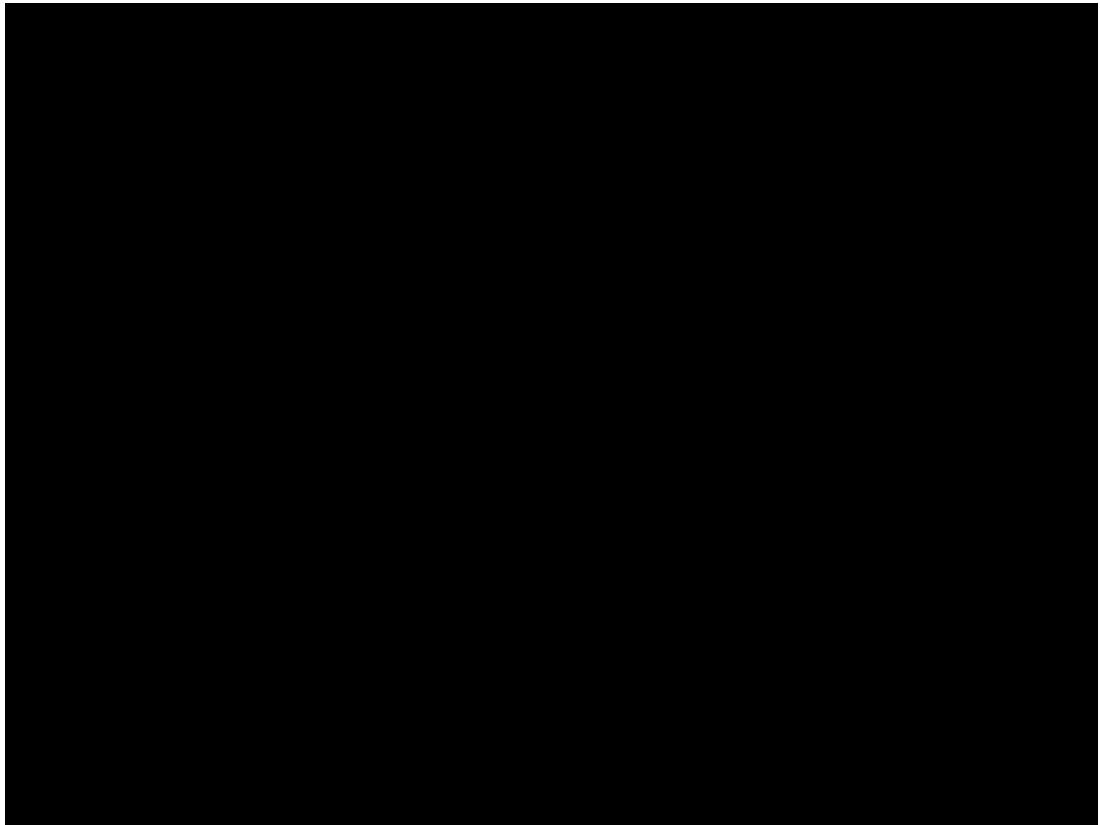


Figure 6.10 Boroughs which promote new visitor attractions

6.2.5 The dominant rationale underpinning tourism development in London

The situation has not changed much since 2000, as almost three quarters of all London boroughs have maintained in their CSs the same dominant rationale for tourism as in their UDPs twelve years ago. The major change in the latest development documents is that each borough now usually has more than one rationale, a result of the fact that more than one core policy makes reference to tourism. It should be noted that most boroughs include in their CSs, to a greater or lesser extent, aspects of all rationales presented in Table 6.1, but only the dominant rationales for each borough were considered and included in this analysis. In the case of Bromley, Ealing and Wandsworth, a clear rationale could not be identified in their CSs and as a result no information was included in this regard.

Drawing on Evans' (2000) work, it can be noticed that as was the case twelve years ago, the majority of London boroughs promote tourism development based on social and/or economic rationales (see Figure 6.11 and Figure 6.12).

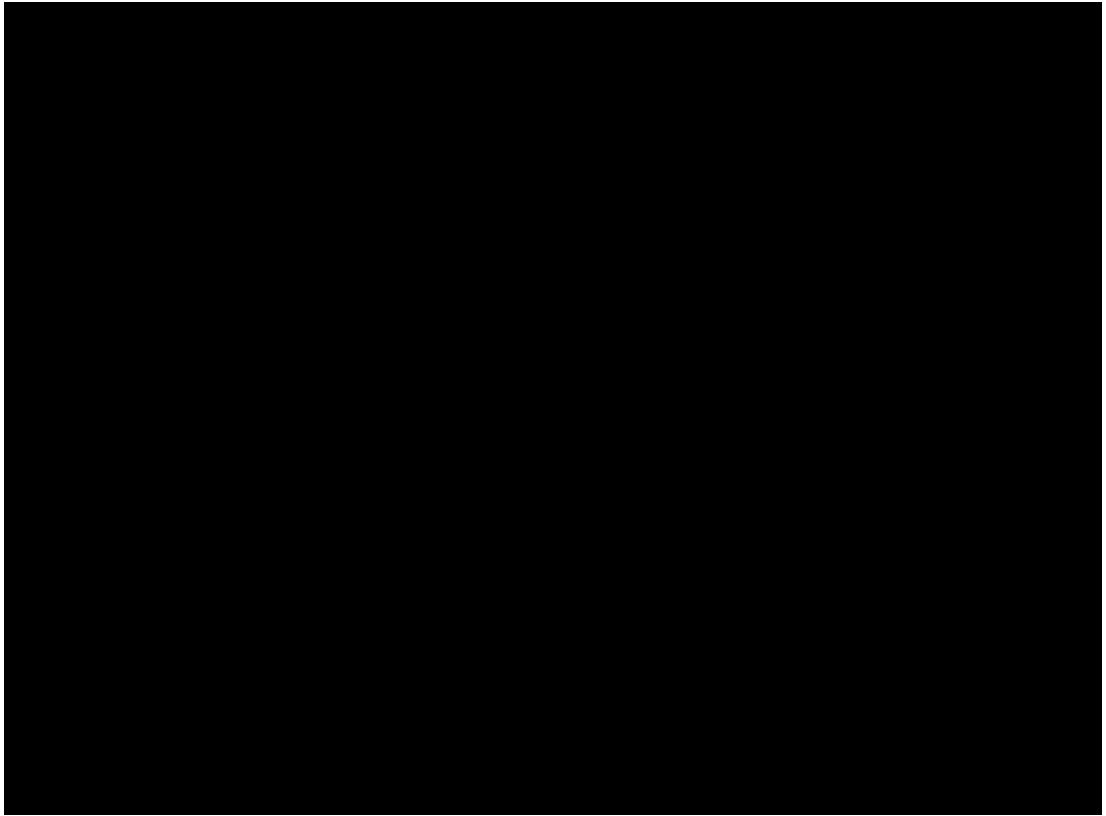


Figure 6.11 Dominant rationale underpinning tourism development in the CSs of London boroughs

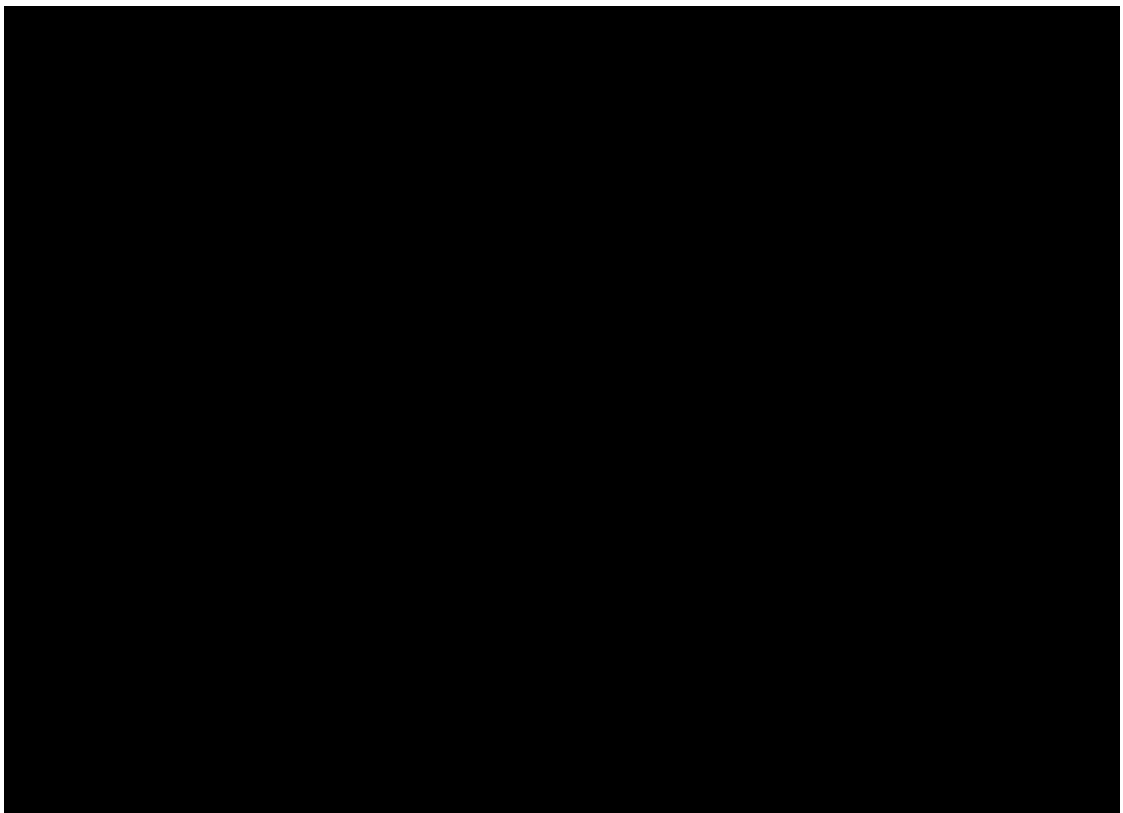


Figure 6.12 Dominant rationale underpinning tourism development in the UDPs of London boroughs

As such, about half of all boroughs promote tourism based on economic reasons in their main development documents from both 2000 and 2012 (i.e. 15 boroughs in UDPs and 17 in CSs). On the other hand, the number of boroughs which encourage tourism based on social reasons has increased considerably since 2000, from 13 to 23 boroughs, with the majority of the new ones located in outer London (e.g. Barnet, Sutton and Richmond). This situation correlates with most boroughs currently combining tourism with other activities that bring benefits to the local communities, such as culture and arts. However, as noted by Evans (2000), it is increasingly difficult to make a clear distinction between social and economic policies in terms of tourism development. For example, the tourist economic activities would contribute to local employment and may also provide other related benefits to the local communities such as better infrastructure, restaurants and pubs.

When looking at environmental and control rationales, in 2000 only four London boroughs chose to control tourism development or considered environmental aspects of this activity in their UDPs (i.e. Westminster, Tower of Hamlets, Kensington & Chelsea and Newham). However, the number of local authorities which currently consider these two rationales in their CSs has almost tripled, with the majority of them located in inner London. It should be noted that these boroughs attract large numbers of visitors and are already confronted with environmental issues related to tourism. This aspect can be seen as an indication that London boroughs tend to adopt reactive policies for tourism development, as they seem more likely to include in their planning documents environmental issues only when confronted with such problems. This criticism was also made by Dredge (2001), who notes that local level Government tends to be reactive rather than proactive when designing policy documents to guide the development of tourism in their area. Ten years later, the same aspect is again pointed out by Pearce (2011), who mentions that tourism policies produced by local authorities are likely to be reactive in response to the negative impacts that accompany this activity. However, he also notes that local authorities tend to have a proactive approach when it comes to policies aimed at regenerating an area (in particular city centres). This is confirmed by the case of the four Olympic boroughs from East London (i.e. Greenwich, Tower Hamlets, Newham and Waltham Forest), which comprise large brownfield land areas that are currently being regenerated, and where local authorities show a proactive attitude towards tourism development driven by an economic rationale.

Once again, no clear correlation could be established between the political ideology of the party that holds the majority in a borough and its rationales behind promoting or

restricting tourism development in that area. Stevenson et al. (2008, p.737) also note that in 'Britain it is difficult to connect tourism policies with rightist or leftist ideology because ideological considerations do not clearly underpin the actions of government'. Yet, it would seem that the local councils controlled by the Conservatives are more likely to promote tourism based on social rationales (see Table 6.3). However, it should be noted that two thirds of the local authorities where the Conservatives hold a majority are in outer London and most boroughs in this area tend to promote tourism mainly based on social reasons. On the other hand, the local authorities where Labour have a majority promote tourism based on both economic and social reasons, but are also inclined to restrict or control this activity. This finding could be explained by Labour's control of most inner London boroughs, where the economic benefits of tourism are concentrated (but also its negative impacts). Therefore, it appears that the rationale behind the promotion of tourism by local authorities in London has more to do with their location and the characteristics of the area (e.g. inner/outer London borough; the focus on regeneration of East London) rather than with the political ideology of the party that holds a majority in those boroughs.

Table 6.3 The number of London boroughs with a particular dominant rationale for tourism development, correlated with the political party that holds a majority

Political control		Rationale (inner/outer London boroughs)		
Political Party	No. of boroughs	Economic	Social	Environmental & Control
Labour	17	11 (8/3)	10 (5/5)	7 (4/3)
Conservative	11	4 (1/3)	8 (2/6)	3 (3/0)
Liberal Democrat	2	1 (0/1)	2 (0/2)	-
No overall control	2	1 (0/1)	2 (0/2)	-
City of London	1	-	1 (1/0)	1 (1/0)

6.2.6 The scale and distribution of accommodation facilities across London

Finally, the 'Accommodation capacity' column in Table 6.2 presents data for the years 1997 and 2010, with the figures for 2010 obtained from the London Accommodation Census and compiled by the LDA in December 2010, and the data for year 1997 adopted from the work of Evans (2000). The data for 2010 is expressed in numbers of rooms and accommodation units and therefore cannot be directly compared with that from 1997 which is expressed in numbers of beds. However, even without such a

comparison, it can be generally observed that the accommodation capacity of the London boroughs has increased since 1997. Moreover, this data is useful as it provides valuable information on the scale and distribution of accommodation capacity across London and it offers an overview of the share of each borough in terms of accommodation capacity. According to the LDA, the 2010 figures for the number of rooms include Bed & Breakfast accommodation, Hostels and Hotels, while the units correspond to Accommodation Agencies, Caravan Parks, Self-Catering Agencies, Self-Catering Apartments and Serviced Apartments. However, for the figures presented further on, the number of units has been omitted as it would be difficult to accurately cumulate and compare this data across boroughs, as there is no information on the number of rooms accommodated by the individual units. Besides, the number of units is considerably lower than the number of rooms meaning that they would not have a significant impact on the overall data.

As illustrated in Figure 6.13, in 1997, 80% of bed spaces in London were concentrated in only four boroughs, i.e. Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea, Camden and Hillingdon. In 2010, the same four boroughs are still in the lead in terms of the number of rooms they accommodate, but as a percentage this has dropped to 64.5% of the total (see Figure 6.14). Westminster takes the top spot by a considerable margin, both in 1997 with nearly half of the total number of beds, as well as in 2010 with nearly a third of the total number of rooms. This is a direct consequence of Westminster being the main tourist destination in London, with an impressive range of tourist attractions and combination of accommodation facilities, a fact also stated in the borough's CS.

On the other hand, the spreading of accommodation facilities across London is a direct result of proactive policies promoted in the past, and still maintained at present in the London Plan and the London Tourism Action Plan 2009-13. The aim of these policies is to distribute the economic benefits of tourism across London, and to alleviate the pressure placed by visitors on central London. Bull (1997) acknowledges a number of such initiatives, e.g. *'Discover Islington'*, *'Toureast'*, and new attractions planned for the Docklands and Greenwich. *Tourism in Outer London* (London Assembly, 2006) is another document which suggests practical ways for spreading the benefits of tourism more widely across London and also emphasises the opportunities offered to outer London by the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games.

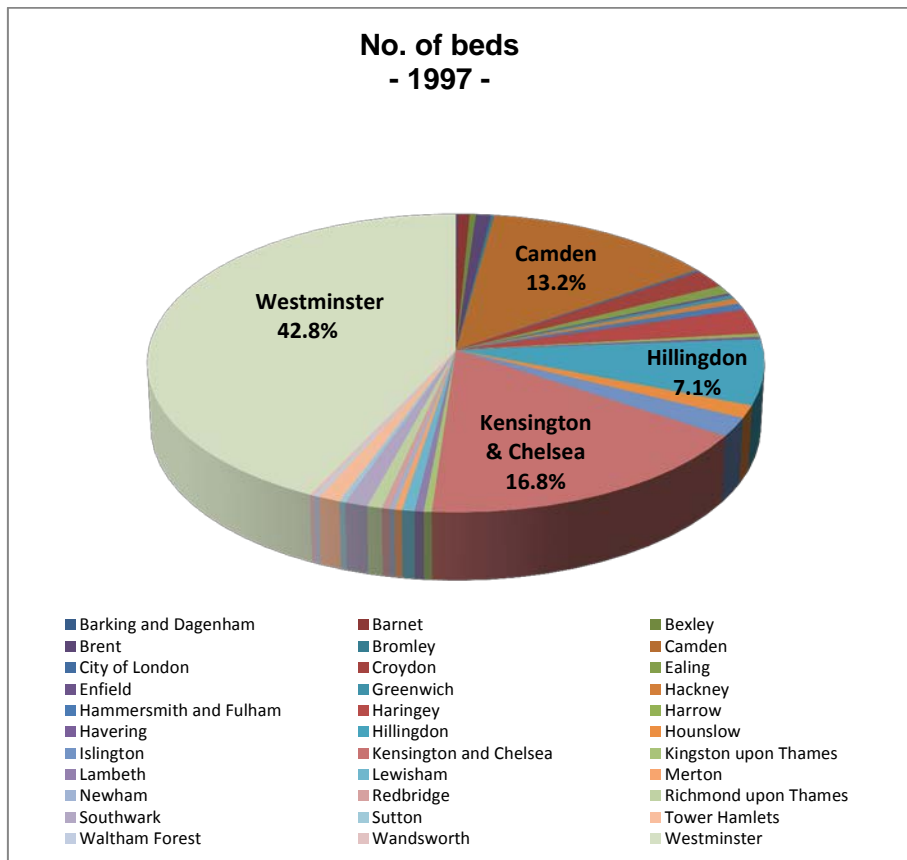


Figure 6.13 Borough shares for year 1997, as a percentage of the total number of beds. Source: data adopted from the work of Evans (2000)

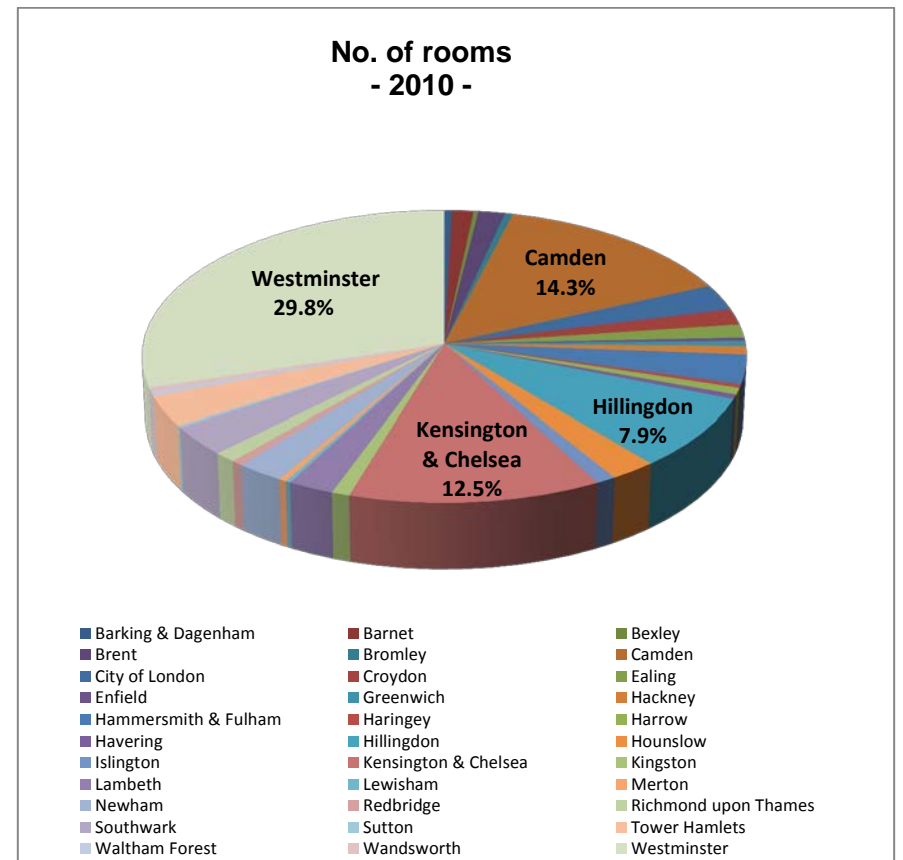


Figure 6.14 Borough shares for year 2010, as a percentage of the total number of rooms. Source: data obtained from the London Accommodation Census, LDA

6.2.7 Sustainable development and sustainable tourism

In terms of sustainability, all London boroughs express in their Core Strategies a commitment towards achieving sustainable development of the region. This is in line with the new planning policy for local spatial planning (PPS 12), which states that the achievement of sustainable development is a statutory objective for local authorities (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2008). Therefore, a number of boroughs have included a dedicated chapter or a specific core policy for sustainable development (e.g. Bexley, Richmond upon Thames, Southwark), while others have included specific policies or chapters which address different aspects of sustainable development (e.g. sustainable resources, sustainable design and construction, sustainable economic growth, sustainable transport, sustainable water supply, sustainable waste management and sustainable homes). In terms of interpretation, most of the boroughs have adopted in their CSs the definition of sustainable development given by the Brundtland Commission (see section 2.4.2), this definition having been adopted also by the UK Government in its PPS 1: *Delivering Sustainable Development* (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, 2005a). The remaining boroughs either included a set of objectives for sustainable development as proposed in PPS 1, or did not define the term at all. Furthermore, the large majority of boroughs refer in their CSs to environmental sustainability, addressing environmental issues such as responding to climate change, reducing the CO₂ emissions, protecting and enhancing the local environment, reducing the risk of flood, and waste management. In addition, all boroughs identify in their CSs the development areas of their region and specify what type of development is expected to take place in these areas in the near future.

In terms of tourism, none of the London boroughs make any reference in their CSs to any specific policies with regard to sustainable tourism. Still, 4 of the 33 local authorities in London mention 'sustainable tourism' in their Core Strategy. As such, Barking and Dagenham links the term with public transport, while Enfield notes the intention to develop sustainable approaches to tourism but without actually saying how this is going to be achieved. In addition, the City of London links the concept with the potential negative environmental and economic effects due to increased visitor numbers, encouraging people to visit lesser known attractions. Finally, Richmond upon Thames links 'sustainable tourism' with additional beds for visitors developed in sustainable locations and with promoting sustainable means of transport, access for all people to accommodation and other facilities, with enhancing the environment, and protecting local employment opportunities. It should be noted that these four local authorities are among a small number of boroughs which also have in place either a

dedicated or combined core policy for tourism and visitors (see Table 6.2). Moreover, although it is not included in its CS, the borough of Islington does make reference to 'sustainable tourism' in its '*Visitors to Islington*' policy which has been retained from its UDP. This policy encourages sustainable tourism and emphasises the benefits that tourism development in the area could bring to the local community. Nevertheless, there are other issues related to sustainable tourism which are considered by a number of boroughs, such as wheelchair access to visitor accommodation, the distance from new developments to the public transport, improving walking and cycling routes, the preservation and enhancement of the heritage, and improving the quality of life of residents and visitors.

Finally, to summarise the findings discussed in section 6.2, it can be noted that similar with 12 years ago the majority of London boroughs recognise in their development plans the importance of tourism to their area and encourage the development of this activity by promoting new visitor attractions and hotel development. Most local authorities promote tourism based on social and/or economic rationales, while a number of inner London boroughs have also chosen to control or consider the environmental impacts of this activity. However, if in 2000 over half of the local authorities had a dedicated or combined chapter for tourism, in 2012 less than a quarter of them included a specific policy to guide its development in their main planning documents. But as discussed in section 3.3, planning is an essential process which contributes in achieving sustainable development of tourism in a destination. Therefore, without specific planning measures to identify what, where, when and how tourism should develop in a particular area (Mason, 2008), this activity could generate negative consequences that may exceed its benefits. To avoid such situations, there is a need for strategies and plans to guide the development of tourism at local level. Therefore, the next section takes this discussion further and examines the policy documents produced by the London boroughs that affect tourism (strategies and plans) and looks at whether they consider sustainable tourism principles.

6.3 Analysis of the tourism policy documents promoted by the London boroughs

As previously discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, many authors and organisations argue that in order to promote sustainable tourism development in a destination the local (planning) authorities need to adopt policy documents to guide the development of this activity and to integrate sustainable tourism principles into these documents. However,

as shown in section 5.2, there is a lack of information in terms of planning and management of tourism in London, and in particular regarding tourism policy documents promoted by the London boroughs. This aspect was also underlined by Long (1994, p.18), who conducted a review of tourism strategies produced by the local authorities in Britain and concluded that 'we did end up though with relatively little information about the tourism strategies of the London boroughs'. Moreover, a few other works that discuss different aspects of tourism in London have been reviewed in section 5.2, but none of them look at the tourism policy documents prepared by the local authorities in the capital. Therefore, to gain a better understanding of the policies and strategies promoted by the local authorities in London that may contribute to the sustainable development of tourism (RQ2), this section looks at the relevant tourism policy documents adopted by the 33 boroughs and examines whether they incorporate sustainable tourism principles.

When collecting the relevant policy documents, the first step was to check whether tourism or visitor policies, strategies or plans could be found on the local authorities' websites. If such documents were available, they were retrieved and were used in the analysis. In addition, if they contained references to other policy documents that contribute to the development of tourism in the area (e.g. cultural strategies) these were also collected and added to the analysis. As a result, for a number of boroughs, more than one document was considered (e.g. for the City of London two policy documents were included in the analysis – the Visitor Strategy 2010 - 2013 and the Cultural Strategy 2010 - 2014). For those local authorities where a tourism or visitor policy document was not available, other policy documents which make reference to tourism development or visitor industry were considered (e.g. cultural, arts, events or community strategies; for a complete list of documents included in this analysis, see Appendix 11).

As shown in Figure 6.15, a total of 43 policy documents were found to guide the development of tourism at the borough level and formed the basis for this analysis. Of these, only 12 are tourism or visitor documents and they only cover about a third of the 33 local authorities in London. Comparing the current data against that from the 80s, when 59% of the boroughs had a specific tourism policy (Evans, 2000), a considerable reduction can be seen in the number of local authorities that produced a tourism policy. Furthermore, if this data is compared with the findings of the analysis on the Core Strategies presented in the previous section, only 3 of the boroughs which currently have a tourism policy document were found to also have a core policy for tourism/visitors included in their CSs. This is either a dedicated policy, as in the case of

Greenwich, or a policy which combines tourism with arts and culture, as in the cases of Westminster and the City of London (see Figure 6.16).

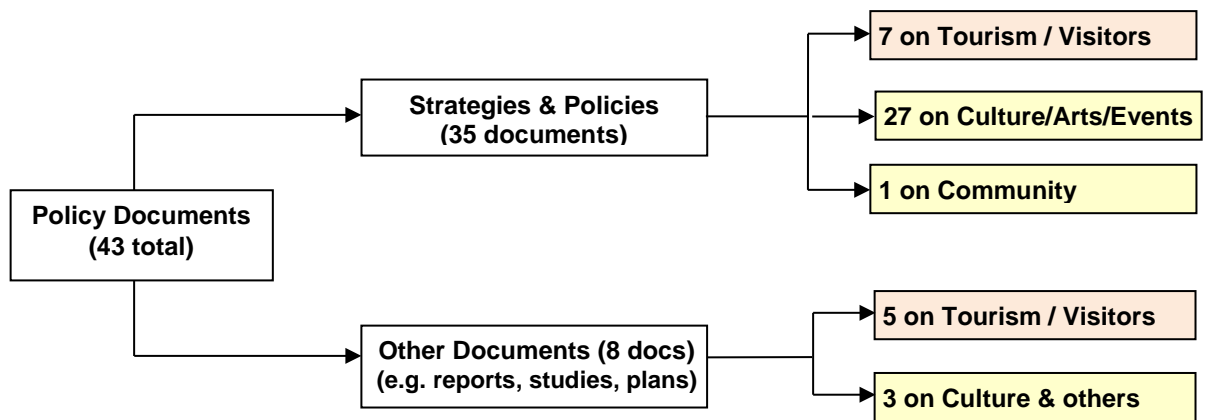


Figure 6.15 Types of policy documents guiding the development of tourism at borough level

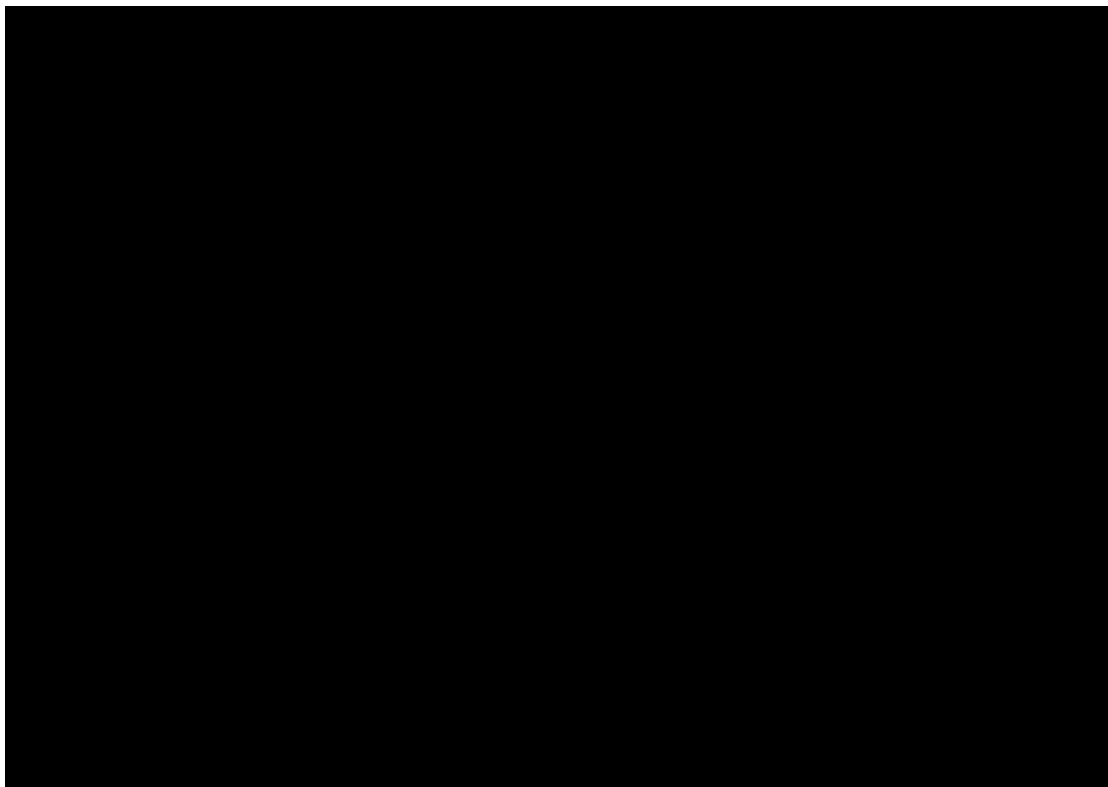


Figure 6.16 Policy documents guiding the development of tourism at the borough level

Four other local authorities, although having included a core policy for tourism/visitors in their CS, have not produced a specific strategy or plan for the development of this activity (i.e. Enfield, Waltham Forest, Richmond, and Barking & Dagenham). Therefore, it seems that there is no correlation between the boroughs which have in place a core policy for tourism, and those that have produced a strategy or other policy documents to guide the development of tourism.

The remaining 21 boroughs integrate tourism into other policy documents, such as cultural, arts, events or community strategies, and do not have a document specifically designed to guide the development of tourism in their region. A similar observation was made by Page and Hall (2003), who point out that tourism policy overlaps with other policy areas and thus it is relatively rare to have a plan which is exclusively dedicated to tourism development. Consequently, 31 of the policy documents included in the analysis are in fact policy documents other than tourism, with a large majority being cultural, arts or events documents. This reaffirms the close relationship between tourism activities in urban areas and culture, arts and events, an aspect that was discussed in section 6.2. When looking at how these documents define 'culture', almost a third of the local authorities in London follow the recommendation of the Department for Communities and Local Government (2006b) and adopt in their current policy documents the broad definition for this term – a definition that also comprises tourism. This group includes Westminster which, even though attracts most of the visitors that come to the capital, only makes reference to tourism in its cultural strategy.

Going back to the analysis of the policy documents, a review of the existing literature in the field was conducted with the aim to identify instruments or models used by other authors when examining tourism policy documents in terms of their compliance with sustainable tourism principles. The only such instrument that was found is an evaluative qualitative model proposed by Simpson (2001) for the analysis of whether a specific tourism development planning process in a destination is in conformity with sustainable development principles. This instrument comprises 51 criteria grouped under 5 headings:

- stakeholder participation;
- vision and value of the planning documents that guide tourism development;
- situational analysis – which assesses the existing economic and environmental parameters of the area, together with an evaluation of current visitor activity levels;
- the goals and objectives of the planning documents;
- implementation and review.

With some adjustments, the instrument was subsequently used by Ruhanen (2004; 2008) when analysing the tourism plans of several local tourism destinations in Queensland, Australia, and determining the extent to which sustainable development principles were integrated into the planning process. Although this is a useful tool, when the analysis is based only on tourism planning documents, it is difficult to accurately evaluate the integration of sustainable tourism principles into the planning process using the afore-mentioned instrument. For example, it would be almost impossible to evaluate the stakeholder contribution and their influence on the final strategic direction adopted by local authorities (which is one of the criteria of this instrument) based only on evidence gathered from a tourism plan, a limitation also acknowledged by Ruhanen. Consequently, the instrument proposed by Simpson was not considered suitable for use in this analysis of the current policy documents guiding the development of tourism in London.

Therefore, a different approach is proposed in order to examine whether sustainable tourism principles were integrated into the relevant planning documents. This was considered more appropriate when taking into account the different types of documents included in the analysis as well as the different topics they cover. The first step was to select a set of sustainable tourism principles (the rationale used in selecting these principles will be discussed later), followed by an evaluation – based on these principles – of the policy documents chosen for the analysis. As argued in Chapter 2, in order to implement sustainable tourism policies, the principles which underpin this concept need to be put in practice by policy makers. Thus, this approach would help understand the current situation in London by providing useful information about the ST principles that the local authorities have integrated into the main planning documents guiding tourism development in their area.

Moreover, in the following chapter these findings will be compared against the responses received to question 17 of the survey applied to the representatives of the local authorities in London (Q17. *How important is each of the following principles of sustainable tourism for your borough?*). The options given for this question in the survey are the same as the sustainable tourism principles used in the analysis of the policy documents. As such, a correlation can be made between the sustainable tourism principles considered important by the representatives of the London boroughs for the development of this activity in their area, and the principles that are actually promoted in the planning policy documents produced by their organisation.

In terms of the sustainable tourism principles considered in the analysis, based on a literature review it was observed that over the past two decades different organisations and academics have developed different sets of principles intended to help with the implementation of sustainable tourism. The present study however considers the principles proposed by the South Australian Tourism Commission (2007), as detailed in Table 2.5 (see section 2.5.3). The rationale for choosing these principles is that they account for the three pillars of sustainable development – the economic, sociocultural and environmental dimensions – looking to promote mutual benefits to both visitors and local communities, while also safeguarding the built and natural environment upon which tourism depends profoundly. The order in which these principles are presented in Table 6.4 does not imply any order of importance; they are all deemed important to consider when planning and managing tourism in a destination. Alongside these proposed ST principles, there are also a number of other related principles noted by different authors. These include long-term planning decisions, the integration of tourism planning into the development planning frameworks (an aspect discussed in the previous section), the involvement of local communities in the planning process, the consultation of all stakeholders involved in tourism development, the education of these stakeholders in relation to the sustainability issues, and a strong political leadership. Part of these principles will be discussed in the next chapter, when analysing the data collected through the questionnaires and interviews – e.g. the stakeholder consultation process and the integration of the tourism strategy with the local development plans.

Moving on to the analysis, all policy documents selected for this study were examined to see if they make any reference to each of the sustainable tourism principles mentioned earlier. If a principle is referred to in the policy documents of a borough (either by using the exact wording or by using different wording but with the same meaning) a dot ‘•’ was recorded on the line of the respective borough, in the column corresponding to that principle. Otherwise, if no evidence of that principle could be found in the documents, a dash ‘-’ was used instead. For those boroughs where no policy documents were found to guide the development of tourism, no information was recorded in the table (e.g. Barking and Dagenham). An overview of the findings based on this procedure is given in Table 6.4. In addition, the last column of the table gives the total number of sustainable tourism principles that are included by each London borough in the policy documents analysed (e.g. the London Borough of Camden considers 10 out of 12 sustainable tourism principles), and the last line gives the total number of boroughs that consider a specific principle (e.g. principle 2 – *Achieving conservation outcomes*, is considered by 16 out of the 33 boroughs).

Table 6.4 The integration of ST principles in the policy documents that guide the development of tourism at borough level

	1. Minimize environmental impacts	2. Achieve conservation outcomes	3. Being different	4. Achieve authenticity	5. Reflect community values	6. Understand & target the market	7. Enhance the experience	8. Adding value	9. Having good content	10. Enhance sense of place through design	11. Provide mutual benefits to visit & hosts	12. Build local capacity	Total
Barking & Dag													0
Barnet													0
Bexley	•	•	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	9
Brent	•	-	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	5
Bromley	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Camden	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	-	10
City of London	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	12
Croydon	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	-	-	•	-	8
Ealing	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Enfield	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	3
Greenwich	•	•	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	5
Hackney	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	2
Hamm&Fulham	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	1
Haringey	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Harrow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	-	10
Havering	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Hillingdon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	1
Hounslow													0
Islington	•	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Kens&Chelsea	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	2
Kingston	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lambeth	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Lewisham	-	•	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	4
Merton	-	•	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Newham	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	3
Redbridge	-	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	3
Richmond	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Southwark	•	•	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	•	-	6
Sutton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
Tower Hamlets	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Waltham Forest	-	-	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	•	•	•	6
Wandsworth	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Westminster	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	•	5
Total	12	16	9	16	11	6	7	7	2	9	14	3	

Therefore, when looking at the number of ST principles considered by each local authority, almost a third of all London boroughs include 5 or more principles in the relevant policy documents analysed (see Figure 6.17). The majority of these boroughs (8 out of 10) also have in place a tourism or visitor policy document, and 5 of them are among the boroughs that attract the most visitors, i.e. Westminster, Southwark, Greenwich, City of London and Camden (based on data provided by LDA, see Appendix 8). On the other hand, five boroughs either do not currently have a strategy to guide the development of tourism (e.g. Barnet), or have not considered any of the 12 sustainable tourism principles in their policy documents (e.g. Havering).

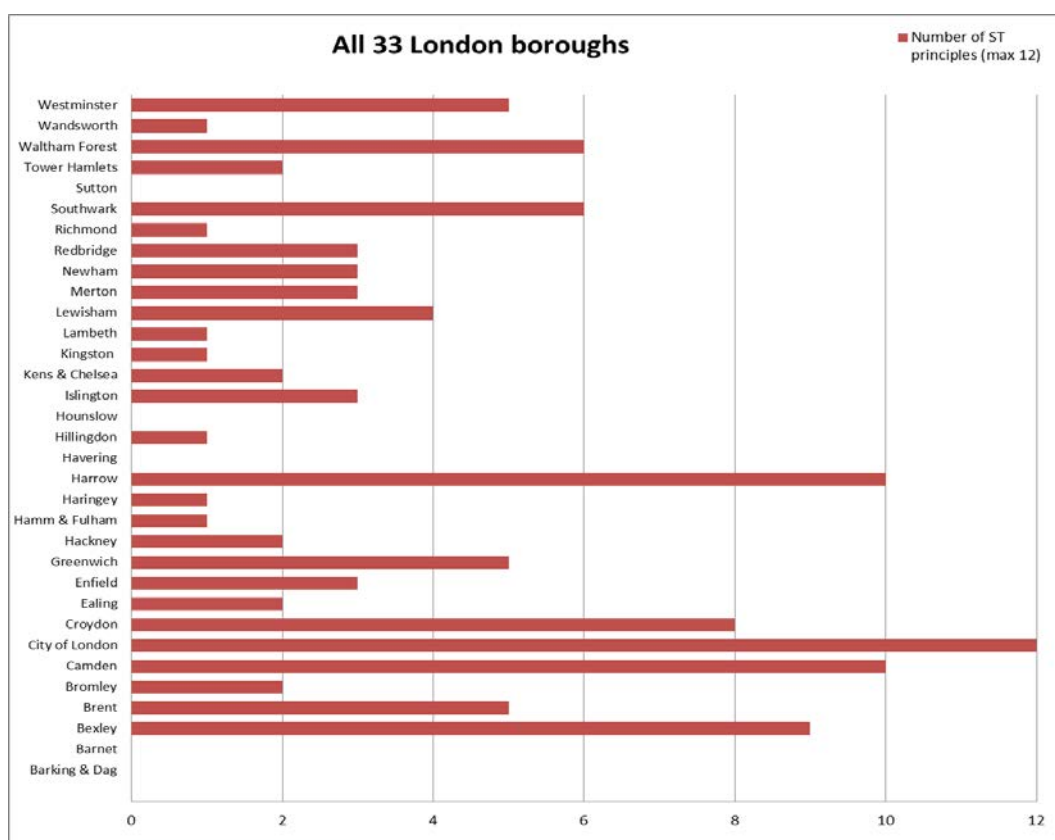


Figure 6.17 Number of ST principles considered by each of the 33 London Boroughs

The only local authority which considers all 12 sustainable tourism principles is the City of London, which has in place a visitor strategy and also makes references to visitors in its cultural strategy. It should also be noted that in its tourism strategy, The Royal Borough of Greenwich adopts a set of five guiding principles for the sustainable development of this activity. However, these are more related to the economic and social dimension of sustainability, promoting working in partnership, offering a quality experience to visitors, costumer focused and market-led, addressing capacity issues, and high yield business.

It is rather surprising that Westminster – a borough with a very large number of tourist attractions that receives large numbers of visitors – does not have a dedicated tourism or visitor strategy to manage this activity but only a report from 2006 which reviews tourism. However, Westminster includes 5 of the 12 ST principles in its relevant policy documents, which are related to minimising environmental impacts (principle 1), conservation of the area (principle 2), enhancing the experience (principle 7), promoting benefits for both visitors and the local community (principle 11), and building local capacity (principle 12). Nevertheless, Westminster is already a well-known destination that attracts millions of visitors every year and the borough expresses in its CS the intention to control tourism in order to minimize its adverse impacts on the local community. Therefore, it is not surprising that none of the principles related to promotion and authenticity (such as principles 3, 4, 6 or 9) are included in the policy documents guiding tourism development in the borough.

Moreover, it can be observed that the boroughs which have a dedicated tourist/visitor strategy or policy to guide the development of tourism are more likely to consider more ST principles in their policy documents than those which do not have a dedicated document but make reference to tourism in other policy documents (see Figure 6.18). This aspect is particularly obvious in outer London, where all 3 boroughs that produced a specific tourism/visitor strategy (i.e. Harrow, Croydon and Bexley) included eight or more ST principles, while the rest of outer boroughs that mention tourism in other policy document – with the exception of Waltham Forest, only make reference to a maximum of 3 such principles.

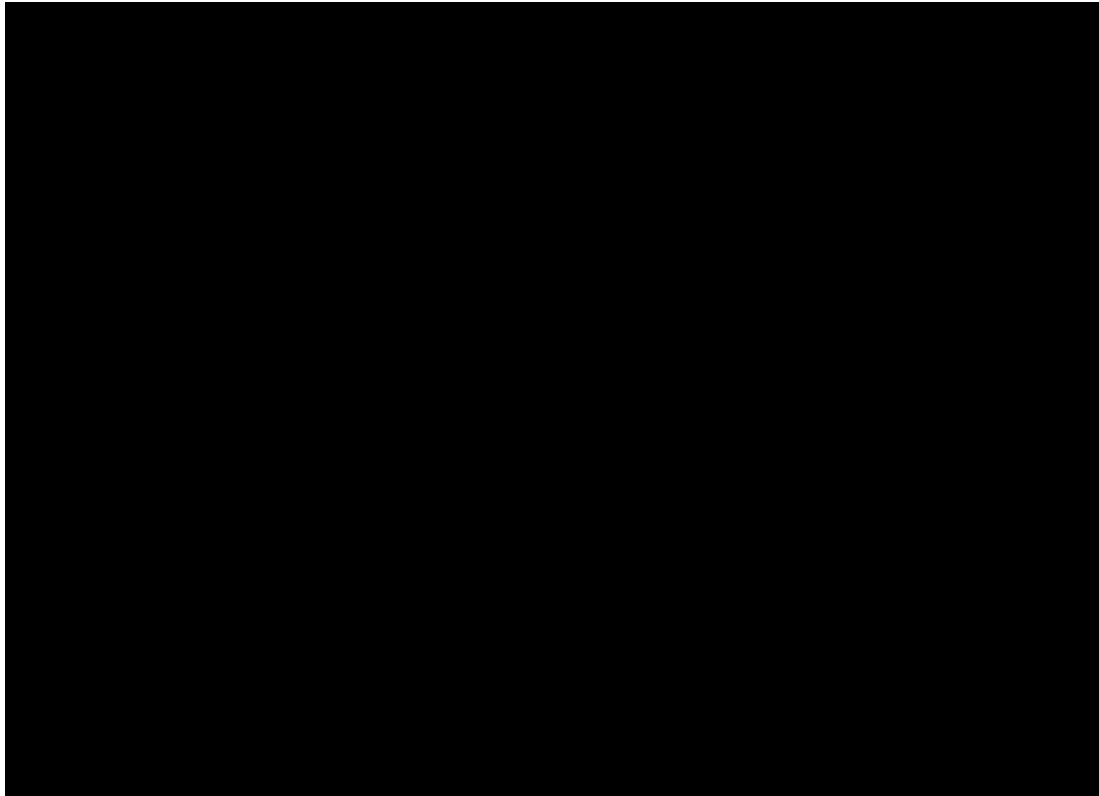


Figure 6.18 Number of ST principles considered by each of the London Boroughs

The majority of boroughs attracting larger numbers of tourists are part of inner London, with the exception of Hillingdon which is home to Heathrow Airport (see data presented in Appendices 8 and 9). As a result of this concentration of tourists in inner London, these boroughs are facing a number of negative impacts associated with the development of tourism in cities (which have been discussed in the previous chapters) and therefore in theory sustainable tourism principles should be of greater importance for these local authorities. Although the analysis does not seem to indicate that this is the case in practice, it does however observe that all 14 inner boroughs include at least one of the ST principles in their policy documents (see Figure 6.19). On the other hand, all five boroughs that do not consider any of the ST principles are located in outer London (see Figure 6.20). One possible explanation for the low number of ST principles considered by some of the inner London boroughs could be that most of these local authorities do not have a tourism policy document or a core policy for tourism, but only make reference to tourism in their cultural strategies or policies.

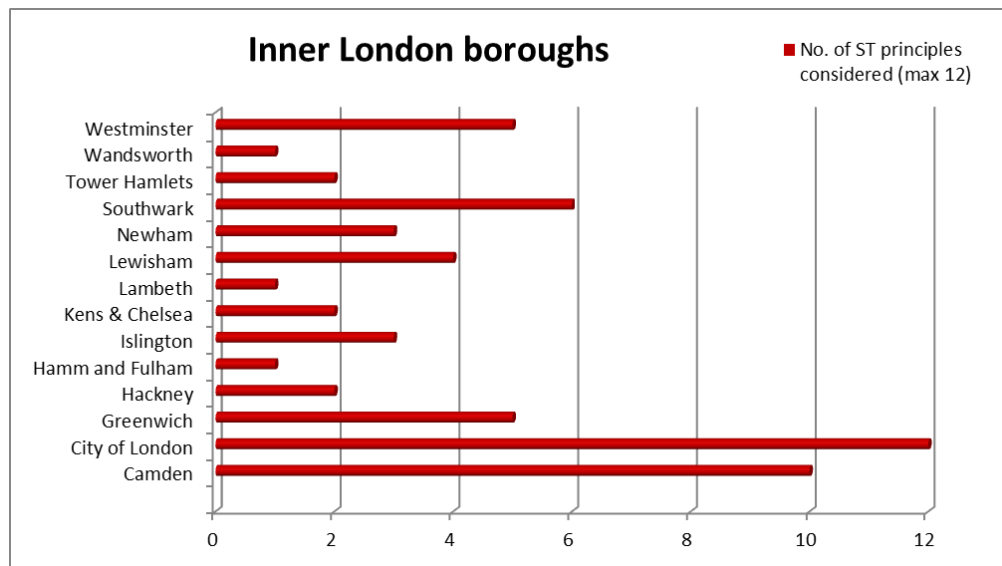


Figure 6.19 Number of ST principles considered by the inner London boroughs

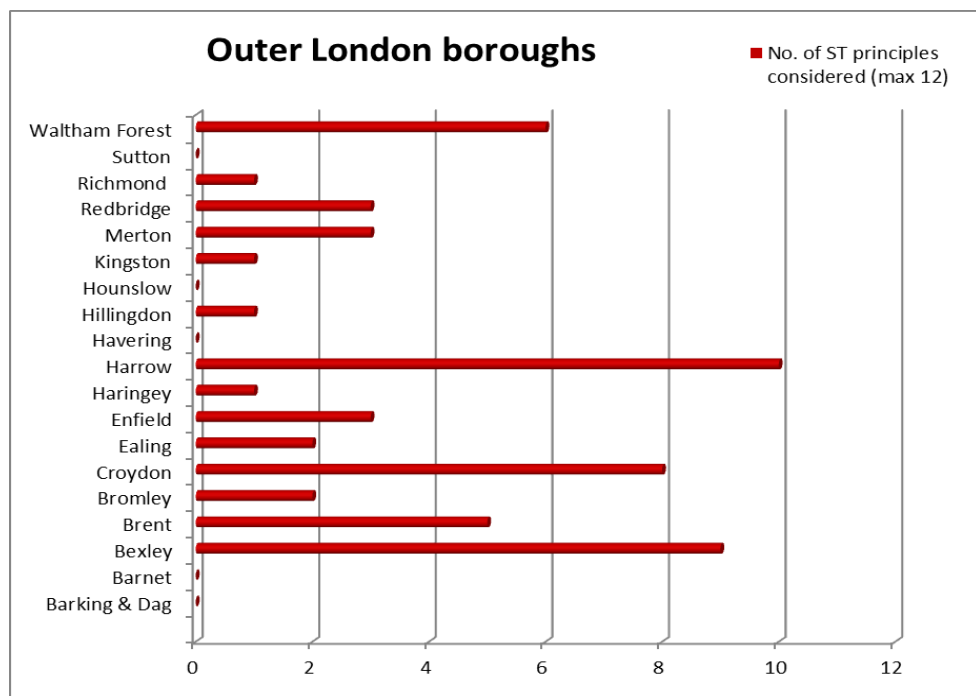


Figure 6.20 Number of ST principles considered by the outer London boroughs

However, this is not the case for Hammersmith & Fulham and Kensington & Chelsea, two inner boroughs that attract many visitors, and are both in favour of hotel development and new visitor attractions (see the analysis of CSs – sections 6.2.3 and 6.2.4), but which still consider only one or two ST principles in their tourism policy documents. It should also be noted that these boroughs are among the small number of local authorities in London which have in place a tourism policy or plan to guide the

development of this activity and which, in addition to having economic or social rationales for promoting tourism, also chose to control this activity or to consider some environmental aspects in their core policies affecting the development of tourism (see section 6.2.5 – the dominant rationales underpinning tourism development in London). Even so, they only mention few sustainable tourism principles that are oriented more towards the local community (principles 5 and 11), which may indicate a focus on the benefits that local residents can gain from tourism, without considering the other impacts of tourism development.

When examining which sustainable tourism principles are most frequently considered by the London boroughs (see Figure 6.21), it was found that five of the principles are included in the policy documents more often than the others. These are: principle 1 – *Minimizing environmental impacts*; principle 2 – *Supporting the conservation of built and natural environment*; principle 4 – *Achieving authenticity*; principle 5 – *Reflecting community values*; and principle 11 – *Providing mutual benefits to visitors and hosts*. These principles are considered by at least a third of the London boroughs in the policy documents that guide the development of tourism. Furthermore, principles 2 and 4, which refer to the *conservation* and *authenticity of an area*, are the most ‘popular’ as they are mentioned by half of the London boroughs. Both these principles relate to the preservation and distinctiveness of an area, and thus to the appeal of a destination, which makes it more likely to be successful in long term.

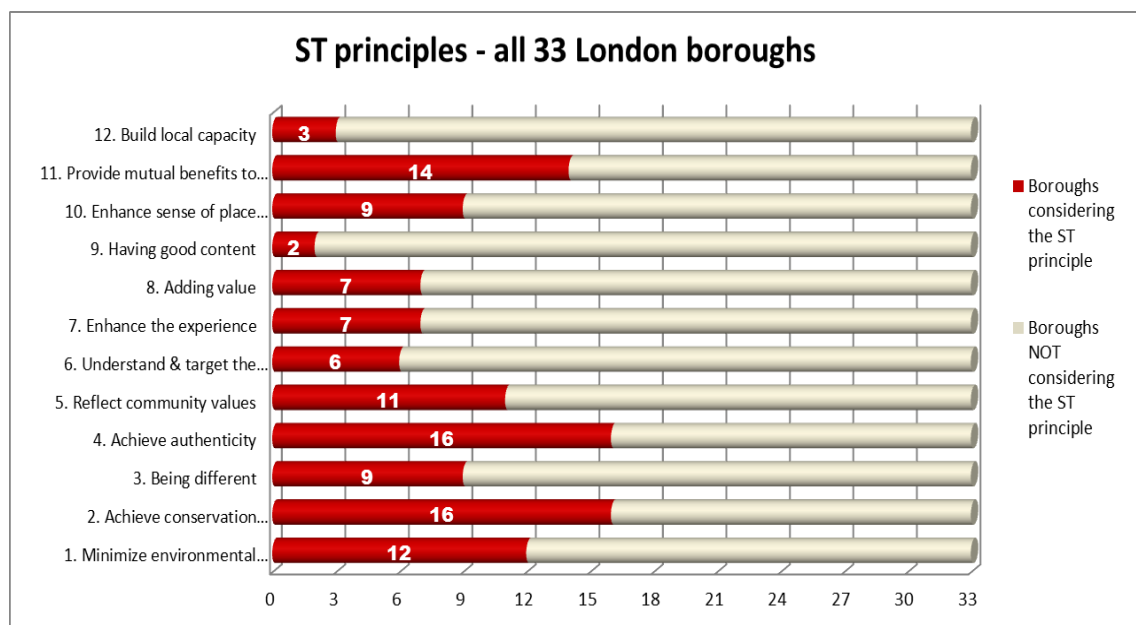


Figure 6.21 The number of London boroughs that consider each of the ST principles

At the other end is principle 9 – *Having good content*, with only two boroughs including it in the relevant policy documents (i.e. Bexley and City of London). The fact that the majority of London boroughs do not seem to consider it important to ‘tell the story’ behind the London attractions may be due to the capital being already a well-known tourist destination. Another principle surprisingly neglected is related to involving the local communities and promoting partnership with other businesses (principle 12 – *Building local capacity*) which is mentioned by only three boroughs, i.e. City of London, Waltham Forest and Westminster. Yet, cooperation and partnership between all stakeholders involved in tourism development is essential for achieving sustainable development of tourism (Veal, 2010) and thus for the success of a destination.

When comparing inner and outer London in terms of the number of local authorities that include a specific sustainable tourism principle, the results are not very different from before (see Figure 6.22). Principles 2 and 4 (the *conservation* and *authenticity of an area*) are once again those most often included in the policy documents analysed for both subgroups – of the inner and outer London boroughs – while principles 9 and 12 (*good content* and *building local capacity*) are those considered the least in these documents. Another principle that was found to be often included by both subgroups of boroughs is principle 11 (*provide mutual benefits for visitors and hosts*) which appears in the policy documents of 8 inner and 6 outer London boroughs. This is an important aspect for the development of tourism in a destination, because if either the locals or the visitors do not feel their needs are satisfied then the destination will not thrive in the long term.

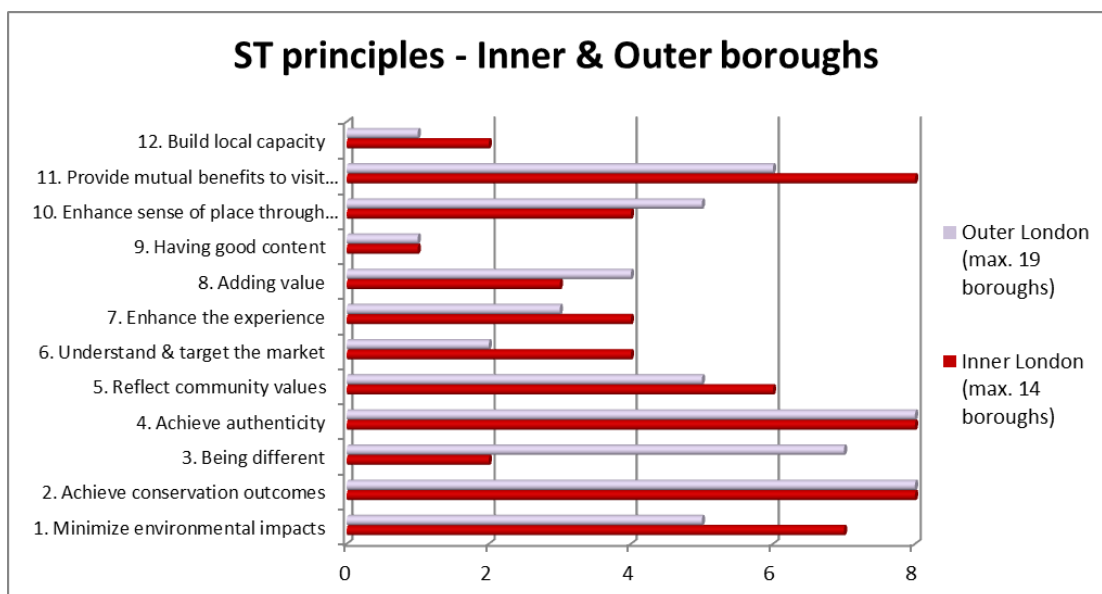


Figure 6.22 The number of inner/outer London boroughs that consider each of the ST principles

On the other hand, a significant difference can be observed in the case of principle 3 (*being different*) which was considered by 7 of the outer London boroughs, while only 2 of the inner London boroughs have mentioned it in their relevant policy documents. This may be due to the fact that most of the inner London boroughs are already well known tourist attractions, with large numbers of visitors, while the majority of outer London boroughs are not that well-known (with the exception of Hillingdon and Richmond) and they compete with the other boroughs in attracting a share of the tourists that visit the capital.

Furthermore, each of the ST principles is included by a slightly smaller proportion of the outer London boroughs when compared to the inner London boroughs. For example, although the same number of 8 local authorities from the two subgroups consider principles 2 and 4 (the most 'popular' ones), as a percentage of all boroughs belonging to each subgroup this stands at 57% for inner London, whereas it drops to 42% for outer London. This may also be a consequence of the fact that 5 of the outer London boroughs either do not have a specific document to guide the development of tourism or do not include any of the ST principles in these documents.

Finally, a limitation of this analysis is that it is based only on the documents included in Appendix 11. The author made efforts to identify all policy documents that guide tourism development in the 33 London boroughs, but there might be other documents of which the author was unaware and which may have an influence on the development of tourism at the borough level. In order to overcome this limitation, the findings presented in this section will be discussed further and compared against those from the analysis of the survey questionnaires included in Chapter 7.

6.4 Summary

As highlighted in the previous chapter, despite the important role of tourism for the economy of London, there is limited research on the development of this activity in the capital, and even less on sustainable tourism development. In order to help fill this gap and understand how the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in the capital influence sustainable tourism planning at local level (RQ2), Chapter 6 looked at the main planning documents of the 33 London boroughs and the policy documents they promote for the development of tourism. The chapter began with a comparative analysis of the policies towards tourism development included by the local authorities in

London into their main planning documents for two periods of time, i.e. 2000 and 2012. It then continued with an analysis of the policy documents that guide the development of tourism at the borough level, and it examined whether those documents consider sustainable tourism principles.

Therefore, this analysis helps to expand the limited knowledge that currently exists on the sustainable tourism policies promoted by the local authorities in London. One of the aspects it reveals is that although most boroughs consider tourism among their strategic priorities for the area, only a small number of them (about 20%) have in place a core policy or a tourism strategy to guide its development. This situation has changed considerably since 2000 when more than half of all London boroughs dedicated an entire chapter for tourism in their main development plans, and even more so since the 80s when almost 60% of local authorities in the capital had a specific tourism policy to guide this activity (Evans, 2000). However, as argued in Chapter 3, if a destination is to benefit from the positive influence of tourism while minimizing its negative effects, the local authorities would need to promote policy documents to manage this activity. This would be the first step towards achieving sustainable development of tourism in a destination.

Furthermore, in terms of the rationales that underpin tourism development and which can be found in the main development plans produced by the London boroughs, it was observed that most local authorities promote tourism based on social and economic rationales. Yet, the number of boroughs that also chose to either control this activity or to consider environmental aspects related to the development of tourism has almost tripled since 2000 (from 4 to 11 boroughs), with the majority of them located in inner London – where most of the visitors tend to be concentrated. Therefore, it could be said that local authorities tend to adopt a proactive approach to tourism development when it comes to the economic and social benefits (such as in East London), but are rather reactive when it comes to the environmental impacts that usually accompany the development of this activity.

Moreover, all boroughs express in the CSs their commitment towards achieving sustainable development. Yet, even though many researchers highlight the importance of integrating ST principles into the policy documents guiding the development of tourism (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Dodds & Butler, 2009), the policy documents that were reviewed in this study show a lack of implementation of such principles in practice. This indicates that despite all discourses on sustainability, with the exception of a few isolated initiatives, at the local level there seems to be a lack of coordinated

action to make tourism in London more sustainable. To better understand the reasons why this happens, the next chapter discusses the results of a survey conducted with representatives of the organisations involved in tourism planning and management in the capital.

Nevertheless, it could be argued that in terms of sustainable tourism there is no universal solution that can be applied to all locations, as each destination is unique through its particular built, natural and cultural environment (Hinch, 1998). Therefore, each borough would have to decide what is best for their area in order to make the most of the positive influences of tourism, while minimizing its negative consequences. But for this to happen, local authorities need to have a good understanding of what sustainable tourism means and how it can be implemented, and also to consult and work in partnership with the other stakeholders involved in tourism development in their area. All these aspects will be further discussed and analysed in the next chapter, which presents the findings of a survey conducted with representatives of the London boroughs, and of other organisations that have an interest in the development of tourism in the capital.

Chapter 7 Sustainable tourism development in London – Results of primary data analysis

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered the main development plans and tourism policy documents produced by the local authorities in London, and discussed how these documents integrate tourism and whether they promote sustainable tourism principles (thus contributing in answering RQ2 – *How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?*). Chapter 7 expands this analysis by discussing the findings of a web questionnaire survey applied to representatives of the 33 London boroughs. Its objective was to gather additional information on the planning and management of tourism at borough level and to identify any initiatives promoted by local authorities in London towards sustainable tourism (RQ2). Moreover, it included questions that would help understand how respondents define ‘sustainable tourism’ and how important they consider sustainable tourism principles. The survey also helps identify drivers of success (RQ3), as well as limitations (RQ4) perceived by participants to have an influence on the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at a local level.

Furthermore, to gather a more in-depth insight on planning towards sustainable tourism in London, the chapter discusses the results of semi-structured interviews conducted with a number of representatives of public and private organisations that are involved in tourism development in the capital. These interviews provide additional qualitative data that helps understand how different stakeholder organisations view sustainable tourism development in London, what initiatives they promote towards ST development in the capital, as well as the drivers of success and the constraints and limitations they see in implementing ST policies at the local level. Therefore, together with the results from the questionnaires, the findings from the interviews will contribute in answering the research questions 2, 3 and 4.

In the next sections, descriptive statistics, frequency tables (generated in SPSS) and maps (produced in QGIS) are used to present the results for individual survey questions and to identify similarities and differences with respect to the aspects analysed. The results of the survey are complemented by the interview findings, which were coded with the help of the NVivo software and excerpts were used to highlight the

different opinions on the topics discussed. Where possible, the findings of the survey and interviews are compared against the analysis of the planning documents produced by London boroughs (presented in Chapter 6) in order to identify and discuss any correlations or patterns. As a result, the triangulation of data ultimately contributes to increasing the validity of the research findings. Finally, the summary section presents a number of implications for sustainable tourism planning and management in London.

7.2 Profile of respondents

The target group for the online survey consisted of representatives from the 33 London boroughs. Its aim was to collect primary data in terms of tourism planning and management at the borough level, and to offer an understanding of the attitude of local authorities towards sustainable tourism. Therefore, the analysis is based on responses received from the 31 London boroughs that completed the survey and their individual answers are examined further on in this chapter. The two outer London boroughs which did not complete the questionnaire are Bromley and Haringey. However, both sent email responses stating that tourism is a very small sector in their area, adding that there is no person responsible for tourism planning in their organisation and that they do not have any policies towards promoting sustainable tourism. These responses reinforce the findings in the previous chapter, which noted that these two local authorities do not have a specific interest in tourism development as they do not have a tourism strategy or plan, or a dedicated section for tourism development in their CSs. This is a surprising finding in the case of Haringey, as this borough accommodates Alexandra Palace which is considered by the local authority itself to be 'the iconic North London destination that offers you everything you need for a day out or event' (Haringey Council, 2013).

Moving on to the research findings, the first survey question (Q1) asked the survey participants (SPs) to specify the name of the borough they represent, and was included to ensure that only one set of responses was received from each local authority. The second question asked SPs to specify their job title (Q2), and aimed to give an overview of the participants who filled in the questionnaire and their position within the borough. As shown in Figure 7.1, over a third of the participants are heads of different departments or units (i.e. planning, spatial strategy, LDF, leisure & culture, new initiatives) and nearly half of them are planners (i.e. policy planners, strategic planners, senior planners). The remaining four SPs are other officers responsible for the

development of tourism in their borough (i.e. economic development, regeneration, visitor economy, business investment).

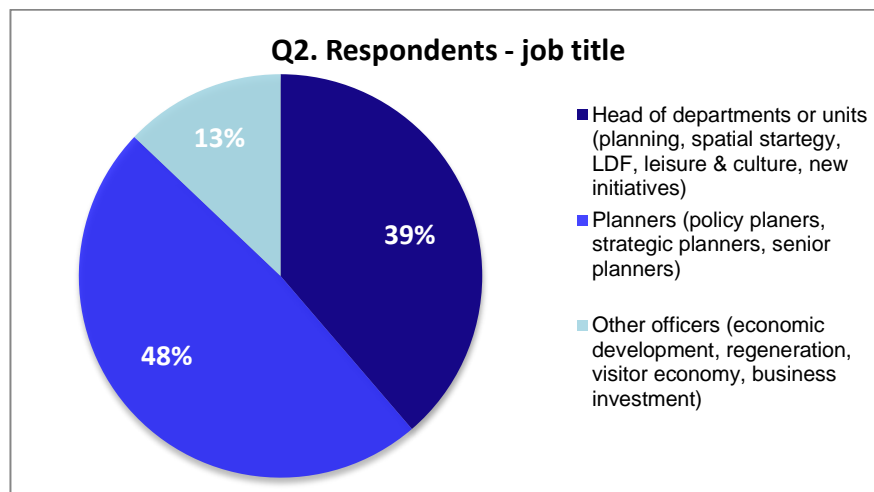


Figure 7.1 Position of respondents within the borough

In terms of the interviews, the snowball technique was used to identify the most appropriate organisations to participate in the study (for more details see section 4.4.3, in the Methodology chapter). Hence, a number of 23 interviews were conducted in total with the persons responsible for tourism development within the selected organisations (see Appendix 5 for a complete list of the organisations that participated in this study). It should be noted that of the five London boroughs which took part in the interviews, only one had a tourism officer, while the others have included tourism among the responsibilities of either their economic, regeneration or environment officers. However, tourism is not a mandatory duty for local authorities in the UK and therefore each borough can decide whether or not to get involved in the development of this activity and to produce specific policy documents (Stevenson, 2002). As a result, only a number of local authorities in London have a budget and staff allocated to manage this activity, while the others consider tourism as part of their wider cultural services or regeneration role.

As this research focuses on the public sector and its contribution to sustainable tourism development in London, the majority of organisations interviewed are public or public-private bodies. Nevertheless, it was considered appropriate for this exploratory study to also include a number of tourism organisations (e.g. ABTA) and lobby groups (e.g. The Tourism Alliance) from the private sector. Their opinions gave some insight into how representatives of the tourism industry perceive sustainable tourism development in

London, as they are an important stakeholder in the development of tourism in a destination and are expected to take more responsibility in coordinating this activity (DCMS, 2011). For more clarity, in the next sections SP will be used when referring to the survey participants and IR when referring to the interview respondents.

7.3 Tourism development in London

7.3.1 The significance of tourism

Before considering in more detail how local authorities contribute to the sustainable development of tourism in London, the survey first looked at the importance of tourism for the economy of the capital. Therefore, question three (Q3) sought to identify the opinion of the survey participants on the significance of tourism for the economic development of their boroughs. Based on a 5-point rating scale from 'Very significant' to 'No significance', nearly half of SPs considered tourism to be 'Very significant' or 'Significant' (see Figure 7.2). Tourism was seen to be of 'Some significance' by over a third of SPs, while the representatives of only 4 boroughs considered it of 'Little significance' for their region (see Table 7.1). It is worth noting that none of the survey participants found tourism to be of 'No significance' for their borough. Thus, it can be said that tourism is seen to contribute to the economic development of the area by the majority of London boroughs. This reinforces the findings of the analysis on the Core Strategies produced by the local authorities in London, which emphasized the importance of tourism for the capital (see Chapter 6).

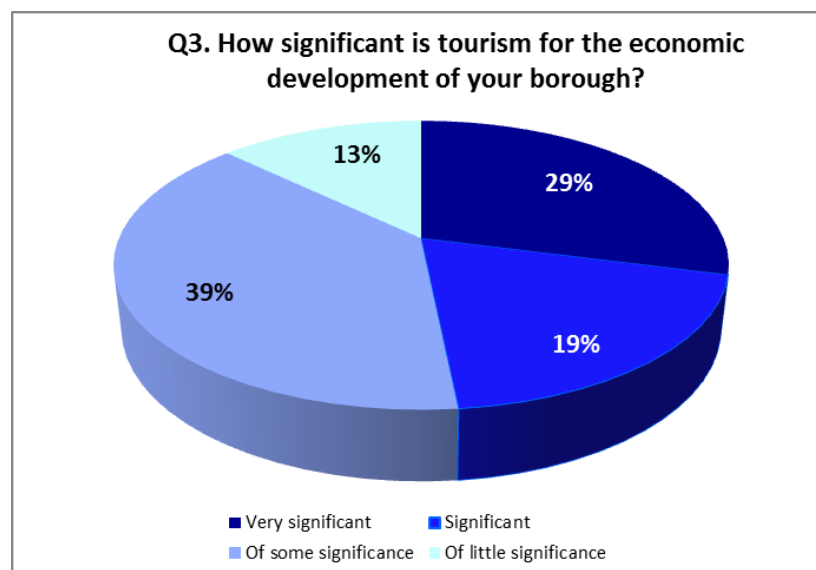


Figure 7.2 Significance of tourism

Table 7.1 In your opinion, how significant is tourism for the economic development of your borough? (Q3)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
Very significant	9	29.0%
Significant	6	19.4%
Of some significance	12	38.7%
Of little significance	4	12.9%
Total	31	100.0%

As illustrated in Figure 7.3, the local authorities which recognise tourism as a very significant contributor to the economic development of their area include inner London boroughs that also attract some of the largest numbers of tourists in the capital (i.e. Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea, Tower Hamlets, Southwark and Lambeth). Beside Tower Hamlets, two other inner boroughs which hosted the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games (i.e. Hackney and Newham) also regard tourism as very significant for their region. Even though at the moment these two boroughs only attract a small number of tourists, they expect an increase in visitors over the next years due to the hosting of the Games (i.e. the post-Games tourism legacy). In light of this, in 2011 the borough of Newham organised a campaign for local residents, 'Be a Local Tourist', which sought to boost their market of visiting friends and relatives.

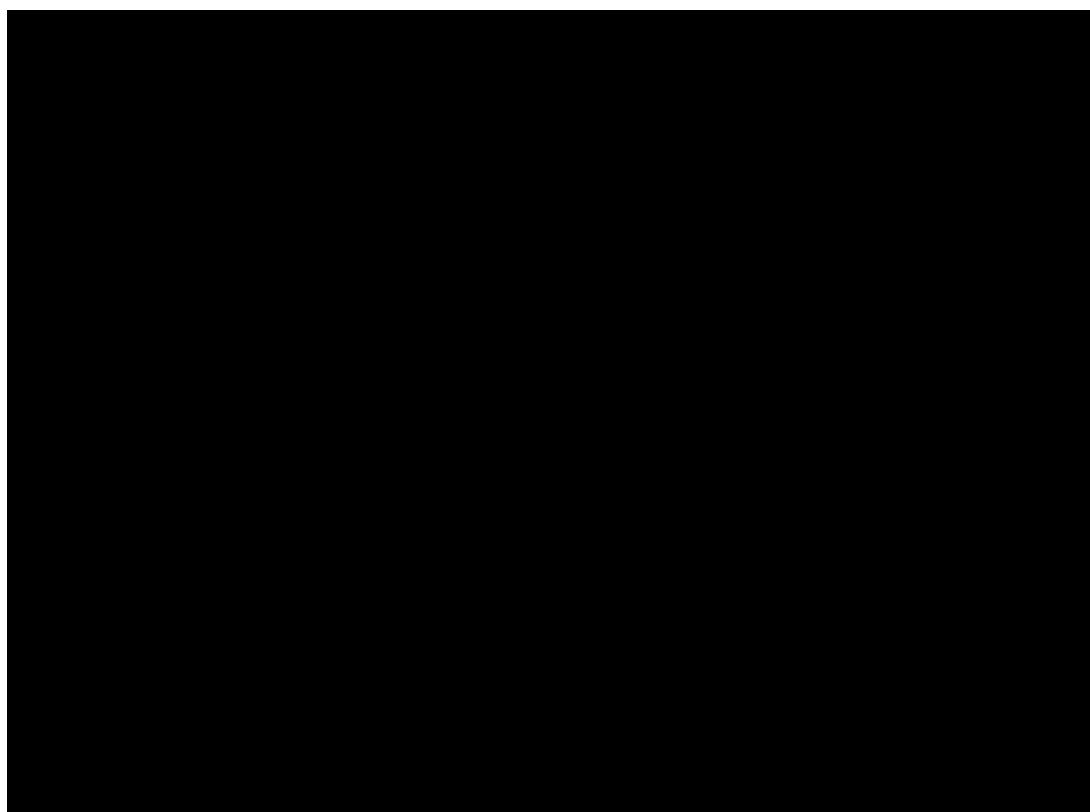


Figure 7.3 Significance of tourism for London boroughs

Furthermore, two outer London boroughs also consider tourism as very important for the development of their economy – Richmond and Havering. While it is not surprising to find Richmond in this category, as it attracts a significant number of visitors due to its well-known tourist attractions (e.g. Richmond Park, Kew Gardens, Hampton Court Palace), Havering does come as a surprise – a borough that is not home to any iconic tourist attraction and which currently attracts only a small number of visitors (see Appendix 8 for the estimated tourism spending per borough produced by the GLA for year 2009). However, in its Culture Strategy 2012 – 2014 (p. 55), the borough expresses its intention to promote Havering as ‘a place to visit, identifying and promoting the numerous tourism opportunities presented by the culture and leisure sector’. In addition, this local authority hopes to benefit from the growing focus on East London (the borough being located in this sub-region) following the 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games that took place in this part of the capital.

When comparing the responses for this question against the boroughs which mentioned tourism among the strategic priorities in their CSs, it can be observed that all local authorities which consider tourism as ‘very significant’ or ‘significant’ for the economic development of their region, are also among those which mentioned tourism in their spatial vision and/or strategic objectives included in the CSs (see Figure 7.4).

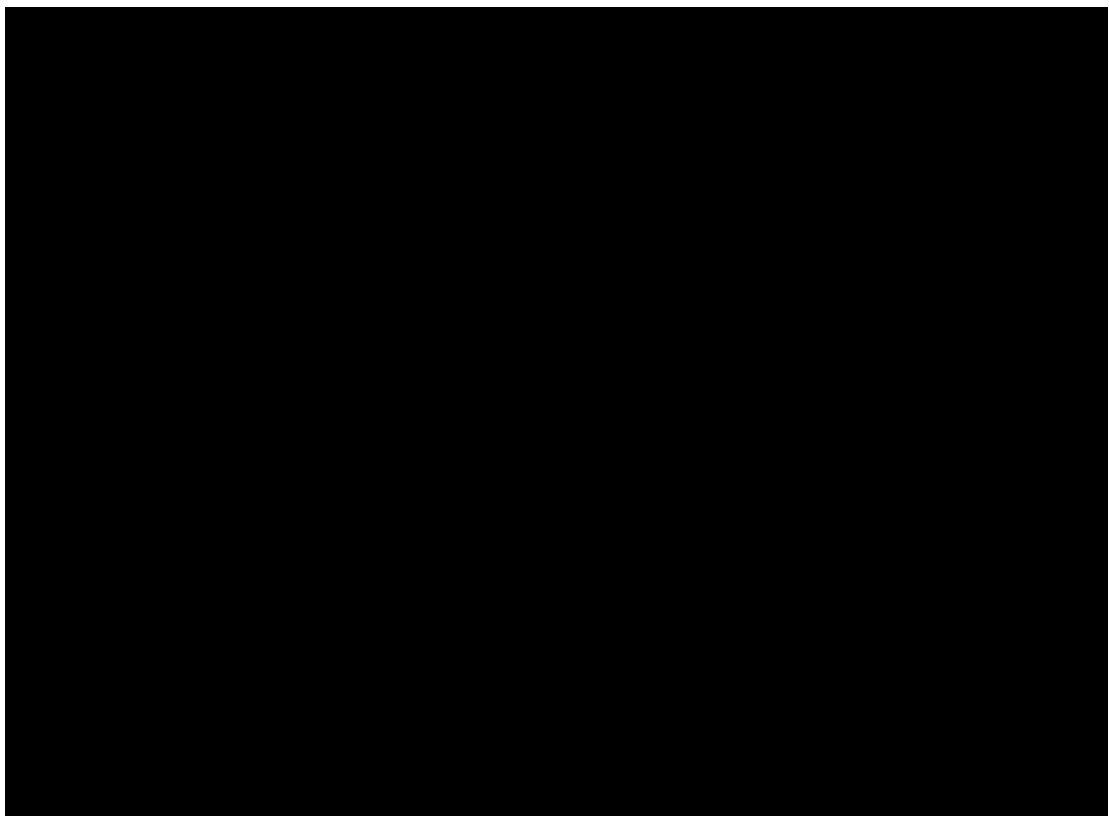


Figure 7.4 Tourism significance vs. Tourism ‘strategic’

Still, there seems to be no direct correlation between these responses and the boroughs which included in their Core Strategies a core policy for tourism (either dedicated or combined), or with those which have in place a tourism/visitor document to guide the development of this activity. A similar observation was made by Long (1994, p.18) when conducting a survey with tourism officers from British local authorities, who found that 'the importance tourism is considered to have for the local authority area is not a very good indication of whether or not there is a tourism strategy.'

7.3.2 Objectives for tourism development

Although the survey participants considered tourism important for the economy of London, the interviews conducted with representatives responsible for tourism from a number of different boroughs suggest that they do not consider local authorities to have a primary role in the development and management of tourism. The interview respondents tend to think that the boroughs' responsibility in terms of tourism development is only to promote tourism in order to attract more visitors, but not to actually manage this activity. This is clearly illustrated in the answer given by a respondent from an inner London borough which attracts a large number of visitors:

'We don't have any tourism strategy or plan for tourists. We like them because they spend lots of money [...]. So, tourism is a vital sector of the economy, we do our bit to support hotels, but we don't get involved in any additional tourism activities because that's actually not really our job'. (IR no. 22)

Therefore, in order to understand the current priorities for London boroughs when it comes to tourism development, the next survey question (Q4) asked the participants to indicate the objectives of their local authority in terms of tourism. The question proposed a list of 12 objectives which were selected based on a review of relevant literature, and which cover all three aspects of sustainable development (i.e. economic, socio-cultural and environmental). The SPs were also given the option to specify any other objectives which their borough might have regarding tourism development.

Looking at the results presented in Table 7.2, it can be seen that *enhancing and conserving the natural, heritage and cultural assets* is the objective which achieved the highest score, with all survey participants specifying it among the priorities of their borough for tourism development. The next objective, mentioned by nearly all survey participants (96.8%) is *improving the quality of infrastructure*, and is closely followed by *increasing job opportunities for the local residents*. Furthermore, nearly 90% of all local

authorities intend to *promote the cultural integrity of the area*, while around three quarters also aim to *maximize the social and cultural benefits that tourism can bring to the local community*. The large number of SPs who indicated these five objectives among the priorities of their borough shows that the majority of local authorities in London are aware of the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism, and do not consider solely the economic benefits that this activity brings to an area.

Table 7.2 Which of the objectives listed below does your borough have with respect to tourism development? (Q4)

	YES		NO		Don't know	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Enhancing & conserving the natural, heritage and cultural assets	31	100.0%	0	.0%	0	.0%
Improving the quality of infrastructure	30	96.8%	1	3.2%	0	.0%
Increasing job opportunities for local residents	29	93.5%	0	.0%	2	6.5%
Promoting the cultural integrity of the area	27	87.1%	1	3.2%	3	9.7%
Maximizing the social & cultural benefits that tourism can bring to the local community	23	74.2%	3	9.7%	5	16.1%
Increasing the range and number of tourist facilities that attract visitors	19	61.3%	7	22.6%	5	16.1%
Increasing the income from tourism by increasing visitor spend in the borough	18	58.1%	6	19.4%	7	22.6%
Increasing the number of tourists to the borough	16	51.6%	9	29.0%	6	19.4%
Increasing tourism promotion and advertising activities	15	48.4%	6	19.4%	10	32.3%
Building partnerships with other organizations involved in tourism development	15	48.4%	6	19.4%	10	32.3%
Improving the skills of the tourism workforce	15	48.4%	8	25.8%	8	25.8%
Promoting stakeholder consultation on tourism policy development and implementation	14	45.2%	7	22.6%	10	32.3%

Two other objectives specified by around 60% of survey participants are to *increase the income from tourism by increasing visitor spend in the borough* and to *increase the range and number of tourist facilities* (see Figure 7.5). With a few exceptions, these are the same local authorities that also intend to *increase the number of tourists* in their area, which are presented in Figure 7.6.

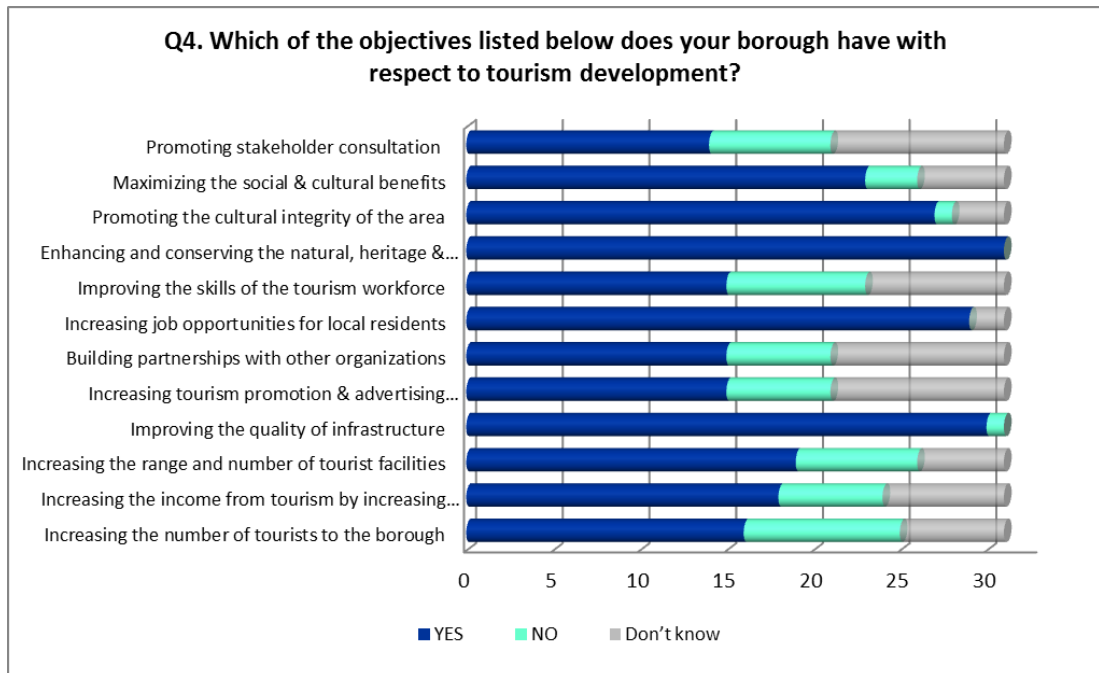


Figure 7.5 London boroughs' objectives in terms of tourism development

Examining in more detail the responses received for this point (Q4a – ‘*Increasing the number of tourists to the borough*’), it can be observed that about half of the outer London boroughs and nearly half of the inner ones have the objective of attracting more visitors. As may be expected, the three inner boroughs which attract the largest number of visitors, i.e. Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea and Camden, are not interested in attracting more tourists. In terms of the London sub-regions, it seems that most boroughs from East and West London aim to attract more tourists, while those in the Central London do not have this objective. However, for the North and South London boroughs no specific tendency could be identified (see Figure 7.7).



Figure 7.6 Boroughs aiming to increase the number of tourists – inner and outer London

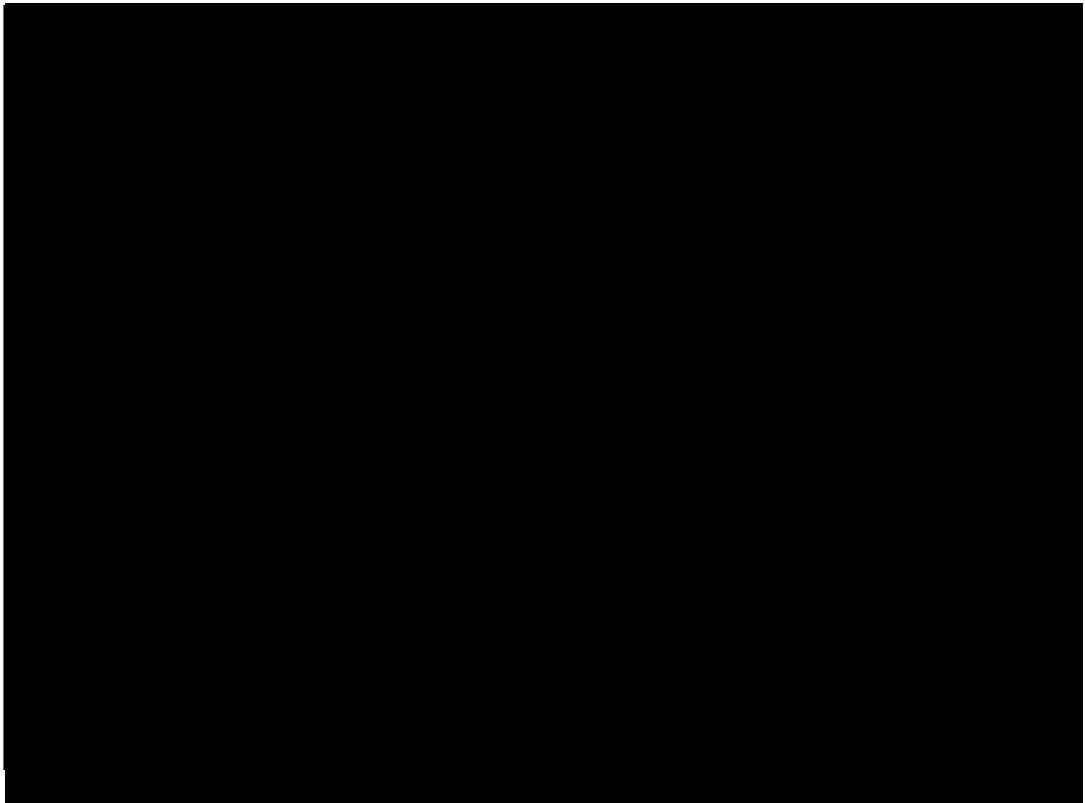


Figure 7.7 Boroughs aiming to increase the number of tourists – London sub-regions

In addition, from a total of 16 boroughs that intend to attract more tourists, two thirds have also published dedicated websites promoting their area to prospective visitors (e.g. <http://www.visitgreenwich.org.uk/>). In total, 17 London boroughs maintain such websites (the complete list of the web addresses is included in Appendix 12), while most of the other boroughs include some information about local attractions on their main webpage.

Furthermore, around half of all local authorities in London aim to *increase tourism promotion and advertising activities, build partnerships with other organizations involved in tourism development, and improve the skills of the tourism workforce in their borough*. However, almost a third of SPs *did not know* whether their borough aims to achieve these three objectives. On the other hand, *promoting stakeholder consultation on tourism policy development and implementation* was the objective considered by the lowest number of boroughs (45.2%). Again, a third of survey participants *did not know* whether stakeholder consultation is an objective of their local authority in terms of tourism development. This is a surprising finding since the process of stakeholder consultation is advocated by many researchers and organisations as a vital step in policy formulation and implementation (Veal, 2011; UNEP & ICLEI, 2003; Sautter & Leisen, 1999).

Finally, two additional objectives were noted under the option '*other*' – *improving the quality of the urban environment, and promoting sustainable tourism by ensuring that potential social and environmental impacts are addressed*. Both were mentioned by a representative of an outer London borough who also answered 'yes' for all the other objectives included in this question.

A number of other priorities for tourism development were mentioned during the interviews conducted with representatives of the boroughs which participated in this research. First, *increasing the accommodation stock* so tourists can stay overnight in the area, which would contribute to longer visits and more money spent locally (economic benefits). Second, *directing tourists to specific locations* within the borough or at specific times (e.g. over the weekend) in order to avoid possible conflicts between people who work or live there and the visitors. This would help ease the pressure put by tourists on public transport and on other related infrastructure, particularly in busy areas and at peak times. In addition, in the case of overcrowded places, *spreading the visitors among other parts* of the borough would help protect specific attractions. Finally, *capitalising on the 2012 Olympic Games* and offering a *better experience for*

visitors were also mentioned by some respondents. All these are indeed important aspects that should be considered by local authorities when managing tourism.

7.4 Tourism planning by local authorities in London

As argued in Chapter 3, tourism planning and management are two important functions that fundamentally contribute to achieving sustainable tourism development in a destination (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Testoni, 2001; Edgell et al., 2008). Their benefits, such as the contribution to the conservation and regeneration of an area, as well as a better quality of life for visitors and hosts, have been widely recognised over the years by numerous academics and organisations (Hall, 2008; Connell et al., 2009). Therefore, the next sections analyse the planning and management of tourism in London and look at the organisations responsible for tourism development at the borough level, the policy documents they produce to guide this activity, the stakeholders that are consulted and the integration of these policies into local and regional plans. For the purpose of this research, the discussion looks at the borough level and the policies and services provided by local authorities in London in terms of tourism development (thus contributing in answering RQ2 – *How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?*). However, the analysis only focuses on the planning process and not on the content of the policy documents guiding tourism development, as these have already been examined in Chapters 5 and 6 (i.e. the London Plan, the London Tourism Action Plan, the Core Strategies and the tourism/culture policy documents produced by the London boroughs).

7.4.1 Organisations responsible with tourism planning

The first aspect considered is whether local authorities in London have specific departments, units or teams to help with the development of tourism in their area. The findings for this survey question (Q5) show that only about a third of London boroughs currently have a dedicated unit or team for the planning and management of tourism (see Table 7.3). The current figure (i.e. 10 boroughs) represents roughly half of the number of local authorities that used to have a tourism officer six years ago. This is according to a report on tourism produced by Brent Council (2007), which mentions that 22 London boroughs employed a tourism officer at that time. As an example, the representative of a London borough which used to have a visitors officer noted that the responsibilities of this person have now been integrated into the work of the business

investment, business engagement and business growth officers. This could be a consequence of the budget cuts affecting the public sector and of the shift in the development of tourism in the UK towards the private sector (see Chapter 5).

Table 7.3 Does your borough have a dedicated unit or team for the planning and management of tourism? (Q5)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	10	32.3%
NO	21	67.7%
Total	31	100.0%

Moreover, half of the local authorities which currently have a unit or team for tourism development are inner London boroughs while the other half are in outer London. As illustrated in Figure 7.8, only five of the boroughs which attract large numbers of visitors and offer the most visitor attractions have a dedicated unit or team to help with the development of tourism (i.e. Camden, Tower of Hamlets, City of London, Richmond and Greenwich).

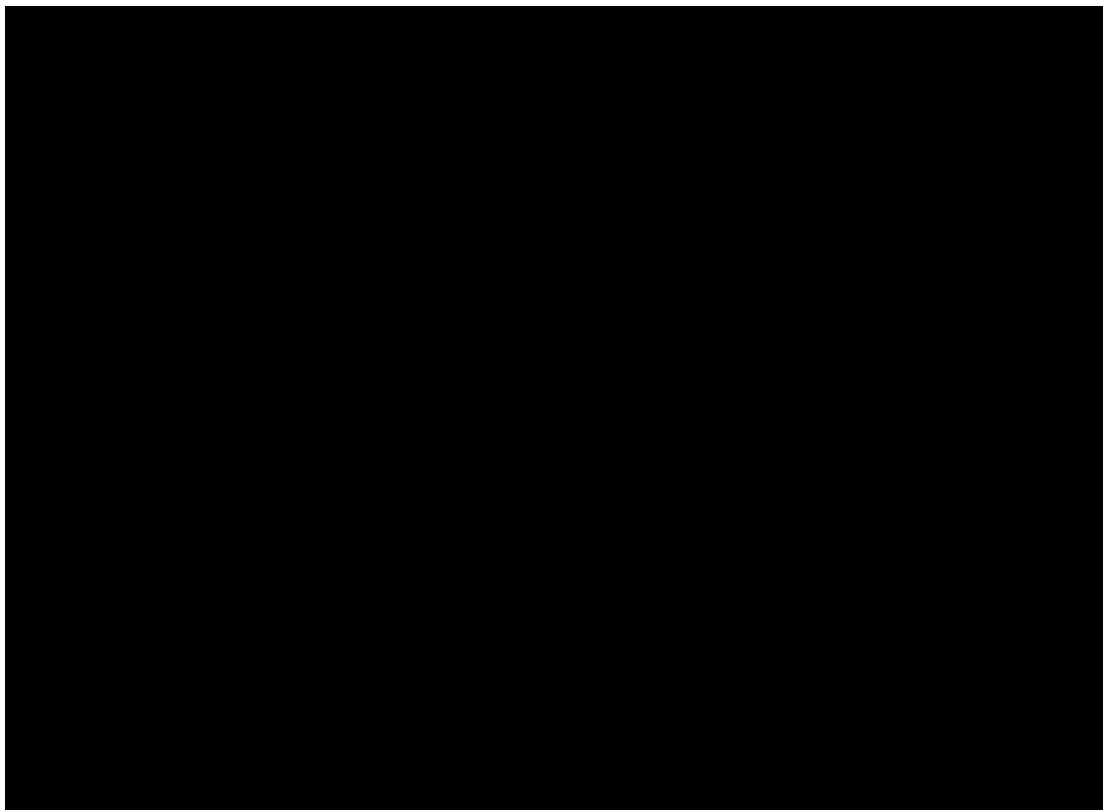


Figure 7.8 London boroughs with a dedicated unit or team for tourism

One finding worth noting is that even though it attracts the most visitors coming to London and is already confronted by a number of negative consequences of tourism, the City of Westminster does not have a team or unit responsible for the planning and management of this activity – this function is currently covered by the economic policy and area programmes manager. Furthermore, as already highlighted in the previous chapter, the borough does not have a tourism strategy or a dedicated core policy, but only a core policy that combines tourism with arts and culture. Kensington & Chelsea, Southwark, Hammersmith & Fulham are the other three inner boroughs which attract many visitors but do not have a tourism unit, and neither a core policy for tourism development. This is in contrast with the recommendations of a number of organisation and researchers who emphasize the role of local authorities in the planning and management of tourism activities in a destination, in particular if sustainable tourism is to be achieved (Page & Dowling, 2002; Kerr, 2003; UNEP & WTO, 2005; Hall, 2008). Otherwise, a number of negative consequences such as resource damage and lower quality visitor experience can occur in those destinations (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000).

Moreover, only about half of the London boroughs that consider tourism to have a *very significant* or *significant* contribution to the economic development of their area also have in place a unit or team to manage this activity (see Figure 7.9).

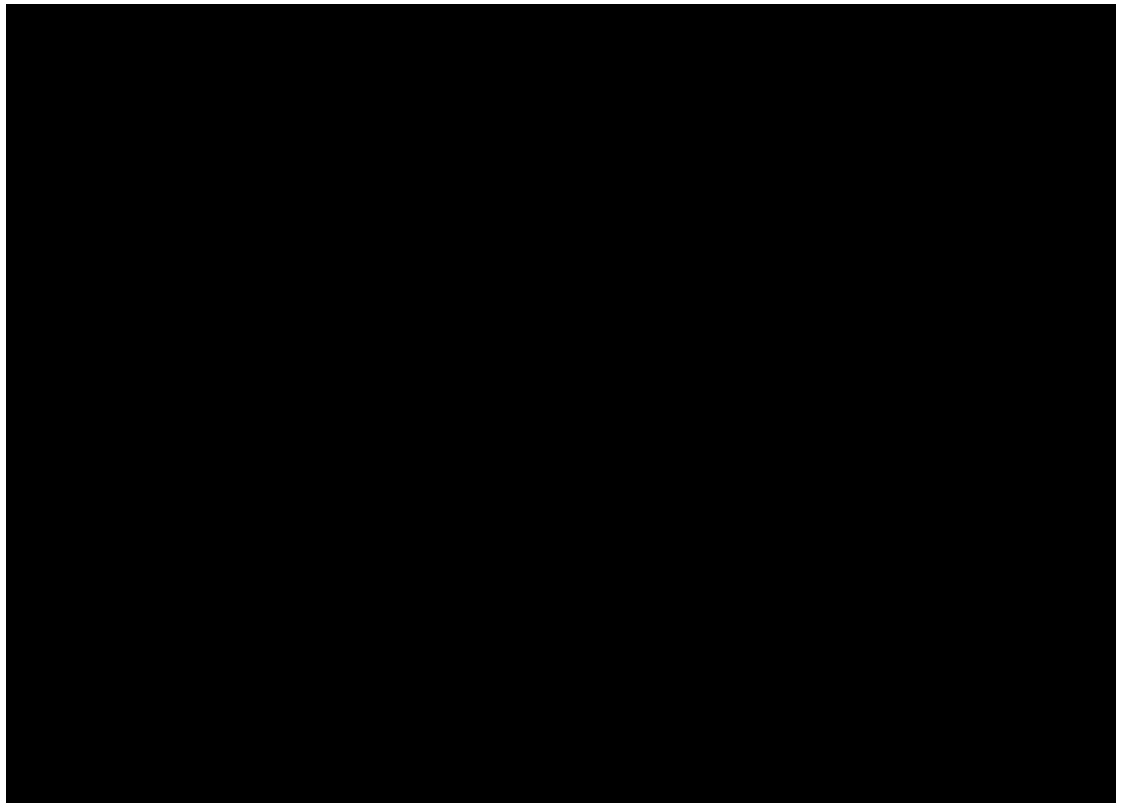


Figure 7.9 Boroughs with a dedicated unit for tourism vs. Boroughs that consider tourism 'very significant' or 'significant' for their area

However, there are 3 local authorities that, even though they consider tourism to have only *some significance* to the borough, still have in place a dedicated unit for tourism development. Two of them (i.e. Harrow and Bexley) are among the boroughs that have produced a strategy for the planning and management of this activity and have also considered most of the ST principles (see section 6.2.7). In addition, the two boroughs promote tourism in their main development plan based on economic and social rationale (see section 6.2.5), showing a proactive attitude towards tourism development in their area. At the same time, four out of seven boroughs that included a dedicated or combined policy for tourism/visitors in their CSs, also have a dedicated team or unit to help with the development of this activity. In addition, out of the four local authorities in London that produced a dedicated core policy for tourism/visitors, only Waltham Forest does not have a tourism unit. Hence, regardless of the development of the tourism sector in their area, there seems to be a correlation between the boroughs that have a unit responsible for tourism development and those that included a dedicated or combined policy for tourism in their Core Strategy.

Looking at which borough departments contain tourism units (Q6), these tend to be evenly distributed among economic development, regeneration, chief executive, development team, culture and leisure, or arts and tourism services. Therefore, unlike the earlier study conducted by Stevenson (2002) who found that tourism activities within the local authorities in England are typically located in the economic development/regeneration, executive/strategic/management, and leisure service areas, the present research has found that they also sit in arts and culture departments. This reflects the close relationship between arts and culture, and tourism activities in cities, an association that has been promoted over the recent years by a number of central government departments (e.g. DCMS) and which was discussed in section 6.2.

Additionally, the representatives of ten London boroughs identified a number of other organisations with some responsibility for the planning of tourism within their local authority (Q7). These consist of public organisations (i.e. GLA, Visit London - now London & Partners, London Councils), BIDs – Business Improvement Districts¹⁰, local attractions, and different trusts for heritage or culture (Q8). As an example, the Royal

¹⁰ As stated on the GLA website (2012), ‘A *Business Improvement District* is a geographical area within which the businesses have voted to invest collectively in local improvements to improve their trading environment. [...] BIDs provide additional or improved services as identified and requested by local businesses, such as extra safety, cleaning and environmental measures. They are business-led organisations funded by a mandatory levy on all eligible businesses following a successful ballot.’

Borough of Kingston upon Thames passed on its tourism promotion function to Kingston First, a business improvement district.

7.4.2 Policy documents guiding tourism development

Tourism policies and strategies contribute through their functions to the success of a destination, guiding the development of this activity and coordinating the stakeholders involved (Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). This section thus examines whether local authorities in London have produced such policy documents to help with the planning and management of tourism at the borough level. Therefore, the SPs were asked to indicate whether their borough has a specific strategy or plan for tourism development (Q9). According to the results presented in Table 7.4, only 7 survey participants indicated that their organization has a specific tourism policy document in place, while all other participants specified that their local authority does not have such a document. As expected, most of the boroughs with a tourism policy document (5 out of 7) are among those that have a dedicated unit to guide tourism activities.

Table 7.4 Does the borough have a specific strategy or plan for tourism development? (Q9)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	7	22.6%
NO	24	77.4%
Total	31	100.0%

Comparing the responses received for this question against the tourism policy documents found to guide the development of tourism at borough level (see section 6.3), it appears that the representatives of five local authorities were either not aware that their organization has a tourism document, or they omitted to mention it. In the case of two of these boroughs, their existing policy documents are tourism strategies which are out of date, but which are still referred to in their main planning policy documents. For the other three local authorities the documents are either a plan, report or study for tourism (see Figure 7.10).

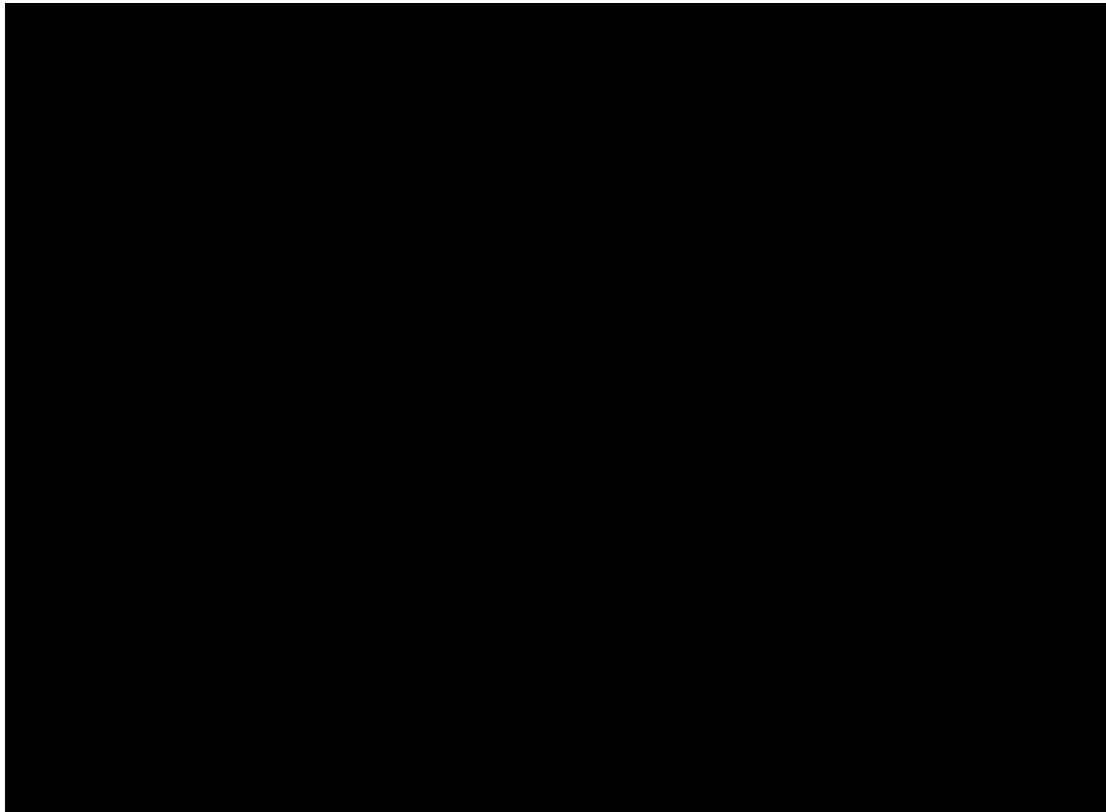


Figure 7.10 Boroughs with a specific strategy or plan for tourism (Q9) vs. Boroughs with a tourism policy document

In terms of other policy documents which guide the development of tourism at borough level (Q14), a majority of SPs indicated that *Arts & Culture* and *Events* policy documents also influence tourism development in their area (see Table 7.5). This reaffirms the findings of the analysis on the policy documents that guide the development of tourism at the borough level (presented in section 6.3), where the majority of such documents were found to be culture/arts/events strategies or plans.

Table 7.5 What other policies, plans and strategies guide the development of tourism in your borough? (Q14)

	YES		NO		Don't know	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Arts & Culture	22	75.9%	4	13.8%	3	10.3%
Events	20	66.7%	3	10.0%	7	23.3%
Regeneration	19	65.5%	6	20.7%	4	13.8%
Sport & Leisure	17	60.7%	4	14.3%	7	25.0%
Community	12	42.9%	8	28.6%	8	28.6%

In addition, a slightly lower number of survey participants indicated *Regeneration*, and *Sport & Leisure* policy documents to have a contribution in guiding tourism development in their borough. Finally, just under half of SPs noted that *Community* policies, strategies or plans also play a part in the development of tourism in their area. In the 'other' category, a number of SPs mentioned economic development and planning policies (to a limited extent) to have some influence on the development of tourism.

7.4.3 Stakeholder consultation

As argued in Chapters 3, stakeholder consultation increasingly plays an important role in policy formulation and implementation, in particular at the local level (Veal, 2010). Therefore, it is suggested that in order to promote sustainable tourism, local authorities would need to consider the views of all tourism stakeholders and address their concerns during the planning process (Simpson, 2001; Smith et al., 2010). Consequently, the representatives of the 7 boroughs who indicated that they have in place a specific strategy or plan for tourism were asked to mention which stakeholders were consulted in the formulation process of these documents (Q10). The survey participants were given six options corresponding to the six main stakeholders identified (based on the literature review) to have an interest in tourism development at the local level. The participants could also specify any 'other' stakeholders not included among the six suggested in the question, but which may have been consulted by their boroughs.

As shown in Table 7.6, the top two groups of stakeholders consulted by local authorities in the formulation process of their tourism policy documents were the *local tourism industry* and the *tourism organisations*. Another two groups of stakeholders, each indicated by four SPs, were the *local residents* and the *relevant governmental and/or local agencies*. However, only three SPs specified the *local community groups*, and two SPs the *visitors/tourists*, among the stakeholders that were consulted. Furthermore, in the case of *visitors/tourists*, a high percentage of SPs *did not know* whether this group was included in the consultation process. Although the number of participants for this question is very small, it can be noted that the local authorities in London are more likely to consult tourism industry organisations rather than community groups or tourists when formulating their tourism policy. Bramwell (1998) is one researcher who points out the importance of consulting local residents and tourists when developing tourism products in urban environments, but he underlines that in practice this is rarely done by local governments. Furthermore, the involvement of local

communities in the consultation process is also underlined by a number of other researchers as an important factor for the success of tourism development in a destination (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Dredge, 2007; Deery et al., 2012).

Table 7.6 Please specify which stakeholders were consulted on the formulation of your borough's tourism strategy or plan? (Q10)

	YES		NO		Don't know	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
Local tourism industry	6	85.7%	0	.0%	1	14.3%
Tourism organisations	5	71.4%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%
Relevant governmental and/or local agencies	4	57.1%	1	14.3%	2	28.6%
Local residents	4	57.1%	1	14.3%	2	28.6%
Local community groups	3	42.9%	2	28.6%	2	28.6%
Visitors/tourists	2	28.6%	1	14.3%	4	57.1%

When it comes to the consultation methods of tourism stakeholders employed by the local authorities in London (Q11), the techniques indicated by most survey participants were *workshops*, *focus groups* and *presentations*. On the other hand, *(online) surveys*, *brochures* and *public meetings* were among the methods mentioned the least by participants.

7.4.4 Integration of tourism policy documents into local and regional plans

It has been suggested that if tourism is to contribute to the sustainable development of a city, it should be integrated into the general plans and development policies of the area – on a horizontal level (Inskeep, 1991), and also into the regional, national and international policies for tourism – on a vertical level (UNWTO, 1998). Therefore, the next survey question (Q12) sought to determine whether the boroughs with a tourism strategy or plan have considered in the formulation of their document the current London Tourism Action Plan, which sets out the main objectives for the development of tourism in London (i.e. on regional/vertical level). Afterwards, Q13 tried to find out whether the same local authorities have incorporated the aims and objectives of their

tourism strategies into the Local Development Framework, which is the current spatial planning strategy for an area (i.e. on horizontal level).

Out of the seven boroughs with a tourism strategy or plan, only the representatives of two local authorities confirmed that their documents make reference to the current London Tourism Action Plan. The other five survey participants either indicated that this was *not* the case (3 boroughs) or they *did not know* (2 boroughs). This situation is in disagreement with the recommendation made by WTO (1998), who advises local authorities to consider the higher-level policies and plans for tourism when producing their own tourism policy documents. However, when looking at the responses for Q13 the situation changes, as the majority of boroughs (6 out of 7) incorporate the aims and objectives of the tourism documents into their spatial planning strategy. Therefore, it can be noted that the London boroughs with a tourism policy document are more likely to integrate the aims and objectives of these documents into their local planning framework (on horizontal level), rather than to align their tourism policy documents with those produced at the regional level (on vertical level).

7.4.5 Working in partnership with other local authorities

It is well known that tourists do not recognise boundaries between different administrative areas they visit (Tyler, 1998; UNWTO & ETC, 2011), especially in a city such as London which is divided into 33 different boroughs. Therefore, it is argued that local authorities in London need to work together in order to develop coherent tourism policies and strategies. In light of this aspect, the next two survey questions (Q23 & Q24) sought to identify if any partnerships have been established between different London boroughs or other strategic authorities for the planning and management of tourism at local level.

As shown in Table 7.7, just over a third of survey participants indicated that their borough cooperates either with strategic organisations (such as London & Partners or the GLA), with other local authorities (such as the 2012 Olympic host boroughs in East London), or with tourist attractions. Almost all of these boroughs also indicated that one of their objectives is to build partnerships with other organisations involved in tourism development (the exceptions are Hillingdon and Sutton, which answered '*don't know*' for Q4f – see Figure 7.11). However, this is a rather small number when considering that working in partnership with other public or private organisations is advocated by many researchers as it contributes to a more effective management of tourism in a destination (Long, 1994; Davidson & Maitland, 1997; Stevenson, 2002; Devine &

Devine, 2011). An aspect worth further investigation in future research is the reason for their collaboration, as to whether this is related to tourism geography, or whether there are other economic or political reasons behind it.

Table 7.7 Does your borough work in partnership with other London boroughs and/or strategic planning authorities in terms of tourism planning and management? (Q23)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	12	38.7
NO	7	22.6
Don't know	12	38.7
Total	31	100.0

Nevertheless, as Figure 7.11 illustrates, the majority of boroughs which attract large numbers of visitors are among those that have established partnerships with other organisations for the planning and management of tourism in their area (i.e. Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea, Southwark, Hammersmith & Fulham, Hillingdon and Richmond). However, a similarly large number of survey participants (i.e. 12 boroughs) *did not know* whether their local authority works in partnership with any other organisations, while the representatives of 7 boroughs specified that their organisation does not have such partnerships.

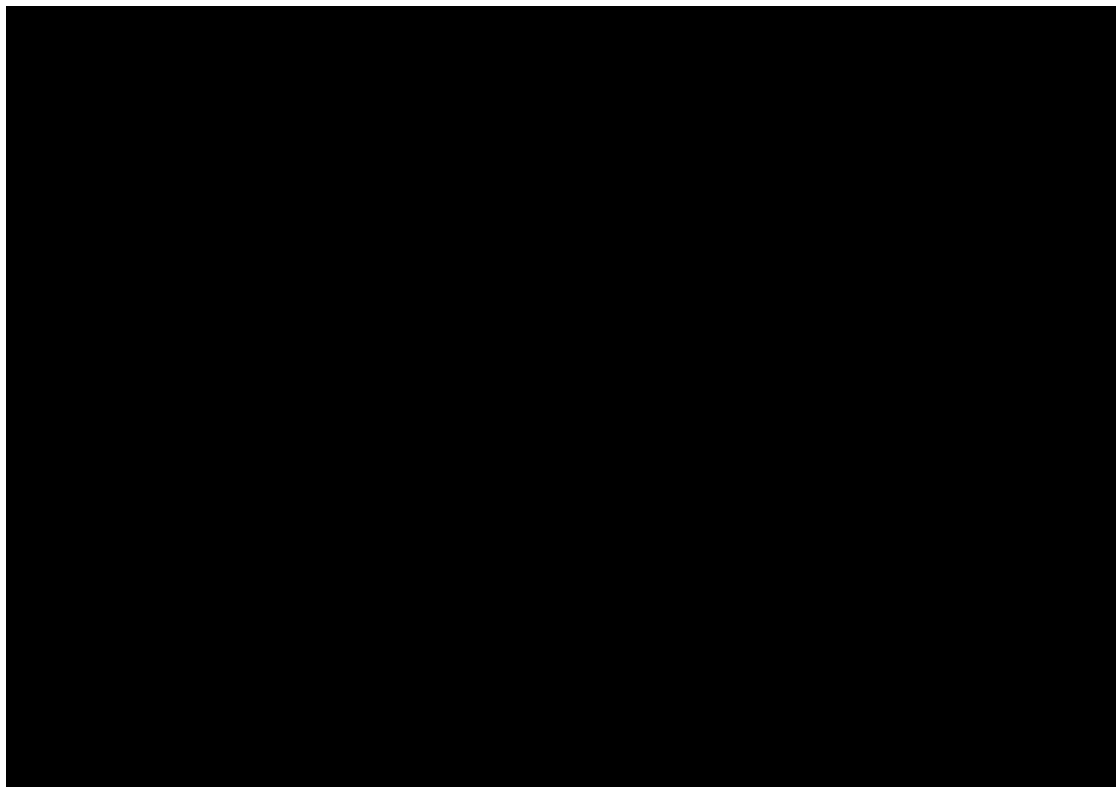


Figure 7.11 Boroughs that work in partnership with other local authorities/organisations

At the same time, the need for cooperation with other organisations involved in tourism development (e.g. the tourism industry, GLA, London & Partners, or other boroughs) was also acknowledged by the local authority representatives who took part in interviews. But despite this, some London boroughs consider themselves in competition with others when it comes to attracting more visitors to their area, an attitude that can prevent them from developing partnerships with other local authorities. This is clearly underlined by one interview respondent representing an inner London borough, who points out that:

'[...] there is still [...] an unhealthy competition I suppose. We want the visitors here; we don't want the visitors to get there.' (IR no. 8)

Finally, the local authorities should not forget that working in partnership with other organisations could bring a number of benefits, such as additional resources, specialised skills and fewer adverse impacts (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Laing et al., 2008), which would ultimately contribute to a better management of tourism in an area and thus to the sustainable development of that destination.

7.5 Sustainable tourism development in London

Having analysed the planning and management of tourism in London, this section drives the discussion further and looks at how the representatives of London boroughs understand sustainable tourism, how important they consider this concept for the development of tourism in the capital and what sustainable tourism initiatives they promote (thus contributing in answering RQ2 - *How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?*). It should be noted that sustainable tourism has been long promoted by researchers and organisations as a possible solution to minimise the negative consequences that accompany tourism development, while also maximising its positive influences (UNWTO, 2004; Ruhanen, 2008; Connell & Page, 2008). In addition, sustainable tourism can contribute in striking a balance between the different interests of the stakeholders involved in tourism activities, including visitors, local communities and the tourism industry, while also helping to protect the environment (Testoni, 2001; UNWTO, 2007).

As discussed in section 2.5, different organisations and researchers give different definitions and meanings to sustainable tourism. Furthermore, McKercher (2003) argues that only a small number of those involved in tourism management correctly

understand how tourism can be developed in a sustainable way. Therefore, to better understand whether local authorities in London promote sustainable tourism, it is not enough to look at their initiatives towards sustainable tourism, but also to learn how their representatives understand this concept. Accordingly, the two aspects that will be discussed next are whether London boroughs promote sustainable tourism in their planning documents, and how they define this concept. In addressing these aspects, data gathered both through interviews as well as through the online survey is used in the analysis.

7.5.1 Understanding and promoting sustainable tourism

Before examining whether local authorities in London understand and promote sustainable tourism, it would be useful to see the opinions of the interview respondents on the importance of this concept. Thus, the interviewees were asked whether sustainable tourism should be considered a priority for the development of tourism in London. In their responses, just over half of the IRs (12 respondents) concurred that it should be a priority. Among those who agreed with this statement are the majority of representatives from tourism organisations and local authorities who were interviewed. For example, one respondent from an inner London borough gave the following answer:

'Very much so, London receives a very large number of visitors each year and these visitors have a significant impact on the city's infrastructure. So if there is anything that can be done to minimise that impact is important.' (IR no. 5)

Furthermore, the representative of a tourism organisation acknowledged the contribution of sustainable tourism in minimising the unwanted consequences that accompany tourism development in a destination, underlining that:

'[...] we are keen to foster sustainable tourism and it is one of our priorities because we believe that if the destinations aren't managed sustainably they will degrade over time, become less popular. So we are very keen to see less car use, or using alternative forms of transport, looking to see the right sort of development take place, to be sympathetic to the environment.' (IR no. 21)

However, a number of respondents note that even though they personally think that sustainable tourism should be a priority, other colleagues from their organisations may not be of the same opinion. Moreover, one interviewee mentioned that sustainability used to be high on the agenda before the onset of the economic downturn in 2008, but it moved down on the list of priorities ever since. Currently, other priorities are of greater importance on the agenda of their organisations (such as achieving economic

growth and tackling unemployment), and thus sustainable tourism *'just gets lost amongst other things'* as mentioned by another respondent representing a partnership organisation (IR no. 12).

On the other hand, almost a third of IRs did not consider that sustainable tourism should be a priority at the moment. These were predominantly representatives of London partnerships, organisations for which achieving economic growth is the main focus. Nevertheless, a few interview participants did not know how to answer this question, either because they did not know what sustainable tourism means or because their organisation did not express a specific view on this aspect. However, one IR representing a partnership organisation goes further and points out that only to recognize sustainable tourism as a priority in not enough and thus,

'The question is would they resource it, make that a particular policy? And I suspect the answer to that is no at the moment.' (IR no. 14)

The need for a change from rhetoric to action in implementing sustainable tourism in practice has also been advocated by many researchers (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Ruhanen, 2008; Dodds & Butler, 2009; Sharpley, 2009). Therefore, the next step would be to examine whether local authorities in London design policies for implementing sustainable tourism, and whether they take further action towards putting in practice the principles that underpin this concept.

When looking at whether London boroughs promote ST in their planning policy documents (question Q15 of the survey – see Table 7.8 for findings), the representatives of roughly one third of boroughs indicated that the concept is promoted by their organisation (i.e. 4 inner London and 6 outer London boroughs). All the local authorities which included a dedicated core policy for tourism in their CSs are among these (i.e. Enfield, Greenwich, Richmond and Waltham Forest), as well as three of the four boroughs which mention sustainable tourism in their CSs (the exception is Barking and Dagenham).

Table 7.8 Does your borough promote the concept of 'sustainable tourism' in its planning documents? (Q15)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	10	32.3%
NO	21	67.7%
Total	31	100.0%

At the same time, the group of local authorities that promote sustainable tourism in their planning documents also includes seven out of the ten boroughs that have a dedicated unit or team for tourism development (see Figure 7.12).

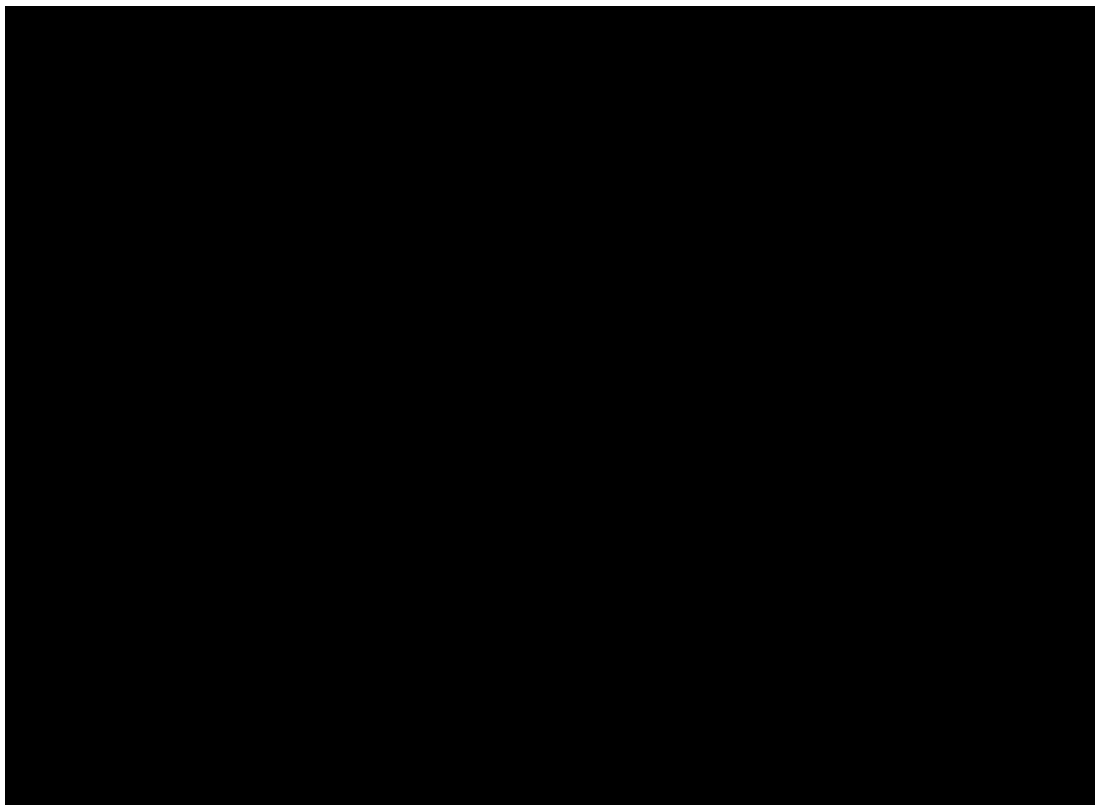


Figure 7.12 Boroughs promoting 'sustainable tourism' in their planning documents vs. Boroughs with a dedicated unit or team for tourism

However, no direct correlation could be found between the boroughs that promote the concept and those that have in place a tourism policy document. Based on these responses, it could be said that the local authorities which have a dedicated core policy for tourism and/or a unit for tourism development are more likely to promote the concept of sustainable tourism in their planning documents. Once again, the three inner London boroughs which attract the majority of London visitors (i.e. Westminster, Kensington & Chelsea, and Camden) and should be more concerned with the negative consequences that accompany tourism activities are not among those promoting this concept.

In terms of definitions for sustainable tourism (Q16) given by the representatives of London boroughs who took part in the survey, none of the participants were able to offer one that was complete. The most accurate was given by an SP who works as a visitor economy advisor for one of the outer London boroughs, and who described

sustainable tourism as *'Balancing the needs of the environment, visitors and the local community in all activity'* (SP no. 1). This reflects in part the definition given by WTO/UNEP (2005) which focuses on setting a balance between tourists, the local community and the environment. Another participant mentioned elements of the same definition in his answer, concentrating on setting limits and on sustainable design. In addition, in defining sustainable tourism the representative of an inner London borough focused on future generations, therefore coming close to the WTO (1998) definition, itself an adaptation of the WCED (1987) definition of sustainable development in the tourism sector (see section 2.5).

Two other survey participants, although not giving a specific definition, adopted the parochial approach to sustainable tourism (Butler, 1993) which reflects a holistic view towards achieving sustainable development in a region. The remaining four SPs described sustainable tourism by referring only to particular aspects of this complex concept, such as accessibility, access to public transport, planning permissions, managing visitor numbers, or infrastructure and jobs. Nonetheless, a representative from one of the inner boroughs that attract some of the largest numbers of tourists did not give any description for the concept, noting only that he was unsure about what it means. Still, it is worth noting that two of the three SPs who offered a better description of sustainable tourism are representatives of local authorities that promote a large number of ST principles in their tourism policy documents (see section 6.3). For a full list of definitions given by the survey participants please see Appendix 13.

The same difficulty in defining sustainable tourism was observed during the interviews conducted with representatives of organisations who participated in this research. A number of them mentioned that ST is such a broad concept that it is hard to define, while others emphasized that it is difficult to say exactly what sustainable tourism is, as it may mean different things to different people and in different places. This is well expressed by a representative of a tourism organisation who stated that:

'[...] what is sustainable is different in different locations, it's not a one size fits all thing. Different environments can take different levels of development and different levels of visitor numbers.' (IR no. 20)

The same respondent also points to the flexibility of the sustainability concept:

'[...] there is a temporal element to sustainable tourism, in that what is sustainable today may or may not be sustainable tomorrow. So if you set criteria, even if it's helpful related to what you are trying to protect, what you tend to find is that as our knowledge improves, what we thought is sustainable today may not be sustainable tomorrow. Or [what] we thought is unsustainable

today, may be sustainable tomorrow as our knowledge improves. So, there has got to be flexibility in our approach to re-look at these things.' (IR no. 20)

As discussed in section 2.4.2, the ambiguity and vagueness in defining the concept of sustainable development is considered by some researchers to be either its main weakness, as it makes it difficult to implement its principles in practice (Carvalho, 2001; Saarinen, 2006), or its main strength as it makes the term adaptable to different contexts and environments (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Thus, it seems that this respondent agrees with the latter position and considers the flexibility of the concept of sustainable development to be an advantage.

On the other hand, other interview respondents highlighted the variety of interpretations given to sustainable tourism by different organisations and academics, a fact which contributes to its vagueness and to the difficulty in understanding what exactly the concept means. As mentioned above, this criticism is 'inherited' from its parental paradigm, sustainable development, which has also been described by some researchers as a vague concept (Robinson, 2004). As such, part of the IRs identified more than one meaning for sustainable tourism, many of them being unsure as to which would be the 'right one'. Among these different interpretations are tourism as an economically viable activity (*development centred*), being environmentally friendly (*ecologically centred*), long term tourism and maintaining visitor numbers (*tourism centred*), managing tourism and sustainable practices within the industry. The two different positions on sustainable tourism, i.e. strong and weak sustainability (Garrod & Fyall, 1998; Weaver, 2006), were also acknowledged by a number of IRs who were in favour of the weak version of sustainability. This view, which represents an anthropocentric and utilitarian approach, is also commonly adopted by Western governments (Hunter, 1997).

Furthermore, some interview respondents were more sceptical about this concept and underlined the contradiction between sustainable tourism and the fact that the majority of tourists use air travel to reach a destination, which in itself is not sustainable (not necessarily referring to London). These IRs did not believe that there is such a thing as sustainable tourism. This is an on-going debate among academics as well, with a number of them arguing that it is difficult to achieve sustainable tourism as long as the travel component of this industry accounts for 75% of the CO₂ emissions of tourism as a whole (Gössling et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, about half of the interview respondents defined the concept as a balance between different aspects, such as economic benefits, a better experience for visitors

and protecting the environment, while a few also made references to the local communities. Still, the difficulty lies in finding the right balance between all these different factors and interests in order to get to the 'sweet spot' – as it was named by IR no. 15, which requires cooperation between all stakeholders involved in tourism development (Edgell et al., 2008). However, the majority of interviewees acknowledged the negative consequences that accompany tourism development and indicated that sustainable tourism is about reducing the impacts of this activity in a destination. The most accurate definition was given by a representative of a tourism organisation which promotes sustainable development practices within the industry, who stated that:

'[...] sustainability is the balance of economic, social and environmental impacts. So then, if you think of sustainable tourism, it's showcasing a location with consideration of the social impacts, the environmental impacts and the economic impacts.' (IR no. 16)

In addition, a number of interview respondents pointed out that sustainable tourism should not be regarded as a specific product type, such as ecotourism, but it should be embedded in all forms of tourism development. This view of sustainable tourism as a process was expressed by all the representatives of tourism organisations that were interviewed, an opinion which is also supported by a number of researchers and organisations (Liu, 2003; UNEP & WTO, 2005). Yet, a small number of IRs either could not answer this question at all or instead asked the interviewer to explain how they would define sustainable tourism.

Although the number of organisations that participated in the interviews is relatively small (22 in total), it can be noted that the representatives of tourism organisations and London boroughs who took part in this stage of the research showed a somewhat better understanding of the concept than the representatives of BIDs and of London partnerships. It is also true that the two latter types of organisations are oriented towards the general economic development of an area and only a few of them have tourism among their priorities.

Thus, it could be concluded that the large majority of representatives from London boroughs who took part in the online survey (mainly policy planners) did not know the meaning of sustainable tourism and most of them were only able to mention some aspects of this concept. Likewise, even though the representatives of the organisations interviewed showed a better understanding of the topic, they still found it difficult to give a clear definition for sustainable tourism. It should be noted that the advantages of conducting interviews when analysing such complex phenomenon (Pizam, 1994; Yin,

2009; Bell, 2010), as well as the characteristics of those interviewed (representatives responsible for tourism activities within their organisation) have contributed to the richer information gathered through this technique. As such, the results do not support the findings of Dodds and Butler (2010), who looked at the barriers to implementing ST policies in Malta, and in Calvia, Spain, and concluded that policy makers have a clear understanding of what sustainability means. Instead, it tends to agree with the earlier findings of Getz and Timur (2005), who conducted interviews with the main stakeholders in three different cities in Canada and the USA and came to the conclusion that the concept of sustainable tourism means different things to different groups.

Moreover, the variety of responses offered by the participants in this study when describing sustainable tourism highlights the diverse meanings and interpretations given to this concept by various organisations and researchers. It also reflects the lack of consensus to date between different academics and organisations in agreeing on a specific definition. Butler (1999) is one of the researchers who discuss the difficulty in defining sustainable tourism, arguing that this contributes to the lack of understanding of the concept by policy makers. Still, this is only part of the problem, as underlined by a representative of a tourism organisation:

[...] we can sit here and discuss a definition of eco-tourism or green tourism or sustainable tourism or responsible tourism, all of that for the next ten years. But if we don't actually act on it, it's no use to anybody'. (IR no. 19)

This point was also made by Dodds and Butler (2010, p.48), who note that '*the problem with achieving sustainability lies in implementation rather than definition*', which is a harder task but very necessary in order to achieve sustainable development of tourism in a destination. However, the current study argues that both aspects are important, as the lack of a clear understanding of what sustainable tourism means would make it difficult for policy makers to implement this concept in practice. The next section takes the discussion further and looks at whether local authorities in London consider the principles of sustainable tourism to be important and incorporate them in their policy documents.

7.5.2 The importance of sustainable tourism principles

As argued in section 2.5.3, to implement sustainable tourism local authorities need to consider the principles which underpin this concept and integrate them into the policy documents that guide tourism development. Therefore, this section looks at the importance given to each of the 12 sustainable tourism principles (Q17) by the

representatives of the London boroughs who participated in the online survey. These are the same principles used in the analysis of the policy documents guiding the development of tourism at the borough level and the reasons why they were selected were discussed in section 6.3. The survey participants were given five options, which were grouped into three categories when discussing the results of this question (i.e. *very important* and *quite important* grouped into *important*, *not very important* and *not at all important* grouped into *not important*, and *don't know*). However, a table presenting the individual statistics for the five options is included in Appendix 14.

As shown in Figure 7.13, a large majority of survey respondents indicated that sustainable tourism principles are *important* for their borough. More specifically, all 12 principles were deemed *important* by at least half of the SPs, while 7 principles were noted to be *important* by over 80% of SPs (i.e. principles 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8 and 10; see Table 7.9). Four of the previously mentioned principles are also among the five that were considered by the most London boroughs in their policy documents guiding the development of tourism (i.e. principle 1 – *Minimizing environmental impacts*, principle 2 – *Achieving conservation outcomes*, principle 4 – *Achieving authenticity*, principle 5 – *Reflecting community values*; see section 6.3).

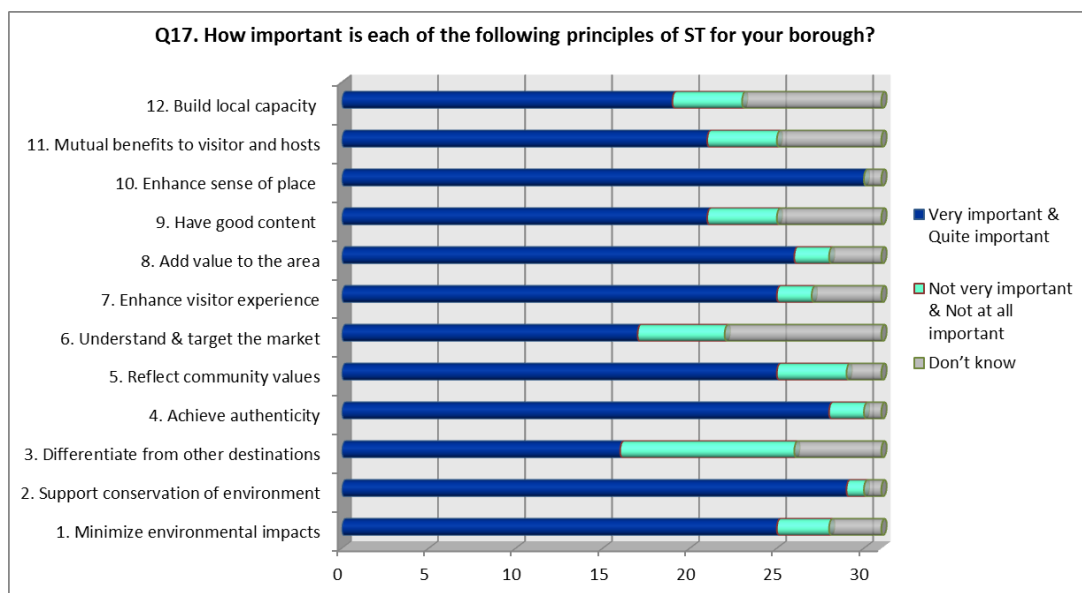


Figure 7.13 The importance given by survey respondents to each ST principle

Principles 2 and 4, the most ‘popular’ in tourism policy documents (included by about half of the London boroughs) take the second and third place in the survey (considered

important by over 90% of the respondents). A full comparison between the number of survey participants that indicated each principle to be *important* (i.e. ‘Very important’ and ‘Quite important’) and the number of boroughs that consider each principle in their policy documents is included in Appendix 15.

Table 7.9 How important is each of the following principles of sustainable tourism for your borough? (Q17)

	Very important & Quite important		Not very important & Not at all important		Don't know	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
10. Enhancing sense of place through design	30	96.8%	0	0.0%	1	3.2%
2. Supporting the conservation of built & natural environment	29	93.5%	1	3.2%	1	3.2%
4. Achieving authenticity, by promoting local history & culture	28	90.3%	2	6.5%	1	3.2%
8. Adding value to existing attributes of the area	26	83.9%	2	6.5%	3	9.7%
1. Minimizing environmental impacts	25	80.6%	3	9.7%	3	9.7%
5. Reflecting community values	25	80.6%	4	12.9%	2	6.5%
7. Enhancing visitor experience	25	80.6%	2	6.5%	4	12.9%
11. Providing mutual benefits to visitor and hosts	21	67.7%	4	12.9%	6	19.4%
9. Having good content to offer a more rewarding experience	21	67.7%	4	12.9%	6	19.4%
12. Building local capacity by promoting cooperation between tourism businesses	19	61.3%	4	12.9%	8	25.8%
6. Understanding & targeting the market	17	54.8%	5	16.1%	9	29.0%
3. Differentiating from other competing destinations	16	51.6%	10	32.3%	5	16.1%

Principle 10 – *Enhancing sense of place through design*, achieved the best survey result with 30 of the 31 participants indicating it as *important* (one respondent answered ‘*don't know*’). This may be a consequence of the fact that the majority of SPs work in the planning departments of their local authority and for planners design is an important aspect. On the other hand, the two principles that were considered *important*

by the lowest number of SPs (just over 50%) are principle 3 – *Differentiating from other competing destinations* and principle 6 – *Understanding and targeting the market*. Both principles are also among those included by the smallest number of London boroughs in their policy documents that influence the development of tourism. In addition, a large number of survey participants *did not know* whether these two ST principles are important for their boroughs. A large number of ‘*don’t know*’ responses were also received for principle 12 - *Building local capacity*, where over a quarter of SPs could not say whether or not this principle is important for their local authority.

Similar to the analysis of tourism policy documents (data presented in Figure 6.22, section 6.3) there are generally no significant differences between the responses received from inner and outer London boroughs for this question. The largest difference was registered for principle 3 (*differentiating from other competing destinations*) where the representatives of 11 outer London boroughs found it *important*, while only 5 representatives of inner London boroughs had the same opinion (see Figure 7.14). The different attitude of inner and outer London boroughs towards this ST principle was also noted when analysing the policy documents guiding the development of tourism at local level (see section 6.3). One reason suggested to be behind this is that outer London boroughs are generally not well-known tourist destinations and thus may be more interested in differentiating from other boroughs in order to attract to their area a larger proportion of the tourists visiting the capital.

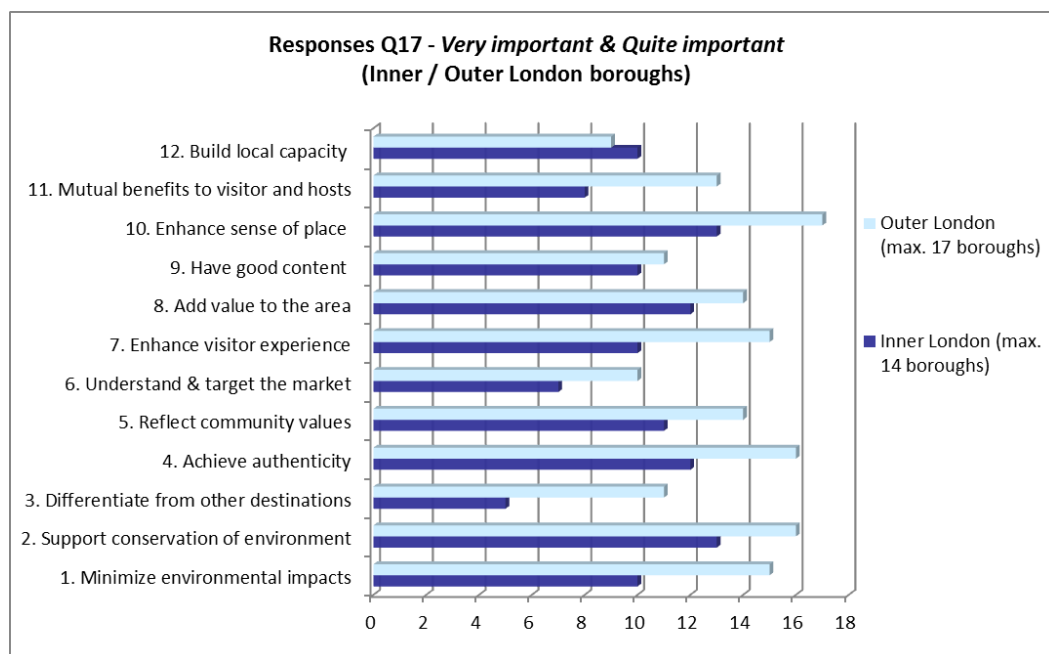


Figure 7.14 The number of inner vs. outer London boroughs that consider ‘important’ each ST principles

Therefore, it can be concluded that the majority of survey participants indicated nearly all sustainable tourism principles in the questionnaire to be *important* for their borough. In practice however, a much smaller number of local authorities have integrated these principles into the policy documents that guide the development of tourism at local level (see data presented in Appendix 15). Although these findings tend to agree with Dodds and Butler (2009) who stress that the implementation of sustainable tourism principles by policy makers is very limited in practice, an aspect worth noting is that the majority of SPs valued this concept and acknowledged the importance of considering ST principles when planning and managing tourism.

7.5.3 Sustainable tourism initiatives promoted by London boroughs

This section continues the investigation on how local authorities in London promote sustainable tourism and looks at the initiatives they have put in place for its implementation. The discussion begins by presenting the findings for this specific survey question (Q19), which are then complemented with data gathered during the interviews conducted with representatives from a number of London boroughs and other organisations that participated in the study.

In terms of sustainable tourism initiatives promoted by the local authorities in London, the representatives of only five boroughs indicated that they promote such initiatives. The large majority of participants in the survey (83.9%) responded that their borough does not have any sustainable tourism initiatives (almost half of SPs) or that they do not know of such initiatives (over a third of SPs; see Table 7.10). It is worth noting that there is no correlation between the boroughs that promote sustainable tourism in their planning documents (responses for Q15) and those that have initiatives to encourage the implementation of the concept in practice (see Figure 7.15). It can also be observed that although 10 of the London boroughs promote sustainable tourism in their planning policy documents, only five boroughs (not necessarily the same ones) have initiatives to implement the concept in practice. These activities involve offering free advice to tourism businesses (Green Tourism Business Scheme, which is the national sustainable tourism certificate for the UK), maintaining a visitor webpage (e.g. '[www.visit\[...\]](#)'), promoting public transport or other sustainable means of transport, and a programme that aims to facilitate temporary art activities in vacant properties (responses for Q20).

Table 7.10 Does your local authority have any initiatives to encourage the sustainable development of tourism in your borough? (Q19)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
YES	5	16.1%
NO	14	45.2%
Don't know	12	38.7%
Total	31	100.0%

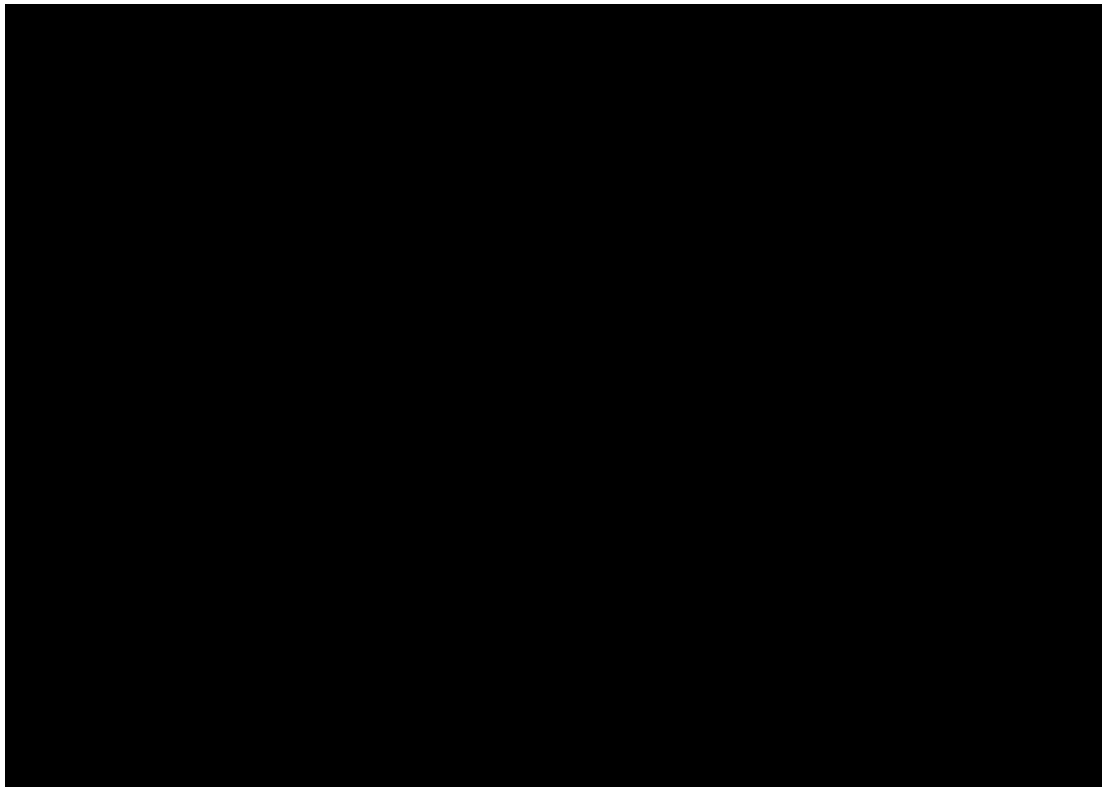


Figure 7.15 Boroughs that have initiatives to encourage sustainable tourism

Beside the sustainable tourism initiatives mentioned above, only a few other measures were identified by the interview respondents representing London boroughs. They all admitted that at the moment there are not many such initiatives promoted by their organisations. The few additional sustainable tourism measures that came up during the interviews are: installing drinking fountains so visitors can refill their water bottles rather than buy new plastic ones; running accommodation schemes to make sure that the B&B units are fit for purpose; encouraging local residents into the tourism industry by recommending to the new tourism developments coming into the area to employ

local people; giving fines to coaches which keep their engines running while standing to wait for tourists.

Nevertheless, a case worth noting is that of the Royal Borough of Greenwich which was awarded *Beacon Status for Promoting Sustainable Tourism* in 2004 - 2005, as a result of '*demonstrating effective, voluntary, public-private partnership in managing and promoting the World Heritage site*' – as noted on the website of the Local Government Association (2012). However, at the time of the present study, the borough did not have other important initiatives towards sustainable tourism apart from promoting the Green Tourism Business Scheme and organising seminars for sharing best practices with other local authorities in the UK (i.e. measures taken and lessons learned in order to gain Beacon Status). Furthermore, it appears that the council is currently taking a view that tourism development within the borough should be more commercially driven. Therefore, it is expected that in a few years the tourism department within the borough will become a separate destination management organisation (DMO) based on a public-private partnership. This new organisation will have as board members representatives of the tourism industry in Greenwich, such as The O2, the National Maritime Museum, and representatives from accommodation and transport companies. This is in line with the recommendations of the new tourism strategy for Britain (DCMS, 2011) which encourages the private sector to take responsibility and work in partnership with local authorities and other bodies in order to create and fund DMOs that would coordinate the development of tourism in their area (see section 5.4).

When looking at the other organisations that participated in the interviews, there were only few sustainable tourism initiatives that could be identified. In terms of London partnerships, the ST initiatives promoted by these organisations are to encourage sustainable forms of transport (e.g. public transport and cycling) and 'Legible London' – a pedestrian system located in busy areas which helps people find their way around the city (targeted both at locals as well as visitors). Furthermore, the representatives of tourism organisations noted that they are trying to reduce energy and water consumption, as well as to minimise their waste. As an example of good practice, some tourists organisations that participated in the interviews show a particular interest in sustainable tourism and aim to educate the tourism industry on the associated social and environmental impacts of this activity, and to produce guidelines about sustainable tourism and its implementation.

Finally, a few other sustainable tourism initiatives worth mentioning came out of the interviews conducted with representatives of BID organisations. First, a collaborative

initiative between 3 different organisations (Team London Bridge, Better Bankside and Southbank Employers Group) to put in place an InfoBike service. The project was initially funded by the LDA (now abolished) and it consists of three mobile visitor information centres that operate on the south bank riverside during the summer – one near Tower Bridge, one near Tate Modern and one near London Eye. These are three large tricycles, powered by pedalling information officers, which carry and distribute leaflets and maps. The service has already been running for five years and is now privately funded. Another noteworthy initiative is a smartphone application (a ‘what’s on’ app) that uses live feeds from websites and location data from the device to show users what events are taking place in their nearby area – point the phone at an attraction and information about all the events hosted there on the day is displayed. Some of the advantages of this application are that it offers a simple way to access information regarding events and that it helps to save paper that would otherwise be used to print leaflets. Again, this is a collaborative initiative between the same three organisations mentioned earlier.

Therefore, in order to understand how the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence ST planning at local level (RQ2), this section looked at the initiatives promoted by the London boroughs for sustainable development of tourism. Based on the aspects discussed so far, it can be concluded that while the number of boroughs that promote sustainable tourism principles in their planning policy documents is quite small, the number of boroughs which encourage the implementation of this concept in practice is even smaller. Moreover, most initiatives promoted by the local authorities in London are isolated activities which usually address only one particular aspect of sustainable tourism. Hence, it appears that in practice there has not been much progress towards achieving sustainable development of tourism in the capital, and the statement made by Testoni (2001, p.198) more than ten years ago is still applicable to London even today (*‘Sustainable tourism is accepted as being desirable but there is often a gap between policy endorsement and policy implementation’*).

7.5.4 Organisations responsible with developing sustainable tourism policies

The survey participants were also asked to give their opinion on who should take the lead in developing sustainable tourism policies at the borough level (Q18). In their responses, almost 60% of SPs indicated that a partnership between public and private organisations, formed by local authorities, tourism industry and/or tourism

organisations should be responsible for developing such policies (see Table 7.11). This type of partnership, between local authorities, local businesses and attractions is indeed encouraged in the latest tourism strategy produced by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (2011). As mentioned in the previous section, Greenwich is one of the London boroughs that developed such a partnership for the development of tourism in their area, but it still remains to be seen whether it leads to the expected outcomes.

Table 7.11 Who do you think should take the lead on developing sustainable tourism policies in your borough? (Q18)

	Frequency	Valid Percent
A partnership of local authorities, the tourism industry and/or tourism organisation	18	58.1%
Local authorities	10	32.3%
The Mayor of London/Greater London Authority	2	6.5%
Tourism industry	1	3.2%
Total	31	100.0%

Moreover, partnerships and collaboration between different organisations are seen as 'key elements' for the sustainable development of tourism in a destination (Caffyn, 2000, p.200). This view is also expressed by Swarbrooke (1999), who underlines that public organisations alone lack the resources and expertise needed to implement sustainable tourism policies. Furthermore, Devine and Devine (2011, p.1260) highlight the advantages of public-private partnerships, which are considered a 'more effective and efficient means of developing tourism' in a destination, in particular in the currently difficult economic environment when most local authorities are faced with significant spending cuts. In addition, Lickorish (1991) considers that establishing a partnership between public and private organisations is best for tourism development, as it provides links between the planners and the providers of tourism services in a destination. Yet, he points out that in practice this partnership is either inadequate or almost non-existent. This is enforced by Hall (2000, p.149), who notes that many partnerships established in the UK between government and business organisations in the '80s and '90s were criticized 'for their narrow stakeholder and institutional base'.

Going back to the survey responses, a third of participants considered that local authorities should have the responsibility of developing sustainable tourism policies, while only one SP indicated that the tourism industry, and two SPs that the Mayor of London/GLA should have such responsibility. Furthermore, when considering the

relevant literature, local authorities have been identified by many organisations and researchers as an important player that should take the leading role in setting out tourism policy towards achieving sustainable tourism in a destination (Page & Dowling, 2002; UNEP & WTO, 2005; Dredge, 2007; DCMS, 2009b; Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010). This is because public authorities are considered to be the only organisations to have the necessary tools as well as the competence needed in a number of related policy areas to promote sustainable development of tourism. Moreover, research on the public understanding of ST conducted in England by Miller et al. (2010) concluded that even the public believe that the government should be responsible for promoting sustainable tourism in a destination.

In the same time, the positive contribution of the public sector to sustainable development of tourism in a region was also underlined by the large majority of representatives from tourism organisations who participated in the interviews. They identified a number of roles that local authorities can play in order to contribute to sustainable tourism. Among these, the planning and management of tourism were considered absolutely vital in order to get the right balance between the needs of visitors and those of local residents, as one interviewee notes:

'[...] if the public sector doesn't manage tourism appropriately then that imbalance can start to kick in, when you've got too many people coming to a place and antagonising the local community. [...] I would be very worried if public sector was seen as not having a role to play in tourism; that would be dangerous for us all, really. [...] I don't think a destination would survive in the medium to long term, I think it wouldn't be a thriving place where locals and tourists can mix in harmony'. (IR no. 21)

The other three roles of local authorities identified by the interview respondents are to promote the necessary legislation in order to protect the local features and the environment, to educate the tourism industry in term of skills and knowledge, and to provide the necessary infrastructure. Furthermore, policy formulation, enacting legislation and education, together with promoting cooperation & coordination and monitoring, have also been identified by Dwyer and Edwards (2010) to be the tasks of governments in terms of sustainable tourism planning. However, regarding legislation, the interviewees expressed two different opinions – some recommended penalising and incentivising through prescriptive legislation, while others were of the opinion that the effect-based approach would be better as it allows the industry to find creative solutions for different issues.

Nevertheless, one interview respondent was of the opinion that the tourism industry should take the lead for promoting sustainable tourism, as they should decide what sustainability means for them by *'creating their own targets, rather than waiting for the public sector to tell them what to do'*. (IR no. 16)

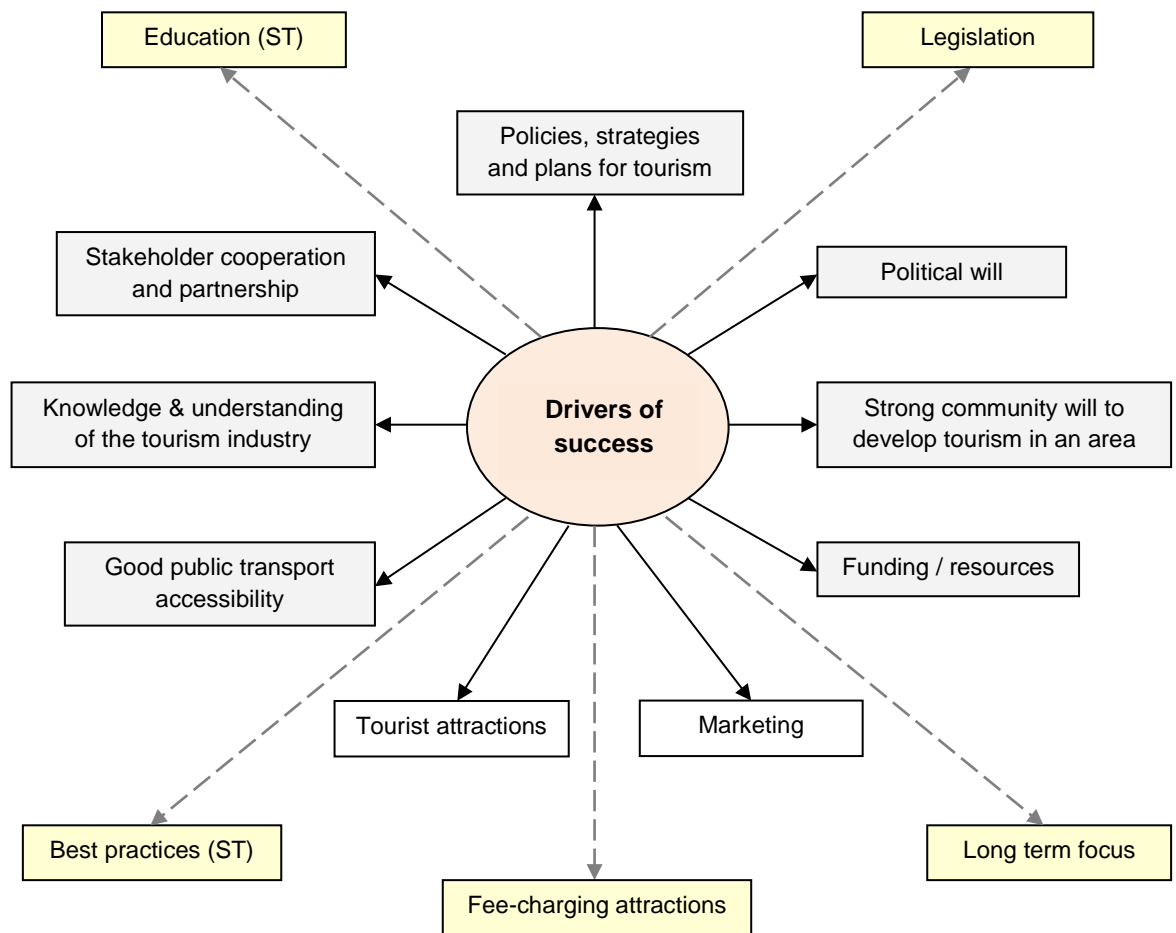
To summarise, the majority of participants in the online survey were of the opinion that local authorities in London, either alone or in partnership with the tourism industry and other tourism organisations, should be responsible for the sustainable development of tourism in their area. As discussed before, many researchers and organisations support this idea and highlight the key role of local authorities in developing and implementing tourism policies, as they can bring together all stakeholders in a destination and facilitate their cooperation.

In conclusion, the findings presented in section 7.5 show that even though most research participants consider sustainable tourism important and recognise its benefits, only a small number of boroughs integrate its principles in their policy documents for tourism, and just a few have put in place initiatives to implement it in practice. For a better understanding of the reasons for this, the next two sections will look at the factors which are seen to positively influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies and also at the constraints and limitations that hinder its application in practice.

7.6 Drivers of success in implementing sustainable tourism policies

In order to identify the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level (RQ3), the online survey included an open-ended question giving participants the possibility to specify any factors they thought would contribute towards sustainable tourism (Q21). Open-ended questions allow respondents to answer freely and to include rich information on the subject, as opposed to limiting responses to a number of predefined options. Together with the data gathered during the interviews, Q21 helps answer the third research question. In terms of responses, only 3 of the 31 survey participants answered 'don't know' or N/A for this question (see Appendix 16 for the full list of responses). As such, the analysis is based on responses received from the representatives of 28 boroughs (90.3%) and is supplemented with rich data collected from the interviews.

To start with, the drivers of success identified by the survey participants to have an influence in developing and implementing sustainable tourism at the local level were divided into nine groups, which are presented in Figure 7.16.



Legend

- ▶ Drivers identified by SPs and IRs
- - -▶ Other drivers identified by IRs

Figure 7.16 Drivers of success in developing and implementing ST policies at local level

The drivers most often mentioned are *stakeholder cooperation and partnership*, and were indicated by nearly half of SPs (14 boroughs). This group includes cooperation with other departments within the same borough, with local organisations that have an interest in tourism development, and with the tourism industry. The support offered by the local community (local residents) and the tourism industry was also acknowledged

by respondents as an important factor that contributes to achieving sustainable tourism in a destination. In addition, one of the participants noted that '*sustainable development is so cross cutting, it can't be the responsibility of one single team/officer*' (SP no. 12). This illustrates the complex nature of the two concepts, sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and achieving the latter requires a strong cooperation between multiple stakeholders involved in tourism development. The need for participation and cooperation of all relevant stakeholders in tourism is underlined in relevant literature by several researchers and organisations (UNWTO, 2004; Lane, 2009; Williams & Ponsford, 2009; Dodds & Butler, 2010). Moreover, working in partnership was also identified by the representatives who took part in the interviews as one of the measures that should be taken in order to promote sustainable tourism in London.

The next group of drivers, identified by over a third of the survey participants (11 boroughs), consists of *policies, strategies and plans for tourism development*. This view is also supported by a number of organisations and researchers, who argue that in order to achieve sustainable tourism in a destination, local authorities need to carefully plan and manage this phenomenon (Inskeep, 1991; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; UNWTO, 2004; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006). Apart from dedicated policy documents to guide the development of tourism, the SPs also mentioned the need for strong and enforced planning policies, joined up policies, shared vision and objectives for tourism development, coordinated strategies that would link in with the main players in the tourism industry, and sustainable development policies that would apply to tourism development as well. Furthermore, the interview respondents also underlined the need for a clear vision, policies, strategies and plans for the development of tourism in an area.

Moreover, an interviewee representing a tourism organisation stressed that besides designing tourism policies, it is also important that local authorities allocate the necessary resources to implement them in practice, so they are

'[...] not just a policy that sits there, that goes in the back on somebody's cupboard, but actually also has a strategy that sits behind it, that actually identifies how that policy is going to be implemented, who needs to implement it, and even beyond an action plan [...] – actually what is government going to do to incentivise or penalise, to ensure that policy is implemented.' (IR no. 19)

This would enable the translation of those policies into practice, which is an essential step towards achieving sustainable development of tourism in a destination.

When looking at the next group of drivers of success, about a quarter of SPs (8 boroughs) consider that *good public transport accessibility* as well as other related infrastructure positively contributes to the development and implementation of sustainable tourism. The provision of transport infrastructure and encouraging walking and cycling were also acknowledged by a number of IRs. Law (2002) is one of the researchers who underline the importance of good transport infrastructure, in particular in cities that attract many tourists where it facilitates the transportation of the visitors. Good public transport was also identified by the WTO (1998) as one of the principles to be considered by policy makers when planning tourism in cities. In addition, Dodds and Butler (2010) include transportation among the sectors which influence sustainable tourism policies, a consequence of the fact that transport is the main contributor to the CO₂ emissions produced by the tourism industry (Gössling et al., 2009) and that it also affects the quality of life for residents (DCMS, 2009b).

Furthermore, the same number of survey participants (representing both inner and outer London boroughs) considered that well known *tourist attractions* and visitor demand have a role to play in achieving sustainable tourism in a destination. Related to this, the representatives of other four boroughs indicated that *marketing campaigns* aimed at promoting the tourist offer in order to attract more tourists could also contribute to sustainable tourism. However, none of the interviewees mentioned these two aspects, which are in fact oriented towards attracting more visitors to the area and thus are more to do with gaining economic benefits from tourism development rather than achieving sustainable tourism development in a destination.

Another driver of success identified by a small number of survey participants (5 boroughs) is the availability of *funding and other resources* to help in developing and implementing sustainable tourism. For example, one SP notes that '*sustainable tourism policies need an advocate to ensure this area is resourced adequately*' (SP no. 7), and there is funding available as well as well-trained people to help with its implementation. And for this to happen, one interviewee believes that the non-governmental organisations and academia have a role to play in lobbying the government and the public sector to promote sustainable tourism. In the same time, this driver relates to *political will* which is mentioned by 4 survey participants, and which together with strong lead and commitment from senior decision-makers can help push forward the case for sustainable tourism. These two drivers were also identified by Dredge (2007) among the factors that influence tourism planning at the local level. Moreover, a number of organisations and researchers underline the fact that sustainable tourism requires a strong political leadership which will contribute in achieving consensus

among all stakeholders involved in tourism development (UNWTO, 2004; Archer et al., 2005; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006).

In addition, *strong community support* to develop tourism in the area and *knowledge and understanding of the tourism industry* were considered by a small number of survey participants (3 boroughs) as a necessity to achieve sustainable tourism in a destination. Indeed, the attitude of the local community towards tourists and tourism development is very important when establishing local policies and determining the public support for tourism (Page & Hall, 2003). As already mentioned in section 7.4.3, a number of researchers argue that the support and engagement of residents with tourism activities significantly contributes to the success of a destination. On the other hand, the knowledge and understanding of the tourism industry will contribute to the adoption and implementation of sustainable tourism initiatives in practice (Gössling et al., 2009). As noted by one interview respondent representing a tourism organisation, sometimes the government and the private sector '*operate in two completely different mind sets and they need to work together to understand in practice how do you get this to work*'. (IR no. 19)

Nevertheless, there are a number of other factors which were identified by the interview respondents as contributing to the implementation of sustainable tourism policies in practice, and which were not mentioned by the survey participants. Two of these aspects were recognised by a large proportion of the IRs, and they are to promote education (both training and awareness) and legislation. In terms of *education*, the IRs noted that it is important for tourism industry and visitors to understand what sustainable tourism is and what are the advantages of implementing this concept. This would help them identify the sustainability issues faced by a destination, which in many cases differ from one place to another. Education is also one of the factors recognised by Getz and Timur (2005) as contributing to increasing sustainable tourism practices. *Promoting legislation* is another significant factor identified by several interviewees (representing both public and private organisations), who consider that different measures should be taken in order to discourage negative behaviour and to protect the environment. Among the legislative tools mentioned by IRs are standards, awards, incentives and penalties. Although this kind of intervention from government is not favoured by the tourism industry, as noted by Kerr (2003), it may prove a way forward in order to successfully implement sustainable tourism at local level, a view supported by a number of researchers (Pigram, 1992; Hall, 2008; Bramwell & Lane, 2010). Expressing a view in favour of adopting a set of criteria or standards against which to

measure the impacts of tourism development, one representative of a tourism organisation notes that:

[...] until we start measuring impacts we won't know where we need to focus on to decrease the negative impacts that we have. So we need to measure.' (IR no. 16)

However, as discussed in section 2.2, measuring the impacts of tourism on the built and natural environment is not an easy task as there are many other collateral factors and agents of change that interfere (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Gössling et al., 2008).

Finally, three other factors were mentioned by a few interview respondents: *promoting best practices* to highlight examples of projects that have been successful in implementing sustainable tourism; *long term focus* in favour of a proactive planning and not just reacting to changes; and introducing *fee-charging attractions* in order to limit visitor numbers, when necessary. Indeed, the lack of best practices in the field has also been underlined by Jansen-Verbeke and Lievois (1999), while a long term perspective is one of the principles identified by the European Commission (2007) to contribute to sustainable tourism development. However, Lew (2010) notes that although long term solutions are very necessary, these are the most difficult to project because the sustainability issues faced by a destination tend to change over the time.

7.7 Constraints in implementing sustainable tourism policies

Having discussed the drivers of success considered by the research participants to influence sustainable tourism development (RQ3), this section looks at the next open-ended survey question (Q22) which aimed to determine the limitations and constraints perceived by representatives of the London boroughs in putting this concept into practice. Together with the interview findings, Q22 helps answer the fourth research question (RQ4 – *What constraints and limitations affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level?*). The analysis is based on responses received from 27 survey participants (87.1%) – four SPs answered 'don't know' or 'N/A' (see Appendix 17 for the full list of responses) – and is complemented by the data gathered from the interviews. Similar to the drivers of success, the constraints and limitations identified by SPs to affect the implementation of sustainable tourism can be divided into eight groups (see Figure 7.17).

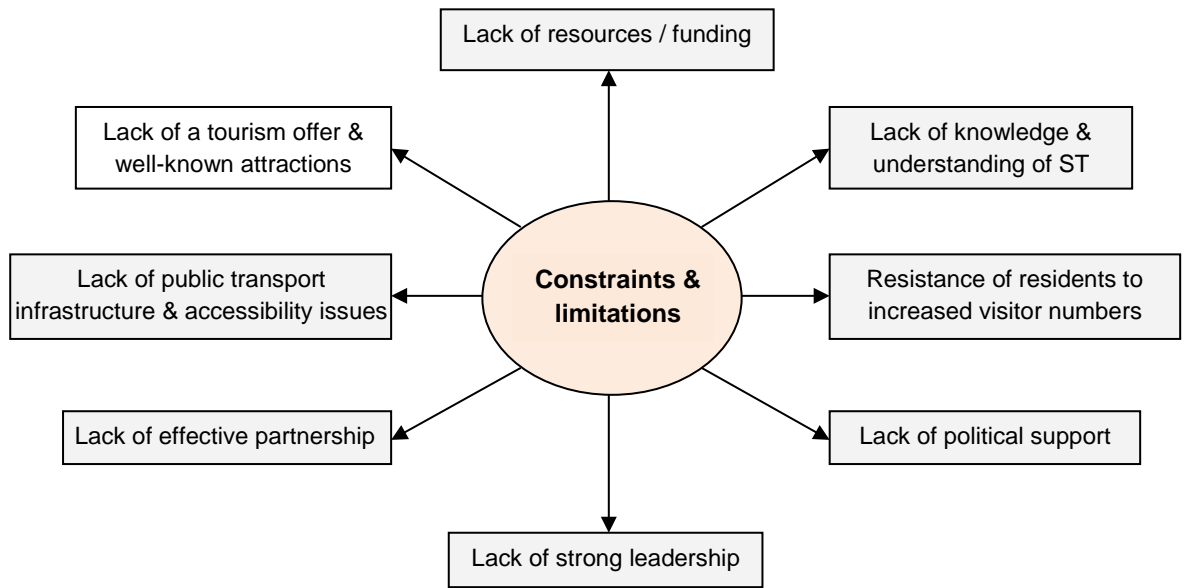


Figure 7.17 Constraints and limitations that affect the development and implementation of ST policies at local level

The first set of constraints and limitations mentioned by half of the survey participants (14 boroughs), is the *lack of resources and funding*. This finding was confirmed through the interviews as most IRs also acknowledged this factor as a significant limitation, especially in the current economic and financial climate which has prompted budget cuts for local authorities. One interviewee notes that *‘there was a big push on green tourism for quite a long time and then when the recession hit, that was reduced’* (IR no. 10). Moreover, a survey participant believes that this is *‘the biggest constraint and limitation that affects the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies’*, as subsequently it has a negative effect on *‘the number of teams and thus staff to deal with non-statutory functions’* such as tourism (SP no. 22). This is reinforced by Stevenson et al. (2008, p.741), who argue that tourism being a discretionary activity for local authorities, contributes to the ‘low status’ and consequently to the minimal resources allocated for its management. At the same time, the financial constraints have been recognised by VisitEngland (2011a, p.8) in its strategic framework for tourism in England, noting that public sector support for tourism development ‘will be less readily available’ in the current economic climate.

Also referring to this aspect, another interview respondent (representing a BID organisation) highlights the current lack of resources allocated by the local authorities

in London for tourism development, and the fact that there do not seem to be any other organisations in place to plan and manage this activity at a city-wide level:

'[...] a lot of London boroughs and local councils now don't have a specific tourism function or department anymore. Previously I would have said that it would be best to come from them – different directives. You do have Visit Britain and VisitEngland, and the promotional bodies, but they are more promotional than actual organisational developmental; business improvement districts as ourselves are very small.' (IR no. 17)

Later in the interview, while still discussing constraints and limitations, the same representative comes back to this idea and indicates a number of negative consequences resulting from the lack of resources (staff and money) at a local level:

'[...] the financial funding of bodies like the LDA and the local boroughs, who have cut their tourism departments down to a minimum or completely disbanded them. So there is no one acting, unless you've got a business improvement district maybe, or a local chamber of commerce, to bring people together. It's very hard to get a dialog locally and bring facilities together and find out about these initiatives that your neighbours might be using.' (IR no. 17)

However, to address this issue and attract more funding, the representatives of some boroughs noted that their organisations have developed partnerships with key stakeholders in the tourism industry. As discussed in section 7.4.5, many researchers recommend working in partnership as this offers a number of benefits and contributes to a better management of tourism in a destination (Davidson & Maitland, 1997; Stevenson, 2002; Devine & Devine, 2011).

Interestingly, almost the same number of survey participants as those who identified tourist attractions as a driver of success, indicated that the *lack of a tourism offer & well-known attractions / lack of promotion* have a negative effect on developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies. As mentioned in the previous section, these aspects are actually more to do with attracting more visitors and developing tourism in a destination, rather than with sustainable development of tourism.

The representatives of 6 boroughs (SPs) then mentioned among constraints and limitations the *lack of knowledge and understanding* of what sustainability means with regards to tourism, as well as of the potential benefits of promoting sustainable tourism in a destination. This aspect was also recognised by most of the IRs, with some noting that the tourism industry is not clear about what sustainable tourism looks like and that there is a lot of misunderstanding around this term. This finding is supported by the results presented in section 7.5.1, when discussing the sustainable tourism definitions

given by the research participants. Moreover, the representative of a tourism organisation points out that not all people who are in a position of power and can influence changes, understand what sustainable tourism is. Indeed, the need for further education and knowledge is also highlighted by Ruhanen (2008), who advocates for a knowledge management approach to help with translating the sustainable tourism principles in practice.

Another interview respondent acknowledges the complex nature of this concept, which makes it very difficult to communicate what sustainable tourism is clearly and simply. Besides, there is a perception that sustainable tourism means a change in the way you think and thus more work to be done, as noted by a representative of a partnership organisation:

'I think you will find hard to get people to sign up to it [sustainable tourism], because it's a bit of work for them to begin with and that they will have to change the way they think, they will have to change the way they do things, and people don't like change and they definitely don't like anything that means they have to do more work.' (IR no. 6)

Still, taking a more positive view, a representative of a tourism organisation notes that achieving sustainable development of tourism is possible as long as you take it seriously and make it a priority for your organisation:

'I'm very confident that no matter your budget or your skills set, if you just take some time and focus and make sustainability an issue, make identifying what your social issues, economic issues, environmental issues, make that a priority, anybody can do it. If you're talking to someone who doesn't really understand sustainability, I think they will say there are lots of other constraints.' (IR no. 16)

Another group of constraints identified by 5 survey participants that influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies is related to *public transport infrastructure* and *accessibility issues*. As mentioned in the previous section, transport networks play an important role in tourism development (Hall, 2008), in particular in urban areas where they facilitate the movement of visitors around the main attractions in a city (Law, 2002). The lack of adequate public transport infrastructure to cope with large numbers of users (both locals and visitors) can lead to negative impacts such as high levels of traffic congestion, noise and air pollution (Inskip, 1991; Long, 2000), in particular in city centres where most of the attractions are located.

Five survey participants also mentioned the *resistance of residents* to an increase in visitor numbers, as well as the conflicting interests over resource allocation and land use, among the constraints and limitations to the successful implementation of

sustainable tourism. The negative attitude of residents towards tourism development, in particular of those who live in close proximity to major touristic areas, is highlighted by a large group of researchers (Raymond & Brown, 2007). Moreover, the need to balance the interests of both visitors and residents is acknowledged in one of the interviews by a representative of a tourism organisation who notes that:

'[...] there is always going to be a dilemma between what is used for locals and what is used for tourism and making sure that's balanced.' (IR no. 1)

This aspect is also noted by McKercher (2003), who argues that tourism is in competition with residents as well as with other activities for the same limited resources, since the needs of tourists are not always the same as those of the local community. Consequently, local authorities in London should always involve local residents in the consultation process when planning and managing tourism activities, in order to help avoid from an early stage any possible conflicts that might appear between hosts and visitors.

Furthermore, *lack of political support, lack of strong leadership, and lack of effective partnership* to develop and implement sustainable tourism policies were each acknowledged by 4 survey participants. These barriers were also mentioned by Dodds and Butler (2010), who note that the policy process is essentially about power and negotiation, as different stakeholders most often have different agendas, a fact which contributes to the difficulty in implementing policies for sustainable tourism at the local level. For example, one SP comments that although tourism is a major sector for the economy of the borough, it has low political priority and therefore it is often led by social enterprises or the voluntary sector. In addition, many of the interview respondents highlight the fact that local authorities in London as well as the central government do not see tourism (or sustainable tourism) as a priority at present and therefore they do not allocate resources for its planning and management.

Moreover, some organisations fear that the government is taking a short term approach which favours economic growth, instead of having a long term horizon and achieving sustainable development of tourism. Thus, as an interview respondent from a tourism organisation notes, they may

'[...] use the argument that priority has to be the economic growth and that sustainability doesn't matter [...] but it would be a shame if all the good work that has been done over the past maybe 10, 15, 20 years was lost because of this headlong charge for economic growth and jobs.' (IR no. 21)

The fact that destinations tend to give priority to economic growth to the detriment of social and environmental concerns was pointed out by Dodds and Butler (2010), who

argue that this is a major barrier which affects the successful implementation of sustainable tourism policies. This view is also supported by Raco and Street (2012) who looked at London and Hong Kong and came to the conclusion that currently there is a change from the sustainability discourse (focused on future generations) to a discourse favouring short-term measures for economic growth and economic recovery.

As a possible solution, one interviewee considers that the organisations involved in tourism development in London should persuade *'everybody that it [sustainable tourism] needs to be high on the agenda all of the time.'* (IR no. 12) But before trying to persuade others, the same respondent notes that *'we need to get our ducks in a row inside, internally, before we can persuade anybody that they should also be looking at it. [...] but do we have enough interest in it to do that, it is a big question.'* (IR no. 12) This point goes right back to the constraint identified earlier – the lack of knowledge and understanding of the benefits that sustainable tourism can bring to an area.

Nevertheless, a number of interview respondents believe that the changes which took place over the past few years and affected the main bodies responsible with the planning and management of tourism in the capital (e.g. LDA, Visit London) contributed to a lack of leadership in terms of tourism development in London. This situation is particularly well illustrated by a representative of a BID:

'[...] obviously the tourism industry is changing quite dramatically at the moment. And there is a lack of coordinated approach across the boroughs, across the whole of the country, there is nobody sort of striving to say that's the way you should be doing things. So everyone can do what they like really, and there's nobody that is going to regulate it. And that's on a national level as well as London.' (IR no. 10)

As mentioned in section 5.1, the LDA was the main organisation responsible with developing and promoting tourism in London until March 2012, when the agency was abolished. Even though the GLA announced that it would be taking over the functions of the LDA, it appears that the interview respondents (i.e. representatives of London boroughs and other organisations with an interest in tourism development in London) do not seem to know which projects will be continued or not, or what is the future direction that the GLA will take in terms of tourism development in the capital.

The findings presented in this section indicate that in order to achieve sustainable tourism development, local authorities in London would need to take into account a number of constraints and limitations that have been identified by the research participants to influence the implementation of ST policies. These, together with the

drivers of success discussed in the previous section, are important factors that should be considered when designing and implementing policies for sustainable development of tourism in cities.

7.8 Summary

As discussed in Chapter 5, tourism plays an important role in the economy of London, a city that has been a world tourism destination for many decades. In spite of its status, there is limited research on the planning and management of tourism in the capital, and even less on the sustainable development of this activity. Therefore, this chapter first sought to identify what is the current situation in terms of planning and management of tourism in London, in particular at borough level. Afterwards, it looked at whether local authorities in London understand the concept of sustainable tourism and what policies and strategies they promote in order to achieve it. These findings contributed in understanding how the policies and strategies pursued by the London boroughs influence sustainable tourism planning at local level (RQ2). Finally, a number of drivers of success (RQ3) as well as constraints (RQ4) in implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level were identified based on the responses received from representatives of the organisations that participated in this study. Although the research focuses on London as an exploratory case study, these findings could also apply to other large cities and may help policy makers in developing strategies and plans for the sustainable development of tourism.

The research findings show that the majority of London boroughs, including a number of those which attract the largest numbers of tourists, do not have a specific unit or team to help with the development of tourism in their area. The number of local authorities that currently have such a department represents only half of the local authorities that used to have a tourism officer six years ago. This shows a significant reduction in the resources allocated by the London boroughs for the planning and management of tourism, which is most likely to be a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent economic downturn that prompted deep budget cuts for the UK public sector as a whole. Furthermore, less than a quarter of London boroughs currently have in place a tourism policy document to guide this activity. Yet, many researchers and organisation argue that local authorities should play an essential role in the development of tourism in a destination (Law, 1992; UNEP & WTO, 2005; HM Government, 2007; Ruhanen, 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 2009) and that planning and management are two vital functions which contribute to the sustainable development of

tourism in an area (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Hall, 2008). Therefore, the lack of resources allocated for its development, together with a lack of policies and strategies for the planning and management of tourism in London could have significant negative consequences, particularly in the long term. Such examples would be the damaging of the built and natural environment, leading to poor visitor experience and diminished quality of life for local residents.

Another finding of this study is that a very small number of representatives of local authorities in London understand the meaning of sustainable tourism and only a few initiatives are in place to promote and help its implementation at the borough level. This reaffirms what Lane (2009, p.24) observed a few years ago, when he noted that only few politicians actually understand tourism and even fewer understand sustainable tourism, adding that in practice 'very, very few seek to actively implement sustainable tourism'. Nevertheless, it should be noted as a positive aspect that the majority of the participants in this study appear to be aware of the social and environmental effects that accompany tourism development in a destination and consider the principles which underpin sustainable tourism to be important. However, when looking at the implementation of this concept in practice, this seems to be very limited in London. Among the constraints and limitations found to hinder its implementation are the lack of resources and funding, the lack of knowledge and understanding of ST, the lack of political support and leadership, the lack of partnership between the organisations involved in tourism development in a destination, and the resistance of residents to increased visitor numbers. Thus, it appears that there is still a need for further education of policy makers with regard to sustainable tourism and its benefits in addressing the negative impacts that accompany tourism development at local level, and for solutions to help with its implementation 'that are not only theoretically sound but also practically feasible' (Liu, 2003, p.472).

The next chapter presents the conclusions of this study and discusses a number of implications of the research findings for policy makers. It also suggests paths that could be taken in future research, and that would contribute to a better understanding of the factors which influence sustainable tourism implementation at local level.

Chapter 8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to develop the current knowledge and understanding of whether local authorities in London have embraced and implemented strategies and measures to promote sustainable development of tourism. In addressing this issue, the present study sought to address the following four research questions:

- RQ1. How the central government and other public authorities contribute to the sustainable development of tourism?
- RQ2. How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?
- RQ3. What are the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level?
- RQ4. What constraints and limitations affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level?

An overview of the thesis and its main findings are presented below.

The first part of the literature review included in this study looked at the evolution of the two concepts, sustainable development and sustainable tourism, and highlighted the dynamic process nature of these concepts which underpin policies and practices aimed at achieving a balance between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability (Trotman, 2005). Acknowledging the criticisms around these terms, which relate to their complex nature and disputed meaning (Robinson, 2004; Gössling et al., 2009; Saarinen et al., 2009; Sharpley, 2009; Bramwell, 2012; Singh, 2012), in the process of undertaking this exploratory study it became evident that it would be helpful to reconceptualise sustainable tourism as a process and not an endpoint in itself. Moreover, the study emphasised the importance of implementing sustainability principles in practice, as they are perceived by the research and policy communities to contribute to a positive change in society (Butler, 2013). Therefore, it was argued that sustainable tourism is still a valid concept which could help policy makers in their efforts to accommodate the different or even conflicting interests of all stakeholders involved in tourism development in a destination.

Furthermore, it was noted that the concept of sustainable tourism has been widely embraced by managers and planners of tourist destinations, and has provided a

platform for different stakeholders in the tourism industry to interact and discuss the impacts of their activities. However, the study pointed out the lack in the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level (Dodds & Butler, 2009; Sharpley, 2009), and argued that in order to promote sustainable tourism development in a destination, governments and the tourism industry need to take action and put into practice the principles which underpin this concept. It should however be noted that this is a complex process, that requires various issues to be managed at the same time, and that there is no 'ultimate recipe' to sustainable tourism implementation (Farsari et al., 2011, p.1130). Therefore, this research suggests that when planning tourism in a destination policy makers would need to consider the particularities of each destination and take into account how the sustainable tourism principles would best apply in their specific case.

The second part of the literature review drew attention to urban areas as important tourism destinations and argued that the particularities of city destinations have been neglected until recently (Law, 2002; Page & Hall, 2003; Wall & Mathieson, 2006), especially in the context of sustainable tourism. Furthermore, it presented and discussed the factors which make it difficult for policy makers to plan and manage tourism activities in cities. This debate then pointed out the important role played by local authorities in the sustainable development of tourism in a destination, a process which it has been argued requires the cooperation of all stakeholders involved (UNEP & WTO, 2005; Dredge, 2007; Lane, 2009). Governments and local authorities are considered by many authors and organisations to have the authority and power, as well as the necessary tools to address the negative impacts that often accompany the development of tourism in a destination (Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010; Bramwell, 2005), and ultimately to contribute to its sustainable development.

In order to better understand the factors which influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies in urban areas, London – a world tourism city – was chosen as an exploratory case study. This research method offered the advantage of collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, using multiple methods of data collection, and thus enabling the author to use the technique of triangulation in order to improve the validity of the research findings. First of all, the study looked at the main policy documents produced by the central and regional government, and which were considered to have an influence on sustainable tourism planning in London. Examining this evidence helped to better understand the context in which tourism in London evolves, the capital being 'one of the most visited cities in the world' which continues to attract growing numbers of visitors (GLA Economics, 2012, p.2). In addition, a

comparative analysis of the policies towards tourism development promoted by local authorities in London (for years 2000 and 2012) helped assess how each borough has integrated tourism in their main planning documents and showed the direction of tourism policy in the capital over the last decade. This analysis revealed that although most boroughs consider tourism among their strategic priorities, only a small number of them have a policy, strategy or plan currently in place to guide its development. It thus showed that the situation has changed considerably since 2000, when more than half of the London boroughs included policies for tourism in their main planning documents. A possible explanation may be a change of priorities for local authorities as a consequence of the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent economic downturn.

The research also collected primary data through a number of interviews and a questionnaire survey conducted with policy makers in London. The analysis of this data complemented the other findings and showed that besides the lack of policies and strategies for the planning and management of tourism in the capital, there is also a lack of resources allocated for the development of this activity. Furthermore, although the majority of representatives from local authorities in London which took part in this study appear to be aware of the social and environmental effects of tourism development in a destination, only a small number of them demonstrate a clear understanding of the meaning of sustainable tourism, and even fewer boroughs have initiatives in place to help with its implementation. Therefore, to help understand why this is the case, the last part of this study identified the drivers of success as well as the constraints perceived by the respondents to influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at the local level (e.g. resources, knowledge and understanding of ST, political will, partnership and collaboration). It is suggested that taking into account these factors could help policy makers to progress towards achieving sustainable tourism development in a destination.

Having given a brief overview of the research findings, the following sections explore the contribution of the current research to the body of knowledge on sustainable tourism planning, note the implications of this study for policy makers, and indicate potential paths for future research.

8.2 Research contribution

Although cities are important tourist destinations, the field of planning for urban tourism has received much less attention from researchers than for other forms of tourism

(Law, 1992; Evans, 2000). As discussed in Chapter 5, even though London is one of the most visited cities in the world and tourism plays an important role in its economy (GLA Economics, 2012), there has been only limited research on the development of tourism in the capital, and even less on sustainable tourism planning. Therefore, using London as a case study allowed the exploration of the complex realities of sustainable tourism planning and management in urban areas, and offered an insight into these processes. Moreover, considering the characteristics and dynamics of this location helped to better understand the factors that influence the implementation of sustainable tourism at local level (these will be discussed further in sections 8.2.3 and 8.2.4).

In terms of the methods used, the case study approach allowed the collection of rich, detailed, in-depth and unique information on urban tourism (Yin, 2009), which ultimately helped in better understanding this phenomenon. It provided a holistic view on the tourism planning and management in London, but also offered the possibility to examine the development of this activity at the local (borough) level. Thus, the analysis of this data helped in identifying the particularities as well as the context for sustainable tourism planning in the capital, and thus enabled the research questions to be addressed.

Before discussing the research findings, the contribution of this study to the body of knowledge on sustainable tourism planning in urban environments is highlighted further. First of all, the literature review (included in Chapters 2 and 3) contributed by identifying a number of theoretical propositions that influence sustainable tourism planning at local level, and which offered guidance on the type of data to be collected and analysed in this study (see Figure 4.1 for the conceptual map, the Methodology chapter). Revisiting these propositions, it can be noted that most of the policy makers who participated in this research are aware of the negative impacts that accompany tourism development in a destination and value the concept of sustainable tourism, considering it important to implement its principles in practice. Yet, similar to the findings of previous research in other destinations (Bramwell & Lane, 1993; Dodds & Butler, 2009), this study concluded that the implementation of ST policies in London is very limited, with only a small number of local authorities in the capital having integrated ST principles into their policy documents. Besides, even fewer boroughs were found to have in place initiatives to help with the implementation of this concept in practice (the Green Tourism Scheme or promoting public transport, are examples of such initiatives). Still, the majority of research participants were of the opinion that local authorities, either alone or in partnership with the tourism industry and other tourism organisations, should be responsible for the sustainable development of tourism in their

area. This reaffirmed the important role played by local authorities in achieving ST, an aspect that has been recognised by many researchers and organisations (Page & Dowling, 2002; UNEP & WTO, 2005; Dredge, 2007; DCMS, 2009b; Soteriou & Coccossis, 2010).

The current research findings confirmed previous studies that underline the importance of the planning process in achieving sustainable tourism development in a destination (Inskeep, 1991; Godfrey & Clarke, 2000; Goeldner & Ritchie, 2006). This can be noted when looking at the responses received from policy makers with regard to the factors that contribute to the implementation of ST, as well as when analysing the policy documents guiding the development of tourism in the capital. In terms of policy documents, it was observed that the boroughs which have a dedicated strategy, policy or plan to guide tourism development in their area are likely to consider more ST principles in their policy documents. Another aspect noted by this study was that although stakeholder consultation, community involvement and partnership were recognised both by the research participants, as well as in relevant literature (UNWTO, 2004; Lane, 2009; Williams & Ponsford, 2009; Dodds & Butler, 2010) as important drivers that contribute to the implementation of ST at the local level, there is little evidence of these being employed in London. Similarly, political will, another factor perceived by the research participants as key to developing and implementing ST policies at the local level, does not seem to be very strong in the particular case of London (this goes across political parties, regardless of who is in power in each London borough).

The research findings also showed that ST is no longer such a high priority for central and local government in London when compared to 2000, especially since the onset of the economic downturn in 2008. Still, it was observed that all policy documents produced by the organisations involved in tourism development in the capital mention (at least rhetorical) sustainable development as one of their objectives, and in particular when it comes to planning. As discussed in Chapter 2, researchers and policy makers agree that a vision of sustainable development is to achieve a balance between the three pillars of sustainability – economic, social and environmental (Hunter, 2002; Belmont, 2007). However, in the particular case of London, it seems that local authorities would rather focus on tourism development (sustainable or not) that contributes to economic growth and employment, and not so much on the other two dimensions of sustainability. This was also observed by Bramwell and Lane (2013), who note that governments are keen to promote tourism when it comes to economic benefits, but are shy to encourage other measures or regulations that would require

changes in the way tourism is developed. Yet, even though implementing social and environmental measures is a harder step to take, without such actions the negative impacts of tourism could overcome the positive economic benefits, and on long term a destination would not survive.

8.2.1 The role of public authorities in sustainable tourism development

Going back to the research questions, in addressing RQ1 (*How the central government and other public authorities contribute to the sustainable development of tourism?*), this study considered both secondary as well as primary data. Drawing on the literature review, and in particular on the arguments of Godfrey (1998), UNEP and WTO (2005), Hall (2008), Ruhanen (2008), and Page (2009) on the contribution of public authorities to the planning and management of tourism, this study emphasised the important role of central government and local authorities in sustainable tourism planning. This is due to the competences of these organisations in a number of related policy areas which influence the development of tourism, such as spatial planning, infrastructure and transport (Dredge, 2007; Mowforth & Munt, 2009). In addition, this research argued that local authorities have a key role in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level, as they can bring together all stakeholders in a destination and facilitate their cooperation (Jamal & Getz, 1995; UNEP & ICLEI, 2003). The shift in tourism policy from government to governance was also highlighted, as increasingly non-state actors are involved in the governance of tourism, such as the business sector and the local community (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). In light of this, it was observed that the new tourism strategy for Britain (DCMS, 2011) orientates tourism development towards local level and encourages local authorities to work in partnership with businesses and local attractions in order to attract more funds for the management of this activity. This trend is in line with the localism agenda and the neo-liberal measures promoted by the Coalition Government and which have been discussed in section 5.3.

Furthermore, the analysis of the primary data showed that most of the policy makers are of the opinion that a partnership between local authorities, the tourism industry and other tourism organisations should take the lead on developing sustainable tourism policies for their area. This is due to the complex nature of this process which requires the cooperation of all stakeholders involved in tourism development in an area, but also because of the advantages of a public-private partnership, in particular in the currently difficult economic environment (Devine & Devine, 2011). The research also highlighted the case of the Royal Borough of Greenwich as a good practice example of working in partnership, a borough that was also awarded *Beacon Status for Promoting*

Sustainable Tourism in 2004 - 2005. Greenwich was among the first local authorities in London to initiate a public-private partnership with the tourism industry to create a DMO, which in the future would be responsible for the development of tourism in that area. However, future research would be needed to evaluate if such a partnership worked well and whether it led to the expected outcomes.

8.2.2 The contribution of local authorities in London to sustainable tourism planning

In order to address the second research question (*RQ2 – How the policies and strategies pursued by the local authorities in London influence sustainable tourism planning at local level?*), the study used once again both primary and secondary data on policies and strategies implemented by the London boroughs for the sustainable development of tourism. The document analysis revealed that over the past years there has been a relaxation in the planning provision for tourism development in the UK, with only a good practice guide being currently in place to advise local authorities on the development of this activity (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2006a). It also showed that there has been a significant reduction in the resources (people and funding) allocated by the London boroughs for the planning and management of tourism. Moreover, only a small number of local authorities in the capital were found to produce policies and strategies to guide tourism development, with many of them only including tourism related policies in their culture policy documents. This situation is in contrast with studies that highlighted the importance of tourism for the economy of the city (Maitland & Newman, 2009b), and with the fact that this activity is among the strategic priorities for the majority of local authorities in London. A possible explanation for this could be the impact of the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent economic downturn which prompted deep budget cuts for the UK public sector as a whole. Besides, tourism is not considered a statutory function for local authorities in the UK (Stevenson, 2002) and therefore may be among the first policy areas to loose resources in a difficult economic climate.

Another possible explanation could be that local authorities in London view tourism as only one component of a complex social-ecological system which contributes to building or maintaining system resilience (McCool, 2013). Indeed, world tourism cities such as London are complex environments, where tourism is only one function among many others embedded in the economy of the city (Pearce, 2001; Edwards et al., 2008; Maitland & Newman, 2009a). Therefore, they may have decided that other types of activities would be more suitable for the sustainable development of their area. This for

example appears to be the case for the Borough of Camden, an inner London borough that attracts many visitors and which faces social and environmental issues (such as overcrowding, crime and disturbance of residents), but which does not have a dedicated tourism policy document to guide this activity. The borough currently promotes itself as a place for arts and culture, encouraging creative and cultural industries in particular. However, as stated on their website (<http://www.camden.gov.uk>), Camden remains one of the most exciting visitor destinations in London and most likely will continue to attract many tourists in future. Thus, ignoring this activity and the negative impacts associated with it is not an option.

The findings also revealed that the UK government and the local authorities in London recognise the importance of sustainable development and promote the concept as defined by the Brundtland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) in all the planning policy documents they produce. The implementation of this concept is considered by the documents essential in achieving a better quality of life for people at present as well as in future. However, when it comes to tourism, even though most policy makers consider sustainable tourism important and recognise its benefits, only a small number of London boroughs promote ST principles in their policy documents for tourism, and even fewer have in place initiatives to implement it in practice. Moreover, the boroughs that have a dedicated policy or policy unit for tourism development were found to be more likely to promote sustainable tourism principles in their planning documents, than those which have integrated tourism within other activities (e.g. culture or arts). In the same time, the latest tourism strategy for Britain (DCMS, 2011) is mainly focused on growth and economic development, without considering the other two dimensions of sustainability – social and environmental.

Another important finding of this research is that despite the attention received by the concept of sustainable tourism over the past decades from both academics and public organisations (UNEP & WTO, 2005; Connell & Page, 2008), policy makers still do not have a clear understanding of what sustainable tourism means. This is a major issue that may have contributed to the lack of implementation of ST in London, as a clear understanding of its meaning is essential when putting it into practice (Ruhanen, 2008). The inconsistent understanding of this concept reflects the multitude of different positions adopted towards sustainable tourism by different organisations and researchers up to date. The findings of this research therefore contradict the earlier findings of Dodds and Butler (2010, p.48), who came to the conclusion that policy makers have a clear understanding of what sustainability means and that *'the problem*

with achieving sustainability lies in implementation rather than definition'. Instead, the present study argues that both aspects are important, as the lack of a clear understanding of the meaning of sustainable tourism as a process that considers all three dimensions of sustainability (economic, social and environment) would make it difficult for policy makers to implement this concept in practice. Therefore, an agreement on a definition of ST that would apply to their specific environment and on a set of principles to help with its implementation would be one of the first steps to be taken by local authorities towards promoting sustainable tourism in a destination.

8.2.3 Factors which contribute to sustainable tourism implementation

The third research question dealt with the drivers of success that influence the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level (*RQ3 – What are the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at local level?*). The existing literature in the field of sustainable tourism highlights a number of barriers that impede the implementation of policies in this area, but no studies have so far considered a list of factors that would contribute to putting this concept into practice. Thus, to help fill this gap, the current study discussed a number of drivers of success identified by the policy makers which contribute to the implementation of ST policies at local level (see section 7.6). These factors could help policy makers in other urban destinations to successfully develop and implement policies towards sustainable development of tourism in their area. The drivers of success identified in this thesis include stakeholder cooperation and partnership; policies, strategies and plans for tourism development; good public transport accessibility; funding and other resources; political will; strong community support to develop tourism in their area; knowledge and understanding of the tourism industry; long term focus; promoting education on ST; promoting legislation (e.g. awards, incentives and penalties); examples of best practices; and charging fees for attractions when needed, to limit visitor numbers. Some of these factors have been recognised in previous studies by different researchers (e.g. Law, 2002; Lane, 2009) and organisations (e.g. WTO, 2004) as important for achieving sustainable tourism in a destination. However, this research highlighted that there is a combination of drivers that contribute to the successful implementation of ST policies at local level, and their interaction should be considered by policy makers. Nevertheless, further research is needed to determine if these drivers (whether individually or as a group) would also apply to other destinations, and whether some may be more important to consider than others.

8.2.4 Constraints in implementing sustainable tourism

Finally, the fourth research question considered the constraints and limitations that hamper the implementation of sustainable tourism policies in practice (*RQ4 – What constraints and limitations affect the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level?*). If the research participants identified a number of 14 drivers of success for the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level, in terms of constraints they only mentioned 8 groups of factors that impede the implementation of such policies in practice. All these constraints and limitations, except for one – the lack of strong leadership – are the opposites of the drivers of success presented in the previous section (i.e. lack of resources and funding; lack of knowledge and understanding of ST; resistance of residents to increased visitor numbers; lack of political support; lack of effective partnership; lack of public transport infrastructure, and accessibility issues). However, the number of policy makers who recognised the presence of these factors as drivers of success was different from the number of those who identified their lack as constraints. For example, stakeholder cooperation and partnership was the driver recognised by most respondents (nearly half of the survey participants) to contribute to the implementation of sustainable tourism policies, while only 4 respondents saw the lack of it as a constraint or limitation. At the same time, the constraint noted by most policy makers to impede ST implementation is the lack of resources and funding, which was identified by nearly half of the respondents, but only 5 participants mentioned funding and resources as a driver of success. Therefore, even though most of the factors identified to influence sustainable tourism policies at local level can be drivers of success, as well as constraints or limitations (when lacking), it looks like the importance given to them in each of these two capacities is different – they are sometimes considered more important as drivers and less important as a constraints. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this complex relationship between the drivers of success and constraints that influence ST implementation at local level may be different from one location to another, as each destination presents unique characteristics.

Moreover, most of these constraints (except for those related to strong leadership, and public transport infrastructure) were also identified in a previous study conducted by Dodds and Butler (2010), when looking at barriers in the implementation of sustainable tourism policy in two Mediterranean mass tourism destinations. Therefore, it would seem that these factors are not only applicable to the particular case of London or only to urban destinations, but also to other types of destinations. Nevertheless, further research is needed to check whether these constraints and limitations may be

generalised to other types of destinations or types of tourism. Understanding these factors and finding ways to address them could help policy makers in their efforts to implement policies for the sustainable development of tourism in their area.

8.3 Research implications for policy makers

This study focused on understanding the current situation in terms of the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level, using London as an exploratory case study. Thus, it showed that sustainable tourism is a concept valued by policy makers, but whose implementation is very limited in practice. One of the factors that have contributed to the lack of implementation is the limited understanding by policy makers of what sustainable tourism means. It was therefore suggested that understanding sustainable tourism as a process that aims to achieve a balance between the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainability (and not an endpoint in itself) could help with the operationalization of this concept and the implementation of sustainability principles in practice. The research also underlined the complex nature of urban environments, a factor that contributes to the difficulty in implementing sustainable tourism measures in world tourism cities. In addition, a number of other factors were discussed, which were perceived by the research participants to influence the implementation process (i.e. drivers of success and constraints). Based on the findings presented in the previous two chapters, a number of suggestions for policy makers to help with the implementation of sustainable tourism at local level are included below.

To begin with, an agreement on a *definition for sustainable tourism and a set of principles* to help with its implementation would be one of the first steps to be taken by policy makers in a destination towards putting this concept into practice. Although up to now there is no widely accepted definition for sustainable tourism (Ruhanen, 2008), each destination could agree on how this concept would better apply in their particular case – while taking into consideration the particularities of that specific destination – so that all stakeholders involved in the development of tourism in that area would be aware of it and could contribute towards achieving it. As pointed out in section 7.5.1, the large majority of the participants in this research did not have a clear understanding of sustainable tourism, or found it difficult to give a definition for this concept. The lack of knowledge and understanding of what this concept means was also mentioned among the constraints and limitations found to hamper the implementation of ST policies at local level. Therefore, once a definition is decided upon, the next step would

be to *promote* the concept and perform *knowledge transfer* so that all policy makers, as well as the other stakeholders in tourism, would know the meaning of sustainable tourism for their area and the advantages of its implementation. This would contribute to a better understanding of the concept by those responsible with the planning and management of tourism in a location and thus could help with the implementation of ST principles in practice.

Moreover, if the positive impacts of tourism in a destination are to be maximized and the negative consequences kept to a minimum, local authorities need to *allocate resources for planning and managing* this activity. These two processes are considered essential for achieving sustainable development of tourism, as they can contribute to the conservation and regeneration of an area, to economic development, and to a better quality of life both for the communities and visitors (Archer et al., 2005; Connell et al., 2009). Yet, as shown in this study, over the past years there has been a major reduction in the human resources and the budgets allocated for the planning and management of tourism activities in London. As already mentioned, this is most likely a consequence of the economic downturn that prompted deep budget cuts for the UK public sector, which resulted in a number of public organisations (e.g. the LDA) and borough units responsible with the development of tourism in the capital being either abolished or restructured. However, the lack of resources allocated for tourism, together with a lack of policies and strategies for the planning and management of this activity, could have significant negative consequences, particularly in the long term (such as damaging of the built and natural environment, leading to poor visitor experience and to a diminished quality of life for local residents). Therefore, investing now the resources needed for planning and managing tourism in London could prevent major costs in future, caused by the negative impacts that can accompany an unplanned development of this activity.

Furthermore, local authorities could consider *working in partnership* with other organisations and *consulting all stakeholders* (including the tourism industry and the local community) when planning tourism development in a destination. This is needed due to the complex nature of the phenomenon of tourism, as achieving sustainable development of this activity would require a strong cooperation between the multiple stakeholders involved in its development (Veal, 2010). As underlined in section 2.5.3, sustainable tourism is about finding a balance between the conflicting interests of all stakeholders in tourism, which can often have different agendas (Dodds & Butler, 2010). Therefore, developing partnerships with other organisations, both from the public and the private sector, could overcome possible conflicts and bring in more

resources and expertise to help with the implementation of sustainable tourism policies. Moreover, as mentioned in the previous section, this is the factor identified by the most research participants as a driver of success for the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level.

Finally, *political will* (regardless of the political party in power) and making sustainability a priority for the development of tourism would help public authorities to allocate the necessary resources and to adopt the long-term measures needed for achieving sustainable tourism. Yet, as a consequence of the on-going economic difficulties, over the past years a change could be observed from the sustainability discourse focused on long-term benefits (future generations), to a discourse favouring short-term measures for economic growth that are expected to lead to an economic recovery (Raco & Street, 2012). Although economic growth is an important factor that contributes to the wellbeing of a population, it has been demonstrated since the 70s that without considering the other two dimensions of sustainability – social and environmental – and trying to balance all these three aspects, a destination is unlikely to thrive in the long term. Therefore, sustainability needs to be high on the agenda of local and central government at all times and needs to be considered a priority for all types of development.

8.4 Suggestions for future research

As this was an exploratory study, further research would be needed to better understand and test the relationships between the factors found to influence sustainable tourism planning at local level. A number of suggestions for future research have already been raised in the previous sections, and will be discussed below.

Since little is known about tourism planning and management in urban areas, this exploratory study examined the planning of tourism in London and looked at the measures promoted by local authorities for the sustainable development of this activity in the capital. The research revealed that the planning of tourism in London has changed considerably over the past decade, with local authorities giving less importance to tourism in their planning documents and allocating fewer resources for its management. However, further research is needed to fully understand the implications of these changes and how they would influence the current state of tourism in the capital. At the same time, it would be interesting to see whether such

changes can also be found in other large urban destinations, or if this situation is specific to London.

Another aspect that needs further exploration is looking at the reasons why so few local authorities in London work in partnership with other organisations (in terms of tourism planning and management), when considering that stakeholder cooperation and partnership was the driver of success recognised by most participants in this research to contribute to the implementation of sustainable tourism policies. Moreover, cooperation and working in partnership seems to be the future direction of tourism development in the UK, being strongly encouraged in the latest tourism strategy for Britain (DCMS, 2011). Furthermore, it would be interesting to understand the reasons why boroughs choose or do not choose to collaborate with other organisations (e.g. political will, attracting more resources, conflicts to be overcome), what benefits they expect out of these partnerships, and what results have such partnerships seen so far.

This study also identified a number of factors believed to influence the implementation of sustainable tourism policies at local level (both drivers of success as well as constraints or limitations). These factors, either individually or as a group, could be tested further to see if they apply to other destinations and other types of tourism. In addition, further research could be conducted to determine the importance given to each of these factors, whether some of them would be more important than the others, or if they could be prioritised. This may help policy makers to line up their limited resources in accordance with the most important factors that need to be considered.

Concluding remarks

Finally, this research has found that sustainability is at the core of the UK government policy agenda (at least rhetorical) and policy makers in London adhere to the sustainability principles. Yet, those involved in planning and managing tourism in the capital have a poor understanding of the concept of sustainable tourism, and its implementation is very limited in practice. Reflecting on these findings, they present a challenge for sustainable tourism development in London, and the reasons why this picture has emerged require some further thought. The contested nature of the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism, with their different meanings and interpretations, has contributed to the difficulty in adopting measures towards implementing their principles in practice. While acknowledging that it would be nearly impossible to find a perfect balance between the economic, social and

environmental dimensions of sustainability (an ideal vision), this study has argued that sustainable tourism needs to be conceptualised as a dynamic and continuous process – not an endpoint – that facilitates stakeholder cooperation and contributes towards integrating the different interests of the main groups/organisations involved in tourism development in a destination. Moreover, tourism is only one activity among the various industries that form the economy of a destination, in particular in world tourism cities such as London, and it struggles in attracting the resources required for its planning and management (two processes that were recognised as vital for the sustainable development of this activity). Therefore, there is a need for strong political will that would help local and central government to commit the necessary resources to manage this activity. This however is more problematic in the currently difficult economic climate that has brought important structural changes and budget cuts for the main organisations responsible with tourism development in London. As a non-statutory function for local authorities, tourism was among the first remits to lose such resources. Furthermore, it was observed that economic growth and development remain the main objectives of governments and local authorities, while social and environmental issues are often left behind. While implementing social and environmental measures is a more difficult process that requires commitment and cooperation at all levels, these dimensions are essential for progressing towards sustainable development of tourism in a destination, and thus limiting the negative impacts that accompany this activity.

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Appendix 1 Core Strategies and their adoption stage

Borough	Issue Date of Core Strategy	Adoption Stage
Barking & Dagenham	July 2010	Adopted
Barnet	May 2011	Submission stage
Bexley	February 2012	Adopted
Brent	July 2010	Adopted
Bromley	July 2011	Issues
Camden	November 2010	Adopted
City of London	September 2011	Adopted
Croydon	February 2012	Submission stage
Ealing	July 2011	Submission stage
Enfield	November 2010	Adopted
Greenwich	November 2010	Draft
Hackney	November 2010	Adopted
Hammersmith & Fulham	October 2011	Adopted
Haringey	May 2010	Submission stage
Harrow	February 2012	Adopted
Havering	July 2008	Adopted
Hillingdon	July 2011	Submission stage
Hounslow	July 2011	Preferred options
Islington	February 2011	Adopted
Kensington & Chelsea	December 2010	Adopted
Kingston upon Thames	April 2012	Adopted
Lambeth	January 2011	Adopted
Lewisham	June 2011	Adopted
Merton	July 2011	Adopted
Newham	January 2012	Adopted
Redbridge	March 2008	Adopted
Richmond upon Thames	April 2009	Adopted
Southwark	April 2011	Adopted
Sutton	December 2009	Adopted
Tower Hamlets	September 2010	Adopted
Waltham Forest	March 2012	Adopted
Wandsworth	October 2010	Adopted
Westminster	January 2011	Adopted

Appendix 2 The Microsoft Word version of the Web survey

Planning for Sustainable Tourism Survey

This questionnaire focuses on the policies and strategies promoted by your local authority in terms of planning for sustainable tourism development. Your participation in this research is greatly appreciated and the information provided will only be used in aggregate for academic study and will not be divulged to any third parties. Upon request, I will be happy to supply a written report on the research findings once the investigation has been completed. To fill out the survey, please click the "Next" button below. When you finish, please click the "Submit" button to save your answers.

Q1. Name of your borough: _____

Q2. Your job title: _____

Q3. In your opinion, how significant is tourism for the economic development of your borough?
(Please choose only one option)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Very significant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Significant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Neither significant or insignificant | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Little significance | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Not significant | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q4. Which of the objectives listed below does your borough have with respect to tourism development?

- | | YES | NO | Don't know |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 4.1. Increasing the number of tourists to the borough | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.2. Increasing the income from tourism by increasing visitor spend in the borough | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.3. Increasing the range and number of tourist facilities that attract visitors | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.4. Improving the quality of infrastructure (e.g. transport, accommodation facilities) | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.5. Increasing tourism promotion and advertising activities | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.6. Building partnerships with other organizations involved in tourism development | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.7. Increasing job opportunities for local residents | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.8. Improving the skills of the tourism workforce | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.9. Enhancing and conserving the natural, heritage and cultural assets | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.10. Promoting the cultural integrity of the area | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.11. Maximizing the social & cultural benefits that tourism can bring to the local community | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.12. Promoting stakeholder consultation on tourism policy development and implementation | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4.13. Other (please specify): _____ | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Q5. Does your borough have a dedicated unit or team for the planning and management of tourism?

- YES (Go to Q6)
NO (Go to Q7)

Q6. If **YES**, what department within the local authority is this unit part of?

Q7. Are there other organisations with responsibilities for the planning of tourism in your borough?

- YES (Go to Q8)
NO (Go to Q9)

Q8. If **YES**, please give details:

Q9. Does the borough have a specific strategy or plan for tourism development?

- YES (Go to Q10)
NO (Go to Q14)

Q10. If **YES**, please specify which stakeholders were consulted on the formulation of your borough's tourism strategy or plan?

		YES	NO	Don't know
10.1	Relevant governmental and/or local agencies	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.2	Tourism organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.3	Local tourism industry (e.g. hotels, visitor attractions)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.4	Local community groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.5	Local residents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.6	Visitors / tourists	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10.7	Other stakeholders (<i>please specify</i>): _____			

Q11. What methods were used to consult the stakeholders during the formulation of your borough's tourism plan or policy?

		YES	NO	Don't know
11.1	Public meetings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.2	Workshops	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.3	Focus groups	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.4	Presentations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.5	Brochures	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.6	Web, e.g. online survey	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
11.7	Other (<i>please specify</i>): _____			

Q12. Does the borough tourism plan or strategy make reference to the current London Tourism Action Plan 2009-2013?

- YES
 NO
 Don't know

Q13. Are the aims and objectives of the tourism plan or strategy incorporated within the Local Development Framework?

- YES
 NO
 Don't know

Q14. What other policies, plans and strategies **guide the development of tourism** in your borough?

	YES	NO	Don't know
14.1. Arts & Culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.2. Events	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.3. Sport & Leisure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.4. Community	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.5. Regeneration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14.6. Other (<i>please specify</i>): _____			

Q15. Does your borough promote the concept of '**sustainable tourism**' in its planning documents?

- YES (*Go to Q16*)
 NO (*Go to Q17*)

Q16. If **YES**, how is the concept of 'sustainable tourism' defined?

Q17. How important is each of the following principles of sustainable tourism for your borough?

Please use a scale from 1 to 5, where:
1=Very important, 2=Quite important, 3=Not very important, 4=Not at all important, 5=Don't know

	1	2	3	4	5
17.1. Minimizing environmental impacts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.2. Supporting the conservation of built & natural environment	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.3. Differentiating from other competing destinations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.4. Achieving authenticity by promoting local history & culture	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17.5. Reflecting community values	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 17.6. Understanding and targeting the market
- 17.7. Enhancing visitor experience
- 17.8. Adding value to existing attributes of the area
- 17.9. Having good content to offer a more rewarding experience
- 17.10. Enhancing sense of place through design
- 17.11. Providing mutual benefits to visitor and hosts
- 17.12. Building local capacity

(by promoting cooperation between tourism businesses and their involvement with the local community)

Q18. Who do you think should take the lead on developing sustainable tourism policies in your borough? *(Please choose only one option)*

- 18.1. Local authorities
- 18.2. Tourism industry
- 18.3. Regional tourism organisations
- 18.4 The Mayor of London/Greater London Authority
- 18.5 A partnership of local authorities, the tourism industry and/or tourism organisation
- 18.6 Other organisations (please specify): _____

Q19. Does your local authority have any initiatives to encourage the sustainable development of tourism in your borough? (e.g. *standards, good practices, awards, economic and financial incentives, innovative projects*)

- YES *(Go to Q20)*
- NO *(Go to Q21)*
- Don't know *(Go to Q21)*

Q20. If **YES**, what sustainable tourism initiatives have been promoted by your borough in the past 3 years?

Q21. In your opinion, what are the **drivers of success** in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at the local level?

Q22. In your opinion, what are the **constraints and limitations** that affect the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at the local level?

Q23. Does your borough work in partnership with other London boroughs and/or strategic planning authorities in terms of tourism planning and management?

- YES *(Go to Q24)*
- NO *(Go to Q25)*
- Don't know *(Go to Q25)*

Q24. If **YES**, please give details: _____

Q25. Is your borough a member of any sub-regional partnerships? (in general, not only in terms of tourism)

- YES *(Go to Q26)*
- NO
- Don't know

Q26. If **YES**, please specify the name(s): _____

Thank you for your participation in this study. Your input represents a valuable contribution to the research on sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities. If you would like to discuss further any of the topics included in this questionnaire, please do not hesitate to contact me at c.maxim@londonmet.ac.uk.

Appendix 3 The covering letter sent with the questionnaires

Subject: Re: Study - The sustainable tourism planning by local authorities in London

Dear [*name of contact*],

My name is Cristina Maxim and I am a PhD researcher at the Cities Institute, London Metropolitan Business School.

I am writing as I would like to ask for your assistance in the study I am conducting and which examines the sustainable tourism planning and management by local authorities in London. Therefore, I would greatly appreciate it if you could complete an online questionnaire which should take approximately 10 to 15 minutes. The survey questions focus on the planning policies promoted by your borough in terms of sustainable tourism development.

Your participation in this study is voluntary and the information provided will only be used in aggregate for academic study and will not be divulged to any third parties. Upon request, I will be happy to supply a written report on the research findings once the investigation has been completed. If you have any questions about the survey or about taking part in this study, please do not hesitate to contact me at [phone number and email address].

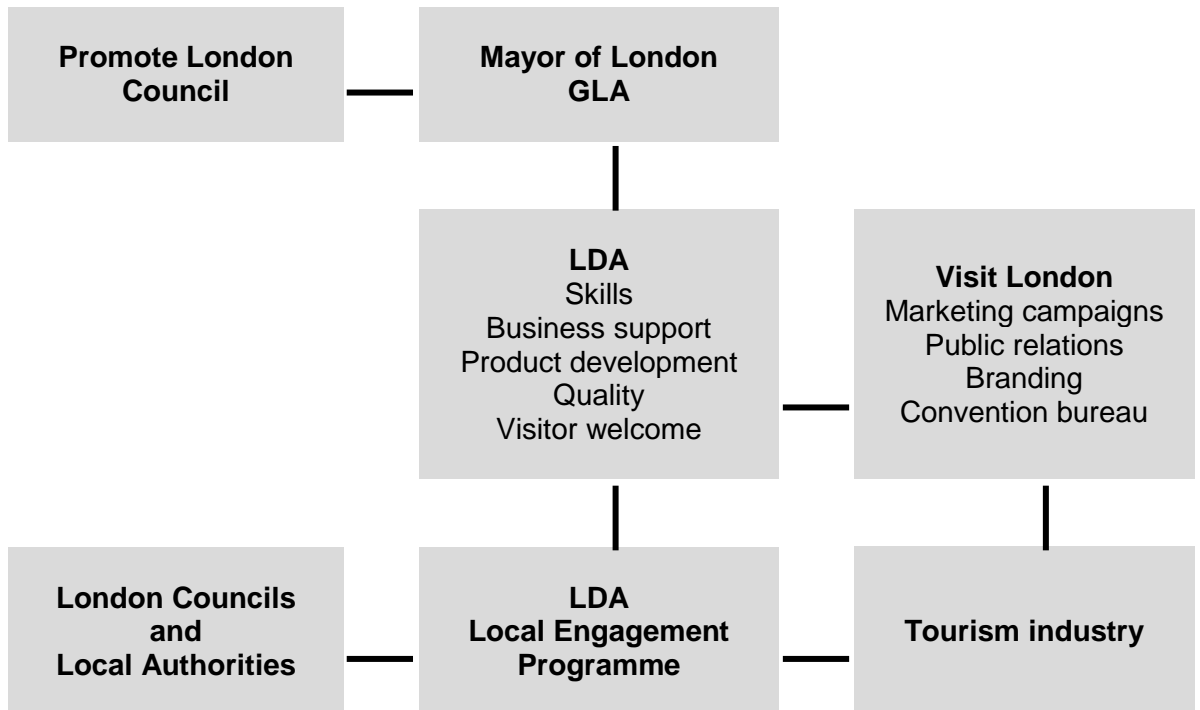
I would very much appreciate your assistance with this project and I would like to thank you for your time.

To complete the survey, please click on the link below:
http://www.citiesinstitutesurveys.org/sustainable_tourism.htm

Yours sincerely,

Cristina Maxim

Appendix 4 The organisations involved in the development of tourism in London (for year 2009)



Source: LDA (2009b, p.11)

Appendix 5 List of organisations which participated in interviews

Name of the organisation	Type of organisation
London & Partners (Visit London)	Public – private partnership
Transport for London	Public authority
London Thames Gateway Development Corporation	London Partnership
The West London Partnership	London Partnership
North London Strategic Alliance	London Partnership
South London Partnership	London Partnership
London Cross River Partnership	London Partnership
Hackney borough	London borough
Greenwich	London borough
City of London	London borough
Westminster	London borough
Kensington & Chelsea	London borough
Camden Town Unlimited	BID
Team London Bridge	BID
Victoria BID	BID
Kingston First	BID
Better Bankside	BID
ABTA the Travel Association	Tourism organisation / lobby body
The Tourism Alliance	Tourism organisation / lobby body
Tourism Management Institute (part of Tourism Society)	Tourism organisation / lobby body
Sustainable Events	Tourism organisation / lobby body
The Travel Foundation	Tourism organisation / lobby body

Appendix 6 The interview guide (Semi-structured interviews)

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview and contributing to my research study.

1. What are the objectives of your organization in terms of tourism development in London?
2. Does your organisation have any responsibilities in terms of the planning and management of tourism in London?
3. Does your organisation provide any guidance for the development of tourism at the borough level?
4. With what other organisations does your institution collaborate in terms of tourism development in London?
5. In your opinion, should sustainable tourism be considered a priority for the development of tourism in London? How would you define 'sustainable tourism'?
6. Does your organisation promote any specific policies or measures for sustainable tourism development in London? If YES, please give details.
7. What are the measures that should be taken in order to promote sustainable tourism in London? Who should be responsible with taking such measures?
8. What constrains and limitations do you see in putting into practice the principles of sustainable tourism in London?
9. How do you think the structural changes announced by the regional and local Government, which affect the organisations responsible with the development of tourism in London, will influence the sector and its future development?

Is there any other organisation or person you would recommend that I should discuss this study with in order to gain more information on the planning and management of tourism in London?

(Please specify their name and contact details) _____

- a. Name of organisation:
- b. Position in the organisation:

Is there anything else you would like to add?

Thank you for your time and valuable contribution to this research.

Appendix 7 The approach used for the LATI model

Extract from 'The Local Area Tourism Impact model results for 2008 and 2009', GLA Economics (2011, p. 3-4)

The LATI model starts with a broadly 'top down' approach, utilising as a baseline the Greater London level tourism data available from national surveys such as the UK Travel Survey (UKTS) and the International Passenger Survey (IPS). These two surveys – covering the UK domestic overnight tourism sector and international tourism respectively – are similar in their disaggregation of tourism spend, enabling GLA Economics to break down expenditure data at the Greater London level into the following five sub-categories:

- Accommodation
- Eating and drinking
- Shopping
- Entertainments
- Other

In order to produce Borough level estimates, LATI uses what appears to be the most robust information available (which is by no means always ideal on account of data availability) to divide out the Greater London level expenditure in each of these five categories. Clearly the contents of some of these sub-categories are more easily understood than others. Particularly difficult is 'Other' – which emerges as consisting mainly of internal travel spend within the capital. This presents some difficulty as it is not intuitive how (for example) spend on a train ticket from Charing Cross to Greenwich should be allocated by Borough (if at all).

Day visitor data continues to create particular problems as there is no comparable national level survey to UKTS or the IPS for this sector of tourism. Readers are advised to read the separately published Current Issues Note 291 on day visitor estimation and the inherent data difficulties associated with it for further details. If estimates from a relatively recently conducted survey by the LDA are correct, then day visitor expenditure is (in aggregate) as important to a Borough's final result as domestic overnight and international visits combined.

Expenditure by overseas, domestic overnight tourists and day visitors in each of the five sub-categories is summed to provide an estimate of the total value of tourism to each Borough. Whilst individual estimates of the value of each of the sub-categories of expenditure to each Borough are not published in this report such variations are being monitored carefully by GLA Economics and form the basis for continuing methodological developments.

Appendix 8 Estimated tourism spending per borough for year 2009

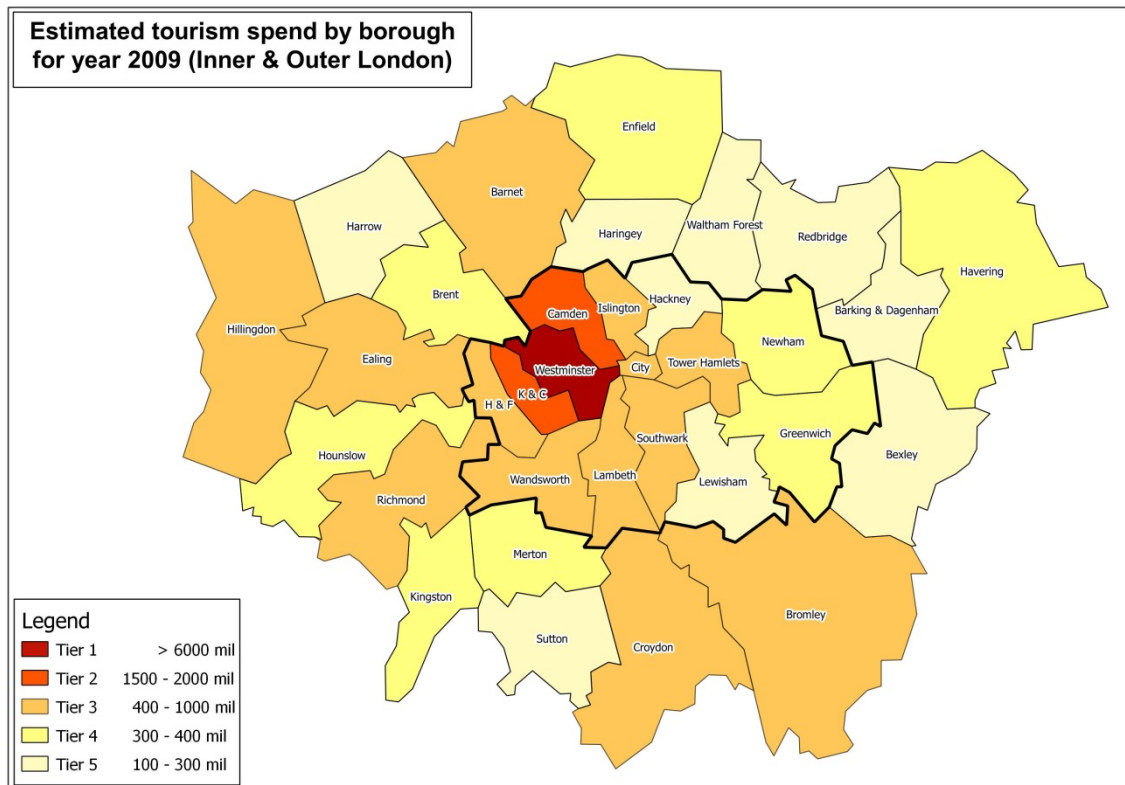
	Borough	Total spending for 2009 (million £) ¹¹
TIER 1	Westminster	6,068
TIER 2	Kens & Chelsea	1,868
	Camden	1,525
TIER 3	Tower Hamlets	818
	Southwark	779
	Hamm & Fulham	779
	Lambeth	733
	Hillingdon	712
	City of London	695
	Barnet	579
	Ealing	567
	Richmond	469
	Croydon	454
	Islington	431
	Wandsworth	420
	Bromley	414
TIER 4	Newham	380
	Brent	375
	Hounslow	370
	Kingston	335
	Greenwich	329
	Merton	328
	Havering	317
	Enfield	316
TIER 5	Redbridge	257
	Haringey	253
	Bexley	240
	Harrow	232
	Lewisham	230
	Hackney	219
	Waltham Forest	200
	Sutton	183
	Barking & Dag	120

Source: Data extracted from the GLA (2011a)

¹¹ Tourism spending does not include any share of overseas fares to UK carriers for London or imputed rent which together amount to an estimated £1.1 billion

Appendix 9 Map of estimated tourism spending by Borough for year 2009

(Inner & Outer London)



Source: Data extracted from the GLA (2011a)

Appendix 10 Examples of extracts from Core Strategies

City of London (Inner borough) - Core Strategy adopted in Sept 2011

The Spatial Vision and strategic objectives

Vision –

A World Financial and Business Centre - *The Vision....*

The City will remain the world's leading international financial and business centre and a driver of the national economy, continually innovating and developing new business areas, delivering growth and prosperity for its communities. [...] The City will remain a safe place to work, live and visit.

Strategic objective 2

To ensure that the challenges facing the five Key City Places are met, complementing the core business function of the City, contributing to its unique character and distinguishing it from other global financial districts.

Key City Places - *The Vision....*

The North of the City

Passengers will emerge from new Crossrail stations to find a lively variety of restaurants and shops with attractive streetscapes and vistas. Attractive pedestrian routes will link pockets of well designed open space. Progressive building designs and sensitive refurbishments will mean residents, workers and visitors remain in a comfortable and safe environment that has adapted to climate change. Evening and night time activity will be well managed.

Cheapside and St Paul's

This area will be a vibrant office, retail and cultural destination attracting visitors seven days a week. It will provide a high quality pedestrian environment, including gathering spaces, pocket parks and seating for relaxation which supports the business City. Well signposted walking routes will link Cheapside with its surrounding attractions such as the Museum of London, the Barbican Complex, the Riverside and the Tower of London.

Eastern Cluster

Office and employment growth will be successfully accommodated by a cluster of attractive, sustainably designed tall buildings, providing an iconic image of London that will help to attract significant global investment. The area will be safe for workers and visitors, with a high quality street scene and environment, improving pedestrian movement and permeability, both within the area and outside to other parts of the City.

Aldgate

The area will be attractive and vibrant, with a mix of high quality offices, residential, retail, leisure and cultural facilities, catering for residents, workers, students and visitors. The health of residents will be good and they will be able to access training and job opportunities relevant to their needs. The physical environment will be pleasant, with an efficient street layout which minimises congestion and traffic pollution and improves accessibility. Green spaces will be created which enable people to relax and play and trees and green walls will be planted wherever possible.

Thames and the Riverside

The Thames and its riverside will provide well designed and managed public spaces, ranging from lively and vibrant areas, to areas of relative tranquillity for relaxation and contemplation. Residential, educational, recreational and employment activity will be enhanced by high quality sustainable streetscapes which will address the challenges of climate change. The river will continue to be used for the transport of people and materials, including through the safeguarded Walbrook Wharf. The riverside will be easily accessible from other parts of the City and from the south side of the Thames.

Strategic Objective 3

To promote a high quality of architecture and street scene appropriate to the City's position at the historic core of London, complementing and integrating the City's heritage assets and supporting the continued development of the City as a cultural destination for its own communities and visitors.

Strategic Objective 5

To ensure the provision of inclusive facilities and services that meet the high expectations of the City's business, resident, student and visitor communities, aiming for continuous improvement in the City's rating in satisfaction and quality of life surveys.

Core policies

Policy CS6: Cheapside and St Paul's

To develop the Cheapside and St Paul's area as the City's 'high street' and key visitor destination, increasing the amount of high quality retailing, promoting the City's unique cultural and leisure activities and heritage and improving the pedestrian environment, by:

1. Increasing the overall amount of retail floorspace across the Cheapside and St Paul's area by over 41% between 2010 and 2017.
2. Prioritising A1 floorspace fronting Cheapside, Poultry and Bow Lane, resulting in an increase in total floorspace in the Cheapside Principal Shopping Centre from 21,000m² in 2010 to 43,000m² by 2017.
3. Encouraging a mix of retail unit sizes, including large units fronting onto Cheapside and facilitating the development of smaller retail units in surrounding streets, particularly in the Guildhall and Bow Lane Conservation Areas.
4. Enhancing pedestrian links:
 - (i) from the Millennium Bridge to St Paul's and Cheapside and onwards to the Museum of London and the Barbican Complex;
 - (ii) to and from residential and employment clusters and leisure and recreation areas.
5. Promoting visitor attractions in and around Cheapside, including museums and art galleries such as the Guildhall Art Gallery, churches and other heritage assets, cultural events, including the Lord Mayor's Show and exploring the potential for street markets.
6. Improving visitor information, including use of the Visitor Information Centre, signage and the "square miler" volunteers.
7. Permitting hotel development that supports the primary business function of the City and enhances the attractiveness of the area as a visitor destination.
8. Enhancing the environment for pedestrians, shoppers, public transport users and, where appropriate, motor vehicle users. Improving safety, accessibility and inclusivity through the development of area-based improvement strategies.
9. Maintaining and improving on the current low levels of crime and antisocial behaviour.

Policy CS7: Eastern Cluster

To ensure that the Eastern Cluster can accommodate a significant growth in office floorspace and employment, while balancing the accommodation of tall buildings, transport, public realm and security and spread the benefits to the surrounding areas of the City, by:

3. Delivering tall buildings on appropriate sites that enhance the overall appearance of the cluster on the skyline and the relationship with the space around them at ground level, while adhering to the principles of sustainable design, conservation of heritage assets and their settings and protected views.

4. Ensuring the safety of businesses, workers, residents and visitors, promoting natural surveillance of buildings, open spaces and streets and protecting against crime and terrorism.
5. Enhancing streets, spaces, and the public realm for pedestrians, providing new open and public spaces where feasible, increasing connectivity with surrounding areas and improving access to facilities and services, particularly in the Cheapside and Aldgate areas and towards the City Fringe.
7. Delivering improvements to public transport to cope with the demands of the growing numbers of workers and visitors, implementing street and traffic management measures and ensuring that improvements do not compromise the quality of the environment.

Policy CS9: Thames and the Riverside

To ensure that the City capitalises on its unique riverside location, sustaining the river's functional uses in transport, navigation and recreation, whilst minimising risks to the City's communities from flooding, by: [...]

5. Permitting residential and hotel development within the Thames Policy Area as long as flood risk issues can be adequately addressed, with particular emphasis on:
 - (i) allowing clustering of housing along the riverside, particularly close to the existing residential development at Queenhithe;
 - (ii) maintaining residential uses in the Inner and Middle Temples;
 - (iii) encouraging clustering of hotels close to visitor attractions and in areas of vibrancy.

Policy CS11: Visitors, Arts & Culture

To maintain and enhance the City's contribution to London's world-class cultural status and to enable the City's communities to access a range of arts, heritage and cultural experiences, in accordance with the City Corporation's Destination Strategy, by:

1. Providing and supporting a wide range of cultural facilities, including the Barbican Complex, the Guildhall Art Gallery and City libraries and encouraging and promoting other facilities including the Museum of London. Encouraging the use of churches, livery halls and other venues, including the Bridewell Theatre, for cultural events alongside their primary uses.
2. Maintaining the City's existing collection of public art and culturally significant objects, pursuing opportunities to commission new high quality pieces in appropriate locations.
3. Protecting existing cultural facilities where they are needed, ensuring there is no net loss of cultural facilities in the City.
4. Providing visitor information, increasing awareness of the City's cultural and heritage assets and encouraging the City's communities and visitors to make full use of its cultural facilities.
5. Allowing hotel development where it supports the primary business or cultural role of the City and refusing new hotels where they would compromise the City's business function or the potential for future business growth. Hotels should not be located where they would create amenity problems for existing residential clusters.

3.11.6 The Sustainability Appraisal of this policy notes that it is likely to result in beneficial social effects. Potential negative environmental and economic effects due to increased visitor numbers will be mitigated by the City of London Destination Strategy encouraging people to visit lesser known attractions outside of 'peak' hours, and by encouraging ***sustainable tourism***.

Policy CS12: Historic Environment

To conserve or enhance the significance of the City's heritage assets and their settings, and provide an attractive environment for the City's communities and visitors, by:

1. Safeguarding the City's listed buildings and their settings, while allowing appropriate adaptation and new uses.
2. Preserving and enhancing the distinctive character and appearance of the City's conservation areas, while allowing sympathetic development within them.
3. Protecting and promoting the evaluation and assessment of the City's ancient monuments and archaeological remains and their settings, including the interpretation and publication of results of archaeological investigations.
4. Safeguarding the character and setting of the City's gardens of special historic interest.
5. Preserving and, where appropriate, seeking to enhance the Outstanding Universal Value, architectural and historic significance, authenticity and integrity of the Tower of London World Heritage Site and its local setting.

Enfield (outer London borough) - Core Strategy adopted in Nov 2010

The Spatial Vision and strategic objectives

Spatial strategy

North Circular area and New Southgate

Opportunities will be sought to improve the living conditions of residents, visitors and businesses in the area around the North Circular Road at New Southgate now that a safety and environmental improvement scheme for the road has been agreed.

Improving quality of life

Priorities within the Lee Valley Regional Park Plan to improve local access and visitor attractions in the Park will inform more detailed area action plans for the east of the Borough.

Core policies

Core Policy 12 – Visitors and Tourism

The Council will enhance Enfield's visitor and tourism potential by:

- Supporting proposals for a wide range of visitor accommodation such as hotels, bed and breakfast accommodation and self catering facilities. Such accommodation should be located in the town centres of Enfield Town, Edmonton Green, Palmers Green, Southgate and Angel Edmonton and other locations with good public transport access;
- Supporting visitor accommodation in the Upper Lee Valley when accompanied by proposals to improve public transport accessibility;
- Supporting the development and refurbishment of the Borough's conference facilities including the ground floor of Thomas Hardy House in Enfield Town, Millfield Arts Centre and Forty Hall;
- Seeking to retain and improve tourist attractions, and access to them, within the Borough, such as the emerging travel plan for the Forty Hall and Estate development project (project due for completion in 2012/13);
- Continuing to work with the Lee Valley Regional Park Authority to help develop its Park Development Framework, and with other partners such as British Waterways, and Thames Water to identify the priority mix of additional

recreation and leisure facilities in the east of the Borough, particularly at Ponders End, Pickett's Lock and Meridian Water, and encourage more visitors to the Lee Valley Regional Park;

- Encouraging new tourist attractions which are supported by appropriate infrastructure;
- Seeking to improve and promote wheelchair access to visitor accommodation and tourist attractions, which will also provide better access to facilities for families, children and older people - the Millfield Arts Centre and Forty Hall and Estate development projects will significantly improve accessibility at those venues; and
- Working with partners to ensure the maximum opportunities and benefits arising from the London 2012 Olympics and Paralympics Games and its Legacy Transformation, in accordance with the aims and objectives of the Council's Olympics Working Group.

The development of a comprehensive visitor and tourism offer in Enfield is based on opportunities and needs relating to leisure, business, culture, arts, heritage and green spaces. There are many reasons to visit and to invest in Enfield. The Council is working with Visit London, the tourism development agency for London, to develop a sustainable approach to tourism in the Borough.

There are a number of key attractions for tourists and visitors on offer in Enfield, including:

- Lee Valley Regional Park, for outdoor recreation, including boating;
- Forty Hall & Estate, including Elsing Palace, for a unique experience of historic and cultural London with a changing programme of exhibitions and family events;
- Myddelton House and Gardens;
- Capel Manor Gardens;
- Crews Hill garden centres for a horticultural experience of London;
- Millfield Arts Centre, Chicken Shed Theatre, and Thomas Hardy House for arts and cultural experiences day and evening; and
- Historic Royal Small Arms Centre & Heritage Trail, MoDA (Museum of Domestic Design and Architecture, Middlesex University), Forty Hall – home to the Borough museum collection, and Whitewebbs Museum of Transport for heritage experiences.

The Council is also promoting Palmers Green as a Greek experience of London, and Edmonton as a Turkish experience of London, due to the large number of traditional cafés and restaurants on offer.

Appendix 11 Policy documents that guide the development of tourism at the borough level

LONDON BOROUGHS – Policy documents that guide the development of tourism at the borough level	
Barking & Dag	- <i>[in the process of designing a cultural strategy]</i>
Barnet	-
Bexley	Visitor Strategy 2005 / Cultural Strategy 2003-2008 / Arts Strategy 2008-2013
Brent	Cultural Strategy 2010-2015 / Tourism in Brent 2007 (report)
Bromley	Bromley's Cultural Strategy 2007-2012
Camden	Creative & Cultural Industries 2009 (report & action plan) / Camden Town Place Plan 2010 <i>[in the process of designing other policy documents]</i>
City of London	Visitor Strategy 2010-2013 / Cultural Strategy 2010-14
Croydon	Tourism Strategy 2005-2008 / Culture & Sport Strategy 2009-2012
Ealing	Cultural Strategy 2007-2012
Enfield	Cultural Strategy 2005-2008 / Arts & Creativity Strategy 2009-2013
Greenwich	Tourism Strategy 2004-2010
Hackney	Cultural Policy Framework 2005
Hamm & Fulham	Events Strategy 2009-2012 / Visitor Development Action Plan 2007-2009
Haringey	Cultural Strategy & Action Plan 2008 (<i>draft document</i>)
Harrow	Tourism Strategy & Action Plan 2009-2012
Havering	Culture Strategy 2012-2014 / Arts Strategy 2007 - 2012
Hillingdon	Tourism Study 2007
Hounslow	-
Islington	Cultural Strategy 2010-2015
Kens & Chelsea	Visitor Policy 2009-2020
Kingston	Cultural Strategy 2008-2012
Lambeth	Developing a Cultural Strategy 2010 (<i>discussion document</i>)
Lewisham	Cult Strategy 2009-2012 / Arts Strategy 2009
Merton	Cult Strategy 2007-2010
Newham	Sustainable Community Strategy 2010–2030 / Leisure, Tourism & Sport 2006 (LDF background paper)
Redbridge	Arts Development and Events Unit Strategy 2008-2012
Richmond	Cultural Service Strategic Plan 2007-2012
Southwark	Tourism strategy 2005 - 2010 / Outdoor Events Policy 2011
Sutton	Arts Strategy 2007-2010
Tower Hamlets	An Update to the Cultural Strategy 2007 & Action Plan 2007-2010
Waltham Forest	Culture Strategy 2010-2030
Wandsworth	Cultural Strategy 2009-2014
Westminster	Strategy for Arts and Culture 2008-2013 & Action Plan 2008-2011 / Report: Review of Tourism 2006

Appendix 12 List of the London boroughs that have a visitor webpage

(e.g. 'www.visit[...]')

Borough	Address of website or webpage
Brent (Wembley)	http://www.visitwembleyvisitbrent.com/
Camden	http://www.lovecamden.org/
City of London	http://www.visitthecity.co.uk/
Croydon	http://www.croydononline.org/visiting_croydon/
Greenwich	http://www.visitgreenwich.org.uk/
Hammersmith & Fulham	http://www.visithammersmith.co.uk
	http://www.visitfulham.co.uk/
	http://www.visitshepherdsbush.co.uk/
Harrow	http://www.visitharrow.co.uk/
Havering	http://www.visithavering.org/
Hounslow	http://www.visithounslow.com/
Kensington & Chelsea	http://www.rbkc.gov.uk/subsites/visitkensingtonandchelsea.aspx
Kingston	http://www.kingstonfirst.co.uk/visitkingston/home.aspx
Lewisham	http://visitlewisham.blogspot.co.uk/
Merton (Wimbledon)	http://www.wimbledonvisitor.com/
Newham	http://www.newham.com/visit/
Redbridge	http://www2.redbridge.gov.uk/cms/leisure_and_libraries/leisure_and_culture/visit_redbridge.aspx <i>it works with VisitLondon to set up VisitRedbridge website</i>
Richmond	http://www.visitrichmond.co.uk/
Southwark	http://www.visitbankside.com/

Appendix 13 Definitions for ST given by survey participants (Q16)

Respondent / Borough	Inner / Outer London	Job title - respondent	Definition ST
1.	Inner	Other officers (Visitor Economy Advisor)	'Balancing the needs of the environment, visitors and the local community in all activity'.
2.	Outer	Head of unit	Ensuring tourism development and users do not adversely affect the area's natural and cultural resources through the setting of appropriate limits to impacts in preference to setting limits on visitations. It is also about ensuring sustainable design of tourism facilities, especially in relation to historic buildings, ensuring any tourism infrastructure or activities is appropriately design so as not to impact on the historic character or features of the building/asset.
3.	Inner	Planner	Tourism that sustains resources for future generations
4.	Inner	Head of unit	Promote the concept of sustainability generally, this would apply to tourism as well
5.	Outer	Planner	It isn't specifically, but is included within sustainable economic development.
6.	Outer	Head of unit	We aim to focus tourism activities in areas well accessible by sustainable means. For the most part this means in our town centres, although we also have aspirations of enhancing [...] as a tourist destination, well served by [...] and [...] stations
7.	Outer	Planner	We support proposals for larger tourism developments to locate within the boroughs main town centres and more smaller developments to locate throughout the borough (subject to the applicant submitting a sequential test in line with PPS4 and the new draft National Planning Policy Framework). We direct larger developments to [...] town centres as visitors would have access to retail, leisure, entertainment, restaurant, cafes and public houses uses as well as very good access to transport facilities. Our town centres generally have high PTAL (public transport accessibility levels) - trains, tubes, trams and buses.
8.	Outer	Head of department	Sustainable in terms of inward investment, green infrastructure, long term jobs and providing a legacy
9.	Outer	Planner	Managed travel and visitor numbers.
10.	Inner	Other officers	Unsure. I'm not a planning officer

Appendix 14 Responses for Q17

How important is each of the following principles of sustainable tourism for your borough?

	Very important		Quite important		Not very important		Not at all important		Don't know	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent	Frequency	Valid Percent
1. Minimizing environmental impacts	16	51.6%	9	29.0%	2	6.5%	1	3.2%	3	9.7%
2. Supporting the conservation of built & natural environment	23	74.2%	6	19.4%	0	.0%	1	3.2%	1	3.2%
3. Differentiating from other competing destinations	5	16.1%	11	35.5%	9	29.0%	1	3.2%	5	16.1%
4. Achieving authenticity, by promoting local history and culture	11	35.5%	17	54.8%	2	6.5%	0	.0%	1	3.2%
5. Reflecting community values	13	41.9%	12	38.7%	3	9.7%	1	3.2%	2	6.5%
6. Understanding and targeting the market	7	22.6%	10	32.3%	4	12.9%	1	3.2%	9	29.0%
7. Enhancing visitor experience	9	29.0%	16	51.6%	2	6.5%	0	.0%	4	12.9%
8. Adding value to existing attributes of the area	12	38.7%	14	45.2%	1	3.2%	1	3.2%	3	9.7%
9. Having good content to offer a more rewarding experience	7	22.6%	14	45.2%	3	9.7%	1	3.2%	6	19.4%
10. Enhancing sense of place through design	20	64.5%	10	32.3%	0	.0%	0	.0%	1	3.2%
11. Providing mutual benefits to visitor and hosts	7	22.6%	14	45.2%	3	9.7%	1	3.2%	6	19.4%
12. Building local capacity by promoting cooperation between tourism businesses and their involvement with the local community	7	22.6%	12	38.7%	3	9.7%	1	3.2%	8	25.8%

Appendix 15 Number of boroughs that answered 'very important' and 'quite important' (Q17) vs. number of boroughs that consider the ST principles in their policy documents

ST principles	Q17 survey - <i>Very important & Quite important</i>		Analysis of policy doc that guide tourism development	
	Frequency	Valid Percent	No of boroughs that consider each of the ST principles	Percent
10. Enhancing sense of place through design	30	96.8%	9	27.3%
2. Supporting the conservation of built & natural environment	29	93.5%	16	48.5%
4. Achieving authenticity, by promoting local history & culture	28	90.3%	16	48.5%
8. Adding value to existing attributes of the area	26	83.9%	7	21.2%
1. Minimizing environmental impacts	25	80.6%	12	36.4%
5. Reflecting community values	25	80.6%	11	33.3%
7. Enhancing visitor experience	25	80.6%	7	21.2%
11. Providing mutual benefits to visitor and hosts	21	67.7%	14	42.4%
9. Having good content to offer a more rewarding experience	21	67.7%	2	6.1%
12. Building local capacity by promoting cooperation between tourism businesses	19	61.3%	13	39.4%
6. Understanding & targeting the market	17	54.8%	6	18.2%
3. Differentiating from other competing destinations	16	51.6%	9	27.3%

Appendix 16 Responses for Q21

In your opinion, what are the drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies at the local level?

Borough	Response
1.	Need for a Strategy, Clear set of assets, Good public transport links
2.	Political interest, funding availability, tourism sites, transport infrastructure
3.	The drivers of success in developing and implementing sustainable tourism at the local level are: - Strong Local Planning Policies on sustainable tourism, as well as robust policies on related infrastructure - For these policies to be taken forward by local regeneration/tourism and leisure teams in order to gain external funding/support funding bids and to help push the case for sustainable tourism with local councillors and residents.- Strong community will to develop tourism, leisure and recreation in their areas.
4.	Location of major tourist hub [...] in area of best public transport accessibility. Aim to continual improvement to accessibility support for very low levels/none other than disabled parking at major hotels in [...] area Decentralised energy and local waste collection (ENVAC) around [...]. Emerging DPD on [...] following masterplan
5.	?
6.	Co-ordinated strategies which link in with the main players in the tourism industry
7.	The scope of activities undertaken by Local Authorities is vast and growing. Therefore sustainable tourism policies need an advocate to ensure this area is resourced adequately. This is essential in getting the cross-departmental buy-in needed for success. For example, there is little point in an Authority working up an exemplar programme of sustainable tourism initiatives only to see it undermined by an asset management plan aimed at selling off historic/cultural venues for alternative development.
8.	making the most of and appropriately marketing heritage assets support from the Council and partnership working with key organisations eg community groups tourism industry etc
9.	Jobs and Inward investment lead by the community need
10.	In terms of planning, this can be done through having sustainable development policies within the Core Strategy which would apply to all development including tourism. However, much of what is encompassed as 'sustainable tourism' would be outside the planning system. As the planning system only deals with the buildings and land use, it can sometimes be limited in what it can achieve on its own
11.	First you have to have tourist attractions that are of interest to not only local residents but visitors and businesses across the region - and not all boroughs do - the rest follows
12.	Engaging and ensuring a sense of ownership across all relevant stakeholders, both internally and across the borough. Sustainable development is so cross cutting, it can't be the responsibility of one single team/ officer and it requires buy-in and commitment from senior decision-makers.
13.	Internationally recognised brand upon which to build upon A shared vision, objectives and strategy Excellent marketing at the national, regional and sub-regional
14.	N/A

15.	Getting agreement between the different sectors involved; getting the local built heritage better-known and used as a focus to develop tourist interest in the area.
16.	Knowledge and understanding of the industry; Understanding & responding appropriately to the needs of the local offer effective engagement and retention of industry participants
17.	Good links with local businesses / local business organisations; area-based management
18.	Understanding what needs to be achieved and identifying the best way to do it.
19.	Adequate resourcing and good partnership working (including representatives from the private, public and voluntary sector as well as local residents).
20.	A strong lead from members and senior management. Effective partnership working, resulting in buy-in to policies.
21.	Don't know
22.	Ensuring that new policies developed work for the borough and are not too overly prescriptive - this helps significantly with the implementation of policies.
23.	Having industry support and political support and visitor demand
24.	Firstly there needs to be a recognition of what touristic assets are available in the area. The borough does a lot of the things required for sustainable tourism through other policies (e.g. protection of green and historic assets, reduction in private transport etc) but not under the banner of tourism. We are looking at what scope there is to change this to make these assets more tourist focussed.
25.	Council recognising the value of tourism to the local economy. Efficient public transport
26.	Success is determined by the ability to reconcile tourism needs with the wide range of other needs of the city. One means of doing this is with 'joined up' policy using techniques such as sustainability appraisal to develop it.
27.	I think funding would be the biggest driver
28.	Policies on climate change and regeneration
29.	community and business support, strong and well enforced planning policies
30.	Having great attractions - our best are [...], some of our listed buildings but we don't have mega tourist attractions. Other things are local attractors eg. for visiting friends and family eg. pubs, live music, good restaurants etc...
31.	High quality attractions and co-ordinated local organisations.

Appendix 17 Responses for Q22

In your opinion, what are the constraints and limitations that affect the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies at the local level?

Borough	Response
1.	Varies depending on location In an urban area having something distinguishable and of sufficient merit to be worthy of attracting people
2.	Political interest, funding availability, tourism sites, transport infrastructure
3.	Funding issues and budget cuts. - Accessibility issues particularly around local infrastructure. - There is a need for strong leaders to develop and implement sustainable tourism policies
4.	Limitation on spend on public transport-now developer contribution led - no funding for posts or material on promotion -developers reducing risks they take on new larger scale visitor attractions -cut backs on LA spend
5.	?
6.	Competing land uses and resources, ie economic sustainability
7.	Clearly boroughs that already attract large numbers of tourists will see the value in sustainable tourism. The challenge is to engage the outer London boroughs so they too can realise the benefits of promoting sustainable tourism.
8.	Lack of resources Lack of drive from the Council eg adequate centralised supporting department
9.	Cost and resources
10.	As above
11.	Under previous programmes funding has been available for specific targeted support within those boroughs developing their attractions that is no longer available. Council priorities in ensuring that s106 negotiations cover contributions to tourism is also important.
12.	The use of the word 'tourism' means that many people do not see the issue as relevant to places such as [...], which are not recognised 'tourist destinations'. Also, a lack of understanding of what 'sustainability' means with regards developing tourism / a visitor economy. The list of values listed in questions 4 and 17 are very useful, even to me who's remit it is to promote [...] as a visitor destination and even though I have a background in sustainable development / sustainable tourism!
13.	Supporting infrastructure (transport and amenities) Competition across London
14.	N?A
15.	Understanding of the benefits tourism might have; lack of identity as a tourism venue in the past; availability of good public transport links in and outer London setting to paklces of interest for tourists.
16.	resources with the local authority which is why a partnership approach is being taken with key stakeholder. whilst tourism businesses want co-ordinated activity there is a reluctance to commit finance and resources in the current financial climate.
17.	Lack of resources/corporate understanding/political interest of the benefits of tourism
18.	The impact on residents and managing visitor numbers.
19.	Resources, particularly following the release of the Localism Bill and the government Spending Review.
20.	Lack of the above.
21.	Don't know

22.	The biggest constraint and limitation that affects the development and implementation of sustainable tourism policies for local authorities would be the reduced budgets - and the subsequent decrease in the number of teams and thus staff to deal with non-statutory functions.
23.	Local politics
24.	Lack of a tourism offer (or perceived lack).
25.	Local residents' resistance to increased visitor numbers. Major event and stadia managers not working closely with the L.A., police, etc.
26.	Compatibility with the resident population and with the wider local economy
27.	Again I think funding is the biggest constraints, especially with the financial pressure that local authorities are currently under
28.	Economic benefits - if sustainability means a higher cost of delivery, it would be difficult to be competitive
29.	Lack of interest or understanding of assets of the area, lack of promotional material to the public
30.	Resources - we can't have a strategy or department for everything eg Sustainable Tourism but we do have sports strategy, events strategy and place making strategy - the Core Strategy and Local Development Framework.
31.	No comment