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OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY IN TOURISM AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

by

Nigel D. Morpeth

A Doctoral Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University.

December 2002

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Georges Heindrich Emil Leibl Morpeth who inspired a family to become doctors, and to Olga Winifred Morpeth (1923-2003) a loving mother and a special teacher.
ABSTRACT

Key words: Sustainability, Tourism, Cycling, Community, Policy.

By the 1990s a research base had developed articulating the principles of sustainability, but there remained a need for work which analysed the implementation process and the implementability of sustainability in particular policy areas. The Rio UNCED conference (1992) had articulated concerns that all levels of governance should operationalise the principles of sustainability into deliverable actions. Whilst critics (e.g. Galtung et al., 1995) have challenged the legitimacy of these global pronouncements, there was nevertheless an expectation that Local Agenda 21 (LA21) might facilitate transformational change within local governance, with local authorities and other key actors engaging in community-orientated policy making to establish priorities for sustainability.

It is within the context of these considerations that this research formulated three main research aims:

1) to establish the role of LA21 processes in operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level in the UK, exploring the interaction between politicians, local government officers and community representatives.

2) to consider the capacity of the policy area of tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability at the local level and thus provide evidence of the wider implementability of sustainability principles within local government.

3) to scrutinise the potential of the example area of cycle tourism to provide a model for sustainable tourism at the local level.

Adopting a case study research strategy, three example local authority types were identified within the UK sub-region of Humberside. The research project highlighted a spectrum of corporate responses to sustainability, ranging from non-participation in the LA21 process, to a ‘Centralist’ approach driven by a strong political commitment, and thirdly a community orientated approach with priorities for sustainability evolving within policy communities at the ‘Periphery’. Policy ‘animateurs’ were identified who were committed to the integration of sustainability principles within initiatives for tourism and cycling.
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH AND POLICY CONTEXT

There is compelling evidence that the vocabulary of sustainability has gained widespread currency in many policy areas, with significant claims regarding the benefits of adopting the principles of sustainability as an integral part of development strategies (see inter alia Bramwell et al., 1996; Hall, 2000). However, beyond the symbolic value of such claims, it is important to establish the approaches taken in operationalising the principles of sustainability. The inference is that without tangible and consistent evidence that these principles can be translated into strategies and policies which are operationalisable, then implementation gaps or ‘deficits’ (Ham and Hill, 1984; Kelder, 1996) will devalue the credibility of the concept of sustainability.

Potentially some policy areas might be more receptive than others to operationalising the principles of sustainability. As Jackson and Morpeth highlighted “it is to implementation rather than enunciation and further clarification, that both analysts and the tourism industry must now turn regarding sustainability” (1999:1). It is within the context of these observations on the policy context of implementing the principles of sustainability within tourism that this study has its foundation. This study seeks to establish the extent to which the processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability, are being assimilated within the policy area of tourism, with a particular emphasis on the exemplar of the development of cycle tourism.

1.1 THEORISING ABOUT SUSTAINABILITY: THE CHALLENGE OF ANTHROPOCENTRISM

In theorising about sustainability, Fox (1990) recognises the limitations of ‘our’ anthropocentricism, with the inference that the epistemology of sustainability is hidebound by inescapable human centred responses to the world, and the utilisation of ‘its’ resources. Perhaps transcending these anthropocentric limitations are cosmological considerations which emerge through the theory of Gaia (Lovelock, 1984) which positions the concept of sustainability within a wider celestial context.
This theory transcends purely anthropocentric interpretations with the supposition that the earth has the capacity to self-regulate its 'natural functions', and that ironically human actions disrupt the balance of the natural processes of sustainability. However, anthropocentric approaches to sustainability are also predicated on the view that positive human actions have the capacity to create more equitable approaches to resource allocation and usage, within different societal and ideological contexts. In so far that sustainability is a socially constructed concept, societal processes will determine progress or otherwise of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability.

Within the limitations of 'our' anthropocentric 'sustainability thinking', the challenge is to establish a consensus of principles which underpin the concept of sustainability. Whilst futurity, ethical and intra-generational and inter-generational equity and social justice considerations, symbolise dominant elements of sustainability, there nevertheless remains scepticism about the rhetorical nature of this complex concept (Wheeler, 1993; Butler, 1998). Perhaps this scepticism is exacerbated in part by the plethora of definitions which have emerged, with Turner (1991) highlighting over 25 different variations on definitions of sustainable development.

As part of the conundrum of defining sustainability, its potentially impenetrable language, makes it difficult to disseminate information and heighten awareness and understanding of the concept of sustainability. Furthermore, the 'exclusivity' of the language of sustainability leads to claims of 'ownership' of the 'knowledge' of sustainability, with Periera (2002:379), observing that 'technocrats' might engage in the "progressive disclosure of information" to the public, selectively modifying the 'message' of sustainability to different audiences. However, she emphasises that it is important that organisations and agencies engaged in local governance should be "increasing access to information" (ibid.) as a prelude to discussing possible choices and scenarios for sustainability.

Nevertheless, institutional and 'public' responses to sustainability might differ, with the possibility of dissonance between technocentric and ecocentric approaches to interpretations of sustainability (Henry and Jackson, 1995).
Technocentric and ecocentric perspectives offer different interpretations of ‘grand narratives’ of sustainability, such as those which communicate problems of global warming (see UNCED, Kyoto, 1996; Johannesburg, 2002), pollution, non-renewable resource depletion and issues of social justice. ‘Grand narratives’ are interwoven with ‘local narratives’, which should in theory express diverse visions of sustainability by local communities. However, far from this process being a consensual one, sustainability is viewed as a contested concept, with a combination of different interpretations of narratives, definitions and dimensions emerging.

1.2 MODELS OF SUSTAINABILITY

The literature of models of sustainability expresses varying degrees of complexity in the integration of its different dimensions. In particular the Brundtland Report (1987) identifies a ‘triple bottom-line model’ (see also English Tourist Board, 1991) which is intended to represent the integration of economic, environmental and social dimensions of sustainability. This model perhaps over-simplistically symbolises the integration of ‘symmetrical’ dimensions of sustainability.

Figure 1.1: Triple-bottom line model of the dimensions of sustainability

DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABILITY

ENVIRONMENTAL

ECONOMIC

SOCIAL

Source: Adapted from Brundtland, 1987; English Tourist Board, 1991
In contrast Bramwell *et al.* (1996) promote a model of sustainability which highlights the importance of the interconnectivity of political, policy, managerial, cultural, social, economic and environmental dimensions, which might be integrated within policy making, planning, development and management scenarios.

In reconciling different scenarios of sustainability, which incorporate these potentially disparate dimensions, Pepper (1983) warns of the pitfalls of dualist thinking, which in particular polarises environmental and social thinking, which would result in one dimension of sustainability having primacy over another. Clearly, policy advocates of the concept of sustainability have to determine how to operationalise all of these complex dimensions, cognisant that this should not be inevitably viewed as a formulaic process which will necessarily guarantee successful policy outputs or outcomes that are underpinned by the principles of sustainability. To successfully integrate the different dimensions of sustainability identified by Bramwell *et al.* (1996) requires a coalition of thinking between disciplinary boundaries, engaging theorists, practitioners, ‘consumers’ and communities. In particular, this poses a challenge for policy makers to introduce innovative policy practice, which creates inter-disciplinary linkages beyond rational, incremental and compartmentalised approaches to policy development (Lindblom, 1959; Ham and Hill, 1984; Sabatier, 1993). Furthermore, robust policy development processes will be required to maintain the futurity principle of sustainability, which might lead to policy sustainability within diverse policy making arenas.

However, such processes and systems have to be responsive to the dynamic concept of sustainable development, which attempts to reconcile contradictory and incongruous elements, melding an essentially conservative doctrine with social egalitarianism (Bramwell *et al.*, 1996). In this respect, sustainability is a socially constructed concept underpinned by shifting political and ideological considerations, which will influence decision and policy making processes, in the allocation, consumption, and protection of resources. Additionally, with contrasting technocentric and ecocentric approaches to sustainability, (Henry and Jackson, 1995), it is difficult to view the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability as a politically consensual process without conflict, apathy and inertia. Perhaps inevitably there will be contrasting political and ideological discourses of sustainability which underpin its operationalisation within different levels of governance.
More fundamentally this leads to the articulation of diverse community visions and actions. Figure 1.2 offers a more sophisticated model of the integrative dimensions of sustainability which expands on the 'triple-bottom line model' and highlights linkages between principles and dimensions of sustainability which might be expressed at different levels of governance.

Figure 1.2: MODEL OF INTEGRATIVE DIMENSIONS OF SUSTAINABILITY

MANAGERIAL

POLITICAL

ECONOMIC

SOCIAL

ENVIRONMENTAL

CULTURAL

Source: Bramwell et al. 1996

1.3 LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF SUSTAINABILITY

Turner highlights the challenge of defining sustainability within different contexts by suggesting that it is not sustainability that requires definition or clarification but rather the context in which it is set. Sustainability thinking is usually used to modify the context to which it is applied. It serves to highlight unsustainable systems and resource management practices. There is also an underlying assumption that sustainability is desirable - it is a policy objective we ought to seek to achieve (1991:209).
This raises questions of the appropriate levels of governance for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, and the necessity to identify key policy, political and community actors in this process. Given that the articulation of dominant elements of sustainability have come to prominence at a supra-national level, there is uncertainty about the legitimacy of a perceived ‘top-down’ process of the policy transfer (Dolowitz, 1999) of globally created principles of sustainability between different levels of governance. In this respect Brown highlights the importance of the local level in establishing local fora, which brings together information, skills and resources which support international, national, state and local objectives for sustainable development at their point of application - the local or regional scale (1997:185).

Brown envisages the emergence of new forms of local governance, in which there is a commitment to create policy development for sustainability, with the capacity for convergence of different ‘value systems’ through “locally responsive management and administrative systems” (ibid.). The challenge at a local level therefore is for a range of organisations and agencies, in conjunction with communities, to find ‘practical’ ways of operationalising the principles of sustainability through “distinctive sustainable development pathways in different spatial and temporal and cultural contexts” (Griffith, 2000:161). Furthermore, Hall and Lew (1998:201) suggest that issues of sustainability, should be about addressing the needs of local people, emphasising that “a sense of local control over one’s resources and destiny is central to sustainable development policy”.

The amplification of the importance of the local level for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, (which clearly has significance for studies such as this) gained prominence at a global level through the 1992 UNCED Rio conference. In adopting Agenda 21 at this conference, UNCED anticipated that by 1996 there should be a process of consultation between local authorities and communities, on what might emerge within Local Agenda 21 (LA21) policy processes at the local level. The response within a UK context has seen the creation of national strategies for sustainable development, which in turn have devolved responsibility for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy agendas emerging in regional and local governance.
As the most prominent of public policy making bodies at the local level, it is anticipated by national and regional government that local authorities will have the responsibility and accountability for establishing policy development for sustainability. In the 'spirit' of UNCED local authorities have been entrusted with finding new ways of setting and framing policy goals, to include not only the central tenets of sustainable development but also collaborative processes to actively involve communities in defining their own sustainable futures (Jackson and Morpeth, 1999:1).

Whilst the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within specific localities, should in theory reflect local characteristics and local community aspirations, perhaps in practice in the UK this process will also be informed, and potentially eclipsed, by cross-cutting sub-regional, regional, national policy aspirations and initiatives for sustainability. The review of literature suggested that LA21 has an important function in creating policy processes at a local level, which can engage different 'actors' in operationalising the principles of sustainability (Leslie and Hughes, 1997; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999). As such, LA21 and its implementation is seen as an important element for scrutiny within the empirical research of this study.

1.4 SUSTAINABILITY AND LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The interface between different levels of governance has implications for hegemonic power relationships (Dahl, 1957; Foucault, 1983; Berger, 2002) which are of relevance to implementing sustainable tourism policies; might determine the ways in which resources are consumed, controlled and managed at the local level. Berger (2002) notes that local governance is characterised by uneven power relationships, and that the dominant pattern of power structures are 'top-down'. Such structures might create 'weak' approaches to sustainability, supported by 'traditional models' of economic growth which eclipse 'stronger' and more holistic approaches to sustainability. Also at the local level, the political endorsement and adoption of a 'sustainable development paradigm', may not guarantee the automatic translation of the principles of sustainability into operationalised policies. This might be due in part to dominant political pressures for economic development over other considerations.
Political choices might be starkly presented as the choice between sustainable development versus economic growth (and anticipated economic prosperity for a local authority area as a dominant policy priority). As such, there might be a perception within local authorities (and within organisations and agencies involved in local governance) and the wider community, of the 'opportunity cost' of adopting sustainable development scenarios, rather than economic growth scenarios. Furthermore, operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development, might be viewed as a resource burden for local authorities, and that associated local planning processes might be ineffectual in mitigating against inappropriate development pressure. The interaction between different levels of governance also raises the possibility of the imposition of centralised 'attitudes' with local authorities, having to respond to local policy agendas through 'national structures' (Berger, 2002).

Normative expectations at a national level for the creation of local policy agendas for sustainability, anticipate that they should be responsive to 'new' arrangements for local governance and 'horizontalisation' in policy processes, which challenge traditional hierarchical structures and 'verticalisation' of policy development (Colebatch, 1998). The inference is that changing arrangements for local governance might incorporate policy making processes which seek increased participation in decision making by local communities and the emergence of local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993).

For this to happen, might require the transformation of representative political systems into more participatory democratic systems at the local level. Arguably the dominant power relationships which have developed in tourism development are characterised by non-community inspired initiatives, with little local control of the benefits and disbenefits of tourism.

1.5 COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

In recognition of the democratising possibilities of sustainability, there is a question of the capacity of communities to play a significant role in establishing priorities for sustainability at the local level. Holland (2002:36) identifies that one of the difficulties in defining the concept of community is that it is contingent on different local 'circumstances', and that
communities operate within "diverse local structures" (ibid.). As such, she emphasises that there are different community needs which might find expression through participation and consultation on sustainability issues. However, Bell and Morse (2002) recognise the difficulty of stimulating community participation and the articulation of issues related to sustainability, particularly as there is "diversity of opinion and representation" (2002:59). They also countenance against "pseudo-participation where a representative is included with no real power" (ibid.).

The empirical research phase of this study in considering the response of community representatives to the issue of sustainability, scrutinises levels of community awareness and participation in sustainability issues, and the extent to which there is a two-way dialogue between local authorities and communities on sustainability issues. One of the main challenges in operationalising the principles of sustainability at a local level is that actions are based on voluntarism, both in terms of the discretionary 'status) of LA21 policy processes for local authorities, and the voluntary nature of community participation in initiatives for sustainability.

This raises questions of why local authorities are motivated to engage in LA21 processes, and how local communities participate in initiatives for sustainability? Whilst the normative expectation of LA21, is that it should be an overarching policy process for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, through community orientated policy development it may stimulate community collaboration in 'one off' projects, which do little to address the issue of the sustainability of policy development for sustainability. Bell and Morse (2002) recognise the limitations of 'project approaches' to sustainability being akin to 'hot house approaches' which stimulate short-term actions, and in which 'experts' have already determined how sustainability outputs and outcomes should be measured. Of particular relevance to this study is the application of quantitative and 'expert-led' sustainability indicators in evaluating progress in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. In this respect Bell and Morse (2002) warn of the exclusion of communities in processes for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, and the passive consumption of 'someone else's indicators' in determining progress.
1.6 CENTRALISED GUIDANCE OR CONTROL?

"Within in a UK context" over a series of decades, local authorities have undergone a process of restructuring and re-orientation in the ethos of their service delivery, which has had to accommodate potentially antithetical commercial and social objectives. Increasingly local policy agendas have been directed by a national government keen to implement 'modernising' policy agendas, expressing the 'policy mantra' of 'joined-up governance', which encourages local authorities to offer more integrative approaches to service delivery, in partnership with 'external' organisations, and which are informed by the principles of sustainability.

These modernising policy agendas have created 'competing' policy agendas for sustainability such as Community Planning, Local Strategic Partnerships and Best Value. Given the potential for these policy initiatives to either complement or divert the policy 'momentum' of LA21, it is important to assess the progress that LA21 policy processes have made in operationalising policies for sustainability at the local level, and in creating policy sustainability. The available secondary sources on the ubiquity of policy processes for LA21 in local authority areas within the UK, suggest that there has been inconsistent progress.

The Local Government Management Board (now the Improvement and Development Agency-IDEA) conducted a review of the first five years of LA21 in the UK (LGMB, 1997) which monitored progress on LA21 implementation, through sampling and monitoring local authority initiatives and activities. This report highlighted that by 1996 only 70 action plans for LA21 (out of 486 local authorities) had been produced in the UK, and many of these were in first draft form and were not linked to indicators as a substantive means of monitoring progress. A further deadline was set for December 2000, with a spokesperson for the Sustainable Development Unit, within the Department of Environment Transport and the Regions (DETR), indicating that 93% of all local authorities within the UK had submitted some form of action plan. Beyond the submission of LA21 action plans, there is the question of how far these plans have been successful in integrating the principles of sustainability into a range of policy areas, including tourism.
In addition to exploring the ‘general’ processes which operationalise the principles of sustainability, which could in theory be integrated into a range of policy areas at the local level, this study also explores the capacity of the policy area of tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability.

Tourism as a global phenomenon has been much derided for creating unsustainable practices, receiving much attention as an activity that should adopt the principles of sustainability, to ameliorate, in particular, the well documented excesses of mass tourism and its Fordist production (Turner and Ash, 1975; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Krippendorf, 1987; Hall, 2000). With predictions of continued annual increases in the volume of international travel (WTO, 1997) a consequence of additional tourist visitation on a global scale is an associated requirement for increased tourism development. Whilst traditional models of tourism development have responded to the demand for mass tourism products, there are advocates of ‘softer development paths’ (Jafari, 1987) and diversity in tourism development, which are underpinned by the principles of sustainability.

With ‘softer development paths’ popularised by strategies for ‘green’ tourism and associated strategies for ‘alternative’ tourism (Burton, 1995), this is not tantamount to the implementation of sustainable forms of tourism. Shortcomings in the process of implementing sustainable forms of tourism was recognised by Pigram when he stated that worthwhile policies may be espoused and even formally adopted by management agencies, yet they encounter formidable barriers when attempts are made to translate them into action. Problems in implementation arise not so much in deciding what should be done, but in making it happen (1995:81).

In this respect Pigram identifies systemic complexities in creating a coalition between public sector political and policy ‘value systems’, and the objectives of the private sector, in identifying common actions related to the issues of sustainability. More fundamentally, the challenge at a local level is that “sustainable tourism, while conceptually robust and now well rehearsed in theory, remains an elusive concept in terms of translation into tangible policy or actions” (Jackson and Morpeth, 1999:2). Arguably then, LA21 might be an
important policy process which has both the capacity to integrate the principles of sustainability within the policy area of tourism at the local level, and is receptive to community priorities for tourism.

The UK Improvement and Development Agency (IDeA) notes that whilst “Agenda 21 does not say much about tourism per se” (1999:1) the interaction between tourists and communities at the local level, might rely on LA21 policy processes to stimulate actions on sustainability. This was borne out by ICLEI who recognised important linkages between tourism and LA21 by suggesting that tourism is one of the many external forces influencing the direction and options for local development. The question of whether tourism can contribute to local sustainable development - is rightfully addressed in the context of the Local Agenda 21 process (1999:3).

ICLEI estimate that “in more than 2,000 communities in 64 countries Local Agenda 21 partnership forums already exist” (1999:5).

Whilst within UK local authority policy portfolios, tourism is not necessarily considered as a major policy area (in part because of its discretionary status and that it might be part of a wider policy area, e.g. Economic Development or Leisure) it is increasingly viewed as a significant agent of development at the local level. However, the available evidence of LA21 linkages with the policy area of tourism, is that to date it is an incomplete alliance (Leslie and Hughes, 1997). Their quantitative empirical analysis of all UK local authorities confirmed that there was limited awareness of LA21 and that only 35% of UK authorities had established or were developing programmes or strategies for the implementation of LA21 by 1995, with the suggestion that local authorities were working within the parameters of their existing environmental strategies. Furthermore, the Local Government Management Board 5 year review document (1997) highlighted that only two authorities had made policy linkages between LA21 and tourism, and these focussed on energy efficiency, waste minimisation and recycling in hotels.

Whilst there appears to be evidence of uncertain progress in integrating tourism initiatives into LA21 policy processes at a local level, at a national level there appears to be increasing recognition of the linkages between tourism and sustainability. In 1998 the UK government
for the first time highlighted these policy linkages in the document 'Tourism - Towards Sustainability: A Consultation Paper on Sustainable Tourism in the UK'. This consultation paper argued that to make any progress towards sustainable tourism, the principles of sustainability must be central to tourism policy and to other sectors which impact on development patterns (DCMS, 1998:3).

This document recognises the importance of the principles of sustainability being integrated into tourism strategies at a national, regional and local level. Consistent with this approach, the Government's National Strategy for Tourism, 'Tomorrow's Tourism - A growth industry for the new Millennium' (Department of Culture, Media and Sport, 1999) identified sustainable tourism as an important policy issue, highlighting the key role of the English Tourism Council (ETC) in creating a Sustainability Task Force to develop policies for sustainable tourism.

Their document 'Time for Action' (2001) reiterated the pivotal role of local authorities in planning for sustainable tourism at the local level, with the ETC in conjunction with the DCMS directed to produce guidelines for 'indicators for sustainable tourism'. Similarly the IDeA (1999) identified a number of case studies from within the UK which whilst not explicitly linking LA21 policy frameworks to tourism initiatives, nevertheless suggest that the principles of sustainability have been integrated into initiatives for sustainable tourism. However, similar to the environmental focus of projects in the LGMB 5 year review (1997), IDeA cited projects which encompass ecological monitoring and green audit kits for tourism businesses.

Whilst the positive findings of such reports are supported by case studies from academic sources (Bramwell et al., 1996) which demonstrates the potential capacity of different forms of tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability, there still remains concern that there is inconsistent progress in the assimilation of the principles of sustainability within the policy area of tourism. It is within the context of these considerations, that this study seeks to explore the distinctiveness of cycle tourism as a model for sustainable tourism at the local level. The motivation to study cycling is based on the contemporary renaissance in utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling in the UK, stimulated in part by the emergence of the development of a 10,000 mile National Cycle Network, which first came to
prominence in 1995, through the work of Sustrans (a sustainable engineering charity). Their work amplifies the capacity of cycling as an environmentally benign form of transport, which contrasts with the externalities of motorised travel. Of particular relevance to this study is their emphasis on the benefits of cycling as a sustainable form of transport and tourism in the 1996 report ‘Local Agenda 21 and the National Cycle Network’, which links cycling to the principles of sustainability, particularly related to improving access and mobility to local services at a community level.

Adding further veracity to focusing on cycle tourism as an exemplar for sustainable tourism, is that a range of policy makers at different levels of governance promote its quintessential environmental credentials and economic benefits to communities in both rural and urban contexts. These potential linkages between cycling and the exemplification of the principles of sustainability has led to the emergence of a central research question which underpins this study: Can cycle tourism operationalise the principles of sustainability and provide a model for sustainable tourism at the local level?

1.8 RESEARCH AIMS:

This central research question is supported by three research aims:

- to establish the role of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) processes in operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level in the UK; exploring the interaction between politicians, local government officers and community representatives;

- to consider the capacity of the policy area of tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability at the local level and thus provide evidence of the wider implementability of sustainability principles within local government;

- to scrutinise the potential of the example area of cycle tourism to provide a model for sustainable tourism at the local level.
1.8.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

Underpinning these research aims are a range of more specific research objectives:

- to establish the role of LA21 policy processes in ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within service delivery, and engaging officers and politicians in this process;

- to establish the capacity of LA21 to stimulate community orientated policy development for sustainability;

- to consider the integration of LA21 policy development processes for sustainability within the policy areas of tourism and cycling;

- to establish the significance of cycle tourism as a community based implementable model of sustainable tourism;

- to apply ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ models of policy development and implementation to the policy analysis of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at the local level;

- to identify how empirical insights from a number of case studies can help build a body of practice which helps to inform subsequent operations to refine the concept of sustainability and its operationalisation at the local level;

- and suggest areas for further research.

1.9 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

These aims and objectives will be implemented within the context of identified local authority case studies, applying a conceptual framework of policy analysis to determine the process of embedding the principles of sustainability into policy development and delivery at
the local level. Such a framework is cognisant of the complex concept of policy and the synthesis of policy models within policy analysis. In this sense there is a methodological challenge in the application of the policy cycle model (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984), in that it compartmentalises ‘stages’ of the policy cycle, yet there is imprecision in a policy continuum which attempts to locate where policy making ends, and implementation begins (Ham and Hill, 1984). This process might involve many stages of policy failure, policy succession and policy learning, before implementable policies for sustainability emerge.

With an emphasis on drawing conclusions to the study and with the normative expectations that the principles of sustainability in policy development should be devolved to the lowest level of governance, more inclusive ‘bottom-up’ approaches are explored to consider how local implementation structures might emerge, which shift the focus for policy development from the ‘Centre’ to the ‘Periphery’ (Sabatier, 1993). In particular Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) view ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy making and implementation, as the ‘horizontalisation’ of policy processes, characterised by multiple linkages in the ‘implementation chain’, which incorporate a variety of actors in this process.

This model of policy implementation contrasts prescriptive and rational ‘top-down’ approaches to policy making and implementation in which “the implementation structure keeps links to a minimum; there is the prevention of outside influence and control over implementing actors” (Ham and Hill, 1984:96). Sabatier’s (1993) ‘bottom-up’ model of local implementation structures, is predicated on the complex consideration of creating an ‘implementation chain’, which combines a wide constituency of interests, from within local authority organisations, and between communities and associated organisations. The inference is that the more ‘links’ (actors) within an ‘implementation chain’, the greater the likelihood of implementation gaps occurring (Ham and Hill, 1984), yet this might signal a ‘bottom-up’ orientation to policy making for sustainability.

Therefore this study will consider the input from multiple actors, and the emergence of policy networks (Colebatch, 1998), which have a shared commitment to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development, and which strengthen the potential for policy sustainability. Within the policy context of tourism, cycle tourism is viewed as
having the capacity to translate the principles of sustainability within policies and actions which receive community acceptance and support.

This study is structured into ten chapters, with Chapter One exploring different discourses of sustainability and sustainable development. Chapter Two considers the capacity of the concept of tourism to adopt and operationalise the principles of sustainability. Chapter Three evaluates the sustainability credentials of cycling and cycle tourism. Chapter Four is divided into three parts, and considers the concepts of local governance, communities and the policy dynamics of the process of LA21. Chapter Five examines the concept of policy, policy models and theories of implementation. Chapter Six; details the research methodology and justifies the application of a case study research strategy to apply to the identified local authority case studies. Chapters Seven to Nine outline the case studies and their findings from North Lincolnshire Council, West Lindsey District Council and Hull City Council. Chapter Ten outlines the conclusions to this study and particularly the scope for cycle tourism to create integrative processes for sustainability at the local level.
CHAPTER TWO: DIFFERENT DISCOURSES OF SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

2.0 INTRODUCTION

There is much conjecture about the origins, ideological discourses and interpretations of sustainability and sustainable development. Turner suggests that there is "an underlying assumption that sustainability is desirable - it is a policy objective we ought to seek to achieve" (1991:209) and Richards identifies that "sustainable development is a generic policy consideration" (2001:5). Bauler and Hecq note that sustainable development is a continually changing process which poses a challenge to reconcile "theoretical approaches and practice" (2000:50). Underlying these considerations are inherent contradictions in melding the concept of sustainability with the concept of development, which is essentially a combination of social egalitarianism and a conservative philosophy (Bramwell et al., 1996). They also recognise that the issue of sustainability should not focus solely on an environmental dimension but should integrate economic, cultural, social, policy, managerial and political dimensions in future development scenarios. This chapter explores different discourses of sustainable development and sustainability, and considers the historical lineage of environmental, economic and political antecedents which underpin these concepts. This chapter also considers how technocentric and ecocentric perspectives (Henry and Jackson, 1995) and 'deep' and 'shallow' interpretations of sustainability might inform policy development for sustainability.

2.1 'OUR COMMON FUTURE': SETTING THE SCENE

It is through the political and policy arenas of successive world environmental fora and associated reports, that the issue of unsustainable resource use and the need for action have been popularised. The report 'Our Common Future: the World Commission on Environment and Development' (1987) politically mobilised and raised awareness of the concept of sustainable development on a world-wide scale.
This report was not exclusively orientated towards the pursuit of physical sustainability to the exclusion of social equity and importantly recognised the significance of inter-generational and intra-generational equity in calling for “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (1987:4).

Popularised as the Brundtland Report, it promoted general economic, social, environmental and political goals for sustainable development which should “underlie national and international action on development” (1987:65). However, it has been criticised for putting forward a global blueprint or ‘template’ for sustainable development, which might be interpreted as an inappropriate imposition on distinctive spatial and cultural localities, which are attempting to implement localised ‘sustainable pathways’ (Griffith, 2000). Critics suggest that these templates are hidebound by discourses of sustainability created within existing ‘dominant’ economic systems. Such critics challenge the orthodoxy of traditional approaches to development and economic growth which eclipse alternative perspectives on how sustainable development might be achieved (Shiva, 1992; Galtung, 1995).

A potential departure from this orthodoxy of economic growth might have emerged within the 1992 Rio United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, which considered in part the importance of implementing sustainability at different levels of governance. Some 179 nations adopted Agenda 21, which was the culmination of two years work by the UNCED Preparatory Committee, and in particular the work of the International Council for Local Initiatives (ICLEI) which developed a draft Chapter 28 of Agenda 21. Agenda 21 outlined that national governments should encourage local and regional government to engage with communities on gaining consensus on priorities for sustainability. Whilst Agenda 21 might be viewed as a positive process in ‘transferring’ the concept of sustainability from a supra-national level to the local level, this might nevertheless be interpreted as an interventionist approach adopting prescriptive applications of sustainability honed within a dominant world view of development.
2.2 ALTERNATIVE PERSPECTIVES OF SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

On one level the Brundtland Report (1987), the 1992 Rio UNCED conference, and subsequent UNCED conferences including Johannesburg in 2002, might claim to offer frameworks for integrating environmental, social, political and economic dimensions of sustainability. However, critics challenge 'dominant economic paradigms' which create a template for growth which serve the interests of developed countries to the detriment of developing countries (Shiva, 1992:187).

Galtung (1995) recognises that politicians and multi-national corporations were ill prepared to respond to the environmental agenda which emerged from the 'Conference on the Human Environment' in Stockholm in 1972, where cognisance of a growing sense of a global ecological crisis led to calls for the UN to introduce a monitoring system on global pollution, through the United Nations Environmental Programme. This programme was designed to monitor a breakdown of 'life support systems', overloaded by human impact on the environment, and consider how more prudent use of energy and non-renewable sources could be achieved. These considerations were to be the focus of subsequent global environmental fora, with Galtung sanguine about the 1992 Rio UNCED conference having 'institutionalised' pollution and resource depletion, and signalled a move towards sustainable growth, rather than sustainable development.

On the question of resource depletion and pollution, Gower posed the question 'what do we owe future generations'? and in doing so raised the ethical dilemma of ensuring "that our savings will be passed on by the intervening generations" (1992:9). O'Riordan (1989) in considering the resource implications of achieving sustainable development, was critical of the Cornucopian application of scientific knowledge in managing resource systems, preferring that resource use judgements should be based on ethical considerations. It was his contention that the concept of sustainable development is politically acceptable because it is safely ambiguous, however the concept of sustainability is not, as it is "politically treacherous since it challenges the status quo" (1989:30).
In response to a challenge of the status quo, Porritt stresses that the central components of a sustainable society should devolve economic and political activity to the local scale and promote the "principle of diversity" (1984:164). Porritt recognises the importance of integrating human as well as physical resources within the sustainability debate, with the resolution of working towards new patterns of resource consumption. In line with Brundtland's (1987) notion of current generations jeopardising future needs, Porritt emphasises that we should be "avoiding writing the 'Earth's obituary" (1984:235).

Shiva identifies the emergence of the term sustainability in everyday parlance as a response to unsustainable economic processes, which "attempt to legitimise and perpetuate economic growth in a period of doubt" (1992:187). She attacks what she considers to be the myopic view of encouraging economic growth and development, to the exclusion of establishing an ecological balance. She highlights the pseudo-sustainability of sustainable development, which ignores sustainable natural processes, cycles and rhythms, above the short-termism of maintaining a supply of raw materials for individual production (1992:191).

Palmer (1992) criticises the prescriptive development approaches advanced by the Brundtland Report (1987), which he interpreted as an imposition of "a western standard of living on all the world's people, irrespective of their needs and desires" (1992:184). This 'off the peg' solution to development needs in Palmer's view, is a misalignment of societal values between the developing and developed world, promoting a "development pattern based on western culture (with) its mechanistic stance taking little account of the diversity of ethical positions, cultures and traditions that actually exist" (ibid.). The basis of this view is that the 'ideology' of development is intrinsically linked with economic growth and that non-market economics are equated with backwardness (Shiva, 1992). Palmer concludes that perhaps development for a sustainable future must be as much about shifting values as it is about shifting practices. At the baseline of such a shift will be the realisation that the Earth in its natural form must be valued-not at the level of how much it may be exploited for the support of Homo-Sapiens-but as an indispensable entity worthy in its own right (1992:184).
Wiert Wiertsema (1995:172) highlights the contradictory elements of development which create non-beneficial changes to the natural environment, but which is ultimately anthropocentric in transforming the quality of life for people, and questions who benefits. Wiertsema argues that the concept of sustainable development should be replaced by “sustainability or more specifically about social justice and ecology” (1992:173).

He argues that this requires a goal of equilibrium rather than growth and an avoidance of blueprints for future development, and a focus on diversity. Consistent with Porritt’s view, Wiertsema argues that this diversity should be apparent in the development choices available for community oriented development schemes in local economies. In terms of fostering diversity, Wiertsema questions whether cultural and biological diversity can exist within ‘one system’ and that the integration of the whole world into one single system dominated by the market economy, leads to the pauperisation of huge numbers of people as well as the elimination of natural variety (1992 :173).

The notion that in order to achieve sustainability, greater insights are required in the relationship between social and natural processes, rather than in modifying economic and industrialised practices, was popularly expounded by the architect Sir Richard Rogers in his 1995 BBC Reith Lectures, ‘Cities for a Small Planet’. He postulated that the concept of sustainability might be put into practice by an integrated approach between energy generation, transport and in strategic planning in the design of cities and their composite buildings. The challenge in the design of buildings was to use nature in harmony with recyclable technology, renewable resources and circular metabolisms, in short to get ‘technology’ to mimic nature. Likewise, Fritz in discussing the concept of the Swedish Eco-village suggests that sustainable development in its complete sense is much more than a decrease in pollution and garbage. For real sustainability, the use of non-renewable resources must stop altogether. One prerequisite for an ecologically and economically sustainable society is that it abandons the linear flow idea which dominates all production in western culture: You take something from nature, make a product from it and throw it away after use. The approach called circular flow thinking is necessary for sustainability - everything should somehow go back to nature in a useful, harmless way. What is taken out must be given back (1995:231).
The concept of the Swedish Eco-village had inspired a 'grass roots' associations of people wanting to live a sustainable lifestyle with villages designed on the basis of low energy and water usage and recyclable technology which was ecologically sensitive. The concept of the eco-village was expanded to incorporate eco-municipality projects, based upon the idea of 'circular flow thinking' and the renewability of resources. An important aspect of these initiatives is the community dimension, which was highlighted as an important building block in the goal of achieving sustainability at the local level.

On the issue of the importance of the local level for operationalising the principles of sustainability, despite scepticism surrounding the veracity of the sustainability credentials of the 1992 Rio UNCED conference, commentators have identified the capacity of Agenda 21 to engage local communities in realising local visions of sustainability. Brown (1997) notes that Agenda 21 symbolised a political commitment (rather than a legal binding arrangement) to inform political, environmental, social and economic structures of society with the principles of sustainability. In doing so, Agenda 21 was designed to 'modify' the activities of international organisations, governments, industry and communities to sustain political, environmental, eco and economic systems (1997:75). Brown emphasises that Agenda 21 should be an evolving document which reflects the dynamic nature of the concept of sustainability and which finds a means of implementing the goals of sustainability (1997:76-77). This raises the issue of the role of LA21 as a policy process which might create policy agendas for sustainability at the local level, which stimulates community scenarios for sustainable development.

2.3 ENVIRONMENTAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL ANTECEDENTS UNDERPINNING THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

Historically, there are environmental, economic and political antecedents which underpin different interpretations of sustainability and provide the basis of distinct ideological discourses of sustainable development. Therefore in understanding the basis of policy responses to sustainability insights are required on the capacity of policy makers to embrace
community inputs into policy formulation for sustainability, which moves beyond purely rationalistic approaches to policy making. Arguably policy agendas for sustainability will be underpinned by various environmental, economic, political and ideological discourses.

2.3.1 ENVIRONMENTAL PERSPECTIVES

Silvertown and Sarre (1990) reviewed different historical phases of human responses to the environment, with the medieval doctrine of ‘Christian Stewardship’ promoting the biblical notion of peaceful existence between humans and other ‘creatures’. The continuation of this Christian tradition was the doctrine of ‘Imperialism’ advanced by Francis Bacon, who in the Sixteenth century urged “mankind to regain their rights over nature, assigned to them by the gift of God” (1990:241). The Baconian philosophy of science controlling nature is consistent with contemporary technocentric responses to the environment. Counter to this philosophy was Romanticism, which advanced an intrinsic view of the environment which linked nature and God through the doctrine of Pantheism. The Nineteenth Century philosopher John Stuart Mill put forward the notion of Hedonism (which was later to be known as Utilitarianism), characterising ‘higher’ pleasures over the ‘lower’ ones, signalling the anthropocentrism of human interaction with the environment. Silvertown and Sarre position

Environmentalism as we now understand it, (as) a relatively new phenomena, dating from the late 1960s and early 1970s. Like all cultural phenomena its roots lie in the past. But the environmental movement is in some respects a departure from the long-established conservation movement (1990:241).

Pepper (1984) highlights the complexity of defining the environment and environmentalism, emphasising that within “the environment movement there were ideological cross currents” (1984:13). Environmentalism was no longer merely an attitude to the environment it had a political dimension. Likewise the term ecology took on a new meaning to its specialist definition as a discipline of biology. The launch of a British Ecology Party (later to become the Green Party), and the publication of ‘The Ecologist’, helped to politicise the word in the 1970s, with the concept of ‘Deep Ecology’ viewed as a ‘radical’ form of environmentalism, which reflected a wide spectrum of environmental interests.
O’Riordan (1981) positions environmentalists into two ‘camps’: ecocentrics and technocentrics, with ecocentricism viewed as a concept with ‘leftist’ and ‘rightist’ dimensions, responding to large scale technology, viewing centralism and materialism with mistrust. Positioned to the ‘right’ the emphasis is on restraint and imposition of limits on resource use, and its ‘leftist’ orientations embrace small-scale, decentralised and democratic dimensions. Conversely, technocentricism or anthropocentrism responds to environmental problems through ‘technical fixes’, with Fox (1990) identifying that anthropocentrism advocates an imperialist view of nature, aligning ‘its’ human centredness with the doctrine of Utilitarianism. He identifies that different strands of anthropocentrism have led to “human-caused ecological ills” (1990:16).

Reflecting these different strands of technocentricism or anthropocentrism, O’Riordan (1981) identifies that Cornucopians (the doctrine that technical fixes can be applied to problem solving) not only view environmental problems as soluble, but that unlimited growth can be incorporated within this framework. Silvertown and Sarre contrast this human centredness, with radical environmentalists “who style themselves on ‘Deep Ecologists’ and who want to ‘correct this anthropocentric bias” (1990:259). Arne Naess, the Norwegian philosopher and author of the phrase Deep Ecology argues that anthropocentrism (has) detrimental effects on the life quality of human beings themselves. This quality depends in part upon the deep pleasure and satisfaction we receive from close partnerships with other forms of life (Naess, 1973:95).

This was contrasted with ‘Shallow Ecology’, a form of environmentalism according to Naess that promotes continued affluence and well-being of people in Western countries. This approach is closely allied to Utilitarianism which promotes an instrumental view of the environment and which accepts that detrimental impacts on the environment can be justified if some greater good can accrue from this intervention. However, ‘Deep Ecology’ promotes a complete rethink of ‘our’ value systems in ‘bio-centric’ rather than in anthropocentric terms. Fox identifies that:
Ecocentricism is concerned with ends and the proper kinds of means, whereas technocentricism focuses more on means per se, particularly the utilisation of managerial principles, since its optimism about the continued improvement of the human condition allows it to be untroubled about the evaluative significance of its achievements (1990: 29).

In line with interpretations of 'Deep Ecology', James Lovelock (1984) views the biosphere as a 'super-organism' with an ability to recover from ecological and environmental damage, consistent with the rejuvenating qualities of other living organisms. Porritt (op cit.) concurs with Lovelock's (1984) Gaia concept of the earth, "as a self-regulating single system, life-support system, linked to the older universal philosophy of 'Mother Earth', protecting the earth" (1984: 206).

This single system in which humans and nature are inter-linked, was at the heart of Porritt's criticism of the World Conservation Strategy (1980) which in his view promotes a human-centred or anthropocentric philosophy towards the environment. Porritt argues that "human survival depends on our being able to transcend its anthropocentrism" (1984: 206). The theory of Gaia is closely allied with the notion of environmental and ecological interpretations of sustainability, in so far that development should mimic nature and with the adoption of circular flow theories.

2.3.2 ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVES

The notion that anthropocentric ideologies underpin the dominant growth ethic or dominant world paradigm, has implications for economic responses to sustainability. Hunt and Sherman (1975) considered the period of mercantilism in the late Sixteenth Century to be the starting point for the early growth of capitalism, followed by the birth of classical liberalism within the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries. The economic creed of Adam Smith in the Wealth of Nations (1776) articulated the ethic of laissez faire, free market economics, and the origins of corporate capitalism. However, Hunt and Sherman identify an inherent problem in the capitalist system in that capitalism must either experience economic growth or else suffer depression, unemployment, stagnation, and all the attendant social problems. But economic growth can also create situations in which the pursuit of profits comes into direct conflict with the public
welfare. Critics of capitalism have argued that corporate profit seeking is generally accompanied by very little concern for the environment (1975:185).

Whilst this interpretation of economic growth potentially produces problems of adverse environmental impacts which are endemic within a capitalist system, it does not suggest an absence of similar problems within other political economies. Global concerns about the durability of economic growth and associated environmental degradation were voiced by a number of commentators, with Carson (1962) and Erhlich (1971) questioning the survival of the earth through the over exploitation of the environment in favour of short-term economic goals. The Ecologist’s (1972) ‘Blueprint for Survival’ warned that unfettered economic growth if unchecked would result in irreversible disruption of life-support systems. In line with this thinking the ‘Club of Rome’ study - ‘Limits to Growth’ (Meadows et al., 1972) produced a computer model
to project trends in population, resource use, food production, industrial output and pollution. If business continued as usual, it predicted, there would be a dramatic collapse in world population (Harrison, 1992:17).

The ‘Club of Rome’ study, in advancing future-orientated development scenarios, reflected issues of sustainable development and raised questions of pursuing the dominant paradigm of economic growth. Earlier Galbraith (1958) and Packard (1960) presented a cogent analysis of a material consumer oriented society, ‘obsessed’ by what they dubbed ‘growthmania’ and “clamour for growth” (Packard, 1960:30). Mishan (1972) recognised the need for social limits of growth, with Donaldson (1981) highlighting that “if economic growth is to be used to measure development, we must always ask - Growth of what” (1981:129). Additionally, Schumacher (1973) and Capra (1982) challenge the wisdom of the existing economic status quo, arguing for different growth and development scenarios. Pepper (1984) echoes this questioning of the dominant western paradigm of economic growth by declaring that:

In expressing concern about pollution, the destruction of nature, the loss of amenity and the depletion of resources, environmentalism either explicitly or implicitly challenged existing assumptions about progress in which material prosperity in general (is) attached (to) central values and beliefs of industrial capitalism (1984:5).
These views contrast with the economist Freeman (1977), who advocates a Cornucopian perspective to economics, arguing that human inventiveness would respond to resource problems and pollution control. Consistent with this view O’Riordan in turn acknowledges that:

The dominant ideology of world society is Cornucopian with a strong belief in the human ability to dominate nature, through science and technology and their application via the market place, and with the necessary support of the state (1989:30).

However, he recognises that within the pervasiveness of this ideology, it is difficult to implement sustainability options which fully reflect a balance between environmental, social and cultural considerations which are eclipsed by the primacy of economic considerations.

2.3.3 POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Political applications of sustainable development are informed by different ideological discourses, with ideology defined by Plamentz, as a set of ideas, beliefs and attitudes, of which the “most comprehensive kind is called a world-view” (1970:18). The encapsulation of beliefs, into a basic belief system is characterised by Guba and Lincoln (1994:107) as a paradigm. Routley (1983) argues that paradigms provide a theoretical framework to assemble ideas and concepts, suggesting that there are a range of ‘shallow’ or ‘deep’ responses to environmental issues, which might be viewed as paradigm differences (1983:260). Routley highlights that the prevailing paradigm of an economic growth model can be viewed as a dominant social paradigm which competes with alternative environmental paradigms providing

the prospect of a general framework for environmental philosophy, in terms of which many apparently diverse problems and issues can be assembled and organised (1983:262).

Whilst the Brundtland Report (1987) raised awareness of the concept of sustainability it is unclear if sustainability constitutes a paradigm shift in ‘thinking’ and has emerged as a dominant social paradigm. Pepper in introducing the notion of ‘consensual’ models of paradigms, suggests that “eventually the minority view may overturn that of the majority, and a new paradigm is established” (1994:145). Relating these thoughts to the concept of sustainability given appropriate circumstances, sustainability might emerge as a dominant
social paradigm but initially basic awareness of the concept needs to be established. Arguably there is the potential for a paradigm shift in ‘thinking’ to emerge through political processes, which will play a role in effectively communicating the concept of sustainability from the supra-national to the local level. Perhaps sustainability is consistent with Milbraith’s (1989) New Environmental Paradigms (NEP) which challenge the orthodoxy of the Dominant Social Paradigm (DSP) which espouses economic growth without limits.

A corollary of this at the local level within the shifting structures of local governance, is that a political focus for sustainability needs to be established which creates a paradigm shift in policy agendas and policy development which incorporate the principles of sustainability. With sustainability viewed as a ‘slippery’ and sometimes nebulous concept, it is important that within political arenas, the concept is made accessible to a variety of audiences, including local communities. Fiske (1994) identifies that the domain of politics, ensures that “private thoughts are communicated within the public arena, to distinctive audiences” (1994:194). Nevertheless, political applications of sustainability according to Coppock (1990:7) might be hijacked for politically expedient purposes by superficially adopting the language of sustainability to facilitate inappropriate forms of development. In addition to the hijacking by political agendas is the problem of the political communication of the term of ‘sustainable development’ within the constraining ideology of mainstream political parties. Porritt identifies how alternative perspectives to the dominant world economic view cannot possibly be articulated through any of the major parties, for they and their accompanying ideologies are part of the problem. Green politics challenges the integrity of those ideologies, questions the philosophy that underlines them and fundamentally disputes today’s accepted notion of irrationality (1984:xiv).

For Pepper (1993) the ‘new’ green politics has its origins in established political tradition, noting that there is a spectrum of different ‘shades’ of Green - with ‘Red-Greens’ (ecocentrics) being allied to Marxism; ‘Light Greens’ (technocentrics); and ‘Green-Greens’ closer to the political tradition anarchism (1993:1-2). He also suggests that ‘natures’ rights (biological egalitarianism) are meaningless without human rights (socialism). Eco-socialism says that we should proceed to ecology from social justice and not the other way round (1993:1).
Germine to the concept of sustainability, Pepper (ibid.) warns against dualistic thinking, which ‘dualises’ nature and society, although he acknowledges that ‘dualism’ can provide a first stage in understanding “complex realities”. In popularising green political actions, Rüdig (1992:3) identifies different phases from ‘green euphoria’ to ‘green fatigue’ which are susceptible to ‘issue-attention cycles’. He argues that there is a convergence between green politics and green consumerism, viewing membership and participation in green parties and national environmental groups, as an act of consumerism, which by implication is dependent on consumer trends. In Rüdig’s view, radical ecologists have become subsumed into institutionalised ‘conventional’ forms of political movement, contending that activists have become part of an ecological ‘conscience community’. Similarly he argues that leadership styles of green political parties reflect a more pragmatic and managerial style. Nevertheless, Atkinson (1992) argues that ecologism still remains outside the mainstream of political ideologies, and that ‘political ecology’ remains distinct from environmentalism “which is concerned to improve the technical management of the environment” (1992:201). In transposing this ecological ideology into the type of sustainable society that groups might seek he offers a different scenario of

the green sustainable society of the bio-regionalists who see the reorganisations of society into self-sufficient politics defined by natural boundaries and with a local culture that relates directly to the particular ecological setting (1992:203).

Robert Whelan, the UK Director of the ‘Committee on Population and the Economy’, describes ‘contemporary greenery’, “as a form of fanaticism which could turn affluent society into an ecological hell” (1992:20). He added that if consumers want a sustainable society, not only would the producers have to pay, but consumers demanding a better environment would have to pay the cost as well. On this theme of environmental costing, in 1988 David Pearce was commissioned by the Department of the Environment, to prepare a report which was to “advise the government if there was a consensus meaning to the term sustainable development” (1991:1). He maintained that there are political and policy choices to be made which balance economic development with an intrinsic perspective of the environment, in order to measure the cost of environmental action. He emphasises that:

“It is not a matter of expense so much as one of correcting wrong incentives, and in changing incentives to protect ecosystems, we will conserve bio-diversity” (1991:28).
Turner (1991) one of the contributors to David Pearce’s ‘Blueprint 2: Greening the World Economy project’, put forward four distinct resource usage approaches which might underpin political and policy choices related to achieving the goal of sustainable development (see Table 2.1).

### Table 2.1: Resource usage options for policy makers

| Resource-Exploitative, Growth Orientated World View | Anthropocentric resource management approach. Cost-benefit approach |
| Resource-Conservationist, Managed Growth World View | ‘Brundtland doctrine of ‘bequething’ “a stock of natural assets no smaller than the stock in the possession of current generations” p.214. |
| Resource- Preservationist, Severely Constrained Growth World View | Intrinsic value of the environment above economic and instrumental policy goals. |

Source: adapted from Turner, (1991: 214)

Turner (ibid.) suggests that there are many variations in interpreting different scenarios of sustainable development which might emerge from adopting different approaches to resource usage. He emphasises the pitfall of adopting bio-ethic paradigms which seek to claim the “moral high ground and prevent current and future generations from enjoying equitable standards of living”.

### 2.4 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, policy makers have to address the idealism of ecocentricism and the pragmatism of technocentricism when framing policies for sustainability. Responding to distinct cultural, political, economic, social and environmental contexts, policies will reflect the tensions between ecocentric and technocentric perspectives which underpin ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ discourses on sustainability. Whilst it might be possible for policy makers to transcend managerialist and rationalistic approaches, and embrace more pluralistic approaches to policy making, arguably it is more of a challenge to “transcend (their)
anthropocentrism" (Porritt, 1984:206). In this sense, Fox notes that all views are inevitably anthropocentric because they are “necessarily human views” (1990:20) and that this anthropocentrism pervades even ecocentric thinking. This chapter has attempted to highlight the complexity of framing policies for sustainability which adopt ‘dualist perspectives’ in which the physical environment is separated from the wider goal of social equity. Pepper (1984) in particular argued that the focus on the physical environment to the exclusion of social equity issues will make it difficult to realise the full possibilities of sustainability.

Despite controversial discourses on sustainability emerging through the Brundtland Report (1987) and the 1992 Rio (UNCED) conference, these significant ‘events’ nevertheless raised awareness of sustainability at a supra-national level, with LA21 potentially mobilising the concept of sustainability at the local level. This clearly, has implications for the capacity of major policy areas to be receptive to operationalising the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery. With this being a central theme of the present research the following chapter considers the receptiveness of the policy area of Tourism to incorporating the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery.
CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM: TOWARDS SUSTAINABILITY?

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The last chapter attempted to highlight the complexity of assimilating the principles of sustainability within policy development, not least because of the pitfall of adopting ‘dualist perspectives’ which give primacy to environmental interpretations of sustainability over social equity issues. Furthermore, with sustainability viewed as a contestable concept with many different interpretations (Wall, 1997; Hall, 2000) on how its central principles should be operationalised, Pigram (1995) highlights that policy development for sustainability should be conceptually robust as a prelude to successful implementation. This raises the question as to whether the multi-dimensional aspects of tourism would facilitate policy development to incorporate the principles of sustainability, not least as the concept of tourism itself is viewed often as having a “basic lack of rigour and focus, with conceptual weakness and fuzziness” (Cooper et al., 1993:2). This chapter initially considers the different dimensions of the concept of tourism, and then discusses the capacity of tourism to include the principles of sustainability within policy development, planning and the management of tourism.

3.1 THE PHENOMENON OF TOURISM

The multi-faceted and multi-dimensional phenomenon of tourism (Cooper et al., 1993) has unclear origins, variously associated with religious pilgrimages, and the ‘Grand Tour’ and various other significant movements of people from their usual place of residence to some other destination (Holloway, 1989; Lavery, 1987; Towner, 1994). Burns and Holden (1995) described tourism as both enigmatic and bizarre, enigmatic in as much as there remains aspects of it difficult to define, and bizarre in that it sets out to make theoretical sense of people having fun (1995:1).

Pearce (1989:1) positions tourism within the context of the concept of leisure, suggesting that it “constitutes the end of a broad leisure spectrum” which is consistent with Mill and Morrison’s view that:
Tourism is a difficult phenomenon to describe, all tourism involves travel, yet all travel is not tourism. All tourism involves recreation, yet all recreation is not tourism. All tourism occurs during leisure time, but not all leisure time is given to touristic pursuits. Tourism is an activity (taking place) when people cross a border for leisure or business and stay at least twenty four hours (1985:xvii).

Burkhart and Medlik (1981) concur with Mill and Morrison’s definition of tourism, adding that “much of this movement is international in character and much of it is a leisure activity” (1981:v). Krippendorf (1987) views the obsession with travel as a feature of post modern societies which is consistent with Urry’s view that “people are much of the time tourists whether they like it or not” (1990:82).

Leiper (1981:74) conceptualised a ‘tourism system’ with distinctive spatial and geographical elements comprised of generating and destination regions, linked to a third element of transit routes. This ‘tourism system’ supports the dynamic human element of tourists, who are attracted by ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors to engage in a range of tourism activities. Leiper notes that this is not an homogenised system, but operates within societies with distinctive physical, technological, social, cultural economic and physical characteristics.

Therefore, tourism as a global industry is a generator of large numbers of international arrivals, with 600 million recorded in 2000, and with prospects of international arrivals rising to 937 million, by the year 2010 (WTO, 1996; Brown, 1998), and despite its susceptibility to global acts of terrorism and war, it continues to be viewed as a growth industry.

3.2 THE CONSEQUENCES OF TOURISM GROWTH

The ubiquitous nature of tourism as a global phenomenon is not without its problems, with Krippendorf identifying that the 1960s signalled the “beginning of a universal and unrestrained tourism development euphoria” (1987:68). Turner and Ash (1975) recognised that the early global growth of tourism’s celebrated economic benefits also created unwelcome socio-cultural and environmental problems. Mathieson and Wall (1982), in their analysis of the impacts of tourism, position the tourism industry as a powerful agent globally for economic growth, in both developing and developed countries but with associated
negative environmental and socio-cultural externalities. Burns and Holden (1995) recognise that

what started as pilgrimage, as education for the élite, or amusement for the masses has been transferred into a global consumer product in much the same way that Pepsi-Cola, Benetton, McDonalds etc. have all become standardised, rationalised global phenomenon (1995:9).

In line with its global credentials Poon (1993:32) recognises the ‘Fordist’ characteristics of mass tourism as a standardised packaging of tourist products, which are consumed without social, environmental and cultural concerns. Similarly, Williams and Shaw (1994) recognise that mass tourism is

now deeply embedded in the organisation of life in the more developed world. Over time the objects of what Urry terms the tourism gaze, have changed: winter sports have been added to coastal holidays, and the field of mass tourism has become increasingly internationalised (1994:175).

Wheeller (1993) and Towner (1994) offer a counter-view to the vilification of mass tourism and warn against framing it in a negative and oversimplified manner, with the crude caricaturing of tourism as a major environmental predator. Towner in particular views this onslaught on mass tourism as an elitist and value laden response:

Spas ‘declined’ when the upper classes forsook them for more exclusive destinations, seaside resorts ‘waned’ when their social tone altered. No matter that the actual number of visitors increased; they were the wrong sort of visitors (1994:724).

In determining the different type of tourists and their interaction with tourism resources, Murphy (1985) recognises two main categories of tourists within a tourist typology with:

Interactional types emphasis(ing) the manner of interaction between visitors and destination areas, whereas the cognitive normative models stress the motivation behind travel. Both approaches indicate the strong links between visitor expectations - motivations and the structure of destination areas (1985:5).

Proponents of this ‘interactional model’ include Cohen (1972) and Smith (1977), with Cohen (1972) producing a classification of institutionalised and non-institutionalised tourists delineated into two distinct groups of organised and individual mass tourists. Institutionalised tourists were viewed as remaining in their ‘environmental bubble’, whilst
they ‘consume’ environments and cultures; with non-institutionalised ‘Explorers’ and ‘Drifters’, viewed more as ‘low impact travellers’. Whilst this typology might be an over-simplification of how tourism impacts on socio-cultural and natural environments, it nevertheless provides a conceptual framework for exploring alternative forms of tourism to that of ‘mass tourism’.

In addition to ‘interactional models’ are the ‘cognitive-narrative models’ of Plog (1972) and Cohen (1979) which explain motivations behind travel. Plog (1972) constructed a ‘psychographic continuum’ of tourists, containing psychocentrics, midcentric and allocentric types of travellers. Allocentrics were viewed as the most adventurous tourists, in search of remote locations, with midcentrics offering ‘limited adventure’ and psychocentrics choosing destinations characterised by familiarity and security. Cohen (1979) modified Plog’s typology, with the broad categories of ‘modern pilgrimage’ and tourists in search of ‘pleasure’. The former category highlights a spiritual dimension to motivations for tourism, with the second category of tourists seeking diversionary recreational experiences in artificial ‘pleasure environments’. Urry (1990) identifies the search for artificial pleasure environments as part of the condition of postmodernism, and the “dissolving of the boundaries” (1990:82) of cultural forms in society, with tourists engaged in “pseudo-events and disregarding the ‘real’ world outside” (1990:7).

In consideration of the spatial implications of the impacts of tourism on destinations, Butler’s (1980) concept of ‘tourist area lifecycle evaluation’, identifies that tourist areas are dynamic and evolve and alter over time, within different lifecycle stages. Destinations will be affected by supply factors, such as rates of development, access, public policies, and demand factors which aggregate to attract different market segments. There are perceived weaknesses in Butler’s conceptual model not least the empirical validation of measuring the length of stages and ‘turning points’ (Cooper, 1990:6). However, it is nevertheless viewed as particularly valuable in providing greater understanding of what processes ‘create’ tourist destination areas. Cooper (ibid.) also suggests that it is “a frame of reference for emergent themes in tourism such as sustainable tourism” (1990:6), particularly for those involved in the planning and development of tourist destinations.
Butler advocates the prudent use of resources for tourism warning that “many of the most attractive and interesting areas in the world are doomed to become tourist relics” (1980:12). Pigram and Wahab argue that this lifecycle analysis stresses the importance of strategic planning, which enables sustainable tourism options to be explored (1997:7). They suggest that this analysis provides insights into “the patterns and processes” of tourism development at a local level, in which the planning process determines development paths for destinations in conjunction with ‘tourism communities’ (ibid.). These considerations are particularly apposite to this study and how local authority areas within the UK determine scenarios for tourism development.

### 3.3 TOURISM AND ETHICS

Tourism’s reputation as resource intensive industry (McKercher, 1993) raises ethical questions about the responsibility of how the tourism industry and tourists interact with host communities and the natural environment. An ethical response to the prudent use of resources for tourism creates a special challenge in the aspiration to achieve intra-generational and inter-generational equity. Prosser (1992:37) considers that holidays are the “high point of our leisure lives, as we are removed from the norms and structures of everyday life”, and that “one of the central dilemmas of tourism, is that by definition, it is a selfish and self-indulgent experience” (ibid.). The ethics of tourism debate for Prosser centres around the tourism industry and the methods it uses to manipulate and stimulate demand, and strategies used to organise and make available the supply of holiday opportunities at the destination end (1992:40).

In his view the responsibility for the wider excesses of tourism lie not with the tourist but with the tourism industry, which has to find ways of transcending commercial imperatives, in order to address wider ethical considerations. Krippendorf (1987:20) suggests that this commercial imperative eclipses wider environmental and socio-cultural considerations. This theme was extended by McKercher (1993) who in recognising the social, cultural and environmental impacts of tourism, added that “it appears that little research has been conducted examining the underlying reasons why such impacts appear to be inevitable” (1993:6). He recognised certain structural realities or ‘fundamental truths about tourism’, highlighting that it is important to consider why tourism has inevitable impacts.
He speculates that as a resource dependent and a private sector dominated industry, with investment decisions being based predominantly on profit maximisation, that "tourism is an industrial activity that exerts a series of impacts that are similar to other industrial activities" (1993:14). Furthermore, as a multi-faceted industry, it is difficult to constrain and standardise within a coherent legislative framework or voluntary implementation of a code of ethics. In terms of the 'responsibilities' of tourists, McKercher (1993) views them as consumers, not 'anthropologists', and that essentially tourism is a form of entertainment.

Whilst he raises questions of how agencies and organisations might ameliorate and 'manage' the externalities of tourism, he argues that modifications to tourist activity might be dependent on the emergence of new forms of tourism. In this respect Palmer (1992) argues that we have an obligation of bequeathing "an undiminished bank of natural resources" (1992:182) to future generations, as part of a sustainable society. He identifies that the bequeathing of resources requires a more cautionary approach to development, with new forms of tourism adopting 'softer development paths' (Jafari, 1989; Poon, 1993).

3.4 BEYOND MASS TOURISM: THE CASE FOR ALTERNATIVE TOURISM

Burns and Holden (1995) observe that attempts to find 'solutions' to the excesses of mass tourism have seen the emergence of the concept of "destination friendly" tourism centred on 'new' ideas in tourism. These ideas were "based on the generic title of alternative tourism" and were consistent with "the demands of a wider society in the 1990's for greener and environmentally friendly products" (1995:208). However, De Kadt (1995) warns that "the concept of alternative tourism has been used in so many ways as to make it meaningless" (1995:47) raising the issue as to how to realise the benefits of these tourism forms.

Burns and Holden (1995) note that "these ideas have also increasingly found favour in post-modern societies, in search of the alternative as a means of giving new meaning and values to social order" (1995:208). Consistent with this statement, Urry (1990:13) views the search for the 'alternative' as consistent with changes from 'post-Fordist' to more individual patterns of consumption, prompting more specialised purchasing and segmentation of consumer preferences. In part Urry views the search for new tourist products as a
disillusionment with mass tourism products and "contemporary consumerism" (1990:13). He argues that an industry has emerged with specialist travel agents catering for a "discriminatory independent minded clientele" (1990:96) engaging in "connoisseur leisure" (Williams and Shaw, 1994:198). Nevertheless, Shaw and Williams identify that

the essential features of mass tourism - spatial and temporal polarisation, dependency and external control, and intense environmental pressures - will remain little changed (1994:200).

Hitchcock (1993) recognises a desire for a move away from uncontrolled and poorly managed tourism, towards alternative and appropriate forms of tourism, which signal "a shift in the centre of gravity of mass tourism" (1993:25). He recognises that organisations such as Tourism Concern and The Economical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT) have lobbied for 'softer forms' of tourism which replace exploitative tourism. Hitchcock recognises the potential benefits of alternative tourism "encouraging people both inside and outside the tourism industry to look more critically and questioningly at how tourism is affecting destinations" (1993:26).

At a local level this creates a challenge for small-scale community-based forms of alternative tourism to 'shift' the dominance of a largely multi-national directed tourism industry. Consistent with this view, Pigram (1995) highlights the importance of localities recognising the benefits of alternative tourism reflecting "the special sense of place" (1995:78). Poon (1993) characterises changing values within tourism as the dichotomy between 'old' and 'new' tourism and contrasting mass tourism with more 'responsible' tourism forms.

Burton (1995) recognises the broad nomenclature and amorphous quality of alternative tourism which incorporates terms such as 'appropriate tourism', 'community based tourism' 'ethical tourism', 'responsible tourism' and 'green tourism' (1994:137). Hitchcock (1990:26) notes that 'green consumerism' and many supposed forms of 'alternative tourism' are, in reality, repackaged forms of 'mainstream' tourism. More encouragingly for the operationalisation of alternative tourism, Hall and Weiler (1992) recognise the potential for 'special interest tourism' activities to incorporate the qualities of alternative tourism. They indicate that it

has been variously described as 'appropriate' 'ethical' or 'alternative' and the essence of alternative travel is the active,
conscious involvement of the visitor with the host in a manner which does not degrade the quality of the destination’s socio-cultural or natural environment (1992:9).

However, Hall (2000) notes that “despite the plethora of discussions of sustainability in tourism we often seem no closer to finding solutions to the problems of tourism development” (2000:1). Hall (ibid.) recognises the paradox of certain forms of tourism, such as ecotourism, helping to preserve environments which are susceptible to the adverse impacts of other industrial processes; but that conversely infrastructure and superstructure development for ecotourism also threaten natural environments. This raises the question of how sustainable tourism forms might be achieved?

3.5 LINKAGES BETWEEN SUSTAINABILITY AND TOURISM

Combining the complex phenomenon of tourism with the contestable concept of sustainability poses both conceptual and operational challenges. Bramwell et al. (1996) highlight that whilst sustainable tourism management might “ensure that tourism does not threaten the natural and human resources available for future generations” (1996:1); there is a need for clarity of definitions, not least for a diverse industry which is trying to make sense of definitions of sustainable tourism. In this respect Richards (1996) emphasises the disparate response to definitions of sustainable tourism from within the tourism industry stating that:

In one case, sustainability was taken to mean tourism development which had existed for a long time, as a major Spanish coastal resort area (1996:10).

Although the historical origins of the concept are debatable, Pierre Laine (the French sociologist and economist) is credited with founding a national association for sustainable tourism development in the 1970’s (Lane, 1990). Lane also credits Krippendorf’s text ‘The Holidaymakers’ (1987) with stimulating a debate on sustainable forms of tourism and providing a range of synonyms associated with the concept of sustainable tourism. Lane (ibid.) suggests that whilst:

Green Tourism and Alternative Tourism have slightly wholefood connotations, Responsible Tourism sounds drearily worthy. Post Industrial Tourism is fine for specialists, but confuses the public. Sustainable Tourism captures the imagination of the long term goal,
and ability to sustain host areas, holiday makers and operators alike (1990: 10).

In terms of defining sustainable tourism, Hall (1995) suggests that it should provide lasting and secure livelihoods which minimise resource depletion; environmental degradation, cultural disruption and social instability (1995: 87).

This definition is consistent with Inskeep’s (1992) treatise on the merits of integrative planning for tourist resorts identifying that it should lead to the 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 (1992: x).

Bramwell et al. (1996) recognise that there are managerial, policy and political challenges for destinations in “maximising the benefits and minimising the disbenefits” (1996: 35) of tourism, not purely from an environmental dimension, but by incorporating social, economic, cultural considerations.

The concept of sustainable tourism occupies policy considerations within a broad range of organisations from the international to the local level, with tangible evidence of a proliferation of strategies and policy commitments to sustainable tourism. Examples internationally include the WTO, ‘Sustainable Tourism Development: Guide for Local Planners, 1993, the EU (The Fifth Environmental Action Plan - 1993-2000), and the CEMAT (-Strategies for Sustainable Regional Tourism-Beyond the Year 2000).

Nationally, strategies for sustainable tourism in the UK, include the ETB sponsored report, ‘The Green Light’ (1992), the Countryside Commission sponsored report ‘Sustainable Rural Tourism’ (1996) and the UK government’s ‘Tourism: Towards Sustainability’ (1999) which promotes a national framework for the operationalisation of sustainable tourism. Before these, the English Tourist Board’s (1991) ‘Tourism and the Environment: Maintaining the Balance’ report recognised the collective role of host communities, tourists and the tourism industry as part of ‘triangle’ of interests in realising the goals of sustainable tourism at the local level.
However, despite the plethora of reports claiming to provide evidence of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within strategies and policies, critics such as Ashworth (1992) viewed the ETB's (1991) 'Tourism and the Environment: Maintaining the Balance' report as an anodyne and simplistic approach to operationalising the principles of sustainable tourism. There is however, evidence of a more complex analysis of applying the principles of sustainability to a variety of tourism environments, and creating opportunities for local community input. For example Bramwell et al. (1996) examined diverse global case studies of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within the policy area of tourism.

3.6 PRINCIPLES UNDERPINNING SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

Bramwell et al. (1996:44) recognise the importance of empowering and involving a range of stakeholders in decision making processes for sustainability at the local level. In addition to planning and policy implications, they advocate an important management role in determining human and natural resource allocation for tourism. They also acknowledge that sustainable tourism is a 'contested concept', with the scope for policy makers, planners and managers to apply contrasting technocentric and ecocentric approaches in operationalising the concept of sustainable tourism and this reflects several of the discussions summarised in Chapter One.

Which approaches are adopted, has implications for consensual and conflicting responses to resource usage, with Bramwell et al. (1996) recognising that some groups and individuals will derive greater benefits than others as a result of the interplay between political process of resource allocation and usage. They emphasise that applications of the principles of sustainability might ensure that in theory there is 'equity and fairness' in the allocation and usage of resources for tourism at the local level. Within the spectrum of ecocentric and technocentric approaches to tourism growth, they recognise that strategies for sustainable tourism should not be anti-growth, but should recognise limits to growth. They also advocate that the growth potential for tourism development should involve inter-sectoral linkages between the private, voluntary and public sectors.
Underpinning these identified principles is the notion that policy makers, planners and managers should ideally involve long-term perspectives on the development of tourism, and attempt to integrate cultural, economic, environmental, social and political dimensions.

Bramwell et al. (ibid.) provide evidence of how these principles underpin a range of case studies which incorporate urban and rural and mass and alternative tourism scenarios. These case studies emphasise how the application of broader principles of sustainability can effectively underpin sustainable tourism resource management practices. Consistent with the central theme of Bramwell et al’s. (1996) work, is Pigram’s (1995) critique of sustainable resource management.

He focuses on the question of assimilating the principle of inter-generational equity within the decision-making processes of resource managers which requires a trade-off between mutually exclusive alternatives and, in some cases, may involve the loss of valued options which can only be restored, if at all, at prohibitively high cost. Such lost options are called irreversibilities” (1995: 76).

Therefore, if tourism decisions are based solely on market criteria for short-term, ‘mass tourism’ projects, this principle of inter-generational equity is ignored, with irreversible change excluding ‘option values’. Underpinning the benefits of environmental protection is the notion of ‘existence values’ which allow resources to remain intact for future benefits at the expense of current short-term benefits. These short-term benefits, if based on economic criteria, might jeopardise the benefits realised by future generations with the loss of environmental resources. Pigram (ibid.) takes the view that current generations would be prepared to “accept a less than optimal outcome in the interests of these distant generations”. Therefore the value gained from such (sub-optimal) decisions compensates for the losses accepted, and has been termed ‘bequest value’. Using a combination of these three values, decision makers can ‘accommodate’ both uncertainty and the concept of irreversibility. According to Pigram (ibid.) this “underpins the growing opposition to forms of development seen as generating irreversibilities and the support of sustainable resource management strategies”.

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These observations highlight the potential scope for desirable policy options on sustainable tourism initiatives to provide benefits for local community representatives, industry representatives and tourists who are concerned with the appropriateness of tourism development. These are discussions which are highly pertinent to the present study.

Pigram's (1995) analysis of policy options for sustainable tourism resource management, are based on two models; which include Koslowski et al.'s. (1989) 'Ultimate Environmental Threshold' model which focuses on key aspects of resource usage of the natural environment (to the exclusion of other aspects).

Additionally, Sidaway's (1985) 'Limits of Acceptable Change' (L.A.C) model accepts development changes as the 'norm', and recognises the need to move beyond rational planning and to seek public participation in making assessments of proposed changes. Pigram (op cit.) recognises that the 'L.A.C process' should identify the "nature, scale, and pace of environmental manipulation acceptable, and whether some forms of tourism are more or less appropriate to particular environmental settings" (1995:76). He concludes that: "Increasingly, sustainable management of resources is being accepted as the logical way to match the needs of conservation and development" (ibid.).

The Federation and Nature and National Parks of Europe, in their 1993 report 'Loving them to Death', identify the synergy between conservation and development within a variety of sustainable tourism case studies, in which 'appropriate tourism' initiatives were developed in Europe's most sensitive environments. Central to these initiatives was community collaboration with public sector policy makers and private sector representatives in determining sustainable tourism initiatives for particular localities. Murphy (1995) was also a proponent of positioning a community dimension in tourism development, advocating a model of 'ecological communities'. He suggested that a community has the capacity to "possess its own ecological potential or its own carrying capacity, representing the number of organisations and activities the local ecosystem can sustain" (1985:167). In the process of planning and assessment of the spatial and temporal characteristics of the 'ecological community', the emphasis is on communities determining the most appropriate scale of development to be adopted.
3.7 POLICY AND PLANNING FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

A key element that emerges from Pigram and Wahab's (1997) analysis of sustainable tourism, is the role of planning in understanding the "parameters of sustainability" (1997:3). In considering the linkages between sustainable tourism and the concept of sustainable development, they question "whether (sustainable tourism) is a reality or a myth" (1997:4). They recognise that tourism should be managed sustainably to minimise resource degradation whilst maintaining growth in tourism and preserving its longevity.

However, as a prelude to managing tourism more effectively, they argue that there should be "coherent policy formulation and implementation" (1997:8) and that "evaluating a community's sensitivity to tourism development is the first step towards sustainability". Furthermore, they suggest that

sustainable tourism cannot be successfully implemented without the direct support and involvement of those affected by it. Devising effective strategies for allowing citizens' involvement in the tourism planning process is of primary importance for sustainable tourism development (1997:9).

These too are concepts that are particularly relevant to this study, and the inference is that it is not possible to realise the full potential for sustainable tourism development at the local level without effectively finding participatory techniques for incorporating local communities in the planning process. In providing a framework for collaboration Williams et al. (1996:418) advocate that 'Tourism Resource Inventories' can enable public sector policymakers, the private sector and community representatives to make informed decisions about the planning, development and management of tourism resources. These inventories create the potential for an integrated planning process, based on locally derived information, that reflects the importance tourists and tourism operators place on natural, cultural and heritage attributes. Pigram and Wahab (1997) argue that not only should communities be incorporated into strategies for sustainable tourism at the local level but that tourist demands, and environmental considerations should be combined into policy objectives.

Planning for sustainability is a key theme of Hall's (2000) work in emphasising that the "sustainable tourism imperative" (2000:1) is central to tourism planning and policy.
Hall notes how policy and planning has a key role in realising the goal of sustainable tourism, with planning viewed as a future orientated process which provides a framework for policies to be formulated and implemented. Hall highlights that planning for tourism is part of wider “economic, social and environmental considerations” which he argues is underpinned by political processes (2000:12).

Hall also identifies evolving traditions of the development of tourism with different planning responses, with ‘early’ tourism development in the mid-1950 onwards characterised by ‘boosterism’, which saw the development of tourism without planning. Subsequent phases of tourism development included ‘economic’ planning approaches, which were based on maximising the economic benefits of tourism to the exclusion of other dimensions. Likewise, a ‘physical-spatial’ planning was characterised by a “rational approach to the planning of natural resources” (2000:26) which viewed tourism as having negative environmental impacts. Hall positions a community-orientated approach to planning as an important part of realising sustainable outcomes. Within this approach, Hall links the five basic principles of sustainability which emerged within the Brundtland Report (1987).

These include holistic planning and strategy making, preserving essential ecological processes, the protection of human heritage and bio-diversity, maintaining intergenerational productivity and greater fairness between nations (2000:4-5). He identifies that political intervention is important in recognising the ‘public good’ and ‘public interest’ related to sustainability, and safeguarding the needs of future generations (2000:60). Tourism planning in his view is a ‘political problem’ rather than a ‘technical issue’ which can be approached within a planning process based on ‘technical rationality’ (2000:61).

Furthermore, he argues that the scope of public policy makers, in conjunction with communities to determine tourism development at the local level, is “a product of the structures of public governance and the extent to which such structures are genuinely open to participation and debate” (2000:61). Crucially, he argues that there should be an integrated approach to combining economic, cultural, political, social and environmental considerations at the local level.
3.8 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter initially highlighted the complexities within the phenomenon of tourism which, because of its "conceptual weakness and fuzziness" (Cooper et al., 1993:4) presents an empirical challenge to combine its meanings with the contestable concept of sustainability. The predicted continuing growth of tourism and its varying impacts suggests that in order to ameliorate its wider excesses, there is a requirement for softer development paths (Jafari, 1989) to integrate tourism activities with community development aspirations within localities. Bramwell et al. (1996) emphasise that the principles of sustainable resource management should not be applied exclusively to alternative forms of tourism, but crucially should also be applied 'mass tourism destinations'. Furthermore, they argue that managerial, policy and planning dimensions should be integrated with environmental, social, cultural, economic and political dimensions, in realising the full capacity of sustainable tourism at the local level.

With ecocentric and technocentric approaches underpinning managerial, planning and policy responses to sustainability, Pigram (1995) emphasises the importance of the principle of inter-generational and intra-generational equity in informing decision making and policy development for sustainability which respond to 'irreversible' resource changes. Crucially, and with particular relevance here, Pigram and Wahab (1997); Hall (2000) identify the significance of community participation in realising policy options for sustainability, which express different scenarios for change at a local level. Within the next chapter Cycling and Cycle Tourism are reviewed as potential transport and tourism forms with the capacity to help operationalise the principles of sustainability at a local level and provide evidence that with the correct balance of inter-agency collaboration and community participation, sustainable tourism is implementable - albeit in different ways within different policy frameworks.
CHAPTER FOUR: CYCLING, CYCLE TOURISM AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Following the reviews of the phenomenon of tourism and the concept of alternative tourism, with its association with sustainability, the main aim of this chapter is to evaluate one alternative form of tourism, which has the capacity to create a model for the implementation of the principles of sustainable tourism at the local level. It is this examplar which will then be taken through the remainder of the study and into empirical testing through case studies with different levels of local government and different types of community. Specifically this chapter evaluates the credentials of cycling as a sustainable transport and sustainable tourism form. In this respect Page (1999) highlights the importance of cycling as a sustainable form of transport, with Lumsdon (1995), Beioley (1995), Cope et al. (1998), Ritchie (1998), Jackson and Morpeth (1999), all highlighting the principles of sustainability that are exemplified by cycle tourism.

4.1 THE EVOLUTION OF CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM IN THE UK

The bicycle has an important place in the social history of transport, leisure and tourism in the UK. Doggett and Rose (1991:13) note how the bicycle first emerged as a form of transport in the 1860s, and that by 1888 its adaptation for general use by J.B.Dunlop created the opportunity for leisure use beyond urban boundaries. Patmore (1983) identifies how the demand for cycle tourism achieved mass popularity by 1899, with cycling organisations such as the UK based Cycling Touring Club (CTC) at that time attracting over 60,000 members. Patmore attributes this popularity in leisure and tourism based cycling to be part of a wider manifestation of "renewing the urban acquaintance with the countryside" (1983:34), with cycling maintaining its popularity into the early part of the Twentieth Century despite "the growing ubiquity of the car" (ibid.).
The CTC provided the platform for cyclists to enjoy day rides and longer tours organised by a network of district associations, and has maintained its significance as a national cycling organisation providing local information and support for utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling. In advancing the principles of sustainability through the activity of cycling, the CTC suggests that “the bicycle is unobtrusive, quiet, relatively inexpensive, healthy and pollution free - the ultimate ecologically impeccable vehicle” (undated:4).

In addition to the emergence of a network of regional and local CTC ‘clubs’, there are a range of independent cycling clubs, which cater for the competitive, leisure and cycle tourists. In common with CTC members, club cyclists have established a discernible leisure sub-culture, dressing in emblematic clothing, riding similar bicycles, in shared ‘blocks’ of leisure time.

There are a combination of factors as to why cycling, as part of a wider trend for outdoor leisure based activities maintained its popularity within the first part of the Twentieth Century in the UK. The ‘Sunshine Era’ of the 1920s provided the impetus for outdoor health and fitness, with a focus on the physical exercise of walking and cycling (Doggett and Rose, 1991:13). Furthermore, the formation of the Youth Hostels Association in 1930, provided cyclists with a rural infrastructure of affordable overnight accommodation. The Holiday with Pay Act 1938, introduced a one week paid annual holiday, giving further scope for cyclists to extend their itineraries beyond one day and weekend leisure tours.

However, within post-war Britain, growing affluence, advances in transport technology, wider car ownership and access to international travel, were contributory factors in the decline in bicycle use. Despite the optimism of the Chief Executive of Sustrans (the national sustainable transport charity) about the growth potential of cycling, he (Grimshaw, 1995) also emphasises the public perception of cycling as dangerous and not a ‘real’ form of transport.

The bicycle has increasingly become marginalised as a transport form for utilitarian, leisure and tourism use, which is reflected in current levels of utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling in the UK.
In terms of utilitarian cycling, less than 2% of trips are made on bicycles, and there is a disparity in cycling use between the UK and countries in mainland Europe. Comparable usage in Sweden is 10%, 11% in Germany and 18% in Denmark (Department of the Environment Transport and the Regions, 1998). The DETR (1998) also note that as other European countries have positively advocated cycle use the UK has seen a decline over many decades.

Ironically, according to Roger Dear, President of the UK Bicycle Association, the number of people owning bicycles in the UK has doubled in the last decade, to 20 million bicycles, which is comparable with levels of car ownership (Sustrans, 1994:1). The Bicycle Association also emphasises that with cycle sales at 2 million annually this suggests that cycle ownership is likely to continue to grow. The inference is that whilst mainland Europe has maintained a 'cycling culture' once prevalent within the UK, there is nevertheless a latent demand for cycling which could be realised, particularly as half of all journeys in the UK are under 2 miles. This was emphasised by the DETR when they stated that:

*The UK has neither an unusual geography, climate or economy in Switzerland there are more hills, Sweden has colder winters and Germany higher car ownership; yet each has five times the share of bicycle trips of the UK (DETR, 1998:1).*

The CTC cite a recorded decrease in cycling on roads due to safety worries and significantly that off road cyclists do not feature in national travel surveys. They also stress that whilst the national average for cycling in the UK is low, there are areas with relatively high popularity.

*Cycling has been an important mode of transport in Britain throughout the twentieth century. Although use has declined from its peak in the 1930s, it remains significant today. In certain towns, notably Cambridge, Oxford and York, cycling accounts for around 20% of journeys to work. Nationally, 2% of journeys over one mile are by bicycle. Most cycle journeys are for commuting / business (41%) or leisure (31%) (DOT 1993). Cycling is therefore a utility mode, particularly important for urban commuting (CTC, 1996:6).*

With regards to the market size for leisure and cycle tourism in the UK, the available statistical information suggests that in 1994, cycling accounted for around 2% of all leisure trips, which amounted to 71.4 million cycling day trips per year. Furthermore, an additional
25 million day trips were taken per year by bicycle, although not exclusively using the bicycle as a means of transport (The United Kingdom Day Visit Survey, 1994).

In the same year 500,000 holidays were taken in the UK by UK residents, creating an estimated £89 million in tourism receipts (The United Kingdom Tourism Survey, 1994). This figure represents 1% of holidays taken in the UK, with holidays characterised as independent, rather than packaged cycle tourism holidays. Whilst there is an absence of data on international cycle tourist arrivals to the UK, the British Tourist Authority highlight the demand for UK cycle tourism products from France, Scandinavia, Germany, Netherlands and Belgium (BTA, 1995).

Despite the current 'modest' levels of cycle tourism within the UK, there is optimism about the potential for long-term growth (Lumsdon, 1995; Sustrans, 1996; EETB, 1996). This optimism emanates from the continuing development of the 10,000 mile NCN and interconnecting routes, developed by Sustrans, in conjunction with local authorities and associated organisations, which has the potential to attract utilitarian, leisure and tourist based cycling. The initial aim was to create a 2,000 mile national network of largely traffic free-routes, catering for cyclists, walkers and people with disabilities. These routes are designed to link urban centres throughout the UK, combining traffic-calmed roads with traffic free-paths, and utilising disused railway lines and river and canal paths. With a £42.5 million award from the UK Millennium Commission in 1995, Sustrans estimate that this extended network has the potential to carry over 100 million journeys for utilitarian purposes, with 40% of usage for leisure, and 20 million households being within a 10 minute cycle ride of the NCN (Sustrans, 1995).

One particular UK 'region' which has taken advantage of developing cycle routes in conjunction with the NCN is the East of England, covering the counties of Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1996, the East of England Tourist Board (EETB) launched a 'Cycle Tourism Strategy (1996-99)' which promoted the economic benefits for cycle tourism and cycle hire operators, and the accommodation and attractions sectors in rural communities. Typical of one such cycle tourism route is the 370 mile Hull to Harwich Cycle Route, which is part of the NCN. This route followed on from the successful launch of long-distance routes in other regions in the UK, particularly the launch in 1995 of the 170 mile Coast to
Coast Cycle Route (C2C) from Whitehaven in Cumbria to Sunderland in County Durham. Cope, Doxford and Hill (1998) established that in 1996, between 12,000 to 15,000 cyclists used this route, spending between £1.07 and £1.85 million, and that in 1997 11,000 cyclists used the route. The success of this route was partly responsible for re-orientating Sustrans’ initial focus of promoting utilitarian based cycling, towards realising the benefits of leisure and tourism based cycling.

4.2 DEFINING CYCLE TOURISM

Definitions of cycle tourism have to recognise the changing nature of utilitarian, leisure and tourism applications of cycling in the UK, with the shifting image of cycling characterised by Beioley (1995) as a transformation from “wicker baskets, cycle clips and plastic capes, replaced by figure hugging lycra” (1995:17). Cycle tourism, far from being a staple part of a mass outdoor leisure and tourist boom, forms part of a fragmented tourism market in the UK. In this respect Lumsdon (1995); Beioley (1996) and Simonsen and Jørgsen (1996) all highlight the importance of understanding the demand characteristics of cycle tourists, “if the supply side of the industry is to be sustainable in the future” (Ritchie, 1998:99).

Lumsdon (1995) defines as cycle tourism as recreational cycling activities ranging from a day or part-day casual outing to a long distance touring holiday. The fundamental ingredient is that cycling is perceived by the visitor as an integral part of an excursion or holiday, i.e. a positive way of enhancing leisure time (1995:1).

Additionally, Simonsen and Jørgsen (1996) conceptualised a ‘continuum’ of cycle tourists from the ‘occasional cyclist’ to the ‘cycling enthusiast’, suggesting that whilst the ‘occasional cyclist’ might combine cycling with other vacation activities, the ‘cycling enthusiast’ is characterised as a special interest tourist, where cycling is the main focus of the holiday. Ritchie (1998) speculated that the majority of cyclists probably lie somewhere between these two ‘poles’ on the ‘continuum’.

The concept of a ‘continuum’ of cycle tourists is redolent of the concept of recreation specialisation (Bryan, 1977; Stebbins, 1982) which recognises that recreation and leisure
participants have different levels of commitment, motivations and skills which can lead to 'ephemeral' or 'specialised' levels of participation. Stebbins identifies the existence of 'careers' in 'serious leisure', which incorporates "personal effort based on special knowledge, training or skill, and sometimes all three" (1982:256). Of relevance to cycle tourism and a similar concept of a 'sports tourism continuum' was proposed by Jackson and Reeves (1996).

The fact that cyclists manifest different levels of skill and commitment, provides a challenge for supply-side organisations to match the needs of cyclists, with an appropriate infrastructure and tourist products. As part this process they might also have to address linkages in participation between utilitarian, leisure and tourism forms of cycling. Ritchie (1998), adapting the works of Beioley (1995) and Lumsdon (1995) produced a framework for understanding the characteristics of recreational cyclists and cycle tourists.

Table 4.1: Different types and characteristics of recreational cyclists and bicycle tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Type</th>
<th>Segment types</th>
<th>User characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day touring</td>
<td>Home based</td>
<td>Half day and day trips, primarily from home, families and adult groups, younger mountain bikers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mountain biker</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Day events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle hirers</td>
<td>Casual and inexperienced</td>
<td>Holiday based for the whole or part day experienced cyclists, families and youth groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidaymakers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-planned cycle touring</td>
<td>Independent and organised</td>
<td>Independent group-led tours, individuals and families, Overseas visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIY touring holidays</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Touring holidays more experienced with good knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centred Holidays</td>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>Independent group-led tour from accommodation base</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1 reveals the broad category of cycle tourists and the challenge for supply-side organisations in catering for the needs of these different types of cycle tourists. For example, the EETB (1996) consider that success in attracting cycle tourists to 'their' region will be dependent on a co-ordinated response from regional tourist boards, local authorities, Sustrans and cycle tourism operators. As such, they also indicate that beyond the intrinsic benefits of cycling and cycle tourism, there are extrinsic policy benefits expressing advantages of sustainability for specific localities and stating that:

Cycling tourism can play a role in the sustainability debate. The need for recreation and tourism activities which are sensitive to and compatible with the environment is becoming increasingly important. Cycling tourism is clearly such an activity; it can bring economic benefits to rural areas, yet have very little impact on the environment (1996:4).

4.3 LINKING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITH CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM: VOLUNTARY SECTOR ORGANISATIONS

As a prelude to the empirical research process and the application of the central research question of how cycle tourism operationalises the principles of sustainability as a model of sustainable tourism at the local level, this section reviews the identifiable sustainability credentials which underpin cycling and cycle tourism, including a review of how voluntary, public and private sector organisations interpret the sustainability credentials of cycling and cycle tourism.

4.3.1 CYCLING TOURING CLUB (CTC)

The CTC lobby public sector policy makers particularly at a local level for example, to introduce demand management strategies, advocating a shift in motorised vehicle usage, to more environmentally-friendly transport modes such as cycling. They estimate that if 20% of non-walk trips were made by bicycle, "this would yield an estimated economic benefit of £1.3 billion per annum through reduced congestion, accidents, pollution, ill-health and absenteeism" (1996a:7). They believe that communities should have a broader choice of transport modes for utilitarian and for leisure and tourism trips and that cycling can help to overcome 'transport poverty'.

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4.3.2 SUSTRANS

The Sustrans Chief Executive John Grimshaw, emphasises that if cycling policy is not to be ephemeral, “it must be sufficiently robust, so as to be pursued for a number of years” (1995:1). This concern for the policy sustainability of cycling and cycle tourism, recognises that it should have the capacity to develop over extended timescales, and through a co-ordinated approach by local authorities and multi-agencies. Sustrans emphasise that in creating cycling and pedestrian routes that they are “recovering public space from the tyranny of the motorcar”, which has led to the increasing marginalisation of the bicycle on public roads (1992:1).

Sustrans also stress the associated benefits that might accrue from community input in the planning and construction of routes. These benefits were expressed in the Sustrans report ‘Local Agenda 21 and the National Cycle Network: Routes to local sustainability’ (1996b) which had two main aims. Firstly highlighting initially how the NCN could have linkages with LA21 processes, and secondly, the report was designed to inform cyclists how Local Agenda 21 processes could be linked to cycling and the associated benefits of the NCN. The report considered 13 sustainable themes derived from the Local Government Management Board report (1995) on sustainability indicators, with Sustrans identifying the sustainability benefits of the NCN, as creating a reduction in pollution, promoting efficient resource usage, health, diversity of nature, and opportunities for culture, recreation and leisure.

Sustrans also acknowledge the potential of the NCN to alleviate ‘transport poverty’, which affects people’s access to services and facilities. The organisation’s interpretation of sustainability goes beyond exclusively environmental benefits and highlighted the social benefits of cycling, with the central focus of their work promoting “sustainable access rather than sustainable transport” (1996:11). They emphasised that the priority should be “a reduction in the need for transport and giving people access to the things they want with less movement”(ibid.). In this sense, Sustrans’ philosophy reflects Wiertsm’s (1992) interpretation of sustainability being related to ‘equilibrium’ rather than growth.
The Sustrans report incorporated Mozer's (1993) concept of 'Least Cost Planning' which recognises the need to identify alternative transport strategies, to encourage public transport and increase cycling use to reduce traffic volume. Underpinning this philosophy is that there is no intrinsic demand for transport, but a requirement to ensure more efficient (and equitable) access to information, goods and services.

From a sustainable tourism dimension, Sustrans promote the NCN as an opportunity to reduce the costs, and the negative impacts of car-borne tourism, investing in the development of a tourism form that has the potential to generate £150 million in tourism receipts, and to assist in creating an additional 3700 jobs annually in the UK (Sustrans, 1995). This raises the issue of how local authorities and the agencies responsible for operationalising principles of sustainability through the LA21 processes, might promote cycling as a model for sustainable tourism. Sustrans' theme of community involvement, actually predates the introduction of LA21 as a platform for community-centred initiatives in the UK, and it could be argued that in highlighting the significance of cycling and cycle tourism to the policy framework of LA21, Sustrans has provided local authority departments, particularly those involved in leisure and tourism, with a tailor-made opportunity for sustainable development activity and opportunities for community involvement in an emerging and growth area of tourism demand.

The previously identified 'C2C Route', which attracted 15,000 cycle tourists in 1996 (Cope et al., 1996) was viewed as promoting benefits for economically marginal and touristically under-developed areas. It has also minimised the potential negative environmental impacts in West Cumbria and the North Pennines, in the UK. Whilst the economic benefits of such initiatives are often challenged, spending here has been estimated at a daily average of £30 per cyclist, with an annual spend of £1.5 million generated by cyclists along the route (Tourism Society, 1997). Similar estimates of economic benefits accruing from cycle tourism have been made for example, by Somerset County Council, who estimated an associated potential spend of £19.5 million through new cycle tourism businesses by 2005 (Inscape and Clearly Hughes Associates, 1994). Sustrans also emphasise the economic benefits of cycle tourism to rural businesses, citing
A Dutch study (Snelderwaard, 1996) found that users of the long distance Dutch ‘LF-Routes’ were mainly qualified people earning a little above the average and aged between 36-55. In preparation for a ride of several days, £5 was spent on route information and a further £16 in accessories. Cyclists on longer trips spend on average of £26.50 per day and use more hotels and restaurants than cyclists on day trips. The study estimated that for a 250 km route, long distance cyclists generate between £0.6 million and £1.8 million per year. These figures are further increased to about £2.6 million, when expenditure by day cyclists is included (Sustrans, 1996a).

Neither the focus of Sustrans work, nor its potential benefits, are exclusively UK orientated, and the community benefits to be accrued from a European Cycle Route Network can be cited. In conjunction with the European Cyclists Federation, Sustrans has identified 26 countries throughout Europe with national cycle routes. In addition, 28 cities throughout Europe have become part of a ‘Cyclists for Cities’ scheme. As an extension of the Sustrans National Cycle Network, the EuroVelo project has also been successful in creating a cross-border network of 12 long-distance cycle routes, partly through the political and financial support from the European Community, who in 1997 pledged 50% of the start-up funding for this project. Sustrans noted that the aims of this network

*are to raise the profile of cycling across the continent, to spread best practice in cycle promotion and to encourage cycle tourism - for its economic benefits as well as its low environmental impact* (Sustrans, 1998:11).

The development stage of this project, was jointly co-ordinated by the European Cyclists’ Federation and Sustrans, creating the 470 km ‘Noord Zee Route’ between Den Helder in the Netherlands and Boulogne-Sur-Mer in France. In Austria and Germany, the 700 km Trans-national ‘Donauradeg’ cycle route was described by Sustrans’ European Liaison Officer, as Europe’s most successful long distance cycle route. Evolving cycle routes include the 3653 km ‘Wine and Gourmet Route’ from Nantes in France to the Danube Delta; the 5000 km ‘Atlantis Green Route’ from Scotland to Spain; and the 6000 km ‘North Sea Route’, traversing Scandinavia and Northern Europe.

In many of these cases, there are identifiable opportunities for community level planning and involvement in a quintessentially sustainable form of development for transport, leisure and tourism purposes. Jackson and Morpeth (1999) also highlight the Sustrans’ ‘Kingfisher
Cycle Route' linking Northern and Southern Ireland, as an example of cycle tourism acting as a development model to stimulate community rural employment opportunities. Likewise the 'Thousand Bicycles in a Region' project, highlighted by the Federation of Nature and National Parks in Europe (1993) based in the 'Kop Van Overijssel' in the Northeast Polder region in the Netherlands, represents an example where the bicycle has been given greater status, as part of an alternative transport system used to limit access by car. The linking of cycle routes with bus and water taxi services, has created new community based employment through the opening of nine cycle hire centres in the region.

4.4 PUBLIC SECTOR RESPONSES TO CYCLING

In 1996 the UK Government’s Department of the Transport published a National Cycling Strategy which highlighted the synergy between cycling and sustainable transport. It raised the political profile of cycling, positioning it as an integral part of sustainable transport strategies, which promote a less resource-consuming means of transport. The Strategy stated that:

Above all, there needs to be a cultural change whereby local and national Government and all their partners "think bike" as part of sustainability. A successful cycling policy will only happen if it is owned by all the "stakeholders" not driven by minority interests. The stakeholders include the community at large (DETR, 1998:6).

In the strategy cycling was linked to a broader policy agenda for sustainability, incorporating such issues as pollution, congestion, personal health and the promotion of local accessibility. In line with these considerations the Report of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution (1994:185) proposed an increase in cycle use to 10% of all urban journeys by the year 2005, compared to 2.5% in 1994, and sought further increases thereafter on the basis of targets set by central government in conjunction with local government. Of relevance to LA21 considerations, the Commission considered that local authorities would have a central role in interpreting these targets and providing an infrastructure for cycling.

As with other elements of sustainable development identified by national government (UK Government, 1994) this is to be achieved through standard planning mechanisms, with local
authority annual Transport Policies and Programme Submissions (TPPs) (now superseded by Local Transport Plans) incorporating plans to integrate cycling into local transport systems.

Other significant documents providing linkages between cycling and sustainability include ‘The Sustainable Development - The UK Strategy’ (1994), which notes the importance of cycling and walking, as health promoting activities; and Planning Policy Guidance Note 13 advocates that “local plans should include policies that encourage the implementation of specific measures to assist people to use bicycles” (para; 4.15).

The 1996 National Cycling Strategy provides an overarching policy mechanism for developing and promoting cycling, as a healthy, energy efficient and economic form of transport. It identified that cycle use should double by 2002, from a base level in 1996, and double again by 2012. This strategy also recognises that local authorities should establish and achieve realistic local targets for increases in cycle use which would determine future local transport funding acquired from central government.

The DETR identified that the National Cycling Strategy (1996) was underpinned by ‘a Model Cycling Policy Framework (MCPF)’, which emerged from the Cyclists Public Affairs Group (C-PAG), identifying the “National Cycling Strategy as an illustration of the multidisciplinary approach which may be adopted by local authorities” (DETR, 1998:1). Based on six UK case studies in Cambridgeshire, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Manchester, Oxford and Taunton, the ‘Model Cycling Policy Framework’ identified the likely components of a local cycling strategy. The emphasis of a cycling strategy was that it should be framed within a wider policy context of local transport priorities and it was intended that through a process of public participation, and through national legislative guidance local cycling needs should emerge.
4.5 LOCAL AUTHORITY POLICY AGENDAS FOR CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM

In their policy document ‘Making way for the Bicycle’ (1994), Sustrans suggest that there are a number of reasons why local authorities are likely to promote cycling policy underpinned by a demand-led rationale where individuals and organisations increasingly seek safer provision for cyclists and walkers, and measures to combat pollution, climate change, congestion, road casualties and other unpleasant effects of car(s) (1994:2).

In mobilising national government guidance on cycling, Sustrans indicate that there is a policy expectation that local authorities will undertake a strategic approach to cycling as part of a review of creating a local transport network. Increasingly this involves the appointment of Cycling Officers who would play a pivotal role in developing a cycling strategy integrated into a Local Transport Plan. Cycling would play a crucial role in improving local ‘accessibility’ to services. It was envisaged that cycling policies should be integrated into a range of other service areas, including recreation and tourism strategies.

Councillor Merritt, Leader of York City Council, addressing the ‘Bike To The Millennium National Cycle Network Conference’ in 1995 organised by York City Council, suggested that “the first prerequisite for any local authority setting out to promote cycling is political commitment”. It was his contention that because cycling has not emerged as a party political issue at the national level, it should be possible to achieve ‘all party’ consensus at the local level, to resource cycle infrastructure development, integrated into the highway and planning systems (and integrated into Local, Unitary and Statutory Plans). He felt that it is important to establish ‘communication channels’ between local authorities and communities, in determining priorities for cycling at the local level. Merritt (1995:2) recognised that the “way towards implementation” is to produce a policy framework for cycling, set within the wider context of a transportation strategy, which highlights policy objectives and provides “a benchmark against which all future projects can be assessed” (ibid.).
He identified that the implementation process for cycling policy requires support by political members and officers from all service areas involved in cycling issues, including partnership arrangements with organisations such as Sustrans. Part of this implementation process is the introduction of the monitoring of cycle routes to determine the extent of a 'modal shift' in journeys from car based travel to bicycles, which is a crucial element in securing funding for cycling from central government.

4.6 COMMERCIAL OPERATORS AND CYCLE TOURISM

Whilst the voluntary and public sectors have a key role to play in the resourcing of cycling infrastructure development, commercial operators also play an important role in servicing the needs of cycle tourists. Beioley (1995) identified that within the UK, there are approximately 350 cycle tourism businesses, providing organised 'packaged' holiday experiences, with accommodation, route itineraries and hire facilities for cycle tourists. Typical of these small tourism businesses is 'Bicycle Beano', a niche tourism operator utilising existing accommodation outlets in Wales and the Welsh borders for organised week long cycle tours.

The East of England Tourist Board in their research of holiday operators in Norfolk and Suffolk, identified 9 small cycle holiday operator businesses, which “tended to be either lifestyle businesses or diversifications from cycle hire operation” (1996:22). They note that the majority of operators have been in business between 5 and 10 years, with most operators anticipating a further growth in independent rather than packaged holidays. Cycling operators arrange accommodation (small hotels, guest houses or B& Bs) with self-guided itineraries, maps and information, luggage transfer and insurance cover.

There are travel companies that offer cycle tourism products as part of a wider portfolio of activity holidays with ‘The Alternative Travel Group’, a UK based travel company, offering specialist guides and independent cycling and walking holidays. Their Managing Director, Christopher Whinney, emphasises how the company “was founded in 1979 based on principles of conservation and sustainable tourism, long before these concepts became fashionable” (2001:2). Guides and managers are given environmental training and 10% of profits are committed to conservation projects in areas visited.
Cycling within the UK has undergone a renaissance, largely as a result of the development of the 10,000 mile Sustrans inspired National Cycle Network, which crucially has received political support at a national and local level. This developing cycling infrastructure is designed to stimulate utilitarian and leisure based cycling, but has achieved notable success in attracting cycle tourists. In particular, the C2C route is recognised as tapping the latent potential for cycling and cycle tourism, comparable to the identified levels in other European countries. This chapter recognises that there are a range of voluntary sector organisations, public sector policy makers and commercial operators, acknowledging the capacity of cycling and cycle tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability. These benefits offer a transport infrastructure which can improve access to facilities and services for communities, as well as offering the benefits of a different form of mobility to car based tourism. In particular, public sector policy makers have a crucial role in operationalising the principles of sustainability at a local level, potentially through the LA21 process which Sustrans (1996) recognised can provide benefits for communities through the development of cycling infrastructure.

Encouragingly for local authorities, government strategies for cycling advocate the development of infrastructure for cycling at the local level which promote the benefits of a sustainable form of transport. Furthermore, Central Government funding is available to local authorities to resource projects for cycling at the local level. With this chapter recognising the flexibility of cycling infrastructure to service the needs of utilitarian, leisure and tourism forms of cycling, the empirical research process will explore the capacity of cycle tourism as a model for operationalising the principles of sustainable tourism at a local level, initially scrutinising the scope for community development for cycling.
CHAPTER FIVE: LOCAL GOVERNANCE, COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL AGENDA 21

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the role of local authorities and their interaction with communities within the context of local governance, and explores the capacity of LA21 policy frameworks to operationalise the principles of sustainability in community orientated policy development at the local level.

5.1 LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THEIR ROLE IN LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The local government system within the UK has had to adapt to extensive reforms by central government in recent decades, which have challenged the ‘traditional’ role of local government in the process of local governance. In this respect Johnson and Pattie (1996) identify:

Local government (as) that part of the state apparatus which is democratically accountable to a sub-national electorate, but which operates within the constitutional and legal constraints set by a sovereign central state - is the one component of the wider process of local governance. Local governance includes not just the formal agencies within the state apparatus but also a wider range of other actors, institutional, individual, private, voluntary as well as the public sector, which is involved in regulating a local economy and society (1996:671).

In evolving arrangements for local governance there is a complex framework of public, semi-public and private organisations, augmenting the traditional service delivery of elected local government (Hill, 1994). The current debate on how to operationalise the principles of sustainability within systems of local governance, has a wider resonance as to how local government has traditionally responded to the social, economic, cultural and environmental ‘conditions’ of its citizens. For example, the creation of a Local Government Board in 1871, identified the conditions needed for a “civilised social life” which included the need for “pure water-supply, sewage, burial arrangements and the inception of food” (Richards, 1973:18).
By 1938, according to Richards, the introduction of The Local Government Act, became "the foundation of our present system of local government - outside London - until the enforcement of the Local Government Act, in 1972" (ibid.).

The political vision of the 1969 Maud Report was designed to preserve a viable system of local democracy through an appropriate local government system which could resist the overpowering influence of central government. This relationship was characterised by Hanson and Walles (1976) as "common sense limiting the amount of backseat driving that central government was prepared to attempt" (1976:224) which evaporated during successive Conservative administrations from 1979 to 1997, with "collaboration (being) replaced by antagonism" (ibid.). Stewart (1994) described this as a "systematic reduction in the power and functions of local authorities" which due to the 'agenda setting' of central government, led to a "new localism" (1994:142). These reforms were perceived to be part of a New Right political agenda which was very much the zeitgeist of UK politics in the 1980s.

The 1988 Local Government Act saw the emergence of a new system of County and Borough Councils, with the 1990s witnessing further centralising and modernising reforms of local government. According to Chandler (1988) central government was effectively deciding the structure, functions and processes of local government within the UK, and that within successive Conservative administrations "greater emphasis (was) now placed on the ability of central government to dictate to, rather than bargain with, the local government community" (1988:7). Corner and Harvey (1991) suggest that these Conservative administrations "marked a break with the consensus politics of the mixed economy and the welfare state" (1991:3). This statement encapsulates the uneasy relationship between central and local government characterised by Woller (1991) as the "embattled and fossilised years" (1991:179).

Service delivery based primarily on social goals was supplanted by more overt commercial goals, changing the philosophy and nature of service delivery in the UK. Local government, as the provider of services has now been superseded by overtly market orientated and privatised services, adopting a more entrepreneurial style with citizens becoming consumers.
Hudson and Williams (1995) describe the tenor of these reforms of local government, directed by central government as the credo of political minimalism. Nevertheless, despite these reforms, Hill emphasises that the fundamental justification for local government, is that it should be democratic and accountable, and its decision making accessible and participatory at a local level (1994:99). However, successive re-organisation and the fragmentation of the role and responsibilities of local government, has created the 'hollowing out' of service delivery (Patterson and Theobold, 1996). Conversely, Stewart (1994) also recognises a shift in the centralising powers of central government with a 'hollowing out' of the state with greater devolution of power from the 'Centre' to regions and localities.

5.1.1 MODERNISING AGENDAS FOR CENTRAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Since May 1997, the 'New Labour' administration has embarked on a programme of 'modernisation' designed to influence the strategic objectives of local government (Human, 1999). Jack Cunningham, the former Minister for the Cabinet Office, in 1999 identified the 'vision' of 'Modernising Government', as a way of reforming and improving services for 'customers' and 'citizens'. In theory this programme of reform would enable an integrated policy approach characterised as 'joined up' government with the emphasis on:

- Policy making (which) is more 'joined up' and strategic; making sure that public service users, not providers, are the focus, by matching services more closely to people's lives; (and) delivering public services that are high quality and efficient (www.official-publications.co.uk, 2000).

The aim of making public services responsive to the 'needs of citizens' and different groups in society, was very much in tune with the participative elements of the policy process of LA21. As part of the focus on 'service users', central government has introduced Best Value a policy modification to Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) which identifies that services do not necessarily have to go out to tender, and that cross-sectoral working between public and private sector organisations should be encouraged. The Best Value initiative attempts to assimilate the procedural elements of CCT, with the principles of sustainability applying a long-term view to calculating the costs and benefits of service delivery.
Sibley (1999) Head of Leisure Services, for Brent Council, identified similarities between Best Value and LA21, suggesting that both initiatives have been ‘directed down’, from central government without any associated resources, and that Best Value also requires local authorities to reassess and reappraise their internal operation. This reassessment would necessitate new ways of working and consulting local communities in the determination of service priorities. Prior to facilitating consultative processes with local communities, Sibley recommends that local authorities need to adopt a “complete change of attitude and new way of thinking”, and that they should think beyond “purely top-down, management driven processes” (1999:3). In line with Stewart’s notion of the ‘hollowing out of the state’, New Labour’s White Paper, ‘Building Partnerships for Prosperity’ (1997) also outlined the rationale for regional government, with the establishment of Regional Development Agencies (RDAs) intended to create an economic strategic focus for UK regions.

These reforms have been manifested in many local authorities through the creation of ‘cabinet style government’ with the goal of replacing representative democracy with participative democracy. These reforms and changes in the culture of local governance over recent decades raise a question as to whether the local government system has the capacity to accommodate and facilitate the principles of sustainability within community responsive service delivery. New arrangements for local governance encompass the complex matrix of partnerships between local government and the private sector, not-for-profit and voluntary organisations (see Thomas and Thomas, 1998). The move towards local authorities as enabling organisations rather than service delivers will undoubtedly see increasing moves towards devolution of ‘traditional’ service directed functions to other organisations and agencies. Whilst exploration of the new arrangements for regional governance in operationalising the principles of sustainability is attempted within this study, another consideration is to examine the relationship between local authorities and local communities in policy processes for LA21.

5.2 COMMUNITIES: FROM COMMUNITARIANISM TO CONSUMERISM

In focusing on the role of public sector organisations in policy development for sustainability at the local level, it is important to acknowledge that the ‘recipients’ of these
initiatives should have the capacity to be joint architects in the process, particularly if the full potential of the democratic elements of sustainability are to be realised. An analysis of this process requires an understanding of the concept of community and its complex social, psychological and geographical elements which will determine the conditions for community action and conversely inaction on a range of issues.

5.2.1 DEFINING COMMUNITY

The term 'community' is not often defined or used consistently, and is given different treatment within a range of analytic works and operational situations. Traditional views of 'community', defined by the parameters of geographical location, and a sense of belonging to that locality (see e.g. Wilmott and Young, 1973) have recently received more complex analysis. Hodgson (1995) highlights the heterogeneous qualities of urban and rural communities, living 'cheek by jowl' within the same local authority boundary in Northern England and furthermore that local and regional spatial boundaries have been 'eroded' by globalising influences.

In a detailed analysis of the concept of 'Community' Butcher et al, (1993) suggest that 'descriptive community' refers to "a network of people who share a sense of belonging to, or membership of, that network" (1993:12). As such, they recognise social and psychological components to 'descriptive community'. The element of 'territorial community', refers to what people might have 'in common', as part of a psychological attachment to their geographical location, such as a town, village or neighbourhood. Secondly, 'interest communities' rely not on the focus of place, but are located in other characteristics, such as ethnicity, occupation, religion etc., thriving on the establishment of social networks. Clearly, misconceptions of what 'Community' is, or lack of precision or understanding regarding some of these elements, might lead to misconceived policy initiatives and policy failure.

Cooper and Hawtin (1997:112) suggest that there can be no one single theory of community, and that the concept should be interpreted through different ideological perspectives. They argue that the stifling of individual development within communities is
redolent of a Marxist perspective of community, in the same way that a Social Democratic perspective views citizens as exercising their rights of enfranchisement, and an Anarchist perspective argue for a 'spontaneous order' (1997:89-94). Cooper and Hawtin raise the possibility that market-led individualism has replaced communitarian principles (1997:105). This is tantamount to the 'possessive individualism' characterised by the former premier Margaret Thatcher's denial of the social entity of society (Butcher et al., 1993:16).

Butcher et al. (1993) also recognise the instrumentality of political agendas, which dictate that so-called 'community participation' is no more than a form of tokenism which ensures that community groups do not threaten the political status quo. This potentially undermines the capacity of LA21 to provide a significant opportunity for community based actions which instead is dominated by 'expert agenda setting' (Stewart, 1994).

5.2.2 ANTECEDENTS TO LA21 IN THE UK: SUSTAINABLE TOURISM ADVOCACY

Notwithstanding these problems, and turning attention to tangible attempts to implement community involvement, there are a number of direct antecedents to the introduction of LA21, as a tool for participatory practice in the process of local governance in the UK. Miller and Ahmed (1997), for example, recognise a range of diverse policy initiatives, post 1979 within the UK, which signal the importance of, and desirability of, "community and participation, partnership and empowerment", as a focus for both political and policy agendas (1997:272). They highlight the contradictory elements of community development in that it allows national governments to legitimise the 'process' of containing marginalised sections of society, yet it also enables local government to re-orientate the direction of its delivery of services towards community need, offering the scope for social transformation. In some cases this has resulted in what many would see as the decimation of communities in former industrial areas within the UK.

Whilst by no means exhaustive, the following community development initiatives predate LA21, and provide the background context to the introduction of LA21 initiatives by local authorities in Britain. The Prince of Wales Business Leaders Forum (1990) encouraged cross-partnership in community orientated economic development, and in 1994 the
Commission on Social Justice recognised ‘Community Development Trusts’ as a method of mobilising residents groups in areas of social disadvantage. In short, local authorities were challenged to develop a capacity to think and operate in new ways.

As an example of all party interest in such processes, Miller and Ahmed (op cit.) highlight the Labour Party’s 1995 consultative document, ‘Renewing Democracy, Rebuilding Communities’, as giving distinct emphasis to the role of local authorities as community builders. This gave guidance on fostering participative mechanisms such as community fora, citizens juries, user-groups, advisory panels, public hearings and opinion polling, with people increasingly having “direct access to the decision making process which affects our lives” (1997:273). It is clear that a culture of community consultation existed well in advance of LA21 within local authority policy agendas. The Association of Metropolitan Local Authorities’ (1993), advocacy of the re-orientation of ‘top-down’ implementation of policy, into a system of government which is ‘community owned’, is viewed by Miller and Ahmed, as being an ambitious but nevertheless a crucial policy goal (1997:272). They view the process of community development as vital in policy makers responding to marginalised groups at a local level.

The community dimension has certainly not always been at the forefront of development considerations for tourism and, despite growing knowledge of social and cultural impacts, tourism’s interactions with, and impacts on, the physical environment have so often been the primary focus for analysts. Lovel and Feuerstein (1992) emphasise this theme when they note that

while the economic aspects of tourism are regularly assessed, the socio-cultural and community related consequences have been largely neglected; often dismissed as unintended side effects (1992:335-336).

Stressing the importance of community involvement in the tourism development process, the Federation of Nature and National Parks in Europe (FNNPE) reported that the planned development of a new national park in Kiruna, Sweden, which proposed to combine tourism and landscape protection

failed because of one vital factor; it could not ‘sell’ the benefits of the park to local people. The authorities had decided on a solution and then consulted the local people, instead of listening to their
views and basing proposals on a joint understanding. Those working on the project had underestimated the strength of local opposition (1993:24).

Despite the tendency in many initiatives to equate sustainability exclusively with issues surrounding the natural environment (identified e.g. by Craik, 1991; Bramwell et al., 1996) sustainability must encompass inter alia the maintenance of different ways of life, the solidity of local social structures, and the viability of local communities. This section has identified that despite the imprecision of community definitions and its complex elements, that there is evidence of the capacity of communities to engage in policy processes. The next section explores further the role of LA21 processes in stimulating community actions related to sustainability issues at the local level.

5.3 LA21: POLICY AGENDAS FOR SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

This section explores the policy process of LA21 within a UK context, initially considering its origins and applications, and the progress made in melding the principles of sustainability within policy development for tourism.

5.3.1 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LA21 PROCESSES

The 1992 UNCED conference adopted Agenda 21, which was the culmination of two years work by the UNCED Preparatory Committee, and in particular the work of the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI). In drafting Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 the conference advocated that by 1996 there should have been a consultation process between local authorities and communities on what should emerge within a plan for LA21. The UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) was designed to oversee the implementation of LA21 and placed a responsibility on the participants of the UNCED conference to set out commitments and targets for a cross section of society in their individual countries and to respond to the interpretation of LA21, on a local scale.

More specifically Chapter 28 of Agenda 21 advocates that local and regional government are the most likely tier of government to operationalise the principles of sustainable
development. Brown (1997) notes that Agenda 21 symbolised a political commitment (rather than a legal binding arrangement) to inform and underpin the political, environmental, social and economic structures of society with the principles of sustainability (1997:75). Importantly, UNCED anticipated that Agenda 21 would be an evolving ‘document’, with scope for re-interpretation as organisations and agencies attempted to implement its central tenets. Broadly, Agenda 21 involved four main areas of social and economic dimensions which includes the conservation and management of resources for development, the role of major groups in establishing ‘social partnerships’ and identifying the means of implementing the concepts of sustainability in a range of disciplines (Brown, 1997:76-77). Adopting a standardised structure, each chapter of Agenda 21 included a general introduction with the outline of programme areas, and headlining sections of a ‘Basis for Action’; ‘Objectives and Activities’ and a ‘Means of Implementation’, which were not intended to be prescriptive.

5.3.2 THE ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LA21 PROCESSES

‘Sustainable Development: the UK Strategy’ (1993) highlighted the critical role of local authorities in achieving the aims and objectives outlined in Chapter 28 of Agenda 21. This strategy makes reference to the UK Local Government Declaration on Sustainable Development (1993) which states that:

Sustainable development is not just another name for environmental protection. It is concerned with issues which are long term, and effects which are irreversible. A new approach to policy making is required which does not trade off short term costs and benefits but regards some aspects of the environment as absolute constraints (LGMB, 1995:12).

It was anticipated that local authorities would go beyond developing new concepts of environmental management and auditing, and make their own operations sustainable. Critically however, local authorities would be responsible for mobilising local communities to create a ‘vision statement,’ and an action plan (in conjunction with local authorities) on how development should occur, with agreed timescales, and with accompanying monitoring methods. The anticipated principal steps for local authorities in making progress towards sustainability included:
- managing and improving the local authority's own environmental performance;
- integrating sustainable development into the local authority's policies and activities;
- awareness raising and education;
- consulting and involving the general public;
- partnerships; and
- measuring, monitoring and reporting on progress towards sustainability.


Whilst the LGMB document 'Local Agenda 21 Principles and Process: A Step by Step Guide' (1995) recognises the importance of using sustainability indicators and accumulating data which should be acted upon, it was important that communities would play a key role in determining the basis of sustainability indicators. On the question of monitoring progress on sustainability, Brown notes that:

The critical focus is now moving to grounding local sustainability - seeking to move on from high-sounding phrases about global sustainability to the day-to-day consideration of what that means for our particular place. This, in turn means that local sustainability must be a serious consideration for policy development and professional practice; and every time we address local problems. It means that monitoring the local social, economic and environmental conditions becomes a central means of determining a council's direction (1997:4).

On a practical level it was anticipated that each UK local authority should initially prepare LA21 plans by 1996. These would set out policies and actions to work towards sustainability in their locality, and this was superseded by December 2000 as the next deadline to be met for the submission of LA21 action plans. It was anticipated that these plans would reflect the complex needs of heterogeneous communities creating their 'own sustainable pathways' (Griffith, 2000).

As identified above by the LGMB (1995), the LA21 process also includes the exploration of the integration of sustainability into management and policy making systems, as well as actions in the wider community with a range of organisations from various sectors.
5.3.3 ‘MAINSTREAMING’ THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

The process of awareness raising of LA21 and integrating the principles of sustainability within local authority policy development was coined as ‘mainstreaming’ by Kitchen (1996) who stated that:

It isn’t just a question of thinking great thoughts but it is also a question of doing local things. Local authorities because of the range of their responsibilities must undoubtedly be major doers in these terms, and so getting on with some of this immediately was important not only symbolically but also in itself (1996:194).

Kitchen (ibid.). suggests that LA21 officers who are positioned at the ‘centre’ of organisations will have greater influence on the process of ‘mainstreaming’ LA21. Political support and resourcing of initiatives was also viewed as important in the process of integrating the principles of sustainability within policy development and service delivery. The evidence from Kitchen was that LA21 officers positioned within an Environmental Department or Directorate might incorporate a more environmental orientation to LA21 policy, focusing on environmental issues such as EMAS and green auditing, rather than a wider interpretation of sustainability. Furthermore, LA21 officers working without additional officer support and a team of officers might feel marginalised, particularly if political and corporate support from a Council Leader or Chief Executive is not forthcoming.

The LGMB (1995) reported that tight deadlines for the submission of LA21 plans presented problems with some local authorities cutting corners, whilst for others the heightened pace for implementation ‘created momentum’. What also emerges from the work of the LGMB (1995) and Kitchen (1996) is that progress in ‘moving towards sustainability’ is dependent on both the scale and unique characteristics of a local authority areas’ human and physical geography. In this respect he notes that there are different challenges for local authorities which encompass cities and large urban areas, in contrast to a rural local authority. Kitchen (op cit.) suggested that ‘mainstreaming’ of the principles of sustainability into the operations of local authorities is a necessary prerequisite to seeking meaningful engagement with communities in policy development for sustainability at the local level.
5.3.4 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE LA21 POLICY PROCESS

Kitchen (1996) maintains that it is important that part of the process of community participation should be about identifying progress in implementing policies for sustainability through the creation of indicators of sustainability.

The Local Government Management Board report ‘Indicators for Local Agenda 21: A Summary and a Report of Phase One of the Project’ (1995) highlights methodological innovations in mapping the overall ‘state of the community’ in moving towards sustainability. The report stresses that indicators would not themselves lead necessarily to the ‘creation’ of sustainable development but were nevertheless identified as an important tool in measuring progress towards sustainability. Specifically their function was to:

- monitor trends;
- use indicators as pieces of information to assess the effectiveness of policy making and the fulfilment of targets;
- mark progress against a stated benchmark;
- monitor changes in public attitude and behaviour;
- monitor land use changes; and
- ensure transparency for community empowerment and increasing participation.


Whilst the report recognised indicators as an aid to decision making for sustainability, it also emphasised limitations in the use of indicators, with issues of the intelligibility, compartmentalisation and incomplete nature of indicator data, as well as a lack of integration between data on environmental, ‘social well-being’ and economic dimensions. Furthermore, there were problems of information availability, the lack of freedom of access, inadequate monitoring, with differences of scale and parameters of data gathering, together with financial and resource constraints (1995:14). A major outcome of the LGMB pilot study, was the identification of 13 themes for indicators importantly with the scope for local authorities to redefine them. The themes included:
These themes offered guidance for future policy development for sustainability with a balance to be achieved between the use of quantitative and qualitative indicators. The LGMB report (1995) stated that:

Some indicators can be based upon concrete and readily verifiable data, for example, kilometres of dedicated cycle routes. Others, such as the percentage of the population feeling safe to go out at night, involve testing public attitudes (1995:16).

The report identified that whilst indicators might be appropriate to a local perspective, they should also be intelligible on a broader level. The mechanisms for reporting progress and measurement of chosen indicators was reliant on local authorities developing a wide range of methods for collecting and reporting on data with effective communication between organisations providing data and “consistency between years, so that genuine trends can be identified” (1995:39). These trends would therefore be able to demonstrate if indicators show a move ‘towards or away’ from sustainability and assessing the unsustainability of lifestyles (1995:40). Underpinning all these issues was the importance of communities determining their own indicators of sustainability in contrast to ‘expert agenda setting’ by local authority organisations.

5.3.5 LA21 AND TOURISM POLICY: AN ASSESSMENT OF PROGRESS IN THE UK

In addition to developing policy processes for LA21, local authorities have to resource other community orientated strategies including Community Planning, Best Value and
Cultural Strategies. This creates resource pressures in establishing consultation structures and procedures, decoding the terminology of sustainability and scepticism about the process. Leslie and Hughes’ (1997) quantitative empirical analysis of all UK local authorities (achieving a 36% response) confirmed that in many local authorities awareness of LA21 was limited. In terms of implementation, 30% of authorities had no LA21 involvement and in a further 35% this was only in its infancy. Thus only 35% of UK authorities had established or were developing programmes or strategies for the implementation of LA21 by 1995, and some of these were clearly only extending their existing environmental strategies (see also Pattie and Hall, 1995; Bond et al., 1997).

There is a question as to how LA21 is creating policy development for sustainable tourism and community empowerment, and this appears significant particularly in view of tourism's profile as a leading economic agent in the regeneration or support of some local economies and communities. Amongst the most significant questions are; the lack of resourcing for the process of LA21 and its non-mandatory nature at a time of high pressure on public resources. Leslie and Hughes’ (1997) survey is also particularly useful in supporting the impression that only in a very few local authorities has tourism been included within the LA21 process. They concluded that there was, as yet, relatively little awareness of the significance of LA21 to policy development and practice, particularly related to tourism, and relatively little action yet taken.

5.3.6 LA21 IN BRITAIN - THE FIRST FIVE YEARS

The Local Government Management Board’s review of the first five years of LA21 (LGMB, 1997) monitored progress on LA21 implementation in the UK through sampling local authority initiatives and activities. Despite the arguably over positive interpretation it places on the impact of LA21 on the local government-community interface at the time, the LGMB review does identify some useful examples of where community participation and involvement has at least been attempted through LA21.

Evidence that the LGMB produced an overly positive perspective is provided by their response to the failure of most UK local authorities to produce LA21 Action Plans at all by 1996. The LGMB suggested that "in the UK, this date has been seen not as a deadline, but
rather as a starting point or marker in the process” (LGMB, 1997:5). By 1996 only 70 Action Plans had been produced in the UK and many of these were in first draft form. More recently the LGMB suggested that 194 local authorities had provided submissions, but again not all were action plans in the true sense, nor had they targets or indicators. With the New Labour Government, insisting that all local authorities should have submitted LA21 action plans by December 2000, in 2002, a spokesperson for the Sustainable Development Unit estimated that 93% of authorities had submitted some form of LA21 action plan.

The 5 year review document (op cit.) also evidenced the limited extent that tourism, as a key area of economic activity, social significance and an environmental presence, had been recognised as an area for LA21 implementation, with only two local authorities identified as having applied LA21 to tourism. Fife in Scotland and North Wiltshire in England were recorded as having investigated the introduction of EMAS (the European Union Eco-Management and Audit Scheme) into their local tourism sector focusing on an environmental management system for hotels.

LA21 initiatives involving tourism are at present dominated by small scale environmental initiatives such as energy efficiency systems, waste minimisation, recycling, protection of local habitats etc., all of which are relevant to spreading the global message locally, but which stifle the potential breadth of the process. In many instances these also seem little more than extensions of ‘greening’ strategies, that many local authorities had already committed to outside the LA21 process, in making their local management practice more environmentally friendly. Environmental interpretations of sustainability seem to have emerged as a substitute for the envisaged increased local democracy through meaningful community involvement.

Quasi-governmental organisations have provided some evidence of responding to LA21 with the ‘Ideas into Action for Local Agenda 21’ publication produced jointly by the Countryside Commission, English Heritage and English Nature (1996). However, this document omits tourism from its review of activity sectors to which LA21 is relevant and is consistent with the findings of Leslie and Hughes (1997), with tenuous linkages established between LA21 and tourism.
This is not to say that there has been no application of the principles of sustainable development to tourism in the UK. The UK 'Sustainable Rural Tourism' report (1996) provides guidance on opportunities for local action, partly by reviewing the experience of some 21 local projects of sustainable practice for tourism in the UK. In 1998 the UK central government for the first time produced a consultation paper 'Tourism-Towards Sustainability: A Consultation Paper on Sustainable Tourism in the UK', providing policy linkages between sustainability and tourism. This was part of a comprehensive consultation - 'Opportunities for Change' which reviewed the UK Sustainable Development Strategy, and which was to determine the progress that could be made in the implementation of this strategy over a 20-30 year timeframe. This consultation paper argued that to make any progress towards sustainable tourism, the principles of sustainability must be central to tourism policy and to other sectors which impact on development patterns (1998:3).

5.4 CONCLUSIONS

The first two sections of this chapter highlighted the fundamental changes over recent decades in the ethos of service delivery by local authorities and the parallel changes in the composition of communities. This calls into question the capacity of local authorities to work towards the socially orientated goals which are at the heart of the LA21 process and the receptiveness of communities to respond to such a socially orientated agenda. The wider implications of local governance and sustainability are that the private, not-for-profit and voluntary sectors also have a role to play in the development of policies for sustainability. It is clear that whilst there has been policy development and actions related to LA21 at a local level, as anticipated by UNCED (1992), only tenuous and partial links have to date been established between LA21 and tourism policy.

The process of 'mainstreaming' (Kitchen, 1996) the principles of sustainability within policy development in local authorities, appears to be a necessary prelude to meaningful interaction between communities and local authorities in creating local visions for sustainability. The next chapter considers the conceptual elements of 'policy' and its capacity to effectively communicate and create actions for sustainability at the local level, and which links a range of actors in this process.
CHAPTER SIX: THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS: TOWARDS A THEORY OF IMPLEMENTATION

6.0 INTRODUCTION

In considering how the principles of sustainability are operationalised within identified local authority areas within the UK, the concept of policy is viewed as an important conduit for articulation of the principles of sustainability to local actors and audiences. There is a normative expectation that policy development for sustainability will be facilitated by local authority policy makers in conjunction with communities and other local organisations and agencies, and will be evolutionary in nature (King, 1993:194). This chapter explores the nature of policy, and the scope for the application of policy analysis which enables insights to be gained into policy processes for implementing sustainable tourism.

6.1 THE NATURE OF POLICY

The multifaceted elements involved in the concept of policy are highlighted by Hall (1994) who in adapting the work of Aucion (1971) and Mitchell (1979), identifies different elements within the concept of policy.

Figure 6.1: Elements of Policy Perspectives

- that which is stated
- that which is implied
- that which is perceived
- that which is done

Source: adapted from Hall, (1994: 46)
The implication of these distinctions is that policy has various connotations to actors at different stages of policy development, and has the capacity to be made more "complex, obscure, ambiguous or even meaningless" (Ham and Hill, 1984:103). Ham and Hill identify that there are definitional problems associated with policy and its operationalisation, particularly as it is not a "specific and concrete phenomenon" (1984:11) and cannot be 'captured' exclusively within distinct disciplinary parameters.

Wildavsky (1979) suggests that the nature of policy, is determined by the context, issues and problems to be addressed, with Heclo (1972) identifying that "policy is not a self-evident term" and that it can be defined as both "a course of action or inaction" (1972:84). Policy formulation might therefore be directed towards 'policy intent' and action, or to maintain the existing political status quo through inaction (Ham and Hill, 1984:12). Therefore the dynamic nature of policy means that 'statements of intent' will inevitably change over time, and that policy formulation might continue to evolve within the implementation phase of policy delivery (Ham and Hill, 1984:11).

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) differentiated between the theoretical elements of policy, and the empirical elements of policy processes which seek to tease out the theories underlying policies and examine the internal consistency of the resulting model and the apparent validity of its assumptions (1984:18).

They use the imagery of a 'roll of film', with each 'still' tantamount to a stage in the policy making process, maintaining that it is possible to evaluate each stage, as a distinct segment of part of a larger process. This provides the capacity to analyse these different stages through decision approaches and policy approaches (Harrop,1992), with the former approach highlighting the specialist inquiry of who makes key decisions, and a policy approach investigating a matrix of decisions and their operationalisation. In this respect Jenkins (1978) identified policy as "a set of interrelated decisions, concerning the selection of goals and a means of achieving them within (a) specified situation " (1978:15).

However, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) warned of the dangers of policy analysts identifying 'optimal' decision making, which fails to acknowledge that there are limitations in the policy making process. Therefore they beseech policy analysts to challenge 'classical'
interpretations of the ‘trickle down’ model of policy making in hierarchical organisations. This model identifies that administrators instruct managers at a lower level of organisations to implement policy decisions (ibid.). In their view:

A so-called policy is often the cumulative outcome of many operational decisions or responses to problems first perceived at a relatively low level of organisations (1984:20).

They emphasise that final policy outputs are not always easy to discern, and that policy outputs can change from original policy intentions. They advocate an empirical approach to determine ‘what happens out in the world’ of policy processes. In this respect it is important to differentiate between analysis of and analysis for policy.

6.2 ANALYSIS OF POLICY AND ANALYSIS FOR POLICY

Ham and Hill (1984) identify the analysis of policy as being concerned with academic insights into policy, whereas analysis for policy has more applied and prescriptive connotations in “contributing to the solution of problems” (1984:4). Wildavsky (1979:17) highlighted analysis for policy as a problem-orientated activity, in which policy analysts might engage in policy advocacy or ‘salesmanship’. Ham and Hill (1984) argue that academically there has been a shift in focus towards a behavioural rather than an institutional approach to policy analysis but that essentially the conceptual building blocks of policy analysis, are multidisciplinary in origin. According to Hogwood and Gunn (1984) policy analysis can be both descriptive (“how policies are made”) and prescriptive (“how policies should be made”) (1984:3). The inference is that it is possible to consider the ‘correct ways’ of making policy or explore how policy is made ‘in the real world’.

Ham and Hill’s (1984) concept of ‘policy orientation’ has two main dimensions which incorporate “the development of knowledge about the policy process itself, and the improvement of information to policy makers” (1984:5). Additionally, Hall (1996) in his evaluation of policy analysis, highlights the temporal dimension of policies which impact over finite time scales, introducing the need for urgency to the application of policy analysis.

Within the scope of this study, analysis of policy development for sustainability might perhaps identify ‘top-down’ applications of the principles of Brundtland-type discourses,
which are articulated through 'expert-led' policy agendas. However, with analysis of alternative discourses of sustainability anticipating 'community driven' and 'bottom-up' perspectives of sustainability, a methodology is required which might identify new approaches to policy making which better express such discourses.

6.2.1 ‘TOP-DOWN’ AND ‘BOTTOM-UP’ POLICY PERSPECTIVES

Brown (1997) highlights that local authorities and local agencies have to mediate between the maze of community interests and scarce resources of their own area, within the system of policies and regulations set up by (national government). That this system now includes the global dimension raises even more difficult questions for local government (1997: 59).

Therefore an empirical challenge is to identify policy development for sustainability at the local level, which differentiates between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to sustainability. Ham and I-Ell (1984) note that the analysis of policy can be viewed “from (a) decisional top-down perspective” or from a “bottom-up perspective” (1984: 13). Their characterisation of ‘traditional’ liberal democratic systems, in which policy is made by elected politicians and then “implemented in a subordinate manner by public officials” (1984: 108), is contrasted with more inclusive models of policy making. Clarke (1992) suggests that “the expectation that policy is made by political leaders and carried out by government officials” is an ‘idealised’ perspective of the policy making process (1992: 237). He argues that a ‘bottom-up’ approach “challenges implicit assumptions” (about policy development) and enables a mix of perspectives to be employed.

Nevertheless, Clarke (ibid.) advocates understanding policy implementation through the framework of organisational structures, and in particular “intermediaries within a horizontal power structure” in organisations (1992: 237). He argues that policy making within these organisational structures has centralised (vertical) and decentralised (horizontal) elements, which offer clues as to the distinctions between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ policy approaches. Lane (1993) describes these two perspectives as competing models of implementation, with Ham and Hill (1984) citing the work of Gunn (1978) emphasising that the main elements of a ‘top-down’ approach to policy implementation should identify
• that the nature of policy is seen as unambiguous;

• that the implementation structure keeps links in the chain to a minimum;

• that there is the prevention of outside interference;

• that there is control over implementing actors.

6.3 SETTING A CONTEXT FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT

This is contrasted with Barrett and Hill’s (1981) appraisal of ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy implementation which reject normative “single perspectives” of how policy might be put into effect. Instead they advocate applying analysis which

focuses on the actors and agencies themselves and their interactions,

and for an action-centred or ‘bottom up’ mode of analysis as a method of identifying more clearly who seems to be influencing, how and why (1981:19).

In contrast Hogwood and Gunn (1984) advocated that the “view from the top is (as) relevant (as) that of other levels” (1984:208) and that those who have the political legitimacy for putting “policy into effect”, are “usually elected while ‘those upon whom action depends’ are not” (1984:207). An extension of this view, is represented by administrative and managerial perspectives on policy implementation which stifle more pluralistic ‘bottom-up’ perspectives.

The UNCED Rio Summit (1992) enabled ‘global expectations’ of sustainable development to be translated to ‘local realities’, suggesting that the principles of sustainability can be embedded into policy development across the ‘policy boundaries’ of nation states. Dolowitz (1999) identifies the notion of ‘policy transfer’ as a concept and highlights the complexity of importing the central tenets of ‘policies’ across international and cultural boundaries. Therefore the ‘importing’ of the principles of sustainability could be interpreted as an
imposition of ‘top-down’ approaches to policy development and implementation, from the supra-national to the local level.

Conversely, it could be argued that the principles of sustainability have transferable global qualities which can emerge within different contexts, not least the local level. However, the wider dissemination of ideas and concepts of sustainability, requires policy delivery systems (Davis et al., 1993) to translate organisational and community interpretations of sustainability into significant ‘actions’ at the local level.

6.3.1 POLICY DELIVERY SYSTEMS

Policy delivery systems have to address contextual constraints in which policy is framed, with Davis et al. (ibid.) noting that “policy invariably flounders whatever the field of endeavour by government” (1993:254). Nevertheless, Davis et al. acknowledge that the ‘floundering’ of policy or ‘policy failure’, is part of a cycle of establishing and refining policies, which will go through a process of incremental change in order to gain acceptance. They view the cycle of policy failure as part of ‘policy learning’ and ‘policy succession’, which potentially can lead to improvements in the public policy process, benefiting both policy making institutions and ‘policy clients’. Policy learning implies that it is possible to learn from the outcomes of policy processes, and that “policy can be made better” (Davis et al., 1993:248).

Whilst there are normative expectations of what policies for sustainability might achieve, it is not inconceivable that conceptually robust policy for sustainability, might have to evolve through cycles of policy failure. Arguably, policy development for sustainability at a local level is still at an evolutionary stage, with local authorities (and other facilitators) having to find ways of enabling collaborative policy making for sustainability. Davis et al. (op cit.) speculate that whilst “a policy may end up quite different from its starting point” that “the test of usefulness is agreement of participants that the program(me) serves a valid purpose” (1993:256).

One model of the policy development for public policy characterises local authorities as organisations that are entrusted with identifying the ‘public interest’, with the “legitimacy to
define public interest and need” (Elliott, 1997:38). Within this model Elliott recognises informal factors within bureaucratic systems, which “include organisational cultural values, objectives and behaviour” (1997:95), with the inference that resisting these factors and purely adopting the “formal principles of public services, efficiency, effectiveness and accountability” (ibid.) might mask the reality of how policy objectives are achieved.

He envisages that policy development at the local level should seek inputs from a diverse range of interests, with a co-ordinating and facilitating role by local authorities. Brown (1997) identifies that there is also a responsibility to manage for sustainability, “designing council policies, strategies and programmes on realistic forward projections for sustain(ability)” (1997:64). Brown (1997:65) identifies a number of components in establishing information systems for policy development for sustainability which include:

- global and national data collection
- national networks and programs
- regional services and community interests
- the local implementation of practical projects
- distribution of local information to the other four levels.

Brown (1997:78) implies that LA21 might promote ‘thinking about sustainability’ and that it can be the catalyst for ‘change management’ for sustainability, both within local authorities and the wider community. As discussed within the previous chapter, the scope for its success is dependent in part on political commitment in local authorities towards policy development for sustainability, and in promoting community empowerment in this process.
An empirical investigation of policy development and the process of implementation, might consider rational or normative approaches to policy making which are contrasted with policy approaches of "muddling through" (Lindblom, 1968) and "puzzling through" (Heclo, 1974). Within a rational approach to policy making, Lindblom states that there is an assumption that the policy maker "first clarifies his goals, values or objectives, and then ranks or otherwise organises them in his mind" (1968:12) and will proceed towards a policy which corresponds to the goals outlined. Lindblom (1968) emphasises that this rational approach to decision making, presupposes that an identified problem is invariably formulated from a policy makers perspective. There are limitations to rational policy making, and Lindblom suggests that this process will be influenced by "politics and other irrationalities" (ibid.). He argues that it is too simplistic to follow a sequential linear process from policy formulation to implementation, and that the policy making process is fraught with uncertainty. Scott (1967) interpreted this uncertainty as

the search process, an individual or organisation undertakes to find a new goal or goals because of dissatisfaction with outcomes within an existing goal structure (1967:219).

This rational approach to policy making, is contrasted with the concept of 'satisficing', which "allows a more richer model of adaptation which is closer to a more natural (realistic) explanation of decision behaviour" (Scott, 1967:222). Inevitably, policy makers make decisions under conditions of uncertainty, and "with the application of judgement, opinion, belief, subjective estimates of the situation, plus whatever objective data is available" (ibid.).

Adopting a rational approach to policy making, which attempts to match policy outcomes with their original objectives, has implications for empirical investigation which attempts to identify "what is, (rather) than with what ought to be" (Scott, 1967:226). Furthermore, the 'realism' of policy delivery, led Davis et al. (op cit.) to emphasise that:

The political process does not approach policy formulation in a systematic, rational way. The emergence is often unpredictable, issues are not addressed until they acquire political impact, and they are often not solved, only ameliorated or recast (1993:181).
Empirical investigations of policy processes for sustainability might therefore expect to identify inputs into the policy formulation process from a wide constituency of interests and crucially through a politically filtered process underpinned by hegemonic relationships.

6.5 THE POLICY-PUBLIC INTERFACE

How policy impacts on its 'recipients' was explored by Rose (1989) in 'Ordinary People in Public Policy', identifying that:

If one holds that government should serve the ends of individuals rather than individuals being the servant of the state, it is also important to think of public policy from the 'underall' perspective of ordinary people (1989: xii).

The quest to understand how 'ordinary people' are affected by public policy is at the heart of Rose's analysis, which highlights how people think about politics and a number of issue areas (and potentially the question of policy development for sustainability). Public policies are, in Rose's view, not just about institutions and legislation but also about "the motives and actions of individuals who shape policies to their political ends" (1989:4-5). This raises the issue of what constitutes the local arena for political and policy interaction, and the capacity of local people to engage in political and policy activity. This is particularly pertinent to the present study and the question of local political participation in policy development for sustainability, requires an understanding of local political culture both within and outside of local authority organisations. Parry et al. (1992) for example, observe that a sense of belonging to a geographical area will stimulate "community orientated political participation" (1992:318).

In defining the qualities of 'local life', Parry et al. applied communitarian theory to explain political participation, which is influenced by "a strong sense of commitment by local people to their community" (1992:336). However, within the framework of this analysis, we should note that sustainability is not a value free concept and will inevitably be interpreted in different ways by politicians, local government officers and community members, leading to both consensual and conflicting approaches to operationalising policies for sustainability.
An important quality of policy is that it is evolutionary in nature and, as such, allows empirical investigation from its origins to the ‘point of delivery’ (Ham and Hill, 1984). Therefore, if it is possible to identify different stages of the policy process, this would enable insights to emerge in empirical investigation of how policy issues evolve from formulation to implementation (Ham and Hill, 1984). However, this is not necessarily a linear process in which issues evolve within neat compartments or stages, and indeed the ‘shape’ of policy might remain largely invisible (through these different stages). Nevertheless, this should not discount the possibility of investigating the progress of policy within different stages of policy making. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) in recognising the dynamic nature of the policy process, identify nine stages which enable the “systematizing of existing knowledge” (1984:24) of policy making (see figure 6.2). However they warn that:

Viewing the policy process in terms of stages may seem to suggest that any policy episode is more or less self-contained and comprises a neat cycle of initial, intermediate and culminating events. In practice, of course, policy is often a seamless web involving a bewildering mesh of interactions and ramifications (1984: 26).

Nevertheless, they argue that it is important to have a policy making model which enables an evaluation of how policy making intentions match up to policy outcomes.

**Figure 6.2: Stages of the policy making process**

1. Deciding to decide (issue search or agenda setting)
2. Deciding how to decide (or issue filtration)
3. Issue definition
4. Forecasting
5. Setting objectives and priorities
6. Options analysis
7. Policy implementation, monitoring and control
8. Evaluation and review
9. Policy maintenance, succession, or termination

**Source:** Hogwood and Gunn (1984:24)
Sabatier (1993) emphasises that there are methodological weaknesses in tracking distinct policy making phases within this model, noting that “there are a whole series of arguments that the distinction between policy formulation is misleading and useless” (1993:275). With the main focus for empirical investigation being on the application of policy analysis to the identify processes for operationalising the principles of sustainability, Hogwood and Gunn’s (1984) policy making process model provides researchers with the scope to gain insights as to how policy development for sustainability emerges and evolves within local authorities.

6.6.1 THE CONCEPT OF IMPLEMENTATION

Lane (1993) identifies that there are different implementation models which have traditionally centred on establishing “institutional mechanisms by which implementation may work” (1993:90), or at least it provides “a high probability of policy accomplishment” (ibid.).

In this respect Lane notes that implementation is neither automatic nor simple, and that models are more complex than “stating the goals, deriving the means, executing the programmes and finding the outcomes” (1993:93).

Furthermore, he argues that “there is no single model of policy execution that will guarantee policy accomplishment” (ibid.). Clarke (1992) identifies key considerations in implementation studies which consider:

- How policy makers define their objectives; how the environment varies within which policy makers have to try to achieve their objectives; and the instruments and techniques which are available and appropriate to given policies in particular circumstances (1992:237).

Davis et al. (1993) state that whilst formulating policy might be the relatively easy part of the policy making process the delivery of policy and the translation of intentions into real outcomes is more difficult and is unlikely to run smoothly according to plan. Even the best designed policies introduced with the best intentions still require good implementation and delivery (1993:182).
Whilst Clarke (1992) suggests that there might be similarities in the implementation process in major policy areas, he nevertheless highlights the empirical challenge of trying to generalise about patterns of implementation, especially given the potential uniqueness of policy implementation within specific policy contexts. According to Lane this has implications for the formation of a coherent theory of implementation, which identifies how "programmes should be handled in order that stated objectives could be achieved in terms of positive outcomes" (1993:93). He therefore differentiates between the process of the implementation of policy ("the process of executing public policies") and implementation assessment ("evaluating the extent to which objectives have been accomplished") (ibid.). In addition to differentiating between implementation of 'outcome' and implementation as a 'process', Lane (ibid.) argues that there might be an "asymmetric interaction" between formulators and implementers, who might be responsible for different aspects of the policy process. Lane identifies:

A basic ambiguity in the notion of implementation - implementation as an end state or policy achievement, and implementation as a process or policy execution (1993:91).

In terms of public policy, the measuring of outcomes against the original objectives requires officers and politicians to be both accountable and responsible for policy outcomes and impacts. This suggests that the evaluation of policy requires knowing when a policy has been implemented and how long it should take to reach fruition. This observation is particularly apposite to policy development for sustainability, in which the time frames for implementation might inevitably be long term (i.e. intergenerational futurity issues) and the 'move towards sustainability' might be incremental and uncertain. The incremental nature of policy and its evolutionary and temporal dimensions was also highlighted by Lane (op cit.) who suggests that:

A policy may comprise a number of sub-goals which may only be implemented in a discrete fashion due to the interdependencies among the goals: once one sub-goal has been implemented, and so on. The time distinction draws attention to the fact that some programmes are commitments for long periods of time. The fact that such programmes require a substantial evolution over time does not necessarily make it easier to introduce a formal concept of implementation than to model the evolving implementation process (1993:92).
There are, according to Lane (1993:91), a number of factors which will shape the implementation process and its outcomes and impacts. These include the strategies and the tactics, with actors employing different tactics, such as delay and “coalition building” (ibid.). Consistent with these observations Elliott (1997), notes that it is “relatively easy for public sector management to formulate policies, strategies and plans, but it is much more difficult to implement them” (1997:97). Whether policies are implemented is critically dependent on financial and personnel resources, management and leadership, and political power (ibid.).

According to Clarke (1992) the ‘micro-structure’ of political life is concerned with the importance of small variations in the structures of power and political nuances, as ways of accounting for different policy outputs (1992:238). Therefore, according to Elliott, not to implement policy is a waste of “resources, time and expertise spent in formulating policy” (1997:97). Redolent of these points, policy development for sustainability might be viewed as particularly problematic, given the complex principles underpinning the concept of sustainability, and the prospect of policy failure and implementation gaps occurring (Kelder, 1996).

6.6.2 IMPLEMENTATION ARENAS

It is possible to identify environmental factors which will determine how policy emerges in particular situations, and Davis et al. (1993) suggest that public sector policy arenas require “some agencies for implementation and others to monitor their activity” (1993:106). The diversity of organisations and agencies involved in the direct or indirect implementation of policy has implications for the effectiveness of policy outputs. Revealingly, Clarke (1992) argues that some policy impacts will “require changes to social behaviour” which it is difficult for central (or local) government to engineer (1992:229). This is particularly apposite to the operationalisation of policies for sustainability, where modification to social behaviour might be required in order to adopt practices of sustainability, with a variety of actors facilitating the management of change ‘towards sustainability’. Part of the environment of implementation is to consider the notion of non-policy making. Ham and Hill (1984) raise the issue of ‘the mobilisation of bias’ in which policy making and decision making is restricted to safe issues. Applying these considerations to policy arenas for sustainability, the implication is that sustainability might remain as a symbolic policy issue,
without the opportunity to find practical application of its principles within widespread policy development.

6.6.3 POINT(S) OF APPLICATION

Elliott (1997) identifies that an assessment is required of the implementation of policy objectives, at the “point of application” (1997:110). Finding the point(s) of application where policies are deemed to have impacted on their ‘recipients’ is a challenging process and not least with policy development for sustainability. Here, the recipients of implemented policy, might also, in theory, be key architects in the policy development process. The extent to which there are a multiplicity of actors involved in this process is perhaps a barometer of the emergence of ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy development in this context. To mitigate against problems occurring between actors in the implementation process, Elliott (1997) argues that there needs to be effective communication channels, and that “specific technical expert knowledge” (1997:110) and the “tunnel-like vision” of over-specialised and technocratic managers, can be unhelpful in achieving successful implementation.

6.6.4 IMPLEMENTATION DEFICITS AND IMPLEMENTATION LINKAGES

Ham and Hill (1984) in evaluating policy transmission and policy outcomes, argue that “cumulative deficits” (1984:97) can occur between actors in the implementation chain, and these may lead to a “large shortfall” in policy implementation. They identify that success in achieving linkages in the ‘implementation chain’ will be partly generated by creating effective communication between actors in the policy process. What needs to be determined then, is the commitment of facilitating organisations, such as local authorities, to establishing communication channels between various actors in the implementation process of policies for sustainability. However, Hood (1976) argued that the conditions of “perfect administration” are an unattainable goal in terms of marrying together “resource availability and political acceptability combined with ‘administration’ to produce perfect policy implementation” (1976:6). The reality of how policies for sustainability are successfully operationalised, appears likely to be characterised as an implementation model of ‘muddling through’ (Lindblom, 1959).
6.6.5 POLICY COMMUNITIES AND LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION STRUCTURES

In terms of finding consensus on policy issues, the emergence of policy communities has the capacity to find "agreement between competing interests on common values and framework(s) for negotiation" (Davis et al., 1993:145). Houlihan (1991) recognises that policy space or territory attracts particular interest group clusters involved in policy development (1991:160). He identifies that the term 'policy community' has increasingly been used to describe how a multiplicity of actors operate in a policy universe (1991:19). Sabatier (1993) characterises these interest group clusters as 'belief systems' or 'advocacy coalitions' when "public and private organisations who share a set of beliefs seek to realise their common goals" (1993:284). He equates these 'advocacy coalitions' as tantamount to an implementation structure in which a network of actors engage in 'bottom-up' approaches to operationalising policies at a local level. In this respect Sabatier highlights the importance of local implementation structures which draw policy development away from the 'Centre' to the 'Periphery' (1993:280) with the importance of interaction and relationships between actors, being the defining aspect of this process, rather than in the rational and mechanistic delivery of public policy programmes. This gets to the nub of the empirical investigation of policy development for sustainability, with evidence sought that this policy development process is informed by the interaction of a range of actors, and not least through a community-orientated focus.

6.7 POLICY EVALUATION AND POLICY LEARNING

Clarke (1992) considers that it is possible that some policies might be more implementable than others, with the prospect of policy 'slippage' occurring. One approach to evaluation is to apply a rationalistic perspective, which considers how effective, efficient and successful policies have been at meeting their objectives. Systematic or programme evaluation, according to Davis et al. (1993), emphasises the importance of target setting of performance indicators as an evaluative tool. Applying these observations to evaluating what has been achieved at a local level with policy development for sustainability, raises methodological considerations as to who should set policy goals for sustainability, with the
potential for dissonance between local authority and community priorities, and future-orientated scenarios.

Part of the evaluative process is to consider what instruments of implementation have been used to deliver policy. Clarke (1992) suggests that there are a variety of techniques that have been used to implement policy, which will vary according to the policy context of implementation. He highlights that the 'manipulation of incentives' might involve coercion, blackmail, rule-making (both legislative and administrative in the interaction between central and local government) as policy instruments for implementation (1992:33). This begs the question of the policy instruments available for 'bottom-up' approaches to policy implementation at a grass-roots level, and not least the capacity of LA21 to mobilise policies with discernible actions which are predicated on the basis of voluntarism, both for local authorities and communities. Furthermore, Davis et al. (1993), consistent with the work of Pressman and Wildavsky (1984), view the policy process as having to incorporate “a tenuous chain of actors and institutions, all of whom must deliver for the whole to work” (1993:254). Part of this process of policy evaluation is policy learning, which is viewed as an important part of the policy process.

Davis et al. (op cit.) accept that policy making “is a procedure without end, in which policies are never finished, only improved or replaced” (1993:181). Policy making institutions have to consider how they learn from past policies and to choose ‘best’ options, based on “choices between values and competition between resources, all linked by institutional arrangement and ambitions” (ibid.). This process of policy learning and succession might require the capacity for reflection. The acknowledgement of policy improvements might also be as a result of policy failure. The added dimension of the complexity of policy development (or complicated) underpinned by the principles of sustainability, is that the evaluation of its successful operationalisation requires an evaluation of community actions.
6.8 CONCLUSIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS OF POLICY MAKING

Despite the sometimes vague and ambiguous concept of policy, it nevertheless provides the capacity to stimulate actions for sustainability at the local level. This chapter has raised a number of issues regarding the study of policy and the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development and their scrutiny within an empirical research process. Policy analysis might recognise the potential 'top-down' and prescriptive elements of policies for sustainability (not least in the policy transfer of its principles from Brundtland (1987) and UNCED (1992)). Policy analysis of sustainability recognises the prospects of 'bottom-up' approaches emerging from within communities at the local level through local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993). Therefore evidence is required that policy processes for sustainability transcend the 'idealised' and 'rational' representative democratic policy making processes at the local level. In this respect, the changing politics of local governance might provide evidence of a wide constituency of inputs of actors within policy networks for sustainability, and which incorporate defined roles for local communities.

Sabatier (1993) suggests that synthetic policy analysis has the capacity to draw on a number of models of policy within policy analysis, incorporating contrasting 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' perspectives of policy development. In this sense analysing policy development for sustainability will be defined by its complexity, in seeking out a variety of actors and in creating horizontal 'links' in the 'implementation chain'. Furthermore, Hogwood and Gunn's (1984) model of the nine stages of the policy making process, provides a (limited) analytical framework to help identify policy development for sustainability, from an 'issue-forming phase' through to implementation, evaluation and policy succession. This framework for analysis has the potential to address both the emergence of general policy processes for sustainability at the local level and, more specifically, policies for cycling and cycle tourism, as an exemplar of sustainable tourism. Given the extended time scales for the implementation of policies for sustainability, the likelihood is that empirical research will focus on policy processes for implementation, rather than necessarily evaluating policy outcomes or outputs.
CHAPTER SEVEN: RESEARCH PROJECT METHODOLOGY

7.0 INTRODUCTION

At the inception of this research project it was intended that the principal focus would be to investigate cycle tourism as an implementable model for sustainable tourism within the policy context of tourism. However, the scope of the study has evolved through the synthesis of insights from the review of literature to consider the broader processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability at a local level. Therefore the central research question and the rationale for the research strategy whilst principally investigating the policy area of tourism and the activity of cycle tourism, also scrutinise wider policy contexts for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability through LA21 processes.

This chapter synthesises insights from the review of literature to consider ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations which underpin the design of the empirical research process of this research project. Chapter Seven is structured into a number of sections with 7.1 highlighting the central research question and supporting research aims and objectives. 7.2 considers ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations which underpin the research project. 7.3 revisits the conceptualisation of sustainability and 7.4 provides the justification for the choice of research context. 7.5 discusses evidence from secondary research analysis of LA21 and 7.6 highlights empirical considerations for LA21 in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. 7.7 considers the application of a synthesis of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ models of policy making to the empirical research process. 7.8 highlights the rationale for the choice of case study research strategy and 7.9 offers conclusions on key elements of the research project methodology.
7.1 THE CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUPPORTING RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

7.1.1 THE CENTRAL RESEARCH QUESTION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

Following insights from the review of literature the main research question considers:

Can cycle tourism operationalise the principles of sustainability and provide a model for sustainable tourism at the local level?

The emergence of themes and sub-themes within the review of literature were used to structure the empirical research process and are highlighted within section 7.8.4. This central research question is in turn supported by three research aims:

7.1.2 THE RESEARCH AIMS OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

- to establish the role of Local Agenda 21 (LA21) policy processes in operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level in the UK; exploring the interaction between politicians, local government officers and community representatives;

- to consider the capacity of the policy area of tourism operationalise the principles of sustainability at the local level and thus provide evidence of the wider implementability of sustainability principles within local government;

- to scrutinise the potential of the example area of cycle tourism to provide a model for sustainable tourism at the local level.

7.1.3 THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT:

Underpinning these three research aims are more specific research objectives:
to establish the role of LA21 policy processes in ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within service delivery, and engaging officers and politicians in this process;

to establish the capacity of LA21 to stimulate community orientated policy development for sustainability;

to consider the integration of LA21 policy development processes for sustainability within the policy areas of tourism and cycling;

to establish the significance of cycle tourism as a community based implementable model of sustainable tourism;

to apply ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ models of policy development and implementation to the policy analysis of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at the local level;

to identify how empirical insights from a number of case studies can help build a body of practice which helps to inform subsequent operations and to refine the concept of sustainability and its operationalisation at a local level;

and suggest areas for further research.

The first aim scrutinises LA21 as a policy process with the capacity to create awareness and actions for community based policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability at the local level.

As such LA21 might provide a catalyst to integrate principles of sustainability between distinct policy boundaries and have a role in establishing policy communities and local implementation structures (Ham and Hill, 1984; Houlihan, 1991; Colebatch, 1998; Sabatier,
Whilst there might be many significant actors who play a role in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy making, there is a normative expectation that LA21 processes will be facilitated by local authorities and particularly engage communities in this process.

The second aim of the research project recognises that whilst 'general' processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability might be discernible, there is the question of the assimilation of these principles into the policy area of tourism. In this respect Butler (1998) considers that whilst the application of sustainability has been widespread, actually moving from theory to practice has been much more limited. Butler attributes this lack of success in implementation within the policy area of tourism, in part, to the "uncertainty and ambiguity over the meaning of the term (sustainability)" (1998:27) and that:

The commonly accepted definition of sustainable development, which is based on the Brundtland Report (WCED 1987), has not been translated effectively into action. There is, therefore a clear lack of consensus about the way in which this definition should be translated into the management of people, resources and environments in a manner that would achieve universal acceptance (1998:31).

The third aim of the research project is predicated on the view that whilst there might be specific barriers to the implementation of the principles of sustainability within policy areas such as tourism, the review of literature highlighted the capacity of cycle tourism to exemplify a model for sustainable tourism. Crucially for the prospect of community based policy development, infrastructure development for cycle tourism at the local level might initially be premised on wider developments for utilitarian cycling, thus providing benefits for both communities and tourists.

The review of literature argued that in highlighting the significance of cycling and cycle tourism to the policy framework of LA21, Sustrans has provided local authority departments, particularly those in leisure and tourism, with a tailor-made opportunity for sustainable development activity and opportunities for community involvement and inter-agency collaboration in a growth area of tourism demand. There is evidence from the
review of literature that cycling has the capacity to ‘implement’ the principles of sustainability within different policy contexts, not least in the policy area of tourism.

7.2 ONTOLOGICAL, EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS UNDERPINNING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

In considering the central research question, the research aims and research objectives, this research project responds to fundamental aspects of the research process. Knight, (2002), for example, warns against “doing research schema” which are “fixated on inquiry as methods approach”, and through “methods deliver understanding” (2002:18). Furthermore, he emphasises that merely using research methods to collect data does not guarantee that data instantly creates knowledge of a subject or phenomenon. For Knight, ‘claims-making’ requires adopting a particular research perspective which is based on a combination of ontological, epistemological and methodological approaches (2002:25).

With potential research perspectives encompassing positivistic explanation building, contrasted with the understanding of ‘meaning’ through interpretive and qualitative approaches and hermeneutics, Knight stresses that “research methods are not bonded to ontologies and epistemologies” (2002:33). Crucially for Knight

the claims researchers can most readily sustain are related to the epistemologies and ontologies on which their inquiries are based. Since the same phenomena can be studied from different ontological or epistemologies positions, it follows that researchers should explain their choice of positions and explain how their positions lend themselves to making certain sorts of claims” (ibid.).

Consistent with the observations of Knight, Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that of paramount consideration to the researcher is that

questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm, which we define as the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontological and epistemologically fundamental ways (1994:105).

Therefore an important initial starting point for the research process is to acknowledge the human construction of paradigms, viewed by Kuhn (1970) as research frameworks which create ‘maps’ of knowledge. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) consider paradigms to be “a basic
set of beliefs that guide action” which lead to particular “methodological commitments” (1994:99). Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (op cit.) highlight four paradigm ‘choices’ of “positivism, post-positivism, critical theory inquiry and related ideological positions and constructivism (natural inquiry)” (1992:105). Positivism and post-positivism are characterised by a reliance on quantification and the hard sciences, in contrast to the social sciences which are dubbed the soft sciences. They stress that the hard sciences focus on attempts to

verify (positivism) or falsify (post-positivism) a priori hypotheses, most usefully stated as mathematical (quantitative) propositions or propositions that can be easily converted into precise mathematical formulas expressing functional relationships (Guba and Lincoln, 1992:106).

The use of mathematical formulae is viewed as a means of ‘controlling’ natural phenomenon, with the belief that the harder sciences can be imitated by the social sciences to provide “more valid knowledge” (ibid.). However, Denzin and Lincoln (1992:15) highlight the limitations of quantitative methods, which in the search for “subsets of variables” tend to mask and exclude contextual information. As such, Denzin and Lincoln argue that the theoretical rigour of quantified approaches might only be applicable or generalisable to other “contextually stripped situations” (ibid.).

Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that the ‘objectifying of research’ is central to the positivist approach of “hypothesis testing, explanation, prediction, cause-effect linkages, and conventional benchmarks of rigor, internal and external validity” (1994:105). However, they guard against the temptation of over quantification and so called “ultimate validity” of quantitative data (1994:106). Veal (1992) concurs with this view, suggesting that “it is dangerous to draw conclusions about the causes and motivations on the basis of ‘scientific’ type of evidence” (1992:22) and suggests that the research framework of the interpretive model

places more reliance on the people being studied to provide their own explanation of their situation or behaviour. The interpretive researcher therefore tries to ‘get inside’ the minds of subjects and see the world from their point of view. This of course suggests a less formalised approach to data collection and generally an inductive approach (ibid.).
In terms of ontological considerations and the construction of ‘reality’, Lincoln and Guba (1994:105) and Plamentz (1970) concur with the Kantian view that there is a distinction between the “phenomenal from the noumenal world, the world as we know it from the world as it is” (1970:34). Plamentz makes the further distinction that

the world as we know it is the world as it necessarily appears to us. We do not choose that it shall appear as it does. And yet it is also, in a sense, a world of our making. Our sense impressions are ‘in our minds,’ even though there are effects upon us that are external to us; and it is we who produce the phenomenal world by applying our ideas to them (1970:34).

There are different applications of phenomenology to ‘knowledge creation’, with Knight highlighting the “constructivist view that identity, beliefs and behaviours are situationally sensitive” (2002:157) and that these situations are “constructed by the people participating in our inquiry” (ibid.). Guba and Lincoln identify that a constructivist approach to knowledge creation accumulates knowledge in a “relative sense through the formation of ever more informed and sophisticated constructions via the hermeneutical or dialectical process” (1992:114). Therefore Denzin and Lincoln argue that a constructivist paradigm incorporates essentially an interpretive process which

assumes a relativist ontology (that there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and subject create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures (1992:14).

This research project adopts an interpretive research approach within a constructivist paradigm (Stake, 1992:242) central to a methodological approach which scrutinises the processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy making at the local level. Within this methodological approach, identified case study actors give meaning to the process of the ‘social construction’ of sustainability at a local level and the role of cycle tourism as an implementable form of tourism.

7.3 CONCEPTUALISING SUSTAINABILITY

How ‘we know the world’ has implications for the ontological, epistemological and methodical challenges which underpin the empirical study of the operationalisation of the concept of sustainability. The review of literature highlighted that different discourses of
sustainability incorporate a priori or teleological interpretations which view sustainability as a 'natural phenomena' that exists beyond anthropocentric or man-made construction (O'Riordan, 1984). Therefore Gaia theorists, technocentricists, Cornucopians, and ecocentricists will all claim to 'know the world' from different perspectives and will consequently conceptualise sustainability in diverse ways. Methodologically, the expression of human priorities for sustainability are not without their limitations in so far that anthropocentrism (O'Riordan, 1984) inescapably views the world through human perceptions and perspectival fallacy (Fox, 1990).

Therefore, socially constructed interpretations of sustainability will create contrasting ecocentric and technocentric approaches to the utilisation of resources (Henry and Jackson, 1995) with the stark prospect that human activities have the capacity to create irreversible ecological and environmental impacts which threaten the 'well being' of the planet (Carson, 1962). Beyond the potentially contradictory and rhetorical nature of the complex concept of sustainability however, there is a methodological requirement to move beyond exclusively environmental interpretations of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at the local level. Therefore futurity, ethical, intra-generational and inter-generational equity, environmental and social justice and democratising aspects symbolise dominant elements of sustainability which might emerge within case studies at the local level. Furthermore, how local authorities and local communities 'know the world' has implications for the choice of methodological approaches used to scrutinise how the principles of sustainability are integrated into 'everyday actions'. Of relevance here, Bauler and Hecq (2000:50) highlight that sustainability is a dynamic concept which is framed within continually changing processes underpinned by important temporal and spatial considerations, not least at a local level. Therefore there is the question of the emergence of local narratives of sustainability which might differ from, or complement, global pronouncements of the principles of sustainability.

### 7.3.1 CONCEPTUALISING SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The review of literature noted the multiplicity of definitions of sustainability (see e.g. Turner, 1991) with contrasting 'grand narratives' and 'local narratives' of sustainability reflecting an interplay between global and local issues. Furthermore, 'models' of
Sustainability express varying degrees of complexity in the integration of different dimensions, with the ‘triple bottom-line model’ (Brundtland 1987; English Tourist Board, 1991), dubbed the ‘integrative triangle’ (Bauler and Hecq, 2000), contrasted with more complex models which seek to integrate political, policy, managerial, cultural, social, economic and environmental dimensions to apply to policy making, planning, development and management applications (Bramwell et al., 1996).

The political dimension of the concept of sustainability informs these different applications, and in theory has the capacity to promote awareness of sustainability and acts as a catalyst in mobilising the principles of sustainability in ‘everyday life’ (Brown, 1997). What requires scrutiny within the research project are different political and corporate responses to operationalising the principles of sustainability, with potentially ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ responses to sustainability emerging. In this respect there might be policy inertia within local authorities to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, as this process might be viewed as a resource burden. Karlsson and Ljung (2001) describe the choice of between development scenarios for sustainability, as finding a balance between “different systems of interest” (2001:126). For Brown (1997); Griffith (2000) and Karlsson and Ljung (2001) the essence of the process of ‘moving towards sustainability’ within “different systems of interest” requires a collaborative learning process where stakeholders have to discuss and act in accordance with new knowledge, experiences made, and the dynamic complexity of intentional change (Karlsson and Ljung, 2001:129).

Within the review of literature, Brown (1997) was found to highlight the importance of the application of reflection and learning in understanding the process of transformational change related to actions for sustainability. This has implications for both policy makers to engage in policy learning for sustainability and for communities to have the capacity to reflect on the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability within ‘everyday’ actions. Intertwined with policy processes, is the political receptiveness to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability.

Underpinning political systems are hegemonic relationships (Dahl, 1957; Foucault, 1983; Berger, 2002) which will determine the access to resources, with institutions invested with
the power and legitimacy to 'impose' 'dominant ideas' on society (Wright Mills, 1959:37). He observes that Parsons and other grand theorists recognise 'value-orientations' and 'normative structure' which underpin the processes, outputs and outcomes of policy and decision making. Wright Mills (1959:32) views societal processes as being guided by 'social regularities' and 'social orders,' which has implications for the scope for innovative approaches to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability.

The review of literature highlighted from within the work of Berger (2002) that local governance is characterised by uneven power relationships and that the dominant pattern of power structures is 'top-down'. Therefore the research project considers the scope for the democratising possibilities of the application of the principles of sustainability and the emergence of diverse local structures for community engagement (Holland, 2002).

7.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE CHOICE OF THE RESEARCH CONTEXT

The review of literature offered justification as to why the local level is an appropriate level of governance to explore the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy making processes. This was predicated on the view that future scenarios for sustainability should incorporate and reflect the views of local people (Brown, 1997; Hall and Lew; 1998; Griffiths, 2000). Whilst this study is cognisant of the interconnection between different levels of governance, it nevertheless focusses on the context of the local level of governance and the relationship between a range of political and policy actors within local authorities, in collaboration with community representatives. It is acknowledged that there is scope within future research projects to incorporate other significant actors within an expanded study of local governance.

In particular the review of literature identified that within the UK, national strategies for sustainable development (DETR, 1993; 1998) provided 'guidance' to local authorities, as the most prominent public policy making body at the local level, to exercise responsibility and accountability for operationalising the principles of sustainability within major policy areas facilitated through a LA21 policy process. Therefore, whilst the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within specific localities should in theory reflect local characteristics and local community aspirations, local processes will be impacted upon by
macro level sub-regional, regional and national political and policy influences. In this respect it is important within the empirical research process to disaggregate local priorities for sustainability from global considerations, yet be conscious that the derivation of the ‘language of sustainability’ is inevitably global, and in part is directed by the policy pronouncements of Brundtland (WCED, 1987) and Rio (UNCED, 1992).

Apposite to the interconnectivity of the influences of levels of governance, Berger (2002) warns of ‘national structures’ directing local policy agendas for sustainability. The review of literature highlighted the significance of the restructuring of local governance by national governance based on ‘modernising agendas’ (DETR, 1998). This has the expectation of more integrative approaches to service delivery, which are underpinned by the principles of sustainability. These ‘modernising agendas’ have created a range of alternative policy initiatives which include Community Planning, Best Value and Local Strategic Partnerships which might either complement or divert the policy ‘momentum’ of LA21. Therefore, it is important to assess the progress to date of LA21 policy processes in operationalising policies for sustainability at the local level (Leslie and Hughes, 1997; Leslie and Muir, 1997; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999; Font and Morpeth, 2002).

7.4.1 SECONDARY RESEARCH SOURCES OF LA21 AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

Chapter Five within the review of literature explored available secondary research sources of data on the ubiquity of policy processes for LA21 in local authority policy areas, suggesting that there has been uncertain progress (LGMB, 1997). This initial lack of progress was epitomised by only 70 out of 486 local authorities producing some form of action plan by the target date of 1996. However, the suggestion that 93% of all local authorities within the UK had submitted some form of action plan by 2000 (The Sustainable Development Unit, 2002) raised the question of how far these plans have been successful in integrating principles of sustainability into a range of policy areas, including tourism?

However, the review of literature also suggested that linkages between LA21 and the policy area of tourism have created incomplete alliances (Leslie and Hughes, 1997) and that the basis of linkages were largely predicated on existing environmental strategies and individual
initiatives on e.g. energy efficiency, waste minimisation and recycling in hotels. Whilst there appears to be evidence of uncertain progress in integrating tourism initiatives into LA21 policy processes at a local level, at a national level there is at least increasing recognition of the linkages between tourism and sustainability, which culminated in a national UK strategy for sustainable tourism (1999).

Consistent with other studies which demonstrate the capacity of different forms of tourism to operationalise the principles of sustainability (see e.g. Bramwell et al., 1996), this study explores the significance of cycle tourism in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability as a model for sustainable tourism.

### 7.5 EMPIRICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND LA21 PROCESSES

Figure 7.1 highlights the origins of the policy momentum and policy transfer of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability through LA21 processes. An important aspect of the mobilisation of the concept of sustainability in empirical research is to determine how LA21 policy processes can create common understanding of the language of sustainability. This common language of sustainability might emerge within channels of communication within local authorities which are in turn linked to local communities. Therefore, there is a normative expectation of the mobilisation of the conceptual elements of sustainability to an ‘applied arena’ and the reconciliation of “theoretical approaches and practice” (Bauler and Hecq, 2000:50). Figure 7.1 below overleaf highlights the origins of Agenda 21 at a supra-national level, and its emergence as a LA21 process at the local level.
Therefore this research project initially explores the capacity of LA21 to 'mainstream' (Kitchen, 1996) the principles of sustainability within service delivery in local authorities,
perhaps having to address policy inertia and indifference from both officers and politicians. The use of the term ‘mainstreaming’ (Kitchen, 1996) contrasts with Karlsson and Ljung’s interpretation of “mainstream views of sustainable development” which “are unreceptive to the systemic possibilities of sustainable development” (Karlsson and Ljung, 2001:130). The effectiveness of this process of ‘mainstreaming’ will in part be dependent on where LA21 officers are positioned within a local authority. This is dependent on the corporate strategic responses to the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability, which in turn stimulates operational policy processes for individual service areas within local authorities. Whilst there is a normative expectation that a LA21 policy process should stimulate actions for sustainability within local communities, this might be partly dependent on the democratising possibilities of sustainability (Brown, 1997) and the capacity of communities to play a significant role in establishing and articulating scenarios for sustainability at the local level.

This creates an empirical challenge to identify community respondents (not least because of definitional problems of what constitutes a community) who can express a “diversity of opinion and representation” in local choices and scenarios for sustainability (Bell and Morse, 2002:59). The scrutiny of LA21 processes here is cognisant of both the discretionary ‘status’ of LA21 as a policy process for local authorities, and the voluntary nature of community participation in initiatives for sustainability. Therefore the robustness of linkages between local authorities and communities will in part be dependent on effective communication channels and arenas for discussion.

7.5.1 INFORMATION CHANNELS FOR SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The existence of information channels and communication arenas for discussion on issues for sustainability will provide insights as to how actors engage in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery. In this respect, Bauler and Hecq (2000) note that there is an expansion of “institutionalised sustainable development processes” (2000:55) from the global to the local level, which creates a demand for “relevant information for decision making” on sustainability (ibid.). Bauler and Hecq distinguish between ‘producer’ and ‘user’ (2000:51) information on sustainability,
which has two main applications within "an individual citizen-sphere (public awareness-raising) and a public institutional sphere (information to increase efficiency of policy)" (ibid.). In their view the dynamic of decision making will differ between the "public sphere (where) decision making is largely institutionalised by procedures" and the citizen-sphere level where decision making relates to individuals adapting their "behaviour to sustainable development principles on a near-daily basis" (2000:52).

They identify the possibility of both separate and parallel processes for operationalising the principles of sustainability within local authority organisations and the wider community, in which different priorities for sustainability might emerge. In this sense communities might engage in actions for sustainability which have not initially emerged within formalised policy pronouncements from local authorities. Furthermore, in the absence of information related to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability there might be "dissonance between awareness and action" (Bauler and Hecq, 2000:51) which raises the question of how communities derive 'knowledge' of sustainability, distinct from interpretations of sustainability communicated by local authority policy makers. Therefore, if local communities are not to be totally reliant on local authorities for sources of information on sustainability, communities will require the capacity to be aware of, and engage in, actions based on local visions for sustainability. However, Periera (2002) identifies that institutions might engage in the 'progressive disclosure of information', with the inference that policy makers selectively disseminate different levels of information on sustainability to communicate to local community audiences.

Therefore, the starting point for the empirical research process might either be to initially locate and explore community expressions related to sustainability, or conversely to focus attention on local authorities as the 'legitimate' facilitators of policy making underpinned by the principles of sustainability. In adopting the latter option there is a danger that the empirical research process might be skewed towards a 'top-down' perspective, which potentially gives greater prominence to the role of local authorities rather than to 'bottom-up' perspectives of community representatives in realising 'visions for sustainability' at the local level.
7.6 MONITORING PROGRESS IN OPERATIONALISING PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

7.6.1 POSITIVISTIC APPROACHES

Beyond the awareness raising capacity of LA21 processes to engage a range of actors in operationalising principles of sustainability, there is a requirement to understand how progress in operationalising these principles might be determined. The review of literature highlighted different methodological approaches in creating nationally and locally derived sustainability indicators (Local Government Management Board, 1995). These methodological approaches highlighted that 'progress' might be gauged through positivistic and quantifiable targets and potentially through the application of technocentrically generated sustainability indicators. Critics of such positivistic approaches to measuring the progress in realising sustainability goals at the local level, indicate that communities might find themselves as recipients of someone else's indicators (Bell and Morse, 2002). Bauler and Hecq (2000: 55) indicate that whilst decision makers might rely on "objective, hard, and scientific information", quantitative based information should not be seen as a substitute for a 'full' LA21 process. The rationale of this type of quantitative inquiry might claim that goals of policy delivery for sustainability have measurable outputs which can be applied within different policy contexts.

However, this research project seeks insights into the contextually and conceptually rich qualitative perspectives of sustainability from a range of actors, which might be ignored within an exclusively positivistic inquiry. Therefore, consistent with qualitative approaches to policy accountability, both Brown (1997) and Griffith (2000) argue that monitoring progress in the operationalising of the principles of sustainability, requires more than the formulation of technocentrically orientated indicators. Since the ontological emphasis of this research project views sustainability as a socially constructed concept with the likelihood of multiple social perspectives emerging at the local level, the epistemology of sustainability should clearly not be hidebound by positivistic approaches which eclipse qualitative interpretations.
7.6.2 QUALITATIVE APPROACHES

This research project focuses on qualitative interpretations of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, and in this respect Denscombe (1998) argues that qualitative research is a field of study in its own right which “has its own special approach to the collection and analysis of data” (1998:208). Denzin (1992) highlights that the application of this approach provides the flexibility for the researcher to “study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (1992:1). This approach is consistent with a constructivist paradigm that recognises that different perspectives and discourses of sustainability are likely to emerge at the local level.

Denzin and Lincoln (1992) highlight qualitative research as “a set of interpretive practices, (which) privileges no single methodology over any other” (1992:3) and that it does not have a distinctive set of research methods. For Holstein and Gubrium (1992) “reality is socially constructed” and that the “relation(ship) between perception and its objects (is) not passive”, arguing that “human consciousness actively constitutes the objects of experience” (1992:263). Denscombe (op cit.) concurs with this view stating that

the researcher’s ‘self’ plays a significant role in the production and interpretation of qualitative data. The researcher’s identity, values and beliefs cannot be entirely eliminated from the process - again in stark contrast to the ambitions of a positivistic approach to social research (1998:208).

Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1992) highlight that the qualitative researcher as a ‘bricoleur’ who has the capacity to creatively and pragmatically use multi-methods “to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question” (1992:2).

With this research project scrutinising the views of different actors in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, the application of a qualitative research approach provides the scope for different perspectives and discourses of sustainability to emerge.

In gaining insights into the policy making process for sustainability, Rist (1992) identifies that:
One other aspect of the political risk factor that qualitative research can address is the sustainability of the policy initiative. Close-in studies of the operational life of a policy initiative can gain a perspective on the commitment of those involved, their belief in the worthiness of the effort, the amount of the political support they are or not engendering, and the receptivity of the target population to the effort. If all these indicators are decidedly negative then the sustainability of the initiative is surely low (1992: 553).

In addition to recognising the flexibility of a qualitative research approach to create insights into the processes of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at a local level, the review of literature highlighted the limitations and opportunities of synthesising ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ perspectives of policy making within policy analysis.

7.7 THE SYNTHESIS OF ‘TOP-DOWN’ AND ‘BOTTOM-UP’ PERSPECTIVES WITHIN POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

In applying policy analysis to evaluate the administrative capacity of local authorities to operationalise programmes in conjunction with local communities, there are methodological limitations to applying policy models which “are simplified representations of selected aspects of a problem situation constructed for particular purposes” (Dunn, 1994: 152). In Chapter Six the literature review emphasised the limitations of the policy cycle model (Hogwood and Gunn, 1981) which compartmentalises each ‘stage’ of the policy cycle and in doing so attempts to locate where policy making ends and implementation begins (Ham and Hill, 1984).

In making the distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation, Rist suggests that the challenge is in:

Finding that instance where coherent and robust policy initiatives are operationalised within a well-managed organisation (and) necessitates the complex assessment of what impacts can be attributed to the policy and what to its successful implementation (1992: 553).

This in part requires an assessment of identifiable linkages in the ‘implementation chain’ from policy development to delivery (Ham and Hill, 1984), which reflects input from a
variety of actors. However, this also creates a challenge for policy makers to introduce innovative policy practice which establishes inter-disciplinary linkages which move beyond rational, incremental and compartmentalised approaches to policy making (Lindblom, 1959). With the normative expectation that policies which are underpinned by the principles of sustainability should be devolved to the lowest level of governance, the empirical research process requires the capacity to identify more inclusive ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy implementation. These clearly contrast with prescriptive and rational models of implementation (Ham and Hill, 1984). Part of an evaluation of the emergence of ‘bottom-up’ approaches (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973) to policy making and implementation is through the ‘horizontalisation’ of policy processes which are characterised by the incorporation of a variety of actors in this process (Colebatch, 1998).

Chapter Six noted that a ‘top-down’ approach is characterised by “the implementation structure (which) keeps links to a minimum; (and) there is the prevention of outside influence and control over implementing actors” (Ham and Hill, 1984:96). Contrasting with this approach, Sabatier (1993:277) recognises that local implementation structures have the capacity to move the orientation of policy making from the ‘Centre’ to the ‘Periphery’. Arguably, the inclusiveness of this process (with input from multiple actors) will be enhanced by the emergence of policy networks (Houlihan, 1991; Colebatch, 1998), which communicate a shared commitment to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, and in the process, the strengthening of the possibilities of policy sustainability emerging through a shared ‘advocacy of interests’ (Sabatier, 1993). However, the creation of links between ‘actors’ in the implementation process might be incomplete, partly due to the embryonic nature of policy innovations for sustainability.

Sabatier (1993) notes how the synthesis of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-down’ critiques provide different strengths to the process of policy analysis. The application of these perspectives to the research project methodology allows insights into “the perceptions and activities of participants” (1993:280). Conversely, Sabatier (1993) argues that ‘top-down’ perspectives have a greater disposition to theoretical development which expresses causal relationships, predictions and theory construction which relate to policy outputs and outcomes. Consistent with Lane’s distinction between “implementation as outcome and process” (1993:90), this research project considers the process of how policy linkages and relationships contribute to
the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at the local level, rather than specifically measuring policy outputs and outcomes.

7.8 THE RATIONALE FOR THE CHOICE OF A CASE STUDY RESEARCH STRATEGY

This section outlines the rationale for the application of a case study research strategy which focused on local authority and community actors ('units of study')(Yin, 1994). In this respect, Moore (2000:xiii) highlights that:

When conducting case study research, it is always important to establish clearly the context within which the case studies operate. Case studies of local authorities should, for example, reflect the main type of local authority unit in terms of the size of the population served, the rural-urban split, perhaps the political complexion of the council, and so on.

With the existence of 486 local authorities within the UK, there was potentially the scope within this research project to introduce different phases to the empirical research process, with a first phase adopting a quantitatively based sampling strategy to determine how local authorities responded nationally to operationalising the principles of sustainability within LA21 processes. However, in terms of case study choice, Shipman (1997) countenances caution about viewing the selection of cases as part of a sampling strategy, as cases provide opportunities for "reflecting on practice in context" (1997:62), whilst samples are designed for generalisation and abstraction.

Nevertheless, with justification required for choosing particular case studies, this research project adopts a purposive sample which is based on 'local knowledge' - or a focused sampling (Hakim, 1987) of the three neighbouring local authorities of Kingston-upon-Hull Council, North Lincolnshire Council and West Lindsey District Council.

Whilst these local authorities are in the same sub-region of Humberside, each offers distinct contextual socio-economic, political, environmental and cultural factors, with the capacity to offer different interpretations of how the principles of sustainability might be operationalised. The setting of the research context within these three local authorities,
provides the scope to explore a range of urban and rural, and district and unitary local authorities within the sub-region of Humberside, within the North of the UK. This provides an opportunity to contrast different types of local authorities and their responses to initiating LA21 processes, and progress in community based policy development which assimilates the principles of sustainability.

Through ‘local knowledge’ it was known that these three local authorities were at varying stages of the process of political restructuring, with for example two of the three local authorities undergoing a transformation from ‘committee’ to ‘cabinet style’ governance, reflecting the political aspiration of Central Government to encourage local authorities to adopt ‘modernising agendas’. The third local authority was due to retain its ‘committee’ based structure, reflecting a more ‘traditional’ approach to local governance. Therefore combined with contrasting configurations of urban and rural characteristics, the choice of these three particular local authorities provided the potential to locate a diversity of approaches to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability.

Additionally, with linked local authority boundaries, this also provided the scope for an investigation of collaboration between different types of local authorities in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. With each local authority also sharing a continuous section of the Sustrans’ inspired Hull to Harwich Cycle Route, this enabled a specific inquiry to scrutinise cycle tourism as exemplifying a model for sustainable tourism.

The basis of the case study design for the research project is that these three case study local authority areas represent identifiable ‘units of study’ which include local authority officers, political representatives, and community actors. The criteria for the choice of case study actors within these local authorities, was that there should be an investigation of a corporate commitment to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability facilitated through Local Agenda 21 Officers and Teams (or associated Sustainability Officers). With Local Agenda 21 Officers as a first point of contact within these three local authority, the adoption of a snowballing strategy, enabled the choice of political representatives to be interviewed and thus scrutinise their political commitment to sustainability. Such a strategy for choice of respondents meant that politicians with different levels of seniority, ranging from Leader of a local authority to a Portfolio Holder for Sustainability, and with different
party political alliances, were included within the case study design. The choice of Tourism and Cycling Officers (or associated Transport Officers) reflected the scrutiny of the policy area of Tourism as the principal policy focus of the thesis, linked with the activity of cycling and cycle tourism as an exemplar of sustainable tourism at a local level.

The inclusion of Planning Officers provided the scope to investigate if the planning mechanisms of Structure, Unitary and Local Plans were guided by principles of sustainability, linking long-term landuse planning, with the promotion of tourism and cycling activities. The choice of community interviewees was based on trying to locate community representatives with linkages with Local Agenda 21, tourism and cycling i.e. each case study would specifically focus on one of these elements. The full list of case study actors are highlighted below:

**Table 7.1: Case study actors (units of study)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council</th>
<th>Officers</th>
<th>Political representative</th>
<th>Community Representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>North Lincolnshire Council</td>
<td>• LA21/ Environmental/ Sustainability officers</td>
<td>• Councilor and portfolio holder for Sustainability</td>
<td>• Chair of the Barton Tourism Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Transport/ Cycling Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Planning Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Tourism and Marketing Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lindsey District Council</td>
<td>• Deputy Chief Executive(LA21 'postbox'</td>
<td>• Liberal Democratic Councilor</td>
<td>• Door to door interviews on perceptions of sustainability with residents of Market Rasen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Tourism Officer (responsibility for cycling)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Planning Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston-upon-Hull Council</td>
<td>• LA21 Officer</td>
<td>• Leader of the Council and Portfolio Holder for Sustainability</td>
<td>• Community Cycling Group Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Transport Cycling Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Planning Officers</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Tourism Officer</td>
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</table>
7.8.1 THE CASE STUDY RESEARCH STRATEGY

This research project adopts an interpretive and constructivist research paradigm underpinned by qualitative research methods within the framework of a case study research strategy.

Case studies have their historical origins in the work of the Chicago School of Sociology in the 1930s, with Hakim (1987) describing the case study as “the most multi-purpose, (and) most flexible of all research designs. At the simplest level they provide descriptive accounts of one or more cases” (1987:61). According to Hakim (ibid.) they offer flexibility to simulate experiments, test hypotheses and hunches and can be exploratory, explanatory and descriptive in nature. Consistent with the central research question, research aims and objectives focusing on an interpretive inquiry, the application of a case research strategy enables “an in-depth account of events, relationships, experiences or processes” (Denscombe, 1998:32). Furthermore, Knight (2002) identifies that the choice of a case study research strategy allows the researcher to

work in-depth, to really go beyond superficial research approaches (which) compel(s) researchers to look for meaning and try to construct understandings, to learn from what is going on (Knight, 2002:42).

Whilst a case study does not necessarily have to adopt an exclusively qualitative inquiry, Stake (1998) recognises the flexibility of case studies “where qualitative inquiry dominates, with strong naturalistic, holistic, cultural, phenomenological interests” (1998:86). Although Hakim (op cit.) suggests that there is synergy between qualitative and case study research, she argues that the distinction between them is that

qualitative research is concerned with obtaining people’s own accounts of situations and events, with reporting their perspectives and feelings, whereas case study research is concerned with obtaining a rounded picture of a situation or event from the perspectives of all the persons involved, usually by using a variety of methods (1987:8-9).

Hakim also highlights that case studies focus on “analytical social units and processes rather than on individuals” (1987:32) and which allows the researcher to focus on a particular
social phenomenon. Furthermore, the case study research strategy has the flexibility to accommodate a range of research methods, although Stake emphasises that the "case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used" (1998:86). The rationale for choosing a case study approach within this research project is that it provides the scope to research "contemporary phenomenon" in "real life situations" using multi-sources of data, enabling insights to be made on "complex social phenomena" (Yin, 1994:23). This allows for the 'naturalness' of phenomena and contemporary events to be studied, and that this phenomena "continues to exist once the research has finished" (Stake, 1998:31). In this respect Stake also notes that the case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied. We choose to study the case but we could study it in many ways (1998:86).

Consistent with this view, Denscombe (1998) is careful to stress that "case study research is a matter of research strategy, not research methods" (1998:32), with Yin suggesting that "the case study is a separate research strategy that has its own research design" (1994:28) which determines which data to collect, linked to the initial research question.

### 7.8.2 CASE STUDY PARAMETERS

Yin (1989) argues that case study research should follow the conventions of all research, in so far that it should contain "what questions to study; what data are relevant; what data to collect; (and) how to analyse the results (1989:29)". Stake (op cit.) argues that the following aspects should be encapsulated within case study design:

| 1. Bounding the case, conceptualising the objects of study |
| 2. Selecting phenomena, themes, or issues, research questions |
| 3. Seeking patterns of data to develop the issues |
| 4. Triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation |
| 5. Selecting alternative interpretations to pursue |
| 6. Developing assertions or generalisations about the case |

Source: Stake, 1994:244
Knight highlights the importance of defining the boundaries of the case and the challenge of setting parameters for the case study, which reflects the complexity of the social world which is being investigated (2002:41). Stake characterises this as the "boundedness" (1992:236) of the case study, which conceptualises the objectives of the study (bounding the case). This will include selecting the phenomena to be studied, as a prelude to establishing themes which are used to 'locate' patterns of data which helps to develop issues in the research findings (1992:238). Stake later highlighted that the case is a bounded or integrated system which may not be a "working well" (1998:87) but nevertheless has functioning elements. Furthermore, he highlights the complex situational research contexts which the case study research strategy is attempting to represent, which are characterised by subsections and "a concatenation of domains - many so complex that at best they can only be sampled" (Stake, 1998:91).

This clearly has implications for the completeness of processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability, which are being interpreted and the generalisability of case study elements. Hamel (1994) states that "as a form of research, a case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by methods of inquiry used" (1994:236) with Stake (1998) distinguishing between intrinsic, instrumental and collective case studies. Intrinsic case studies focus on the specific case, without having to consider its wider generalisability to other cases, with instrumental cases used to refine theory. Collective case studies in Stake's view are a series of instrumental case studies "extended to several cases" (1998:89) which allow "theorizing about a still larger collection of cases" (ibid.). However, he notes that generalisation should not be a paramount consideration above the uniqueness of case studies and the capacity for reflexive and experiential learning from the case. In this sense Stake notes that "the purpose of the case study is not to represent the world, but to represent the case" (1994:245).

There are a range of case study designs with pre-specified procedures (see e.g. Yin, 1994: 25) which can be utilised to incorporate the research aims of a project. This research project adopts a multi-case design, rather than a single case study design, to add robustness. Consistent with the application of 'bottom-up' policy critique, this facilitates the exploration of the 'relationships' between key actors in policy processes for sustainability at the local level. Furthermore, this research project does not seek to isolate the most favourable case
study, to arrive at particular conclusions, nor to locate 'deviant cases' which look at disproving the 'general rule' derived from generalisations of previous case studies (Hakim, 1987:62).

7.8.3 DATA COLLECTION

Hakim (ibid.) highlights that in focusing on 'societal entities', case studies should look at adopting “two or more methods of data collection”, in order to “present more rounded and complete accounts of social issues and processes” (1987:63). Consistent with this view, Denscombe (1998) views the case study research strategy as having the capacity to apply complementary research methods, which combine interviews, the collection of documents, observation and questionnaires. Both Hakim (1987) and Yin (1994) suggest that analysis derived from a number of data sources contributes to a holistic study which enables the triangulation of data. Within the framework of this research project, the case study research strategy incorporates research methods which include semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis.

Within the three case studies there are similar local authority actors (although at different levels of seniority), which provides the scope for the repetition of the case study protocol which ensures reliability of findings on the basis of repeatable research procedures. Whilst this multiple case study design provides the scope to create broad generalisations between cases, it is not intended to achieve statistical inferences but rather the “logic of analytical inference from a small number of carefully selected cases” (Hakim, 1987:64).

7.8.4 DEVELOPING THEMES FOR ANALYSIS

The case study strategy for this research project identifies a number of respondents within local authorities and local communities, and focuses on more than one unit of analysis and as such, is characterised as an ‘embedded case study design’ (Yin, 1994:44). Yin stresses that these sub-units of the study should be linked together in the analysis of the case itself to develop themes of analysis. Highlighted below overleaf in Table 7.3 are the five themes and associated sub-themes which inform questions within the semi-structured interviews and guide the process of documentary analysis.
Table 7.3: Themes of analysis within the case study design

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A) LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THEME ONE: Corporate political and officer interpretations of the concept of sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) How do politicians interpret the concept of sustainability?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) How do officers respond corporately to the concept of sustainability?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME TWO: Internal communication processes, policy networks and the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) How does LA21 inform the process of incorporating the principles of sustainability within service delivery?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) How do directorates communicate and ‘mainstream’ the principles of sustainability within and between service areas?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME THREE: External communication processes, policy networks and the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) How does the local authority communicate and collaborate with community groups in the operationalisation of policies for sustainability?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) How does the local authority collaborate with local and regional organisations and agencies in the operationalisation of policies for sustainability?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME FOUR: Policy innovation in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) How do policies for cycling and cycle tourism operationalise the principles of sustainability at the local level?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THEME FIVE: Bottom-up approaches to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in tourism and cycling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-themes:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) How do community organisations collaborate with local authorities in tourism initiatives?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) How do communities respond to cycling and cycle tourism as a sustainable form of transport and tourism?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) How do communities interpret the concepts of sustainability and sustainable tourism within the context of LA21?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The design of questions within the semi-structured interviews (with the scope for application within the analysis of documents) are based on these five highlighted themes and associated sub-themes, set within two broader categories, related to local authority and community responses to sustainability. These five themes and sub-themes have emerged.
from the synthesis of conceptual elements of the review of literature and form the structure of themes for analysis and interpretation of data within the case study reports.

The case study design incorporates construct validity through the use of multiple sources of evidence to clarify the overall research aims. In establishing a ‘chain of evidence’ from the research question to research findings, with the potential for key informants to review the case study report, Yin (1994) maintains that construct validity will be increased. Likewise, internal validity relates to the comparison of rival explanations for research insights, particularly from the convergence of different sources of research evidence. In this study the triangulation of data through local authority interviews and documents, and through community respondents, will create a combination of perceptions and responses to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within the three case studies.

### 7.8.5 GENERALISATION

There is a healthy ‘tension’ between the possibilities for generalisation from case study insights and the uniqueness of the case to provide opportunities for reflective learning of the single case. In this respect Stake (1994) identifies that whilst there is “potentially a large population of hypothetical cases, and a small sub-population of accessible cases” (1994:243) that this will not guarantee statistical generality. He adds that
damage occurs when the commitment to generalise or create theory runs so strong that the researcher’s attention is drawn away from features important for understanding the case itself (1994:238).

Generally, within a case study research strategy, external validity relates to the generalisability of findings and the application of analytical generalisability, which positions generalisability to broader theories, as opposed to statistical generalisability. Yin (1994) likens this to the replication logic of experiments. Knight views case studies as “powerful antidotes to determinism and over-generalisation” (2002:42), emphasising their capacity for analytical generalisation (theory verification and creation), rather than statistical generalisation. He suggests that data which is “context-dependent” (2002:47) requires interpretation and “sense-making” which is akin to generalisation.
On the question of generalisation, Kidder and Judd (1986) note that specificity does not "preclude generalising beyond the particular study" (1986:169). In this respect a case study research approach is viewed by Denscombe (1998) as being more effective than a survey approach in

unravel(ing)the complexities of a given situation. Suggesting that this approach has the capacity to deal with the case as a whole, in its entirety, and thus have some chance of being able to discover how the many parts affect one another (1998:31).

Knight (2002) also emphasises how "researchers can help readers to generalise by providing full descriptions of methods and the research setting and by being considerate of the readers" (2002:45), adding that "generalisability is about readers making sense of research reports" (2002:46). Given that the case study approach has the flexibility to decide which people, events and organisations to study, Denscombe (1998) notes that the choice of similar case studies places a responsibility on the researcher to justify why particular cases have been chosen. He adds that this might be simply because "the particular case selected is suitable for the purposes of the research" (1998:33). Denscombe (1998) suggests that cases can offer "typical instances" (ibid.) where the justification for choice relates to the generalisability of particular cases, which are in some way typical of other cases and as such the findings from these cases can be related to other similar cases.

Beyond the decision as to how to communicate a ‘narrative’ of the case study, Stake identifies the pedagogical implications of how the single case (“the epistemology of the particular”, 1998:95) can become a form of learning for the reader. In Stake’s view this is a prelude to the wider application of the single case for comparison with other cases to create experiential knowledge which is socially constructed (1994:240).

Furthermore, the triangulation of case study research data will enable alternative interpretations and generalisations about the cases to emerge. Stake (1994) questions the representativeness of cases, when focusing on one or a small number of cases, and Denscombe stresses that “although each case is in some respects unique, it is also a single example of a broader class of things” (1998:36). He adds that

the extent to which findings from the case study can be generalised to other examples in the class depends on how far the case study example is similar to others of its type (ibid.).
On the question of the representativeness of case studies, Stake (1992) suggests that the rationale for case study selection is not based on the case of "some typicality but leaning toward those cases that seem to offer opportunity to learn" (1992:243), adding that this might replace the move towards representativeness. Furthermore, he notes that the applicability of a case study to other case studies is dependent on common factors with other similar case studies. Consistent with this view, this research project highlights that comparisons can be made on the basis of common physical, historical, social and institutional features shared between case studies. Denscombe (1998) also believes that the onus is on the 'reader' to make an assessment about the generalisability of findings, and that the communicated insights from data contained within case studies should be the focus of reflexive practice, to learn from the insights gained from the case study.

Yin (1994) is conscious that the case study approach might attract criticism for its lack of generalisable possibilities, but suggests that these criticisms might be also be leveled at more "scientific research experiments", where it would be difficult to justify a generalisation on the basis of a single experiment (1994:21). Stake notes that it is important to "optimise understanding of the case rather than generalisation beyond" (1992:236) and that damage occurs when the commitment to generalise and create theory runs so strong that the researcher’s attention is drawn away from features important for understanding the case itself (1992:238).

Stake (ibid.) highlights how the validity of research 'findings' might be enhanced through the "process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation" (1992:241). This requires careful design of questions within the semi-structured interview protocol and documentary analysis which 'creates a chain' of evidence from these questions, linked to the central research question, through to strategies for the analysis of data.

7.8.6 STRATEGIES FOR THE ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this study strategies for the analysis of data from interviews, and documentary analysis within the case studies, are cognisant of potential limitations of the analysis of qualitative data. As Holloway and Jefferson (2000:3) (after Denzin, 1989:141) highlight, the potential
problem of the 'hermeneutical circle' recognises that there is potentially no end to the interpretive process.

This research project employs two main approaches to the presentation of the case study report, including a descriptive reporting of the case study narrative, and the analysis of themes which emerge from the case study data. On the issue of the descriptive reporting of the case study narrative, Stake (1998:93) observes that the qualitative researcher who advocates the application of interpretive research, views the case study as having the capacity to communicate its own story or narrative. He notes that whilst the case study researcher might start out with an expectation about particular relationships, events and problems, that the "case content evolves in the act of writing it itself", in conjunction with the "researcher's dressing of the case's own stories" (1998:93). Stake also emphasises that "a case study is both the process of learning about the case and the product of our learning" (1994:237) and that in the writing of the final report it becomes a case study.

On the issue of the development of themes of analysis, it is important to highlight that "the issues used to organise the study may or may not be the ones used to report the case to others" (Denscombe, 1998:92). This leaves open the possibility that themes and sub-themes used to structure the case study strategy might be superseded by new themes which emerge from the analysis of data. Consistent with this view, Miles and Huberman (1994) note that the key part of the analysis of qualitative data will involve the qualitative researcher attempting to identify "patterns and processes, commonalities and differences" (1994:9). Furthermore, they note that when revisiting the field notes, transcripts or text, the researcher should be on the 'lookout' for themes or interconnections that recur between the units and categories that emerge. In this respect, Yin (1994) highlights how the process of iteration creates the possibility of explanation-building as a form of analysis of data.

This research project compares themes between the three case studies, in line with Holloway's notion that:

The analysis of qualitative case studies involves the same techniques as that of other qualitative methods: the researcher categorises, develops typologies and themes and generates theoretical ideas (1997:31).
However, the generation of theoretical ideas through the analysis of data raises the issue of whether grounded theory informs this process. Strauss and Corbin (1998) view the application of grounded theory as theory that is grounded “in (the) interplay with data and developed through the course of actual research” (1998:168). However, they also acknowledge that there is flexibility in the utilisation of grounded theory in that it can be applied to qualitative modes of interpretation which relates to:

Let(ting) the informant speak and don’t get in the way, on through theme analysis, and the elucidation of patterns (biographical, societal, and so on), theoretical frameworks or models (sometimes only loosely developed), and theory formulated at various levels of abstraction (1998:168).

Strauss and Corbin also highlight that grounded theory can adopt an analytical approach which is based on a “constant comparative method” (1998:159) in which there is synergy between doing social research and generating theory which closes the “gap” between theory and empirical research (1998:162). They view grounded theory as a general methodology (which is customised to the specificities of the particular study, whether qualitative or quantitative in emphasis) and is “a way of thinking about and conceptualising data” (1998:163). There is a divergence in opinion of how to utilise the flexible application of grounded theory, with some authors advocating that qualitative researchers should “avoid prior commitment to any theoretical model” (Yin, 1984:25). This is contrasted with Strauss and Corbin (1998) who are cautious of rejecting (“restrictive”) existing theory within an empirical research process, which could be interpreted as adopting a purely inductive approach with the pitfall of a study becoming “theoretically sensitised” which “lead(s) to sterile and boring studies” (1998:166).

Whilst a grounded theory approach adopts an interpretive or qualitative approach Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest that:

They do not believe it sufficient merely to report or give voice to the viewpoints of the people, groups, or organisations studied. Researchers assume the further responsibility of interpreting what is observed, heard of or read (1998:160).

Strauss and Corbin (ibid.) argue that as theories are “conceptually dense”, that grounded theory research has the capacity to focus on the process and “patterns of action and interaction between and among various types of social units (i.e. ‘actors’)” (1998:169). The
emphasis is not intended to be on the individual actor, but “with discovering process(es)” (ibid.) and because of the dynamic nature of these relationships, that there should be ‘fluidity’ in acknowledging that there is “a provisional character of theory” (ibid.). As such, grounded theories are viewed as “systematic statements of plausible relationships” (1998: 170). Flick (1998) identifies that

the problem of generalisation in qualitative research is that statements are often made for a certain context or specific cases and based on analyses of relations, conditions, processes etc. in them (1998:233).

Whilst this potentially provides a richness of data within specific contexts, Flick highlights that the emphasis should be on comparisons between contexts, drawing on “procedures for developing grounded theories” (ibid.). Punch (in the ‘tradition’ of ‘Strauss and Corbin), highlights that one interpretation of grounded theory is that it is “full conceptual description”, (2000:39). Within the context of this research project “full conceptual description” (ibid.) enables the identification of recurrent themes within and between the three case studies. The recurrence of these themes might be expressed as repetitions and regularities which emphasise the importance of interpretation as well as description, and the process of unitising data, which can be “added up and fitted together”, in an holistic overview of the case (Wright Mills, 1956:65).

7.9 CONCLUSIONS

This chapter initially considered the linking of issues and themes which emerged from the review of literature and which have informed the choice of the methodology within the empirical research phase of this study. This research project adopts a socially constructed research paradigm incorporating a qualitative research approach within the framework of a case study research strategy. This research strategy is applied to three case studies within the sub-region of Humberside, within the North of England, to express insights into the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within community based policy development at a local level. It is anticipated that the synthesis of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up critiques’ of policy making (Ham and Hill, 1984; Sabatier, 1993) will enable an understanding of the linkages between local authority, political and community actors in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. As such, the application of grounded
theory will enable “full conceptual description” (rather than the generation of theories) (Punch, 2000:39) of the distinctive relationships and processes which express different approaches to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within the three identified case study areas. Whilst there might be distinctive insights into the processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level, it is the role of cycling and cycle tourism within these processes, that might express ‘commonalities’ between case studies on the implementability of the principles of sustainability.

Prior to reporting on insights from the first case study, the next chapter initially evaluates the process of piloting the empirical research within a case study local authority. In particular this pilot phase provided an opportunity to fine-tune the design of the research protocol and the design of questions within the semi-structured interviews and associated scrutiny of identified documents.
CHAPTER EIGHT: INTRODUCTION TO CASE STUDY RESEARCH AND CASE STUDY ONE: NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE COUNCIL

8.0 INTRODUCTION: THE CASE STUDY STRATEGY

The Research Methodology (Chapter Seven) highlighted the rationale for the choice of the case study research strategy, identifying the synthesis of themes and sub-themes which emerged within the review of literature, and which inform the design of the case study research. The main aim of this chapter, the three case study chapters, is to provide empirical insights into process of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development and delivery at a local level. This chapter initially considers the key learning points from the application of semi-structured interviews and documentary analysis, as the main chosen research methods, piloted within a fourth 'case study' local authority within the sub-region of Humberside.

8.1 INTERVIEWS

Punch (2000) highlights a polarity of research approaches with a continuum between pre-structured and unfolding research. Shipman (1988) distinguishes between “the need for control, (and) the other need to preserve the natural situation” (1988:85). In this sense the application of semi-structured interviews as one of the main research methods within case study research strategy reflects a

half-way house between the rigid formality of a structured interview - where the researcher attempts to fix and control circumstances of the interview so that the data are collected in a consistent fashion as possible - and the flexibility and responsiveness of a depth interview (Moore, 2000:121).

This study applies a semi-structured interview schedule, which is based on a sequence of questions which are both closed and open-ended, reflecting spontaneity of responses and the application of prompting. Therefore whilst there is a “list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered...there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest (Denscombe, 1997:113)”.
This is consistent with the application of a constructionist paradigm, and a qualitative research approach within this study, which recognises the importance of how respondents socially construct the concept of sustainability and anticipate its operationalisation.

8.1.1 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

In addition to the application of semi-structured interviews, this study also uses documentary analysis as part of the process of the triangulation of data within the case research strategy. In particular this study looks at local authority strategy documents, and, as such, explores policy intent related to the issue areas of sustainability, tourism and cycling. The analysis of the content of local authority documents enables an assessment of the regularity of specific references to sustainability, sustainable development, cycling, tourism and cycle tourism, and the policy linkages between these concepts.

There are further considerations in documentary analysis, with Hakim (1987) highlighting that in the application of research analysis of administrative records:

> Vast quantities of information are collated and recorded by organisations and individuals for their own purposes, well beyond the data collected by social scientists purely for research purposes. Information from records and documents enters into virtually all types of study in some degree, though usually providing only a minor part of the data (1987:36).

Hakim (ibid.) notes that

> case records and documents, albeit incomplete accounts are part of the reality being studied, rather than being regarded as a poor substitute for data that would ideally be obtained in other ways (1987:38).

She also emphasises that it is important to understand the purpose of administrative information and what might be interpreted from this information, stating that:

> Distinctions might also be usefully drawn between records kept for internal use by the organisation, those kept solely to comply with regulations and legislation, and those used to produce public statements, accounts or statistics, or between items of information supplied by the individual concerned, or by the informant (ibid.).
In this respect there are also limitations as to the availability of data from documents, and more fundamentally apposite to this study, is whether appropriate documents, such as strategy documents, exist. Pragmatically, Hakim suggests that it is a question of “knowing what is available, and making the most of it” (1987:40). The application of a case study research strategy within this study, recognises that the analysis of data from administrative records is an important source of data, which complements the application of interview data. Crucially, Hakim (ibid.) highlights that the “faulty analysis of data from records can produce more unjustified conclusions than the weaknesses of the data themselves” (1987:42).

8.1.2 THE CASE STUDY PROTOCOL

As highlighted within 7.8, the rationale for the purposive sampling of case study local authorities and actors, was that the choice of three local authority areas within the sub-region of Humberside would enable insights to be made on urban, rural, district and unitary local authorities regarding the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within the policy making processes. Although located within the same sub-region, (see Appendix One: Map of the sub-region of Humberside), the three case study areas of Kingston-upon-Hull Council, North Lincolnshire Council and West Lindsey District Council offer distinctive political, environmental, socio-economic and cultural factors, yet potentially different interpretations of responses to the principles of sustainability from identified actors and supporting documentary evidence.

Each case study focuses on key ‘actors’ who are involved in the issue areas of sustainability, tourism, transport and cycling, and additionally planning (reflecting long-term development strategies for the locality), and also incorporate political responses to sustainability. The choice of actors is cognisant of the views of Stake, (1998) who highlighted (see 7.8.2), that the complex research contexts which the case study research strategy is trying to locate “a concatenation of domains - many so complex that at best that they can only be sampled” (1998:91).

The second part of the ‘sampling’ strategy within the local authority dimension of the case study, focusses on a snowball sampling strategy, in that first points of contacts within local
authority organisations were asked to recommend contacts for key officers and political members, and this was also extended to locating community representatives.

This strategy was adopted for the North Lincolnshire Council and Kingston-upon-Hull case studies, but cognisant that there are potential pitfalls of exploring local authority respondents, as a first point of contact. This approach might be construed as exclusively endorsing a 'top-down' analysis, and a 'Centralist' approach (Sabatier, 1993:280) to policy making for sustainability. As such, the approach was 'redressed' within the West Lindsey District Council case study, which tried to first locate community respondents to the issue areas of LA21 and sustainable development.

Local authority officers and political members were contacted by letter, e-mail or by telephone. Because of the different local authority corporate and strategic responses to sustainability, tourism and cycling, it was not possible to locate similar documentary evidence from each local authority. For example, not all of the local authorities had a LA21 strategy (or developing strategy), or a Tourism or Cycling Strategy. Therefore analysis of documents was dependent on whether documents existed at the time of the interviews.

8.1.3 PILOTING THE CASE STUDY THEMES

Four local authorities were initially considered as potential case study local authorities, Kingston-upon-Hull City Council, North Lincolnshire Council, North East Lincolnshire, and West Lindsey District Council. Between September 1999 and February 2000, interviews were arranged with local authority respondents from North Lincolnshire Council and North East Lincolnshire Council, initially with LA21/Sustainability Officers, to determine an overview of how sustainability as an issue area, emerged within these two local authorities.

These two local authorities share similar geographical, environmental, social, economic, political and cultural characteristics and, as such, initial 'pilot' interviews were used to determine the configuration of likely actors to emerge through the snowballing strategy, and likely access to available documentary data. Each semi-structured interview with LA21 Officers also provided an opportunity to fine tune questions, to improve the recording of information from respondents.
Both North East Lincolnshire and North Lincolnshire Councils provided a richness of data on LA21, with North East Lincolnshire Council offering detailed LA21 and Sustainability Strategy documents. However, North Lincolnshire was chosen for continued investigation within the final case study choices, because of identifiable policy linkages between sustainability, tourism and cycling. It was also clear that North Lincolnshire Council had the capacity to provide insights between local authority and community linkages related to sustainability issues. North East Lincolnshire was thus used as a pilot-only study area, and dropped once the methods appeared sufficiently honed. Given the time requirement to arrange and execute the interview process there appeared little to be gained by including both of these similar local authority types.
8.2 CASE STUDY ONE: NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE COUNCIL

8.2.1 PROFILE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

North Lincolnshire was newly formed as a unitary local authority on April 1 1996, emerging from the abolition of Humberside County Council, which fragmented into 4 unitary local authority areas within North and South Humberside. North Lincolnshire Council forms part of the former South Humberside area along with North East Lincolnshire Council (North Lincolnshire Profile, 1996:9).

Geographically, North Lincolnshire encompasses a tract of land from the banks of the river Trent, incorporating the main urban settlement and main industrial base of Scunthorpe, and encompasses the Humber estuary towards the port of Immingham to the east. The great majority of its 85,000 hectares of land is rural and agricultural in nature. North Lincolnshire also incorporates the northern tip of the Lincolnshire Wold, which is nationally designated as an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. The pattern of settlements is characterised by small villages and market towns, with the market town of Brigg being one of the main administrative centres, along with the Council headquarters in Scunthorpe. North Lincolnshire Council employs 6,000 officers, supporting 130 services to a population of 153,000 people. The Council operation is structured into five directorates. North Lincolnshire is divided into 15 electoral wards, represented by 42 councillors (North Lincolnshire Profile, 1996). During the case study research with North Lincolnshire Council, the local authority was in the process of restructuring from a committee system to a cabinet system of governance (See Appendix Two: Organisational Charts for North Lincolnshire District Council). Listed below overleaf are the sequence of case study interviews in North Lincolnshire.
Table 8.1: The sequence of interviews with case study actors in North Lincolnshire

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Date of interview</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Supporting Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tracey Wilkinson</td>
<td>September 1, 1999</td>
<td>Local Agenda 21 Officer *</td>
<td>The Environment Team–Draft Service Plan, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Environment Team Officer *</td>
<td>Today's choices for Tomorrow's World: A Draft LA21 Strategy for North Lincolnshire, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Jigsaw Project, March 2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenny Haines</td>
<td>September 1, 1999</td>
<td>Transport Officer *(Special responsibility for cycling)</td>
<td>The Local Transport Plan, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The North Lincolnshire Cycling Strategy, 1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Bailey</td>
<td>October 10, 1999</td>
<td>Tourism &amp; Marketing Officer *</td>
<td>Regeneration Strategy 2000/2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christine Edwards</td>
<td>March 1, 2000</td>
<td>Chair of the Environment and Public Protection Committee and Spokesperson for the Environment and LA21 Subcommittee*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tony Gosling</td>
<td>April 3, 2001</td>
<td>Team Leader of the Development Plan Team*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barabara Maksymiw</td>
<td>July 25, 2001</td>
<td>Chair of the Barton (Community) Tourism Group</td>
<td>The North Lincolnshire Local Plan: Revised Deposit Draft, December, 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Davis</td>
<td>February 9, 2001</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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8.3 A) LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

8.3.1 THEME ONE: CORPORATE POLITICAL AND OFFICER INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

8.3.1.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLITICIANS INTERPRET THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY?

Political support might be a crucial factor in ‘mainstreaming’ and systemising the principles of sustainability within policy making processes and in service delivery within the local authority. At the time of identifying a political representative to interview in March 2001, there was a Labour majority on North Lincolnshire Council, with 23 Labour and 19 Conservative councillors. Consistent with a snowballing sampling strategy within purposive sampling, a political representative with a key interest in sustainability issues was recommended by an interviewed officer within the Environment Team (later to become the ‘Sustainability Unit’). Additionally, the LA21 Officer and associated Environment Officer, and respondents within Planning, Tourism and Transportation (Cycling) were asked about the importance of political commitment to the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery.

The interviewed political representative was a Labour councillor, and the Chair of the Environment and Public Protection Committee, and Spokesperson for the Environment and LA21 sub-committee. He highlighted that in March 2001, the local authority was in the process of adopting a ‘modernised’ cabinet structure, which would supersede the former committee structure, and continue a political commitment to sustainability as a corporate priority. Furthermore, the Environment and Local Agenda 21 sub-committee was superseded by a portfolio for Sustainability, serviced by a Sustainability Unit, within the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection.

The interviewed councillor noted that from “day one” of the formation of the local authority in 1996, the Labour administration had adopted environmental policy as a key policy
commitment. Furthermore, there was a political commitment for Energy Management Accreditation, supported by LA-EMAS and ISO14001 and prior to the emergence of the cabinet system, under the committee system, all committee papers were expected to have a section on the environmental impact of policies. However, he emphasised that the political interpretation of sustainability went beyond a purely environmental dimension.

Whilst he was uncertain about the global definitions of sustainability, he related principles of sustainability, as akin to “good old socialist principles”, with the service areas of transport, housing, education, employment and health, related to “people who are the most vulnerable in society” and are ‘issue areas’ that “any Labour councillor should support”. Politically he supported ‘a modernising agenda’ to bring the principles of “sustainability into a modern era (through reform of the political structures of local authorities)”, adding that

the(se) principles are absolutely brilliant, as a Labour councillor with socialist beliefs it encompasses what we started with a hundred years ago, and the early days of the Labour movement. I think that we have gone full circle but it is a modern way of encompassing it.

He contrasted party political responses to the principles of sustainability between New Labour and the Tories, highlighting “core socialist principles (which) “some political parties take more seriously than others”. He was sceptical that Conservative members had the capacity to empathise with the principles of sustainability and, at a macro-level, he contended that the Conservative party had destroyed the “fabric of society”, during their time in government and had created societal problems, that Labour-directed policies for sustainability were now seeking to redress. He also pointed out that at the launch of the local authority’s Sustainability Steering Group in March 2001 (which had evolved into the ‘Jigsaw Project’ (an innovative approach to developing a LA21 strategy), the Conservative ‘Environmental Spokesperson’ was absent.

Despite attendance by members, officers and community groups, multi-sectoral organisations and agencies, he interpreted the absence of the Conservative ‘Environmental Spokesperson’, as a lack of political commitment by the local Conservative party to sustainability. On a more conciliatory note, he emphasised that the ‘Scrutiny Committees’, as part of the new cabinet system, would not be operated on party political lines, but would
adopt cross-party co-operation on scrutinising ‘topics’ of council business including issues of sustainability.

The interviewed political representative was confident that the cabinet system would continue the momentum of the sub-committee system in giving credibility and “driving forward” policy formulation by officers on sustainability issues. He added that policies which become “politically driven can reach the wider community”. He also referred to the launch of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ as a significant example of community involvement in sustainability issues and that it was a way of bringing the community to get involved, to have ownership, while we can provide the drive if you like and the guidance, and the community through committed people will tell the council where it wants to go in this project.

On the issue of raising political awareness of the concept of sustainability with local communities, the interviewed councillor had been significant in a special ‘Green Issue’ of the Scunthorpe Evening Telegraph (October 6, 1999) which promoted the council’s work on environmental and sustainability issues. He emphasised the importance of communicating a strategic approach to sustainability, moving beyond single environmental issues.

He emphasised the political status of sustainability by stating that “whatever we do, touches the themes of sustainability” and, as such, he felt that there should be no significant barriers to the successful operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy making processes. He added that “sustainability is encompassed in the council’s priorities and that all the directorates should agree with the priorities of the council”. In particular he cited the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection, which encompasses the Sustainability Unit and the service areas of “Environment, Education and Leisure, as being particularly good at including issues on sustainability” within policy making processes.

On the specific policy area of cycling and its significance to operationalising the principles of sustainability, he recognised the importance of the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection as creating policies for cycling.
THE ENVIRONMENT TEAM (SUSTAINABILITY UNIT) AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY

In September 1999 two interviewed officers from the Environment Team (Sustainability Unit) suggested that there were no “political champions for sustainability”, and that the input of councillors in operationalising the principles of sustainability was largely confined to the ‘committee system’. However, they did acknowledge that there was political interest in an Environment Forum organised by the Environment Team in October 1997, which established a “community mind-map” of environmental and sustainability priorities for North Lincolnshire. They felt that at this event, local councillors were keen to take “ownership of a political ‘mind-map’ for North Lincolnshire”, and they highlighted that one councillor suggested that “working groups on sustainability should be introduced at the ward level”. This was interpreted by the interviewed officers as a potentially parochial approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability, which did not take advantage of an LA21 process which could benefit all local authority areas. Nevertheless, this raised the issue of whether a “neighbourhood Local Agenda 21” is an appropriate community level in which to “work towards sustainability”.

They felt that the reform of local political structures with a shift “from representative to participative democracy”, could mitigate against a politically paternalistic approach to operationalising policies for sustainability. Furthermore, they indicated that the political endorsement of the Local Plan (as a statement of development intent and control) emphasised how sustainable development had become a political priority for North Lincolnshire Council.

PLANNING AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES ON SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed Team Leader of the Development Plan Team, revealed that in mid-1996, Planning Officers took the decision, to stage a series of three seminars with political members, to determine the political perspective of the long-term strategic planning needs of the plan area. Seminars were led by an “external planning facilitator”, viewed as “an expert on sustainability and sustainable development”, who introduced global and national perspectives on sustainability, which members could relate to a local context. This
consultation process was then repeated at a ward level, with individual councillors, designed to get members to think "strategically and holistically" about the political application of the principles of sustainability to the planning process. This was followed by three formal stages of public consultation with the local community, with public meetings with town and parish councillors, which stimulated public responses to the pre-deposit draft of the Local Plan.

On the issue of the different party political responses to the integration of the principles of sustainability within planning processes, the interviewed Planning Officer suggested that despite general political support for the Local Plan, the Conservative Group on the Council had 'lobbied' against the planning strategy to limit the scale of housing development in "unsustainable rural locations", and planning restraint on these green field sites. An interviewed Transport Officer, with special responsibility for the development of cycling, highlighted the role of politicians with a personal interest in this policy area, with the officer stating that:

We have a ward councillor who is very interested in cycling and we had a 'meeting' in which a recreational cycling group, produced a cycle route pack which was very successful and various people in the authority, including the (Council) Leader, is very interested in cycling.

An interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer concurred with the interviewed Transport Officer suggesting that one councillor had helped to develop route information on published cycle packs.

8.3.1.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO OFFICERS RESPOND CORPORATELY TO THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY?

In 1996, on the first day of the new unitary local authority, North Lincolnshire Council announced its corporate support for environmental policy. Interviewed Environment Team Officers interpreted this support as "very encouraging", in that it helped to guide the environmental priorities of the local authority, particularly in its work with parish councils and community groups. This policy commitment was extended to environmental scrutiny of local authority activities through the accreditation of the local authority Eco-Management and Audit Scheme (EMAS).
By March 2001 and corresponding with the evolution to a restructured cabinet style of governance, corporate commitment to environmental policy had extended to creating a 'Portfolio Holder for Sustainability'. This corporate restructuring of the local authority was accompanied by a reduction from seven to five directorates, with the Environment Team being located within an Environment and Development Directorate, superseded by a Sustainability Unit, operating within a Directorate of Environment and Public Protection.

At a corporate level the 'Council Service Plan' sets the overall plan for the local authority, establishing a Development Plan which incorporates a strategic overview, for each of the 5 Council Directorates. The creation of four development themes embodied within the Environment Team - Draft Service Plan (1999-2000:4) were consistent with four of North Lincolnshire Council’s Development Themes of ‘Environment’, ‘Local Links’, ‘Poverty’ and ‘Community Leadership/Partnership’. The interview with the Environment Team Officers in September 1999 revealed that these themes expressed the whole breadth of sustainable development and were consistent with the Local Government Management Board’s thirteen sustainability themes adopted by the Council as part of its LA21 approach.

They recognised also that the main aim of the North Lincolnshire Local Plan, is to advance the principles of sustainable development, although one of the officers emphasised the contradictory elements of combining the concepts of sustainability and development.

8.3.2 THEME TWO: INTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES AND POLICY NETWORKS FOR OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

8.3.2.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES LA21 INFORM THE PROCESS OF INCORPORATING PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN SERVICE DELIVERY?

The positioning of the LA21 Officer within the Environment Team, and not within a Chief Executives Department, might be interpreted as an environmental focus eclipsing a more corporate focus to the LA21 process. However, the Environment Team have already
created a corporate focus for LA-EMAS which parallels the integrative potential of the LA21 process to work across directorates within the local authority. Additionally, the Environment Team have extensive experience in collaborative work with community groups, and in this respect it is revealing that the 'LA21 process' emerged from 'external' community collaboration.

In October 1997, the Environment Team launched the 'external LA21 process' at an annual Environment Forum, with representation from 46 community groups, which looked at "past, present and future aspects" of the locality of North Lincolnshire. One of the main outcomes of the Forum was the creation of a "mind-map" of community priorities, on issues such as the environment, social issues, transport, employment, health and housing. It was intended that this Forum would raise awareness of the concept of sustainability, create community capacity building for sustainability, and record community views to be expressed within a developing LA21 strategy. The interviewed Environment Officers indicated that the evolving draft LA21 strategy would purposely be "an unfinished document which would balance things between what the community and the local authority are doing". They indicated that this would be the first stage of how to progress the draft LA21 document, perhaps through the mechanism of "action planning groups or a steering group".

This event was followed by the leaflet drop of 'Today's Choices for Tomorrow's World', circulated to all households and libraries in North Lincolnshire, and was used to raise awareness of LA21, and stimulate community responses to the issue of sustainability. The combination of these responses, in conjunction with the Forum feedback, helped to establish 'Today's Choices for Tomorrow's World: A Draft Local Agenda 21 Strategy for North Lincolnshire' in 1999. The draft status of this document reflected an unfinished and developing document, which would progressively draw on community views, and innovations in sustainability, facilitated by North Lincolnshire Council. This document established five 'Guiding Principles' of Sustainability through:

- Thought for the future;
- Empowerment;
- Concern for the environment;
- Fairness, equity and access;
• Taking action together.

These would inform the LA21 process and underpin ten strategic themes of:

• The Natural Environment;
• Social Equality and Community Safety;
• Health;
• Consumer Choice;
• Transport;
• Life-Long Learning;
• Energy;
• Waste;
• Work;
• Heritage, Arts and Culture.


This draft LA21 document contained ‘strategy chapters’, mirroring each of these themes, and offered insights into the linkages between global, national and local contexts for sustainability. Each chapter identified how these ten sustainability themes might contribute to local visions for sustainability. This document was also informed by ‘best practice’ on sustainability from other local authorities, and supporting organisations such as the Local Government Management Board.

As a reference point for defining sustainable development, the interviewed Environment Team Officers highlighted two definitions which were promoted within the draft strategy: The WCED 1987 definition, relating sustainable development to “meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” and the WWF/ UNEP, 1991 definition, which stated that it was about “improving the quality of life, and living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems”.

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In response to how these two officers define sustainable development, reference was made to the WCED 1987 definition, and the notion of "never having to say you are sorry to future generations", and which concentrates on inter and intra-generational equity. There appeared to be different nuances in defining sustainable development between the two officers. One officer highlighted an environmental interpretation, suggesting that "sustainable development is about the use of resources, and particularly that all resources are finite", and whilst there are wider concerns on "equality of life issues, that the main focus is on the "environmental side". The other officer identified the complexity of not being able to "have a consensus (on sustainability) for anyone time", stating that it was important to integrate environmental, economic and social dimensions of sustainability. This officer emphasised the connection between these three dimensions, stating that "you can't look at the environment in isolation and that EMAS has short-comings and you need to look at ethical decisions". Additionally, they agreed that whilst LA21 has an environmental focus, it should reflect the wider views of the community. The second officer suggested that the social and economic dimensions are difficult to get to grips with and the value of the EMAS (European Union Eco-Management and Audit Scheme) in the implementation of sustainable development is that it is difficult to get other people to be more responsible if we can't.

This officer added that "LA21 is about promotional awareness (of the concept of sustainability)". They both highlighted the facilitating role of LA21 as a process in "giving people choices and finding agreement on particular options and giving people guidance to make an informed choice". Consistent with the normative expectation of Central Government "that sustainable development will improve decision making at a local level", they recognised a need to find "ways of working beyond traditional service delivery", which will require "finding out innovative ways of working with and involving local communities". They stressed that this would include building on existing local initiatives which include supporting community based initiatives such as 'Millennium Greens', 'Community Panels' (for planning issues) and Best Value.

In March 2001 a Steering Group (Core Group) of local community organisations and agencies, including environmental, business, voluntary sector and 'disadvantaged' groups, first met to develop and promote 'The Jigsaw Project'. This project was an innovative
approach to forming an action plan to 'work towards' a sustainable North Lincolnshire through an evolving LA21 strategy. This project is an amalgam of community groups, organisations and agencies who might engage in 'measurable' actions to 'work towards' sustainability within specified timescales. One of the first actions of this Steering Group was to establish 12 sets of sustainable indicators, connected to each of ten themes (highlighted above) and, as such, create a mechanism to measure progress in operationalising policies for sustainability. This Jigsaw Project continues to be an evolving process facilitated by the LA21 Officer and Sustainability Unit.

Both interviewed officers recognised that the evolving LA21 process has to overcome potential barriers, which include pressures to allocate land for housing, and for industrial development, and in this case a potential Humberside airport extension and a proposed new runway on a green field site with resulting high levels of pollution. They also emphasised the fundamental challenge of finding a “consensus in the views of the population of 150,000 people” in determining a sustainability vision for North Lincolnshire.

8.3.2.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO DIRECTORATES COMMUNICATE AND 'MAINSTREAM' THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN AND BETWEEN SERVICE AREAS?

The underpinning of policy development and delivery with principles of sustainability, might be dependent on the capacity of LA21 to 'mainstream' (Kitchen, 1996) these principles within particular service areas. In addition to the pivotal role of the LA21 Officer, officers within the service areas of Planning, Transport and Tourism might be involved in cross-team working in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability.

Both interviewed Environmental Team Officers offered different insights as to what was required to 'mainstream' principles of sustainability within local authority policy areas, suggesting that one of the fundamental aspects was in “sticking to policies and developing policies with a number of people, as only by involving a wide number of people in policies will the policies succeed”. One officer added pragmatically that “it was also being realistic on what can be achieved”. They emphasised that
it was vital to have good communication systems, which meant good awareness raising internally and externally with different communities, and involving all sectors.

In this respect how the ‘language of sustainability’ and the principles of sustainability are expressed within the local authority, was viewed as an important factor in how members and officers interpret principles of sustainability, and incorporate them into policy making processes. The interviewed Environment Team Officers suggested that internally “the language of sustainable development was viewed as a problem”, with “the notion of quality of life wrapped up within the jargon”. This appeared to be a potential barrier to incorporating principles of sustainability into service delivery and therefore internal awareness raising and training was viewed to be of vital importance. They emphasised that a range of internal measures, adopted since October 1997, had helped to raise awareness of LA21 and environmental policies, throughout the local authority.

Training events and seminars were facilitated by “outside local authorities”, and aimed at officers and members, representing a range of service areas, which it was suggested had heightened awareness internally of LA21, and helped to consider ‘gaps’ when establishing a vision for a sustainable North Lincolnshire. Additionally, internal awareness raising included Council Directorates adopting the principles of sustainability, through EMAS, sustainability appraisals, and it was envisaged in the future, through the operationalisation of Best Value. The interviewed Environment Team Officers suggested that the value of EMAS was that it assesses what directorates do environmentally and that in all committee reports there must be consideration of the environmental implications of policies.

One of the interviewed Environment Officers hoped that this would be modified in the future to encompass the sustainability implications of all policies within all service areas.

THE LOCAL PLAN FOR NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE AND SUSTAINABILITY

The Local Plan as the principal planning document has the capacity to communicate sustainability principles within the future development plans of the local area and to co-ordinate the work of a number of Directorates in this plan. The interviewed Team Manager for the Development Plans Team, works within the Planning and Environment Division of
the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection, and manages the Development Plan function. There are four teams within this Division, which include The Environment Team (now the Sustainability Unit), Development Control, Building Control and Development Plans, which primarily deals with Development Plan work. The Planning responsibilities of the local authority includes the joint Structure Plan (ostensibly the inherited Humberside Structure plan 1993-2006) with the neighbouring North East Lincolnshire, and the creation of a district wide Local Plan, which covers the administrative area of North Lincolnshire.

On local authority reorganisation in 1996, and the creation of North Lincolnshire Council as a unitary local authority, a decision had to be made whether to continue with over 25 inherited plans of the previously constituted district local authority areas, which were subsumed within the new unitary authority boundaries.

The local authority decided to proceed with the creation of a ‘new’ Local Plan, which was in part a response to one of the key planning challenges for the ‘Plan area’, in reducing the inherited ‘unsustainable’ planning approvals for residential dwellings. Other cited planning challenges included finding new sources of employment, to replace the decline in industries and agriculture, and bringing in forms of development in “sustainable locations”, mindful of the environmental and bio-diversity aspects of the land allocation of the South Humber bank, and to incorporate the Local Plan (not only into the framework of the Structure Plan) within a Regional economic framework.

With regards to communicating sustainability principles into planning documents, the interviewed Planning Officer had been co-opted to a committee within the Regional Government Office, responsible for ‘exposing’ Regional Planning Guidance, to a sustainability appraisal. What emerged within this process were ‘tensions’ in trying to translate the conceptual aspects of sustainability into “pragmatic” and “workable” policies at Regional and local levels. The interviewed Planning Officer suggested that they had endless debates about sustainability and it was very interesting, but there was a frustration between a sustainability topic group who were thinking on a philosophically high level (and they really new what they were about) against the pragmatists.
These ‘philosophical’ considerations were transposed to the Local Plan process with the interviewed Planning Officer suggesting that the Local Plan should communicate North Lincolnshire Council’s commitment to sustainable development. This view emerged within the Deposit Draft of the Local Plan which aimed to improve and enhance the environment of North Lincolnshire, by enabling development to be undertaken in the most economically, socially and environmentally sustainable way” (The North Lincolnshire Local Plan: Revised Deposit Draft, December, 2000:22).

Specifically the headlining policy (ST1) on sustainable development indicated that the Council will apply the principles of sustainable development through its planning policies and will have particular regard to ensuring social progress and equality of opportunity, protecting the natural and built environment, and the prudent use of natural resources, both locally and globally and maintaining economic growth and employment ( 2000:28).

The headline policy (ST1) also established a “settlement hierarchy”, embodying principles of sustainability, in so far that development was to be concentrated on ‘brown field’ sites in urban areas, based on the premise that new development should correspond to the “most accessible and sustainable locations”.

Informal communication linkages were established between the Planning Team and the Environment Team (the Sustainability Unit). The Environment Team offered advice on fine tuning planning policies related to sustainability, particularly articulated through an environmental appraisal of planning policies. This necessitated the Local Plan Team checking each policy in the Plan against environmental indicators criteria, which were designed to make policies more “effective”, as it was suggested that prior to this appraisal process, some policies were “pulling in different directions”.

Whilst the Local Plan is underpinned by the principles of sustainability, to realise the goal of sustainable development at the local level, the interviewed Planning Officer emphasised that the Local Plan is essentially a document which focusses on new development. She felt it is perhaps not the most effective strategic framework for creating the conditions for sustainable development in North Lincolnshire, suggesting that “it is essentially a land use
planning document”. However, in terms of the monitoring of the implementation of the Local Plan, it was anticipated that sustainability indicators would form a central part of monitoring Local Plan policy outcomes i.e. the amount of brown field development, as opposed to green field development.

The interviewed Planning Officer identified that on the wider aspects of communication, the consultation process for the Local Plan stimulated “visionary comments” about the contribution of sustainable development to the Local Plan. However, with the initial planning definition of sustainable development, which due to a drafting error focused exclusively on an environmental dimension, groups such as the Council for the Protection of Rural England (CPRE) and Countryside Agency and other various respondents, suggested that the definition was not wide ranging enough, and a redrafting of the headline policy on sustainable development (ST1) added economic and social dimensions.

The interviewed Planning Officer indicated that through the intervention of the Chief Executives Unit, a co-ordinating team had been established to create linkages between the Local Plan and the strategies of the Council’s different directorates, which the Chief Executives Unit expected would be embodied within each strategy document. Furthermore, the Local Plan Document (Revised Deposit Draft, 2000) highlighted that

Agenda 21 has also encouraged a process of community based policy development and corporate working. The policies in the Local Plan must also reflect, and to an extent guide the other corporate strategies of the authority (2000:22).

The interviewed Planning Officer identified that the strongest working link for Planning, is with the Council’s Housing Strategy and development plan work, through the forum of a Housing Strategy Working Group. There are also strong Planning linkages with the Local Transport Plan (with the chapter on Transport in the Local Plan being written by the Local Transportation Plan Working Group) which promotes a ‘road users hierarchy’ and favours the development of cycle networks for utilitarian, leisure and tourism use, and a specific policy related to ‘green travel plans’.

In terms of linkages between Planning and other service areas, whilst there are no formal links between Planning and the Tourism Unit, the Local Plan nevertheless incorporates a
range of policies on rural development, caravan, camping sites, visitor and hotel and guest house accommodation, with policies designed to encourage these types of development in suitable locations. These planning restraint policies have evolved in response to development pressures, but conversely a lack of development opportunities, with the Local Plan trying to stimulate increased accommodation provision. Whilst sustainable tourism has not featured explicitly as a stated policy output within the Local Plan, the interviewed Planning Team Manager identified the need for tourism development of “appropriate scale and development”.

The interviewed Environment Team Officers highlighted the lack of formal links with the service area of Tourism, and interpreted the work of Tourism as being on “regeneration work but which is guided by market forces and commercial considerations”.

THE LOCAL TRANSPORT PLAN AND SUSTAINABILITY

An interviewed Transport Officer with special responsibility for the development of cycling, suggested that the Local Transport Plan was drawn together by the Transport Section Group, with specialist officers adopting Government guidance from the 1997 ‘Integrated Transport White Paper (New Deal for Transport)’. This officer indicated that whilst a local strategy had already been created, the Government document nevertheless “sets out basic guidelines of what we were expected to look at”. The Local Transport Plan is intended to create a strategic approach to local transport issues and a transport policy framework. It is designed to “demonstrate how the Council’s plans fit in with the local, Regional and National policy direction” (The Local Transport Plan, 1999:5). The Local Transport Plan also

sets out North Lincolnshire Council’s transport policies and objectives, and is used to bid for government funding. It also helps the Council to meet the government’s aims of reducing our use of private cars, and promote other, greener, modes of travel (The Local Transport Plan—April 1999 Consultation Exercise:1).

A major theme of the Local Transport Plan is to “invest more freely in more sustainable forms of transport” for the 1200 km road network and 80 kms of bridleways (ibid.). The policy intent is for the Local Transport Plan to build a “solid stable policy framework”
reflecting the scope to incorporate the principles of sustainability within the Local Transport Plan, the North Lincolnshire Sustainable Cycle Network was created to address issues of social inclusion, integration and access. Cycle routes were designed to link communities to major employers, hospitals and educational institutions. The interviewed Transport Officer emphasised that cycle tracks have been created in response to "community need", and to "link cycle routes from people's front doors to work, and additionally developing routes from rural to urban settlements for utilitarian, leisure and tourism use".

TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY

Whilst the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer was aware of the wider work of the Environment Team in introducing environmental and sustainability appraisals within all committee reports (highlighting the environmental implications of proposed policies), there were no formal or informal linkages between the Tourism and Marketing Officer and the LA21 Officer and Sustainability Unit.

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer's main role is the development and marketing of existing tourist attractions based in North Lincolnshire, within the wider remit of the Regeneration Division's economic development function, related to bringing in "new wealth, training and skills to the local community". As part of the Regeneration Division, the overall remit of the Tourism Unit, working within a regeneration strategy "is to develop tourism products by attracting external funding and adopting a partnership approach with community groups" in North Lincolnshire market towns. In the absence of a tourism strategy, the Tourism Unit is guided by a tourism strand within the Regeneration Strategy document (2000-2001). This document highlights the main aims of the Tourism and External Funding Team within an employment and business focus, which interprets sustainable tourism as: "The sustainable and sympathetic development of this natural and built environment which improves quality of life and creates tourism potential" (1999:9). The Tourism and Marketing Officer was asked about her interpretation of the concept of sustainable tourism. She suggested that it is something which is "an integral part of the local
community rather than something which is imposed on them”. She envisaged that it might provide economic and employment benefits and that it is tourism development that works in harmony with the local community and the local environment, so that it is an integral part of the area and that does not cause problems from a traffic point of view and from a noise point of view.

Specifically she envisaged that a future tourism strategy would encourage sustainable tourism, through initiatives such as farm tourism, industrial heritage and special activity breaks, which include walking and cycling.

This interviewed officer emphasised the Tourism Unit’s role as part of a Liaison Group which seeks policy synergy with other teams within the Division including the Environment Team, the Museum and Library Services, Leisure Centres and the local country park, with an emphasis on partnership working.

There was evidence of cross-team working with the Transport Team and the Sustainability Unit, through the development of cycle packs suggesting that they want to make it easier for cyclists first of all to know that North Lincolnshire is here and to make it easier for them to get into North Lincolnshire and to make sure that the information that we are giving them is both visually attractive and easy to follow and includes a whole range of points of interest and places to visit en route, so it encourages people to stay longer in the area. We are looking to develop cycle holidays with bags transferred to accommodation en route.

In the creation of an infrastructure for cycle tourism, the Tourism Unit has been instrumental in forging links with Sustrans and collaborating in developing a ‘section’ of the Hull to Harwich route in North Lincolnshire.

8.3.3 THEME THREE: EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES, POLICY NETWORKS AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY
8.3.3.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COMMUNICATE AND COLLABORATE WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS IN OPERATIONALISING PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

There is a normative expectation from the supra-national to the national level that the 'authenticity' of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy making processes is dependent on the strength of community articulation of priorities for sustainability at the local level. Therefore evidence was sought of local authority perceptions of established communication channels and collaborative initiatives with community representatives.

LA21 AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

In defining the concept of community, the interviewed Environment Team Officers felt that it incorporated different communities of villages, farming communities and people who have a shared geographical intent and experiences, for example lone parents, business communities and basically a group of people with something in common.

Through a database of contacts of parish and town councils, the Sustainability Unit circulate information for "future forums on sustainability" and raise awareness of environmental and sustainability issues, through leaflets, talks and presentations and through good press coverage and other public relations activities through the local media.

The two interviewed Environment Team Officers suggested that empowering all sections of the community required "information dissemination and awareness raising", and that information channels should be created to allow community feedback through surveys. In response to the question of avoiding 'expert agenda setting for LA21', in their view this is about "giving people training in different skills and in doing so creating community capacity building". The previously cited Environment Forum in October 1997, had been used to launch the LA21 process and stimulate community responses to the issue of sustainability.
This process of public involvement also included public exhibitions and ‘Planning for Real’ exercises and Millennium Green Projects (creating new village greens), which involved communities prioritising the use of resources at the local level. Other settlements had engaged “in the auditing technique of a village appraisal using the theme of heritage tourism”. There had also been public exhibitions and an invitation for public responses to a variety of Council strategic initiatives such as the Local Plan and Transport plans. Also as part of the strategic planning process in the formulation of the Local Plan, ‘Village Design Statements’ have involved giving people training in planning techniques.

PLANNING AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

In terms of realising a ‘planning vision’ for North Lincolnshire, the interviewed Team Leader for Development Plans suggested that an added complexity was to be able to incorporate the views of local people in the planning process. Whilst the Deposit Draft of the Local Plan was circulated through a formal public consultation with 19 public exhibitions, the interviewed Planning Officer suggested that public consultation tended to be on single issues, with responses by landowners, developers and large companies, rather than with community representatives contributing to the ‘planning vision’ for North Lincolnshire.

This officer acknowledged that there might have been greater scope for public consultation, and ‘her’ team had thought about introducing Planning Aid (a charitable organisation linked to the Royal Town Planning Institute) to provide an advocacy support service, to assist the community in planning issues related to the Local Plan. Principally for resource reasons this was not adopted by the local authority, as there was political pressure “to get the Plan out”. Nevertheless, there was considerable support for the strategy of the Plan from parish councils who in particular endorsed a need to “curb development pressure for further housing in rural village locations”. The positive community responses to the Local Plan from rural settlements, contrasted with a perceived lack of “meaningful engagement” with the population of large urban settlements, such as Scunthorpe (which incorporates half of the population of North Lincolnshire). It was suggested that this was largely because “there is not really an obvious voice through which to consult with”. This lack of an urban representative consultative body was contrasted with the parish councils and the town
councils of three local settlements, who have established communication channels with the Plans Team.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The draft stage of the Local Transport Plan was designed to consult local people and interest groups in formulating policies which express local community transport priorities. The interviewed Transport Officer highlighted that because ward councillors tend to represent local people and a lot of them are business men, we gain their comments at an early stage in the draft of the Local Transport Plan, and we also have a list of businesses, user groups, parish councils and areas where we have meeting groups, and we gain knowledge of transport operators. After this broad brush approach, we then go out to public consultation at five or six locations in North Lincolnshire, with an open forum of questions.

He suggested that venues included local town halls and libraries, and that overall the consultation process for the Local Transport Plan includes 300 to 400 people.

Together with the ongoing monitoring of data and information on cycling usage and cycling flows, the interviewed Transport Officer consulted widely with "cyclist user groups". Although he acknowledged that "we do not tend to get as much comment as we would like, because as the cycle groups were mainly time-trialing and competitive groups". Following on from 'road-shows' as part of the draft consultation on the Local Transport Plan, specific requests were made to upgrade specific routes to make them 'cycling friendly'.

TOURISM AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer suggested that the concept of the partnership working with the local community is to bring together "the local authority, the town councils, the voluntary sector, accommodation providers and tourism and associated businesses". In the case of Brigg, a local market town, there are two community groups which work with North Lincolnshire Council, on series of community based tourism events. The combination of the Brigg Community Association and the Brigg Chamber of Trade,
with local authority input, had been re-launched as the Brigg Marketing Agency. This meets on a monthly basis and has been successful in attracting private sector funding and external grant funding, for an annual calendar of events. This model of collaborative working on events organisation is replicated in other settlements in North Lincolnshire.

8.3.3.2 HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE OPERATIONALISATION OF PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

Evidence of linkages with external agencies and organisations working towards operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level might provide insights into policy networks and local implementation structures.

The interviewed Environment Team Officers identified a forum of Regional Officers related to sustainability issues, which is hosted at the Regional Government Office in Leeds, and represents an example of collaboration with external organisations. The concept of this forum is to share best practice and “ensure that sustainability is on the Regional agenda, and to keep abreast of new developments”. They also indicated that there are informal Sub-Regional groups, with informal linkages between the local authorities of Hull, the East Riding of Yorkshire and North East Lincolnshire.

The interviewed Planning Officer had been co-opted to work with the Regional Government Office on sustainability appraisals, which she viewed as having a benefit at the local level to assess the extent to which principles of sustainability are operationalised within policy processes. Through the auspices of the Sustainability Unit (formerly the Environment Team) the creation of a Sustainability Core Group and the launch of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ (an evolving LA21 strategy) in March 2001, demonstrates a commitment to involve diverse community, organisational and agency representation. The Group contains a range of sectoral interests which go beyond a purely environmental representation and is attempting to operationalise ten themes of sustainability, which express the diversity of dimensions of sustainability.
External policy linkages were prevalent within the policy areas of Transport and Cycling, with the interviewed Transport Officer highlighting that Transport Officers tend to talk to all the many local authorities in my Region and policies and strategies are based on national ones, like the National Cycling Strategy, and to implement them, we work closely with neighbouring local authorities.

This officer highlighted that within the County of Lincolnshire there is a cycling forum of local authority officers from all local authority areas, and he suggested that he tends “use the (transport) network in the old Humberside area to talk out various problems”. Additionally, he suggested that whenever we propose a scheme we try to get some input from outside of the authority, perhaps seeing it from a different angle, as it is so easy to say this is what I want and this is what the public want. We find the Sustrans representative very useful.

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer suggested that the Tourism Unit is influenced by Regional and National strategies, and that the concept of partnership -working is extended to a range of organisations and agencies beyond purely the remit of community organisations, in attracting European funding as part of a Regeneration Strategy.

8.3.4 THEME FOUR: POLICY INNOVATION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

8.3.4.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLICIES FOR CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM OPERATIONALISE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL?

Within the wider context of the case study report on the broader processes of operationalising the principles of sustainability, this section explores the policy commitment by a range of policy areas (including tourism) to cycling and cycle tourism as a model of sustainable transport and tourism.
CYCLING AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

The Local Transport Plan contains a Cycling Strategy which positions cycling as a prominent transport form, reflecting an elevated policy status, with further funding for the transport network of North Lincolnshire partly dependent on the integration of cycling initiatives into wider traffic schemes. Furthermore, it was envisaged that cycling policy should be integrated into the wider strategies and policy programmes of the local authority, with the Local Plan (together with other corporate strategies) linking the benefits of cycling, with policy initiatives on Education, Health, Tourism and Leisure.

The interviewed Traffic Officer in the Transportation Section (whilst not a designated Cycling Officer) was responsible for formulating the cycling strategy ('A Cycling Strategy for North Lincolnshire', 1999) and has played a key role in cross-team working in developing utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling within North Lincolnshire. He highlighted that within the interim year before the creation of a 'new' unitary authority in 1996, the shadow authority passed a motion supporting policies for sustainable transport, and in particular policy developments in cycling. He suggested that he could refer to this political and corporate commitment whenever he “pushed a scheme which invoked the transport hierarchy which gave pre-eminence of walking and cycling over the car”.

The Local Transport Plan promoted “a local transport vision” with cyclists and pedestrians featuring prominently as part of the Council’s priority of environmental sustainability, through the minimisation of the environmental impact of traffic movement. The Cycling Strategy (1999) emphasised that cycling “can be a key factor in achieving an environmentally sustainable and health promoting local strategy”, encouraging people to “get out of their cars onto bikes” (Cycling Strategy, 1999:57). To achieve this aim it was envisaged that there would be a co-ordination of Council policies and programmes on the promotion of cycling, and that a policy framework would be introduced for operationalising cycling policies expressed below overleaf in Diagram 8.1.

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OPERATIONALISING CYCLING POLICIES

Diagram 8.1: Policy mechanisms to deliver the objectives of the Local Cycling Strategy for North Lincolnshire

Objectives

| Targets
| Timescales
| Policy Context

Mechanisms to deliver objectives

Education | Encouragement
Enforcement | Engineering

Monitoring and reviews of policies and actions

Staffing Requirements

| Funding
| Cycle Action Plan----specific cycle projects


Diagram 8.1 highlights the specific policy instruments for the delivery of the objectives of the Cycling Strategy for North Lincolnshire, adopting a cycle audit to determine the extent of engineering measures required to design a cycle-friendly infrastructure, with physical changes to the layout of the highway for the benefit of cyclists. This was embodied within a Cycling Action Plan which targets the development of utilitarian cycle routes within a cycle network, and which links the main urban area of Scunthorpe with district wide networks. This network, whilst created for utilitarian usage, also encourages leisure and tourism route usage, consistent with the intended cycling applications of the Sustrans' National Cycle
Network. The overall design objectives are based on "safety, directness, attractiveness and coherence" with route designation emerging through the guidance of Sustrans (North Lincolnshire, Cycling Strategy, 1999:66).

The interviewed Transport Officer suggested that cycle route development is contingent on "local demand", and a desire to combine highway improvements, with improved cycling facilities and traffic calming measures, and cycle parking for high street regeneration. Traffic management will re-engineer road design to provide more space in the form of cycle lanes and indeed specific tracks for cyclists. Additionally, Policy 9 of the Cycling Strategy promotes disused railway lines as 'greenways' or "sustainable transport corridors" (1999:69) converted for pedestrian and cycling, and used to link several village and town communities.

The policy instrument of 'encouragement', is used to promote cycle usage to improve cycle safety, which is a statutory obligation of the Road Traffic Act 1988 (to make cycling safer in the local authority area). It is envisaged that the Cycling Strategy would promote cycling as a safe transport form, with school children and employees as key target groups. The authority specifically promotes the utilitarian use of the cycle through the annual Cyclist Touring Club (CTC) inspired National Bike Week.

Through Policy 21 of the Cycling Strategy the local authority has targeted recreational cycling routes in North Lincolnshire as a major mechanism for promoting the health and leisure benefits of cycling. Twelve specific recreational routes have been developed within the local authority area, which are linked into the Sustrans National Cycle Network and National Byway routes. Promoting these routes through the creation of a recreational cycle network was viewed by the interviewed Transport Officer as a key mechanism for "encouraging people to use the bicycle as a sustainable method of transport" (North Lincolnshire Cycling Strategy, 1999:73).

The policy instrument of Policy 22 emphasises the creation of channels of communication between the local authority and local cycling groups, and with the regional Sustrans representative to discuss priorities for cycle usage. Furthermore, the interviewed Transport Officer established that local people, businesses and transport operators have an input in the
formulation and implementation of the Local Transport Plan. Internally, within the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection, policy linkages have been established with the LA21 Officer and the Environment Team (Sustainability Unit). The interviewed Transport Officer suggested that environmental policies do influence what we do and the Environment Team has an Environmental Strategy and we have tried to build on that, for example with road traffic reduction, which is monitored as part of government funding.

The Environment Team had incorporated LA-EMAS into transport policy, with the suggestion that this was one of the reasons the team set up in this way, to develop ideas to put on the table, and environment team officers would comment on it, so we are working quite closely.

The interviewed Transport Officer also indicated that we get views from Leisure Services on policy initiatives for cycling. External to the local authority, some parish councils have a recreational cycling group, with a broader representation than just traditional cycling clubs.

The challenge for the Transport Team was to increase cycle usage and ‘unlock’ latent demand for cycling, with the interviewed Transport Officer suggesting that “the cycling groups are to a certain degree converted people. These are the people who have got the cycle in the shed and not used”.

Cycling has become a key part of the restructuring of transport funding bids to Central Government, with additional funding sought through specific grants and lottery funding, together with European funding sources, to create a cycling infrastructure. One of the stipulations of funding for cycling through transport bids from Central Government, is the monitoring of cycle use at the local level.

The Local Cycling Strategy envisages that “establishing baseline conditions” for cycling, target setting and monitoring increased cycle usage and flows (using the National Cycling Strategy, 1996 ‘headline targets’ as a reference point) would provide a mechanism to monitor objectives over the 15 year duration of the Local Cycling strategy. The Transport
Team have introduced a system of ‘counter’ monitoring of utilitarian routes, such as work routes to the steelworks, which are monitored “365 days of the year and 24 hours a day”.

The 1996 National Cycling Strategy set targets of cycling contributing to 2.5% of transport usage. Regarding this the interviewed Transport Officer pointed out that in North Lincolnshire, monitored cycling use was at 6.5% annually. He added that “if we were taking them to the letter of the law and interpreted it (the National Cycling Strategy) strictly, we would not have to do anything”. He felt that the higher than average cycling levels, is partly because of the tradition of cycling in the area, and a reliance on cycling because of lower car ownership levels.

CYCLE TOURISM AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed Transport Officer communicated his philosophy of being “interested in any safe route (for cycling) be it a leisure route or a utilitarian route”, suggesting that the priority is to create an effective cycling infrastructure which might feasibly be used by cycle tourists. In response to the service area of Tourism having an input into the Local Transport Plan, particularly through the development of joint initiatives on cycle tourism, the interviewed Transport Officer suggested that there is “a problem at the moment because we have not got a tourism strategy”. However, he indicated that he works closely with the Tourism Unit, in producing recreational cycling packs which are promoted through tourism outlets. He felt that “through organisational circumstances” he had taken a lead in the development of cycle tourism because the original Tourism Officer who was really interested in promoting cycling in a leisure way, is no longer with the authority and I for example have tried to promote the North Sea Cycle Route (a 8,000 km route) via Tourism. But there is no one there at the moment to pick it up and it’s down to lack of staff, and Tourism would not get such a high priority as other departments.

He added that he was actively involved in ‘signing’ the Sustrans designated Hull to Harwich route, and has also promoted the National Byway through North Lincolnshire. Whilst there appears to be effective monitoring of utilitarian routes, he indicated that there has been no formal monitoring of cycle tourism. However, he suggested that there is anecdotal evidence that “an awful lot of German, Dutch and Austrian cyclists are using campsites in the town of
Barton and that this accommodation outlet could be used as a monitoring station”. Overall, he felt that

whether routes are for tourism or leisure cycling, we are putting in these leisure routes hoping that it is encouraging cycling generally, and if it is marked, people riding to work will use it. So it is difficult to differentiate between the two.

The response of the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer, is that cycling was highlighted as an activity which had been developed in conjunction with the Environment Team as a sustainable form of tourism. This officer indicated that:

We have been developing cycle routes and we have now extended that work to local and smaller hotels and guest houses, to ensure that when cyclists arrive that they are ready to welcome them, and that they are geared to take people other than motorists visiting the area, raising an awareness within the community that there might be different types of visitors who are coming.

This officer also identified that P&O North Sea ferries “get vast numbers of cyclists who are coming over from the Continent and realising that we are less than an hours cycle ride from the port”. Promotional material has been produced for the ‘Ferry Tales’ magazine which promotes North Lincolnshire as “wonderful cycling country” and focuses on “local communities so that it develops as sustainable tourism, rather than looking to build a major all weather attraction in the area, that is going to bring problems on board”.

This cross-team working was also highlighted by the interviewed Political representative, stating that a cycling information pack had been produced as a result of collaboration by the Environment, Transport and Tourism teams, and an individual Labour Councillor. On the issue of cycle tourism within the local authority area he commented that

the Dutch, who are very big on cycling, come across from Hull via the ferries and cycle across the bridge through North Lincolnshire and through Lincolnshire and Norfolk and catch the ferry back to the Netherlands, and this is an area of tourism that not a lot of people are aware of.

Furthermore, on the issue of linkages between cycling and principles of sustainability, he recognised that cycling is “part of the issue of sustainability but probably not one of the big issues because of the status of cycling here compared to other European countries”.
B) COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO THE OPERATIONALISATION OF PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

8.3.5 THEME FIVE: COMMUNITY ‘BOTTOM-UP’ APPROACHES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY IN TOURISM AND CYCLING

Having investigated North Lincolnshire Council’s Members and officers perceptions of community collaboration in operationalising policies for sustainability related to the policy areas of tourism and cycling, this theme explores ‘bottom-up’ community responses to these issue areas. Community perceptions of engagement and collaboration with North Lincolnshire might differ to the responses from interviewed officers and politicians, and from supporting documentary evidence.

8.3.5.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN TOURISM INITIATIVES?

Given the information from the Tourism and Marketing Officer that North Lincolnshire Council’s Tourism Unit had forged partnerships with community groups related to the development of tourism, it was decided to consider the nature of the relationship between a community Tourism Partnership group and the local authority. The Barton-upon-Humber Tourism Group was established in 1998, and is an example of the community tourism partnerships facilitated by North Lincolnshire Council’s Tourism Unit.

Barton-upon-Humber is one of the major settlements within North Lincolnshire and is positioned at the northern tip of the district bordering the river Humber and is a ‘gateway’ town to the Humber Bridge. The interviewed Chair of the Barton Tourism Group suggested that this Group represented the Barton Town Council in communication with North Lincolnshire Council, and had decided to form a partnership to promote Barton as a tourist destination. There are a range of community interest groups represented on the Tourism Group, which include the Town Council, the Civic Society, the Chamber of Trade, ‘the Lions’, Church groups, and the group has a philosophy of “being open to any community representation”.
According to the Chair, the Group was established in a "matter of weeks" and meetings are scheduled on a monthly basis and are attended by "upwards of 20 people". He felt that the Tourism Group reflects the 'tourism aims' of the wider community in the diversity of community group interests that are represented. The Group was described as "very informal" and that it generates ideas on tourism which are worked on over "two or three meetings". Over the three year period that the Tourism Group has operated, they have created a range of tourism signage in the town and town trail leaflets. In line with the community events strategy instigated by North Lincolnshire Council, a Christmas festival, Motorbike Night and Arts Week forms the basis of community-organised events for Barton. North Lincolnshire Council have acted as facilitators in applications for external funding (EU) which will benefit the town. The Chair of the Tourism Group identified that the main aim of the Tourism Group is to "bring people into Barton that will spend money and so produce an economic spin-off".

8.3.5.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO COMMUNITIES RESPOND TO CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM AS A SUSTAINABLE FORM OF TRANSPORT AND TOURISM?

In response to the question of what type of tourism the Tourism Group would like to see in Barton, the Chair of the Tourism Group suggested that Barton has a mix of attractions, its got old buildings, its clay pits and birds and each, if you like, has a speciality market. When we set the group up we realised that Barton is not a York or Lincoln, and there is no way that we can attract millions of visitors, but we can do something about attracting some visitors in small numbers, so we can cope with them and we can make it grow.

When questioned further about the growth of particular types of tourism, he suggested that "we have seen more cyclists, more walkers and more 'caravaners' at weekends. Cycle tourism had become a particular issue that the group was addressing with an awareness of more cycle tourists coming, because Barton is part of the Hull to Harwich cycle route". He added that "you can spot them a mile away, obviously following the Sustrans route. I bet if you see a cyclist with loaded up panniers on Cassack Street they are a tourist".
Through the intermediary of the local authority ‘Highways Department’ the Tourism Group are trying to alter the ‘official’ Hull to Harwich cycle route to take it through the ‘commercial centre’ of Barton, rather than through its periphery. Ironically, the Town Council was not consulted by Sustrans when the route was created. The Tourism Group Chair had anecdotal evidence of ‘many’ cyclists coming across on P&O North Sea Ferries, and he felt that this would be an ideal place to promote Barton as an overnight stay for cyclists. With an anticipated alteration for the Hull to Harwich route through Barton the Tourism Group in conjunction with the local authority, are hoping to introduce a ‘Barton Welcome’ scheme in shops, with national flags placed in the windows of shops with corresponding tourist information leaflets.

8.3.5.3 SUB-THEME: HOW DO COMMUNITIES INTERPRET THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM?

When asked whether the group had talked about ‘sustainable tourism’ and the promotion of sustainable tourism products, the Chair of the Tourism Group stated that

the word sustainable is a bit like ‘the cheque is in the post’. Its an often used word, but really and truly unless you get things like cyclists, its never going to be sustainable and unless you get people staying in bed and breakfasts its never going to be sustainable.

In seeking clarification of why he had identified cyclists as an exemplar of sustainable tourism, he identified that

you do not need to provide car parking spaces, most cyclists you will find are camping, so you can fit them in easily as their needs are not really great. They do not do a lot of damage to the environment and fortunately we get a lot of Dutch who are keen cyclists.

Whilst there had been no communication between the North Lincolnshire’s LA21 Officer and the Tourism Group, the Chair indicated that the LA21 Officer “had been to a Town Council meeting”.

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8.4 POLICY SYNTHESIS. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS ON THE OPERATIONALISATION OF PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The application of policy analysis within this study, synthesises policy models of a ‘bottom-up’ critique of local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993) with ‘top-down’ models (Ham and Hill, 1994) which focus on the role of policy makers at the ‘Centre’ rather than other actors at the ‘Periphery’ (Sabatier, 1993, Holland, 2002).

The patterns to emerge from the structured themes and sub-themes within the North Lincolnshire Council case study are those of a political and corporate commitment to operationalising the principles or themes of sustainability. The origin of the corporate policy making process (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984) for sustainability was the declaration of intent on day one of the formation of the unitary authority in April 1996 to support environmental policies. The manifestation of this was through a commitment to improve the environmental performance of local authority activities, through the implementation of LA-EMAS and associated environmental appraisals of policies, with the impetus of this work emerging through the Environment Team (Kitchen, 1996).

This commitment to environmental sustainability was supported within political structures, with the Environment and Local Agenda 21 sub-committee raising awareness of environmental and sustainability issues. Within the restructured cabinet-led local authority, the creation of a political ‘Portfolio Holder for Sustainability’ symbolised the political status of sustainability as a policy issue. This corporate commitment to sustainability was formalised through the process of the Council Service Plan. Whilst offering a commitment to the environmental dimension of sustainability, this also communicated the futurity, empowerment, collaborative, fairness, equity and access principles of sustainability. These principles were to be integrated within a range of service area with the Environment Team (and later the Sustainability Unit), Planning and Transport, and Tourism (through the wider Regeneration Strategy) communicating strategic policy intent for sustainability.

There was evidence of this policy intent within the statutory planning function of the Local Plan (as the principal planning document for the local authority), which demonstrated a
commitment to sustainable development, with a headline policy on sustainability. The Local Transport plan established a 'transport hierarchy' which recognised the importance of environmental and health aspects of sustainability within local transport policies.

The changing interpretation of the dimensions of sustainability, demonstrates policy change (Karlsson and Ljung, 2001) and policy succession (Davis et al., 1993), with an expansion from an initial policy commitment to environmental policy. This process of policy learning might, in part, be due to heightened awareness of sustainability as a political and a policy issue. This educative process was partly stimulated through internal communication processes, with seminars organised by the Planning Team to link global principles to the local level for politicians, and relating these principles to the planning process. Additionally, through the platform of an Environment Forum, the Planning Team launched the LA21 process which engaged politicians and community representatives with the issue area of sustainability, but importantly incorporating and interpreting community perceptions of sustainability.

North Lincolnshire Council has not formulated these policy objectives for sustainability in isolation from its community and the 'advocacy interest' (Sabatier, 1993; Colebatch, 1998) of other actors. The philosophy of the evolving LA21 strategy was that it should be led by community priorities for sustainability, in part through the creation of a Sustainability Core Group. As a form of policy innovation, the Sustainability Unit created the ‘Jigsaw Project’ (a metaphor for the integrative elements of sustainability), to make the concept of sustainability more accessible in communicating with community representatives. With the political endorsement of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ (LA21 strategy), North Lincolnshire Council have reached a policy making phase, in which policy objectives have community endorsement.

The local authority purposely missed the deadline for submission of the LA21 strategy to Central Government in December 2000, preferring to seek community endorsement first. This demonstrated that policy making for sustainability required more complex implementation linkages, which moved the policy making process from the 'Centre' to the 'Periphery'. Furthermore, there is an expectation that policy outputs (for sustainability) will
be monitored through a range of sustainability indicators, approved and created by the Sustainability Core Group (Holland, 2002).

There was officer recognition of the challenge of gaining community consensus (from a population of 150,000 people) and concern that an ‘urban voice’ for sustainability issues, was being supplanted by established parish and town council ‘advocacy interests’. This political realism on potential barriers to operationalising the principles of sustainability, was contrasted with a political perspective that the principles of sustainability should automatically emerge within all local authority activities. This was in part, predicated on party political ‘affiliation’, with the perception that other political parties were unreceptive to these principles. The language of sustainability was viewed to be a barrier to the communication of principles of sustainability, with supporting evidence of policy transfer (Dolowitz, 1999) of the principles of sustainability from a supra-national level to the local level. In support of this, officers offering a definition of sustainable development referred to the Brundtland Report (1987), linking global principles to local interpretations.

The formulation of the Local Plan and Local Transport Plan was founded on collaborative engagement with community representatives, although there was a recognition that single issues by specific interest groups might dominate this process. The work of the Tourism Unit, whilst based on an economic development orientation to regeneration (which might be construed as a ‘weak’ approach to sustainability), is nevertheless focussed on community-based projects. Arguably, the focus of policy formulation for sustainability issues has emerged at the ‘Periphery’, rather than the ‘Centre’, and is receptive to a range of ‘advocacy interests’ (Sabatier, 1993; Colebatch, 1998). Furthermore, community based fora provided ‘community space’ for sustainability issues to be communicated, linking local authority communication channels with community representatives. The reform of the local authority structures of governance was characterised as a shift from representative to participative democracy, which would heighten the capacity for increased community engagement on issues of sustainability.

In addition to this community input, the strategic approach of directorates was that strategy documents were ‘mainstreaming’ (Kitchen, 1996) the principles of sustainability and have established linkages between different service areas. The Environment Team, Transport,
Planning and Tourism have collaborated in projects which have incorporated the principles of sustainability. There was also evidence that service areas perceived the “Agenda 21 process as enabling community based policy development” (interviewed Team Leader for Development Plans).

The Chief Executives Unit also endorsed integrative working between directorates, with these linkages extending to incorporate inter-sectoral collaboration and ‘partnership’ working (both informal and formal) with Local and Regional organisations and agencies. This can be interpreted as the emergence of policy communities with a common ‘advocacy interest’ of sustainability issues (Houlihan, 1991; Sabatier, 1993; Colebatch, 1998) which transcend local authority boundaries, emphasising a Regional or Sub-Regional approach to the issue of sustainability.

There were different perceptions of sustainable tourism development, being viewed as “development with appropriate scale and development” (interviewed Team Leader for Development Plans) and also “sustainable and sympathetic development of natural and built environment and quality of life” (interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer). The interviewed Community Tourism Group representative, whilst sceptical about the concept of sustainability, nevertheless highlighted ‘cycle tourism’ as a significant form of sustainable tourism, and as a growth form of tourism within their town, in contrast to car-based tourism. The service area of Planning also created policies for tourism which were based on the principles of sustainability, and the Transport and Environment Team, together with a political representative, had established initiatives for cycle tourism.

Whilst highlighting the emergence of ‘broader’ policy processes to operationalise the principles of sustainability, this case study has identified that there is a corporate commitment to cycling within North Lincolnshire, with political members endorsing cycling as part of a wider strategy for sustainable forms of transport. This strategic commitment to linkages between principles of sustainability and cycling is evident within a range of strategies within various service areas. The Transport Section, for example, has taken a lead in developing an infrastructure for cyclists, with an emphasis on providing safe conditions for utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling. In creating the concept of the North Lincolnshire Sustainable Cycle Network, the Transport Section recognised the wider policy
application of cycling as a sustainable form of transport in terms of environmental, health and community accessibility themes.

The policy framework of the Cycling Strategy was designed to create policy instruments which action policies which are responsive to community priorities for cycling. The Transport Officer also highlighted the 'informal' role beyond the utilitarian focus of his work, to develop policy initiatives for leisure and tourism based cycling in collaboration with the Environment Team, Transport and Planning and the Tourism Unit. Policy developments on cycle tourism have largely been the result of informal collaborations between service areas and have emerged pragmatically rather through a strategy for cycle tourism. Additionally, both the interviewed Tourism Officer and political representatives volunteered cycle tourism as an example of a sustainable form of tourism with economic and community benefits.

Local implementation structures for the policy area of cycling encompass a range of policy actors from within the local authority, local community and through advocacy interests of organisations such as Sustrans, who resource initiatives which enable the implementation of cycle infrastructure development. As an issue area with discernible policy objectives, implementation structures and evaluative mechanisms, cycling and cycle tourism have the capacity to operationalise the principles of sustainability at the local level in North Lincolnshire. Whilst the interviewed Community Tourism Group also advocate cycling as a sustainable form of tourism, they had not collaborated with North Lincolnshire Council in developing this activity.

In terms of establishing a "full conceptual description" (Punch, 2000:36) of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development and delivery at the local level, this case study highlights the emergence of local implementation structures, which integrate multi-actor and multi-sectoral input and crucially community input. Both policy development and delivery, underpinned by the principles of sustainability, are moving away from the 'Centre' to the 'Periphery'. The policy area of tourism is receptive to the principles of sustainability, although the concept of sustainable tourism does not exclusively emerge within this policy area. Both community groups and local authority
Policy areas recognise cycle tourism as a model for sustainable tourism in this sample unitary local authority.
CHAPTER NINE: CASE STUDY TWO: WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL

9.0 INTRODUCTION

This case study explores the approach of West Lindsey District Council, a largely rural local authority adjacent to the North Lincolnshire Council area, to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development and delivery. This case study also focuses on a district area which is within the Lincolnshire County Council administrative boundary, and West Lindsey District Council is a hung-local authority with no dominant political party informing its corporate direction.

9.1 PROFILE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA

West Lindsey District Council is one of seven local authorities which are the constituent parts of Lincolnshire County Council, the third largest county within the UK. West Lindsey District Council is a largely rural local authority covering an area of 445 square miles, which borders North Lincolnshire Council, North East Lincolnshire Council, the City of Lincoln, East Lindsey and Nottingham County Council. The eastern part of the West Lindsey District incorporates the Lincolnshire Wolds, an Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, the western boundary is the River Trent, and to the southern boundary are the River Witham and Fossdyke Canal. The Sustrans National Cycle Route 1, the Hull to Harwich route, traverses the east of the District. The population of approximately 80,000 people is largely dispersed within the rural part of the District. The main urban element of the area is the town of Gainsborough, which forms the administrative centre for the local authority, with a population of approximately 18,000 people. The key employers are agriculture, manufacturing and service sector industries. The District has 37 elected councillors, 125 Parish Councils, and 3 Town Councils which are based in the towns of Caistor, Mark Rasen and Gainsborough. Appendix Three provides an overview of the corporate departmental and directorate structure of West Lindsey District Council and below overleaf are the sequence of case study interviews.
Table 9.1: The sequence of interviews with case study actors for West Lindsey District (with supporting documents)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Date of interview</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Supporting Documents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louise Samouelle</td>
<td>November 14, 2000</td>
<td>Tourism Officer/Tourism Network-West Lindsey Cycling Strategy, Sustrans, 1996</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keith Foster</td>
<td>November 25, 2000</td>
<td>Principal Planner-Forward Planning/Development Services</td>
<td>The West Lindsey Local Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Lomas</td>
<td>January 11, 2001</td>
<td>Chair of Community Services Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Respondents</td>
<td>November 4, 2000</td>
<td>Household survey of community respondents</td>
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The local community dimension was the opening part of this case study research strategy in that community representatives were sought that would provide insights into community perceptions of the concept of sustainability and how they receive information on the process of LA21.
9.2 A) COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.2.1 THEME ONE: COMMUNITY ‘BOTTOM-UP’ APPROACHES TO THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

Viewing community responses to sustainability primarily or exclusively through local authority perceptions of sustainability was thought capable of prejudicing community innovations which are not reliant upon ‘knowledge’ of the principles of sustainability being communicated through local authorities to stimulate action on sustainability. Therefore a strategy was employed in this case study of locating potential community representatives that might have input into the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability through linkages to LA21. This involved exploring a Register of Voluntary Organisations within West Lindsey District, in the Central Library in Gainsborough. No groups were identified with discernible linkages to LA21, and therefore a decision was made to target the urban settlement of Market Rasen to identify community perceptions of the concept of sustainability and the process of LA21. The decision to choose Market Rasen was based on local knowledge of this urban settlement and that it provided the scope to visit a variety of residential areas on foot within one day.

It was decided to explore the views of residents in one hundred households in Market Rasen, chosen randomly in a cross-section of residential areas on November 4, 2000. Whilst this strategy differed from that of the other two case studies, this pragmatic approach provided the scope to gain community perceptions of sustainability and LA21. The application of structured interviews were largely based on two questions regarding awareness of sustainable development and LA21, with an opportunity to expand on ‘what sustainability means’ and what information they might have received on LA21 from West Lindsey District Council.

119 households were visited with 100 responses received, with 93% of respondents having no awareness of the concept of sustainable development or LA21. Furthermore, no respondents had received information on LA21 from West Lindsey District Council. The inference from these findings is that there is a low awareness of sustainable development
and LA21 within Market Rasen, as a representative community within this type of district. The very low level of awareness of sustainable development and LA21 within Market Rasen, raises questions as to the existence of effective ‘information channels’ between the local authority and local communities in West Lindsey on the issue of sustainability.

Of the 7% of respondents who declared an understanding of the concept of sustainable development, there was a diversity of responses. Sustainable development was viewed primarily in environmental terms with responses incorporating “global warming”; “not jeopardising the needs of future generation”; development at a rate that can be continued-not using up all natural resources”; “forestry and recycling” and “ecological preservation of the planet”. None of these respondents had received information on LA21 from West Lindsey District Council. Within this one particular settlement in West Lindsey there does not appear to be a community ‘mandate’ for sustainable development as an issue, and clearly this research strategy would have to be repeated in other rural or urban settlements to determine how representative these findings are.

Whilst there are limited inferences that can be made from the representativeness of the community sample and findings, nevertheless the revelation that 93% of respondents were not aware of the concept of sustainable development/ LA21 enables the scrutiny of local authority responses to operationalising the principles of sustainability to be compared against the low level of community awareness. The dominant environmental community interpretation of the concept of sustainable development could also be matched against local authority responses to sustainable development and whether local authority facilitated LA21 processes were based primarily on environmental dimensions. Within the limitation of the representativeness of the findings from this community survey, the question emerged as to how active the local authority had been in attempting to disseminate the principles of sustainability through a LA21 process?
9.3 B) LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.3.1 THEME TWO: CORPORATE POLITICAL AND OFFICER INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.3.1.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLITICIANS INTERPRET THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY?

With the other two case study local authorities of Hull City Council and North Lincolnshire Council being politically controlled by New Labour administrations, as a ‘hung council’, West Lindsey District potentially offered a different political approach to operationalising the concept of sustainability. Through the research rationale of snowball sampling as applied in the other case studies, a potential political interviewee was recommended by the interviewed Tourism Officer within this study. This section also explores officer perceptions of the political response to sustainability within the local authority.

The political representative selected for interview within the politically hung council, was a Liberal Democrat member and Chair of the Community Services Committee, which used to be “responsible for Housing, but now focuses exclusively on Environmental Health”. With greater availability of time, it would have been useful to interview a number of politicians to ascertain different political perspectives of sustainability. Nevertheless, the interviewed Liberal Democratic councillor did provide a commentary on ‘alternative’ political perspectives of sustainability.

The interviewed councillor emphasised that a key part of his role within Community Services is to try and “influence members and officers to look at the wider implications of the environment”. He identified that policy formulation “on the environment” focuses on “waste control, recycling and how people travel to work”.

In response to the question of whether the work of Community Services was directly related to LA21, his response was that
West Lindsey had come into this game late, mainly because we are a very small council and it is very difficult to keep our heads above water, with such huge distances to travel.

Whilst he acknowledged that the Council would not be in a position to submit a LA21 action plan by December 2000, he did emphasise that “every agenda item that goes to the Council, always contains a paragraph on the effects of whatever is being discussed on the environment”. Furthermore, he felt that the local authority had attempted to formulate policies which express principles of sustainability over a number of years, with land refill initiatives, recycling, vehicle emission modification, and the creation of cycle lanes and signage for cyclists being key examples.

Whilst in his judgement, the impetus for policy making for sustainability emerged within a Senior Management Officer Group “probably by being prodded by a few members who are environmentally conscious”, he also emphasised the problem of trying to retain consistency in policy initiatives for sustainability

With there being no overall political control on West Lindsey District Council, it is very difficult to be able to find a pathway that will be constant with an election every year for three years. The political complexion changes constantly with people taking over chairs that have a different perspective on how we should be going than the previous one did, and that is a shame really not just from the political aspect, but making sure that things are going on a constant path. If you are not careful you will go off at a tangent.

He also indicated that the lack of political control from one particular political party, might create a situation where “some of the officers tend to ‘play off’ each member against each other”. Moreover he indicated that as a Liberal Democrat he has a different perspective on sustainability, which he feels differs from other political parties, stating that

I think that of the three main political parties we are probably nearest to the Greens than anyone else. I think that we bring an element of common sense to some things that the Greens want to do. I think sometimes that they have tunnel vision and cannot see that local government has its limitations, e.g. finance, and all those sorts of things on what it can achieve.

To further emphasise different political perspectives on sustainability, he cited his role as a County Councillor when the Liberal Democrats were in political power, stating that :
We realised very early on, that the way to influence people with environmental attitudes was through children. We came up with the idea of a bus that would travel around go into schools and going to youth organisations that had examples of how we could preserve the environment. It went to one of the schools that I was involved with and by the time that the kids had gone home, one of the local supermarkets had sold out of low energy bulbs. They had persuaded their mums and dads to buy them. It was obviously a way to influence how people think (on environmental matters) but when we left power the first thing that the Conservative administration did was that they sold it because they thought that it was a complete waste of time and money.

The interviewed political representative offered another interpretation of why a pragmatic approach to sustainability as a policy priority had been adopted by the local authority, stating that

it tended to have been masked by changes in local government structures, so I am afraid that LA21 and sustainability have probably been neglected in trying to sort out the policies and finances of the District Council.

He emphasised the potential for ‘Best Value’ to become a dominant strategic framework for advancing principles of sustainability within policy processes, and across a range of service delivery areas. The interviewed political representative felt that the issue of recycling as a manifestation of advancing the principles of sustainability, is an important policy issue that could be progressed through Best Value, as there was evidence that recycling was a community-based initiative adopted by two villages. However, despite this example, he felt that there is an awareness problem with the concept of sustainability, stating that

I do not think that everyone actually knows what it is intended to mean. I think we have still got along way to go in terms of educating people, and you only have to look around to see there are people who it means nothing to. I do not think that they realise that what their next door neighbour does impinge on the way that they live. That is one of the messages that we have got to get across.

The interviewed political representative did feel that it was significant that he was a Liberal Democratic, in so far that his interpretation of the application of sustainability was different to Tory politicians. Additionally, the hung council status of the authority meant that it was difficult to establish continuity and consistency in policy making for issues such as
sustainability, because of the high turn over of political representatives with 'regular' elections.

THE DEPUTY CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SUSTAINABILITY

The Deputy Chief Executive felt that National Government was introducing a range of politically orientated initiatives, which local authorities were being asked to respond to, which required generating "information for various overlapping strategies". He emphasised that at a political level, the local authority has to make a decision as to which mandatory requirements have to be resourced, and in the case of LA21 and EMAS, these were not considered to be resourcable within the financial constraints of a rural local authority.

However, he suggested that there was at least some political awareness of the environmental dimension of sustainability through elected members scrutinising committee reports, which have a section on the environmental impact of service delivery. It was not clear from questioning the Deputy Chief Executive whether he felt that members had a wider perception of the concept of sustainability beyond this environmental focus. With no overall political control by one political party, the Deputy Chief Executive suggested that whilst there are corporate aims and objectives, there was an absence of a political strategic plan which could address issues of sustainability.

PLANNING AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SUSTAINABILITY

The lack of a political strategic plan was endorsed by the interviewed Principal Planning Officer who stated that in terms of the political structure of West Lindsey we are a hung council so there is no caucus of a political group that sets a specific agenda, the vision for the local authority comes basically through the mission statement.

He indicated that the Planning Services Committee have a 'control function' overseeing the "major decision making stages in terms of policy development, proposal development and
the content of the Local Plan”. This Committee is supported by a Sub-Committee of members dedicated exclusively to scrutinising the planning function of the local authority.

9.3.1.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO OFFICERS RESPOND CORPORATELY TO THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY?

Insights were sought on the corporate approach to sustainability, in terms of how the concept of sustainability was communicated throughout the local authority, and the role of LA21 in stimulating the principles of sustainability which underpin the activities of service areas. The extent to which corporate stewardship created a strategic approach to assimilating the principles of sustainability within policy development and delivery, would emerge within this sub-theme.

The Councils' mission statement was reviewed in 1999, communicating that “The Council will strive to provide the best possible democratically accountable service”. The corporate aims of the local authority are based on eight main themes which include:

1. To apply at all times the Seven Principles of Public Life, these being: Honesty, Accountability, Integrity, Leadership, Openness, Objectivity and Selflessness.

2. To broaden and develop the democratic process.

3. To make the best use of resources in order to offer services provided.

4. To continuously monitor and improve the quality of services provided.

5. To communicate ideas and policies clearly and listen to and take account of the views of the community, its partners, customers and employees and to establish processes which encourage this to happen.

6. Having regard to the principles of sustainability, to help create a wealthier, healthier District, economically, socially and environmentally.
7. To manage social housing provision in such a way that those unable to buy proactively are offered a good quality range of housing provision.

8. To encourage and proactively support initiatives to develop further tourism and the sporting, cultural, recreational and artistic life of West Lindsey.


Evidence was sought as to how this corporate commitment to the principles of sustainability emerged within the service delivery of the local authority. Consistent with the prudent use of resources in the delivery of corporate objectives, it appears that service delivery functions have been combined in a number of single officer posts (e.g. tourism and cycling). Once again the Deputy Chief Executive emphasised the problems of a small rural local authority, trying to respond to interfering government initiatives such as LA21, which might be replicated by other community based strategies such as Crime and Disorder Strategies.

The inference is that there are finite resources available to respond to nationally ‘induced’ strategies, which ostensibly are designed as community focused strategies. This point was emphasised by his statement that

we spent a lot of time and resources preparing a crime and disorder strategy which obviously involves the community, and then we talk about Agenda 21 which is based on the community, now the (Council) Leader requires a community strategy, and they all should really be encompassed in a vision for the community.

The Deputy Chief Executive indicated the evidence of a ‘partial’ strategic response by major service areas to incorporating principles of sustainability in policy development, is that all committee reports generated by the major service areas contain a section in which policy initiatives have to evaluate their environmental (sustainability) impacts.

In terms of the operationalisation of the environmental aspect of sustainability within the authority, he emphasised that the Head of Environmental Services considered the feasibility
of introducing LA-EMAS/EMAS, but that once again the local authority was unable to commit the necessary resources to this policy initiative. Furthermore, he suggested that there was also a “feeling within the local authority that we were already doing things efficiently and effectively”.

It appears that there were service areas within the local authority, which had started to respond to the operationalisation of policies which reflect the principles of sustainability, with the political impetus for recycling which had created a network of recycling plants throughout the local authority within the last 18 months to 2 years. Although this type of initiative could be viewed as contributing to environmental sustainability, nevertheless it was not promoted as a strategic response to sustainability.

The interviewed Deputy Chief Executive indicated that there needed to be a strategic rather than a piecemeal response to sustainability, which he felt could be achieved within the strategies of Best Value and Community Planning. It was anticipated that this process would be part of a wider review of the local authority, in being more receptive to a form of local governance beyond the “traditional council service provider role”. Furthermore, Best Value and Community Planning were promoted as going beyond the limitations of CCT (Compulsory Competitive Tendering) to create community (customer) responsive service delivery. The interviewed Principal Planning Officer suggested that

sustainability is very much along the lines of allowing future generations to be able to live and sustain a quality of life which is equal to anywhere. It has that sort of philosophical intent.

Moreover he added that the language of sustainability “has always been part of the planning make-up and I do not think that I am doing anything different than I did 25 years ago. I have a very holistic philosophy about it”.

It was clear that his interpretation of sustainability was more multi-dimensional than the definition offered by the Deputy Chief Executive, and that he recognised the importance of social dimensions within his definition, and that the principles of sustainability were, in essence, an extension of existing planning practices.
Beyond a purely ‘personal’ response to sustainability, he indicated that the planning process incorporates social, economic and environmental components because there is no use having a fantastic environment if people have not got homes and a job. There is a midway somewhere which you can try and navigate and find, and bring all these elements into some kind of symmetry.

Nevertheless, he suggested that there is some “special interest pleading from conservation groups who concentrate on the environmental dimension”. He felt that “it’s a question of trying to find the best way of accommodating development socially and economically and most of all, development which does the minimum of damage”. He proffered a definition of sustainability which encompassed a broad range of dimensions, and highlighted that the service area of planning had incorporated the principles of sustainability into a strategic approach. Within this context, the Local Plan was identified as a “development template” for the local authority, enabling the planning of West Lindsey, to be highlighted for a ten year period, which is in line with the futurity element of policies for sustainability.

The key planning and development challenge for the local authority, identified by the interviewed Principal Planner, was the pressure for residential development in rural areas, and the potential “sub-urbanisation of the countryside”, with “the rate of growth outstripping infrastructure development”. He felt that, given the scope of these planning challenges, the Local Plan is an effective framework for establishing sustainable development aims for West Lindsey District Council. However, he stressed that he did not think that it is the most appropriate implementation tool for sustainable development, elaborating that

local authorities do not implement (Local) Plans, they can implement parts of plans. Local authorities are not the house builders, they are not transport providers, they do not build factories, they can, I suppose, be interventionist in the sense that they can do certain things, but I have always thought it is important to separate the functions because I think again you just get too close to something. I think in terms of policy making, it is important to stand back and establish aims and objectives.

He felt that this separation of functions is particularly prevalent within the changing role of local government, “which is rapidly evolving into just a regulatory policy making body”,
suggesting that sustainability will come about through the planning system only through the “intervention of external organisations and agencies, including the private sector”. These comments are particularly apposite to the distinction between the different phases of the policy making cycle (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984), with a separation of the phases of policy formulation and implementation for sustainability. A model of the policy making phases for sustainability might feasibly distinguish between the initial ‘policy formulation process’, which seeks out a broad range of collaboration of local communities, organisations and agencies as prerequisite to forming a local implementation structure, or an ‘implementation chain’ for the principles of sustainability within policies.

9.3.2 THEME THREE: INTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES, POLICY NETWORKS AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.3.2.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES LA21 INFORM THE PROCESS OF INCORPORATING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN SERVICE DELIVERY?

The acting ‘LA21 Officer’ at the time of the interview was the Deputy Chief Executive, who described himself as a

glorified post box, and point of contact for LA21. Since LA21 had become an initiative for local government, his role has been to act as a point of contact for the authority and external agencies, and to collect and disseminate information across the authority.

Effectively as the ‘number two’ officer within the local authority, he was in a position to provide an overview of the strategic policy status of sustainability, suggesting that there has been a pragmatic response to resourcing LA21, as a policy priority within the local authority. In this respect he emphasised that

the way that we have addressed Agenda 21, is that the authority has not provided additional resources in terms of manpower at all. It recognised that for lots of the things that the Council was doing and intended to do ‘around’ sustainability, it needed a corporate focus in terms of direction of its own. In my previous role and my role at the moment as a holding role, within the Chief Executives Department, I would say that this is where we do not have an overall strategy
across the council. We have as I say when reports and decisions are made, we ‘home in’ on the environmental implications but I would say that we do not actively or visibly promote (sustainability) at the best of times.

Whilst acknowledging that sustainability is “not actively promoted in anyway”, he suggested that the planning process was probably the closest that the local authority gets to incorporating principles of sustainability within a strategic way within service delivery. This pragmatic corporate response to sustainability was emphasised by the Deputy Chief Executive, in highlighting the local authority’s reaction to the request by the National Government to produce an action plan or strategy for sustainability by December 31, 2000. He suggested that “because the preparation of a strategy has not been specifically contained within legislation, this deadline would not be responded to”. This however was not consistent with the Best Value Performance Plan 2000-2001 which communicated a Council policy objective of “publish(ing) a Local Agenda 21 strategy by December 31, 2000” (2000:113).

This Best Value Plan’s objectives also intended to “create a vision for the future, and identify a number of corporate aims and objectives, which will support the general principles surrounding Agenda 21”. Therefore he felt that ‘Best Value’ could help to position LA21 within the “corporate centre of the authority”. Even though the local authority had not invested in creating a LA21 post, he indicated that incorporating the principles of sustainability within the corporate aims and objectives of the local authority, was more appropriate than following the lead of other local authorities in “putting sustainability within a set department such as Environmental Health”. Extending this theme, he emphasised that “sustainability is not just about environmental health issues, “its about everything and we wanted to give it that focus”. Furthermore, at the time of the interview, the local authority was undergoing a process of restructuring at Senior Management level, and were due to appoint a new head of Community Services, which would create “face to face contact with the community and utilise Agenda 21”.

Consistent with the local authority’s pragmatic approach to LA21, the Deputy Chief Executive added that as
an integral part of Community Planning, under the most recent Local Government Act 2000, there is a legal duty on the Council to prepare a Community Strategy, and to consult with the community on their future needs.

He added that “as from July this year, we have a legal duty on the Council to promote economic and social wellbeing, and to take on board the principles within Agenda 21”. Additionally, he envisaged that as part of the Community Strategy they would also have a specific section on Agenda 21, which would be combined with Best Value indicators, related to “social wellbeing” with a “broadening out” of the dimensions of sustainability.

On this issue of pragmatism, the Deputy Chief Executive also suggested that the Audit Commission was more concerned that a local authority creates a corporate response to Agenda 21, which demonstrates a commitment to implement and promote Agenda 21, “without (necessarily) having to produce a specific document”. He suggested that, had ‘they’ embarked on a LA21 strategy, it would have quickly been superseded by Best Value and Community Planning initiatives. He added that the local authority is “on a learning curve” with the production of a Best Value document which will be “revamped next year”. Along with the mandatory Community Plan, he viewed Best Value as the most effective and economic way of creating policy initiatives for sustainability and LA21. There was evidence from the ‘West Lindsey Best Value Performance Plan 2000/2001: Working With The Community’ document, that LA21 as a policy issue would emerge within Best Value, with the document suggesting that

> the Council will ensure that the Plan outlines the key issues set out in the Government’s Sustainable Development Strategy. Best Value Reviews will take into account these priorities (2000:8).

Given the aspiration of operationalising corporate strategies for sustainability through future initiatives such as Best Value and Community Planning, evidence was sought as to how officers such as the Deputy Chief Executive identified the concept of sustainability. When questioned about his perception of sustainability, he felt that it incorporated the aspect of futurity, but that further clarification might be best sought through the Planning Service.

The Principal Planning Officer felt that the work that he was doing on sustainability, could provide evidence (to the Audit Commission) that the ‘spirit’ of LA21 was being progressed
through community development work within the local authority. However, he acknowledged that should LA21 become more “high profile” within the local authority, there might be more “kudos associated with this work” and by implication a greater desire for ‘corporate ownership’ of sustainability as a policy focus.

9.3.2.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO DIRECTORATES COMMUNICATE AND ‘MAINSTREAM’ THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN AND BETWEEN SERVICE AREAS?

Given the limited strategic corporate policy developments on sustainability by separate departments within the local authority, it might have been expected that there would be limited evidence of formal or informal communication channels between departments on policy dialogue related to sustainability issues.

The interviewed Deputy Chief Executive in his capacity as a “corporate manager” was aware of some communication linkages on sustainability issues, although he acknowledged that information on sustainability had “not been communicated through the internal intranet system (to the various service areas)”. He suggested that the planning process had been exposed to a sustainability audit, with the Local Plan subject to an environmental appraisal. In line with this environmental theme, he indicated that the Council was committed to recycling policies and purchasing policies which exemplify environmental principles of sustainability.

TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY

When asked about linkages between LA21 and different service areas, the interviewed Deputy Chief Executive suggested that contact be made with the service area of Tourism, to determine how they have attempted to incorporate principles of sustainability into service delivery. When the interviewed Tourism Officer was asked about potential linkages with LA21, she responded by saying that

when I knew I was having this interview with you I asked my line manager what is our policy on LA21, and he said ‘I don’t know ask Roger (the Deputy Chief Executive)’, so in a sense I don’t have any
links with an LA21 Officer because we don’t have one. There is notional acceptance of LA21, but there is not a corporate approach as we might wish.

It was pertinent that the interviewed Tourism Officer was not aware of the proposal (gleaned from the interview with the Deputy Chief Executive) to employ an LA21 Officer in the near future. Reflecting the multi-tasking nature of officers within such small local authorities, the interviewed Tourism Officer indicated that her “responsibilities are broad, encompassing tourism development and promotion, the Arts, and initiatives for cycle tourism”. The interviewed Tourism Officer suggested that there is an expectation that the service area of Tourism is designed to “enhance the economic well-being of the District, providing a development impetus for industry, with an increase in the volume of visitors, and through attracting external funding”.

Reflecting the economic focus of these aims and objectives, Tourism is positioned within the Department of Economic Development”, and provides “economic regeneration for the commercial sector and rural communities”. The interviewed Tourism Officer identified that “sustainability issues go right across the spectrum”, incorporating commercial and community issues, “with environmental aspects going across all sectors”. This environmental focus included “green audit kits for the accommodation sector and forms of tourism development which include rural and village tourism, water based tourism, church tourism, combined with cycling”. These initiatives are not embodied within a tourism strategy, as this was in the process of being developed. This would involve a report going to committee on the future direction of tourism in the district, with these proposals integrated into the “tourism work plan”.

The interviewed Tourism Officer suggested that the current process of creating a tourism strategy would go to committee as a draft in January 2001, with the expectation that it would go “into a consultation phase (at their discretion) and be adapted to the principles of Best Value”. The interviewed Tourism Officer also suggested that

the way we work in the Tourism Section, is that although we may have a strategic document, when initiatives like cycling come up, they go in as a supplementary to the strategy, and we manage to get
separate funding on top of our budget, and I think this is indicative of how the Council sees tourism as a service.

On the specific question of adopting the principles of sustainability within a future strategy, she indicated that it does underpin things, but perhaps we should more formally recognise it. We have looked at green audit kits and I think that is something that we would want to move forward with, with our accommodation sector.

She added that “we are not into car based tourism, we want to adopt initiatives which ‘grow’ from the local community and are environmentally robust, particularly cycling”.

PLANNING AND SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed Planning Officer for ‘Forward Plans’, when asked about the key objectives of the Local Plan, highlighted that they are derived from the Structure Plan and National Planning Guidance, in the sense that we are trying to work towards sustainable and environmentally beneficial forms of development, that improves the quality of life for West Lindsey residents and visitors.

These objectives incorporated providing sufficient housing to meet the needs of the West Lindsey population, which supports and nourishes economic development, and seeks to protect the best of the environment in terms of ecology, landscape character and appearance of the countryside.

Furthermore, within the Local Plan he indicated that there is a keynote policy (G1), which is designed to cover every type of development, with a specific statement related to the Brundtland declaration, and land use and development considerations. We ‘enshrine’ that particular statement as a starting point, when we are dealing with a planning proposal, a planning application or when we are writing a report to members of the committee.
The interviewed Principal Planning Officer indicated that as a general rule there is a process of internal consultation for the “most major strategy and policy areas, with the planning process therefore having regard to Council strategies for Housing, Economic Development and Tourism”. This appeared to put the onus on the Planning Service to synthesise different strategies, and translate them into development strategies which would then underpin the Local Plan. In terms of how tourism fits into the Local Plan priorities for West Lindsey, the interviewed Principal Planning Officer suggested that the preferred development option for tourism, was to promote tourism and recreation, which do not adversely impact on the specially protected landscape of the Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty, which is incorporated within the District boundaries. He alluded to potential conflicts within the local authority’s policy priorities, between the economic development function of tourism, with wider planning considerations. This was emphasised by his statement that the economic benefits of tourism, with its environmental and developmental impacts on the landscape, have to balanced with existing resident amenities, and traffic generation and associated development, with planning having to take all these things into account.

The suggestion was that there are conflicting priorities within the local authority regarding the development perceptions of tourism and planning, with planning sometimes “having to say no to tourism”. More revealingly he identified that tourism decisions are made in the context of political responses to economic development imperatives, perhaps counter to the corporate statements on the rationale for planning in the local authority area. The politics of the ‘hung council’, mean that councillors might have disparate views on the benefits tourism and planning, and support tourism in preference to planning.

The interviewed Principal Planning Officer was not conversant as to whether the individual strategies incorporate the principles of sustainability, but emphasised that the Planning Service was playing a key role in promoting the principles of sustainability within the local authority, stating that:

We are the people who get out there and do things, and I do not think we are grandly recognised as ambassadors, we do it by default because we think that it should be done, and there is nobody else
deciding to do it, or equipped to do it, because it probably has a greater bearing on what we do.

The implication is that in the absence of "any central direction, it is very much at an officer initiative level and by stealth or whatever, (he has) got the council to commit money to support schemes which have a LA21 remit". This has involved part-funding a rural Community Development Officer who has a county-wide remit, of working with village communities to produce Village Appraisals and Village Design Statements. These provide communities with the opportunity to determine a vision of future development, particularly focusing on the environmental dimension of sustainability. Ironically, he suggested that the environmental focus of this work "often comes into conflict with the local authority's environmental policies" in the sense that it sought alternative approaches to engaging communities in environmental issues.

9.3.3 THEME FOUR: EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES, POLICY NETWORKS AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.3.3.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COMMUNICATE AND COLLABORATE WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS IN THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

With policies for sustainability at the local level concerned with establishing community collaboration, there is a normative expectation that local implementation structures for sustainability, as a policy issue, will combine a wide constituency of interests.

THE DEPUTY CHIEF EXECUTIVE (‘LA21 OFFICER’) AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

The Deputy Chief Executive suggested that West Lindsey District Council needed to move beyond a "traditional local provider" approach to policy making, and that it was intended that Community Planning and Best Value would introduce more community responsive policy processes. In this respect, he suggested that "new mechanisms" for community
responsive policy making had been introduced through Citizens Panels (introduced through Lincolnshire County Council) in which West Lindsey District Council had the capacity to seek feedback on service delivery from a panel of 400-500 people (selected through external consultants using a representative sampling approach). This process of consultation includes the use of questionnaires to derive feedback from focus groups and determine community priorities. The Deputy Chief Executive felt that

traditionally there is already a good dialogue in place within the community through the local authority relationship with the 75 parish and town councils within West Lindsey District area, consulting and involving them whenever possible.

Specifically within the planning process, parish councils have the opportunity to send a representative to planning committee meetings. He felt that this was one of the advantages of being a rural area, in so far that these channels of communication exist with parish councils and that it was “not as though that they were starting from scratch”.

PLANNING AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

The interviewed Principal Planner emphasised the community input is a significant part in putting together the Local Plan, suggesting that there is an attempt to “embrace all elements in the community in terms of consultation”. As part of the consultation or review stage of the Local Plan, 34 workshop planning forum exercises were carried out, to ascertain what communities felt were the planning priorities and challenges within West Lindsey for the next 10 years. This information was then written-up and passed to politicians to decide on planning priorities.

Members apparently picked up on this opportunity for community consultation, by instructing Planning Officers to do a further community-based consultation exercise, targetted at parish or town councils, to put ideas forward to feed into a development strategy for their particular locality. This though, tended to focus on “what people thought was special about their particular local environments”, which could be incorporated into the planning process. The rationale for this approach was to get the ‘big’ picture, rather than a partial view of the planning vision “premised on the wrong sort of view”.

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However, he suggested that in putting together the current Local Plan, there was a problem in engaging with communities, to move beyond abstract concepts of planning. Furthermore, the Planning Department was criticised for producing a leaflet sent to all households in the District, which highlighted what the Department felt were the main issues for consideration. This was viewed as an ‘expert agenda’ approach to planning issues, which would be refined for the next Local Plan process, incorporating a “sophisticated engagement with communities”.

The interviewed Principal Planning Officer stressed the complex nature of the planning process at the local level with parish councils viewing the ‘vision’ for planning at the parish level as being separate from the planning framework advanced by the County Council’s Structure Plan, and indeed the Local Plan. He suggested that parish councils had the impression that they wanted to decide on planning priorities, “and that they could not understand that the District Council could come to a different conclusion about their particular place”. However, he indicated that “having worked in planning for 25 years the process is rarely consensual”. In response to the question of balance community and local authority input into the Local Plan, the interviewed Principal Planning Officer felt that his “judgement is that it is fairly equal in terms of the ownership of the thing. There is a lot of content that local people are in agreement with”. In response to the question of the proactive role of local communities in shaping the Local Plan, he suggested that quite a few settlements have done Village Appraisals which are a very good feedstock of information about local people and local views and aspirations, with some settlements going down the route of Village Design Statements.

The process of local communities establishing visions of development for their localities, has implications for people having the capacity to engage in deciding the future priorities and scenarios for sustainable development. On this matter the Principal Planning Officer highlighted the complexity of trying to reconcile a vision for development within a Local Plan, which is facilitated by the local authority, but has to incorporate local ‘disparate’ visions, stating that the only problem we experienced during the last Local Plan was with two communities who went the village design statement route and turned out a product which was in direct conflict with the Local
Plan, and they put forward a point of view at the enquiry which was not accepted.

This raises the issue of the potential conflicting aspects of realising consensual sustainable development scenarios within a locality. Specifically on the community input into policies for sustainability, the interviewed Principal Planning Officer suggested that the local communities raised the issue of sustainability, within in the consultation stage of the Local Plan. He indicated that it meant “different things to different people, with some people seeing it as environmental protection rather than on lifestyle issues”, and there tended to be localised interpretations, rather than the “bigger picture” of sustainability. He felt that “whilst it is difficult to assess the right balance of consultation, West Lindsey “had done a good job of consultation”, getting the balance right in terms of “resources and time”. He indicated that there was also an element of policy succession between the development of Local Plans, in terms of disseminating “knowledge and sophistication about the process”, which would provide more effective consultation in the future.

TOURISM AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

The service area of Tourism included plans for significant community involvement within their approach to the development of rural and village tourism initiatives. Discussions had already occurred with the parish council of a village settlement to determine what type of tourism initiatives they would like to see, in addition to moorings for boats and signage in the village. Ultimately we would like to set up tourism associations, with a mix of community and commercial groups, and respond to local needs. These types of initiative are being developed despite officers not being encouraged to be open in our thinking and communicate and work with the community, as we have been quite isolationist.

The interviewed Tourism Officer highlighted once again in the absence of a concerted corporate approach to collaborating with communities in policy development, that there is an onus on individual officers to seek collaboration with communities.
9.3.3.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

With local authorities reassessing their distinctive role as service providers, towards adopting an enabling role, there is the possibility that they will form partnerships with local and regional organisations and agencies in operationalising the principles of sustainability in policy development. With West Lindsey District Council electing not to appoint a LA21 Officer and not engaging in ‘internal’ LA21 processes, linkages with regional organisations on LA21 issues seemed surprising.

The interviewed Deputy Chief Executive felt that the ‘biggest driver’ for sustainability at the local level will be Best Value, which will stimulate collaborative work with other organisations and agencies. This process of collaboration had already started with joint working with County and other District Councils, and “other agencies such as the Health Authority, the Environment Agency, the Police Authority and the Community Council”. He suggested that this collaboration was “in recognition that ‘joined-up government’ meant that we had to turn to community governance and involve everyone in it”. Specifically on collaborative work on sustainability, he was aware of an East Midland Agenda 21 Officer Group which met biannually to discuss “good practice within local authorities”.

The interviewed Principal Planning Officer indicated that the local authority had commissioned outside consultants to carry out an environmental appraisal of the Local Plan and to include social and economic dimensions which would broaden the scope of sustainability issues locally. He suggested that with sustainable development also being a priority within the Structure Plan, and within Regional and National guidance, that policy formulation at the local level is premised in terms of ideas of sustainability which incorporate the use previously developed land and working towards trying to shift transportation towards sustainable modes, (which includes) public transport, walking, cycling. So it informs the whole policy framework.
More precisely he suggests that National Planning Guidance recommends that the principles of sustainability are incorporated into policy making at the local level, and that local authorities can “demonstrate how sustainability can be achieved”. The major changes advocated by National Guidance, includes the ways in which the Local Plan is monitored, with an emphasis on the introduction of indicators which measure the way in which the adopted plan is progressing. “The actual monitoring aspect of policy making has been put on the agenda significantly, certainly from the present government’s perspective, shifting from ‘predict and provide’ to a ‘plan-action-monitor’ way of doing it”. He added pragmatically that the Local Plan “has got to start somewhere and predict”.

The interviewed Principal Planning Officer highlighted how the previous Local Plan was not approved by the Government Office in the East Midlands, because they disagreed with one word within the Local Plan. The members took a pragmatic decision not to appeal against the decision and the ‘offending word’ was removed.

This was viewed to be an example of Regional Governance eclipsing local policy considerations. He also indicated that “planning is very plagiaristic and we get planning policies from other local authorities that have been operated and known to have worked”, and that West Lindsey are aware that there is good practice from other local authorities related to sustainability which can be adopted.

The interviewed Tourism Officer indicated how collaboration was sought with external organisations such as Lincolnshire Tourism (a co-ordinating tourism group within the County) who she hoped might take a lead in attracting European funding which could extend the National Cycle Route from Boston in Lincolnshire, through to Clumber Park in Nottinghamshire. This cycling infrastructure initiative highlighted the scope for cycle tourism to be developed within the local authority area as a sustainable tourism initiative. In the context of earlier comments by the Tourism Officer there appears to be the scope to link cycling initiatives into village tourism initiatives that combine waterways and cycle ways. The capacity to implement the principles of sustainability through cycling is discussed within the next section.
9.3.4 THEME FIVE: POLICY INNOVATION IN THE OPERATIONALISATION OF POLICIES OF SUSTAINABILITY

9.3.4.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLICIES FOR CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM OPERATIONALISE THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL?

Having determined the wider context for policy considerations surrounding sustainability, evidence was sought of the significance of cycling as a sustainable transport and tourism form which is resourced and promoted within West Lindsey District Council.

CYCLING AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

The Principal Planning Officer highlighted that Lincolnshire County Council are responsible for the Local Transport Plan, suggesting that they “are trying to achieve an integrated approach to land use within the goal of sustainability and that explicitly stated policy should be about sustainable transport provision”. Within the context of these observations he identified that

cycling is identified as a good exemplar of policies for sustainable movement, which is clearly prominent in the Structure Plan, integrated with pedestrian movement. This incorporates a sustainable travel plan policy, which is county-wide, with the greatest benefit in urban areas.

The Principal Planning Officer also emphasised that cycling has the potential to feature as part of local sustainable indicators, in terms of the length of cycle routes within the local authority area. The interviewed political representative identified that cycling featured in the Local Transport Plan of the County Council (which has an overarching role of creating a strategy for transport development in West Lindsey District Council). It was suggested that a cycling network had emerged which linked rural and urban settlements, particularly with school routes in the main urban area of Gainsborough. The highlighted sustainability principles linked to cycling, were related to its capacity to give greater access to facilities
and services within urban settlements but there were no specific references to cycling providing greater mobility for rural communities within villages.

In his capacity as a County Councillor, he had been party to discussions with Sustrans on the designation of the route of the Hull to Harwich long distance cycle way in the County of Lincolnshire, and in the District of West Lindsey, and indicated that there had been Conservative party opposition to the development of cycle paths in Lincolnshire (because of the resource implications). On a District level he supported the leisure and tourism applications of cycling, suggesting that “the opportunities are superb around here with particular attractions such as churches that you can go and see without using a car and it is possible to cycle to a nice village, have a pub lunch and cycle somewhere else”. The potential for further tourism applications for cycling, and the association with the principles of sustainability are discussed within the next section.

CYCLE TOURISM AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

When questioned about the significance of cycle tourism within West Lindsey, the interviewed Planning Officer suggested that “cycle tourism does impact on planning priorities of identifying quiet ‘Greenways’ and prioritising cycle use on highways and junctions”. He indicated that Sustrans have had a prominent role in creating routes for cyclists with a supporting infrastructure of accommodation and pubs, and whilst there might be “more cycle tourists impacting on quiet isolated areas, there is a social payoff with people enjoying themselves”.

The interviewed Tourism Officer acknowledged that cycling initiatives have emerged in part, through the inception of the Sustrans’ National Cycle Network, with its designated long distance Hull to Harwich route in the District, influencing additional cycle route infrastructure, with supporting amenities of “accommodation, pubs and refreshment stops”. As a prelude to these developments, in July 1996, West Lindsey District Council commissioned Sustrans to compile a report on the potential for cycling development within the District.
"The National Cycle Network West Lindsey Cycling Study, 1996", recognised the potential for utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling, suggesting that the "report is very positive about the potential in West Lindsey for the development of cycling, with benefits for all its communities". The report identified a previous Local Authority Circular 2/96 (30 April 1986), which positioned cycling as an alternative to car usage in the local authority District. In addition to recognising the potential for utilitarian based cycling development, it was anticipated that leisure and tourism based cycling could take advantage of the labyrinth of the "quiet network of lanes" linking towns and villages. This was viewed as an ideal cycling infrastructure, which could create a number of cycle routes dove-tailed into the Sustrans long distance route network. The report stated that

West Lindsey is well positioned to derive an appreciable income from the proximity of the National Cycle Network. By publishing "regional" routes, West Lindsey District Council can encourage long distance cycle tourists to spend a few days exploring the area, so increasing the income of the District (1996:6).

The report also recognised the role of the Local Plan in promoting sustainable transport forms, such as cycling, with potential community benefit. The interviewed Tourism Officer highlighted the community dimension of cycling within the District, indicating that

we have had a public meeting based on the National Cycle Route in Market Rasen. We invited cycle clubs and representative groups, attended by 30-40 people who were very supportive, with constructive feedback and practical suggestions on local routes. We wanted to determine how far cycling could provide the focal point for community initiatives such as cycle hire.

This public meeting was viewed as evidence of the "acceptance of cycling in Market Rasen" at a community level. Initiatives had been advanced through a Planning Officer in the local authority, with the creation of a Community Transport Plan, which established cycle routes for commuters, and 12 'core' recreational cycle routes in the District which are linked to the village tourism initiative. Incorporated within this route development was the launch of a 'Sights on Bikes' initiative, linking cycle routes through various villages, churches and other attractions alongside a waterways initiative.

This 'strategy' "looked at what settlements have in common, in terms of linking pontoons in villages, and provided added value to the boaters that come in, so the key to village tourism
is to provide the link to the water and cycling. So that is how these initiatives link together”. The interviewed Tourism Officer highlighted the potential for community based cycling initiatives which had achieved an endorsement through the creation of a community Transport Plan. In adopting a strategy of village based tourism, cycling was viewed as an ideal integrating element for other tourism initiatives.

9.4 POLICY SYNTHESIS. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS ON THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

In applying a synthesis of policy models and particularly applying a ‘bottom-up’ critique of local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993) in contrast to ‘top-down’ approaches (Ham and Hill, 1984), there is a question in the absence of the appointment of a specific LA21 Officer whether West Lindsey District Council has the capacity to operationalise the principles of sustainability within community-orientated policy development and delivery.

There was some concern expressed by the Deputy Chief Executive that Central Government is imposing many ‘standardised’ policy initiatives on local authorities, which small rural local authorities, such as West Lindsey, find it hard to respond to. This explains the pragmatic approach adopted to policy development for sustainability, and the targeting of finite resources on mandatory initiatives such as Best Value, rather than the discretionary status of LA21. With no caucus of one dominant political group, there tends to be a policy vacuum in terms of a political strategic plan.

The interviewed political representative endorsed the environmental interpretation of sustainability that was communicated by the Deputy Chief Executive, and the political response to sustainability occurring at committee level, with all submitted reports scrutinised for their environmental implications. However, he felt that with the lack of political strategic planning and opposition to the principles of sustainability by the local Conservative Party, political support for the principles of sustainability within service delivery was not particularly evident. In his capacity as the Deputy Chief Executive, with a ‘holding role for LA21, he is a ‘high ranking officer’, who has provided a corporate overview of sustainability within West Lindsey District Council. His responses suggested a
pragmatic approach to LA21, preferring in the absence of statutory obligations, not to produce a LA21 strategy (or employ a designated officer), and to wait for the opportunity to incorporate policies for sustainability within future mandatory initiatives such as Best Value and Community Planning.

Nevertheless, he was aware of the policy implications of sustainability, and recognised that in the absence of corporate leadership, it was up to certain parts of the local authority to incorporate the principles of sustainability into their service delivery. The Deputy Chief Executive was very candid about the pragmatic approach adopted at a corporate level to incorporating principles of sustainability within local authority strategies and policies.

The inference is that sustainability is a 'resource challenge' for a "small rural local authority", which does not have the financial resources to appoint a specific LA21 Officer, and to promote sustainability through a specific LA21 strategy. Furthermore, the justification for this approach was also due to the discretionary nature of LA21, and consequently it did not feature as a key service priority.

However, the Deputy Chief Executive was cognisant of the mandatory status of Best Value and Community Planning, which he felt could promote the principles of sustainability, in a cost effective way. The service area of Planning appeared to have a heightened awareness of the broad application of the multi-dimensions of sustainability, and the interviewed Principal Planning Officer felt that he had inadvertently taken a 'corporate lead' in furthering the aims of sustainability, particularly in seeking out community involvement. What needs to be established in the absence of a corporate leadership and guidance to LA21, is how different service areas within West Lindsey District Council might have responded strategically to formulating and implementing policies for sustainability at the local level.

The Deputy Chief Executive indicated that until sustainability as a policy issue is incorporated strategically into Best Value and Community Planning, then it will develop in a piecemeal manner in the local authority. One consistent strategic response by all service areas to the issue of sustainability, is the corporate requirement that all submitted committee reports should have an environmental appraisal. The Principal Planning Officer highlighted
the headline policy (GI) as a strategic response to sustainability, based on the ‘spirit of the Brundtland report’. Both the Structure Plan and Local Plan had attempted to incorporate the principles of sustainability through Local Transport strategies which promoted sustainable forms of transport.

In terms of the strategic response of the Tourism Section, the interviewed Tourism Officer suggested that in the proposed Tourism Strategy, the policy focus of sustainability will “certainly be in there, but whether it will be embodied within broad principles at the beginning of the plan or in a section, I’m not sure”. Nevertheless, Tourism has developed a number of integrated initiatives which combine village-based tourism with linked signed cycling and waterway routes.

There was a mixed response to the creation of linkages with the local community, to develop the prospect of dialogue and actions for sustainability, which are a balance between local authority and community priorities. The Deputy Chief Executive indicated a willingness to move beyond “the traditional local provider” role, and to make service delivery more community responsive. In his view, Best Value and Community Planning would potentially provide the policy vehicle to advance initiatives on sustainability. The Deputy Chief Executive suggested that there was a strong rapport with village and town councils, and that the County Council initiative of Citizen’s panels, could determine the community response to policy issues.

It appeared that Planning as a service area had established an effective form of consultation with local communities, as part of the Local Plan process, although the interviewed Planning Officer acknowledged that it was difficult to establish a balance between community and local authority ‘planning visions’. In the absence of corporate encouragement, the service area of Tourism had started the process of community consultation with village communities, to integrate water-based tourism with cycling. The interviewed Tourism Officer suggested that the lack of a LA21 process had created a policy vacuum, which had held up the opportunity for community consultation related to sustainability. In particular the lack of community awareness of the concept of sustainable development and LA21 which emerged from the community interviews can be explained, in part, by the lack of an LA21 Officer or strategy.
The evidence from interviews with officers is that there was little dissemination of information on sustainability within the local authority from a corporate level, and certainly no attempts, pre-Best Value or Community Planning strategies, to communicate sustainability and LA21 issues to the wider community, let alone engage the ‘public’ in policy development for sustainability. At the corporate level there is a recognition of the benefits of collaborative working with a range of organisations and agencies, particularly within the developing policy process of Best Value, and within a regional policy forum for LA21.

There was additional evidence of the service area of Planning being particularly in tune with the wider National and Regional guidance related to the principles of sustainability, not only in land use issues but in developing sustainable transport forms, such as cycling and walking. The capacity for wider collaboration on sustainability was expressed through the service area of Tourism, which envisaged joint initiatives with a range of organisations in the Region, including Sustrans.

At a strategic level, cycling featured within the County Council Structure Plan, and within a Local Transport Plan, as an identified exemplar of sustainable movement within the district. The interviewed Planning Officer recognised the role of cycle tourism as a priority for the "quiet use of Greenways", and that elements such as increased length of cycle routes could be used as a form of sustainable indicator. The interviewed political representative also recognised the utilitarian, leisure and tourism applications of cycling within the district. Additionally, both he and the interviewed Tourism Officer, recognised the pivotal role of Sustrans in helping to develop cycling in the district. The commissioned Sustrans report (1996) had identified the scope for the creation of a cycling network, with Sustrans long distance routes acting as a catalyst in further network development.

It appears that the service area of Planning has, either through formal policy pronouncements or through community based environmental work, taken a lead in the promotion of sustainability within the local authority. The interviewed Principal Planning Officer highlighted the contradictory aspect of a politically ‘hung authority’ recognising the economic development potential of tourism, which might conflict with the environmental policy aspects of planning.
In the absence of a LA21 Officer and associated strategy, and the ‘surrogate LA21 Officer’ having not opened up a dialogue on sustainability within the local authority, separate departments have had to establish individual responses to sustainability. The interviewed Tourism Officer highlighted that “community planning is way behind schedule, and that LA21 is also way behind and not addressed as a policy issue”, suggesting incomplete communication channels, both within the local authority and into the wider community. This has precluded sustainability from emerging.

The Planning Service was viewed as a key part of the local authority which was advancing the goals of sustainability, and furthermore the Planning Service offered a more in-depth interpretation of the concept of sustainability. Not only did the interviewed Planning Officer identify the broad conceptual elements of sustainability, but he identified that the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability had been a mainstay of his work as a planner for a period of 25 years. Therefore the Local Plan was identified as a policy framework for advancing the principles of sustainability within development applications, and provided the opportunity for other organisations and agencies to implement the policies of the plan. This point was emphasised by the interviewed Planning Officer, who stressed that the Local Plan was essentially a vehicle for promoting policy formulation, rather than being an effective implementation tool. These insights are particularly apposite for the ‘policy cycle’ for the formulation and implementation of policies for sustainability within West Lindsey District Council.

Arguably, the local authority is at an embryonic stage of formulating policies for sustainability. At a corporate level there has been policy intent, to combine policies for sustainability within ‘mainstream’ service delivery through the policy processes of Best Value and Community Planning. It was anticipated that the Best Value process would include sustainability indicators, as part of the monitoring of service delivery. However, there was a paucity of evidence that sustainability as a policy issue had been communicated effectively within West Lindsey District Council, so that initiatives for sustainability were delivered in isolation to a corporate lead on sustainability. Whilst there were traditional channels of communication with parish and town councils in the district, the absence of a LA21 Officer proved to be barrier to the wider dissemination of information on
sustainability and negated the prospect of community participation on sustainability and the emergence of local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993; Holland, 2002).

This pragmatic approach to sustainability as a policy issue was further demonstrated by the non-submission of a LA21 strategy to Central Government by December 2000. The corporate scrutiny of non-statutory policy initiatives, focused on the resource implications, to the extent that the policy making process for sustainability can be characterised as a rationalistic approach to policy making. In West Lindsey, there is an absence of innovative or systemic approaches to policy making for sustainability, which incorporates a wide constituency of participation outside of the local authority policy making 'machine'. There is a 'top-down' approach and a 'Centralist' approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy making for sustainability. There is an assumption that Best Value would incorporate the policy priorities for sustainability which might have been incorporated with a LA21 policy process. The insights from community respondents from Market Rasen in November 2000, suggested that there was an onus on Best Value and Community Planning to create more effective channels of communication, both within the local authority and with the wider community in the future.

At a departmental level, the service area of Planning had not only incorporated the principles of sustainability within 'headline policies', but had demonstrated a capacity to engage in community-based consultation, as part of the process of creating the Local Plan. Furthermore, there was a distinct environmental focus to policies for sustainability and a local authority commitment to recycling, as a potential exemplar of environmental sustainability. Tourism as a service area recognised the benefits of establishing a dialogue with communities through village based tourism, which integrated initiatives for water-based activity, with leisure and tourist based cycling. Cycling was promoted by both the service areas of Planning and Tourism (and was endorsed by the interviewed political representative) as a sustainable transport form within the local authority area. The collaboration with Sustrans had led to the creation of a network of cycle routes throughout the district, including long distance Sustrans routes. In this sense, the political and officer support for cycling within the local authority suggested that cycling had the potential to be a
distinct transport and tourist form which could advance policies for sustainability within the local authority.
CHAPTER TEN: CASE STUDY THREE: KINGSTON-UPON-HULL CITY COUNCIL

10.0 INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the North Lincolnshire Council and West Lindsey District Council case studies, which provide insights into a semi-rural and rural local authority, Kingston-upon-Hull City Council (Hull City Council) case study reviews insights to the response of a largely urban local authority to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development and policy delivery.

10.1 PROFILE OF THE LOCAL AUTHORITY AREA

The local authority area of Kingston-upon-Hull encompasses the city of Hull and a rural hinterland, and is "well known as a maritime city with a unique combination of history, industrial business success, sporting history and cultural and artistic excellence" (Strategic Development of Tourism in Hull 1998-2001:5). Kingston-upon-Hull City Council gained unitary authority status in 1996 and has adopted a cabinet system of devolved local governance with 7 area committees and 20 council wards. Each area committee is supported by an area team of officers who are responsible for developing networks with local groups, including forums. The structure of the Directorate Structure of Kingston-upon-Hull City Council is outlined within Appendix Four.

The sequence of semi-structured interviews with Hull City Council actors and community actors are highlighted below overleaf, and as with the North Lincolnshire case study protocol, local authority actors were interviewed prior to community actors. Data from the interviews was combined with documentary analysis and scrutinised through the framework of themes and sub-themes.
Table 10.1 The sequence of interviews with case study actors in Hull

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Supporting information:</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Local Voice: Have Your</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Say on Local Matters</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(undated)</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Brooks</td>
<td>January 31, 2000</td>
<td>Local Agenda 21 Officer</td>
<td>No strategy at the</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>time of the interview</td>
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<tr>
<td>Andy Mayo</td>
<td>September 18, 2000</td>
<td>Transport and Cycling Officer</td>
<td>Kingston-upon-Hull</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Provisional Local</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Transport Plan, 1999</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kingston-upon-Hull</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Local Cycling Strategy, 2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barbara McNiven</td>
<td>October 18, 2000</td>
<td>Tourism and Marketing Officer</td>
<td>Kingston-upon-Hull</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>City Council Strategic</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Development of Tourism in Hull</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1998-2001</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cllr. Pat Doyle</td>
<td>November 29, 2000</td>
<td>Council Leader</td>
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10.2 A) LOCAL AUTHORITY RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.2.1 THEME ONE: CORPORATE POLITICAL AND OFFICER INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.2.1.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLITICIANS INTERPRET THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY?

Insights were sought into the potential political distinctiveness of a New Labour led local authority’s approach to resourcing sustainability as a policy priority. The interviewed political representative was the Leader of Hull City Council, operating within a cabinet system of local governance, who had symbolically become the Portfolio Holder for LA21, suggesting that he “took on this responsibility for that reason”, to communicate the importance of promoting the principles of sustainability within the local authority.

In terms of policy prioritisation of sustainability within the local authority, the interviewed the Leader of the Council had established a LA21 Task Group, which he indicated was an all party group “supposed to do an audit for ‘us’ and come up with and come through with a comprehensive policy, in other words translate some of these ideas into practical ‘hands on’ initiatives”. In his view this group had not adhered to its initial remit to investigate a ‘holistic approach’ to sustainability, and had at times become focused on single issues, “which lost sight of the bigger picture”. The main aspect of the political commitment to sustainability appeared to be a desire to translate the conceptual aspects of sustainability into operationalised policies.

In response to the question of the origins of sustainability as a policy issue within Hull City Council, the interviewed political representative responded by saying that sustainability as such goes back to the Rio Summit after which Kirklees and Leicester City Council established themselves as local authorities who put green issues right up front, and we began to take an interest round about that time. Then LA21 emerged, and the idea of taking the global level to the local level.
He indicated that the initial policy response to sustainability, in addition to being influenced by various local government organisations, was politically led by members. It has progressed as a policy priority through the Leader of the Council establishing a clear corporate policy focus for sustainability which highlighted that technically and in theory everything should be subject to sustainability, just as equal opportunity issues should drive through policy making. I cannot say 'hand on heart' this is always the case, but that is how it should be in theory.

In this respect, he communicated the political realism of achieving the balance between "having a political vision in mind for sustainability" and being able to respond practically with opportunities for initiatives, such as the development of a light railway system, "which was offered by national government".

In response to how members influence officers in advancing policy making for sustainability, the interviewed Leader of the Council identified that the LA21 Task Group had arrived at the conclusion that it was important to have a "dedicated officer without which there would be no focus (for sustainability)" and this had led to the employment of a LA21 Officer, and associated LA21 Team. The interviewed Leader of the Council indicated that the political representatives on the LA21 Task Group were currently responding to the question of "what sort of future and sustainable community do we want in 2005", prompting politicians to consider issues such as Education, Employment, and Community Safety and (Community) Capacity Building.

It was unknown whether this political commitment to sustainability was a distinct ideological commitment of New Labour, or whether it was a commitment shared by other parties within the local authority. On this issue he did not feel that there were different party political perspectives on sustainability within the local authority, but rather that individual councillors might have specific interests related to sustainability, such as cycling. He characterised the political response to sustainability as embracing such issues as "macro-purchasing and the disposal of waste and the encouragement of people to car share, and use of bicycles to cycle to work".
The LA21 Task Group also addressed the issue of introducing green fuels and electric vehicles, which had already been adopted by the Council in “reducing the reliance on vehicles which emit heavy pollutants”. Additionally, he indicated that even against a background of the financial restrictions associated with Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) the local authority had been instrumental in implementing a policy for mixed planting of “deciduous broad leafed trees, with natural vegetation and swaths of grass”. Wider initiatives for sustainability included the modification of a local ‘river’ system adjacent to an outer city housing estate, where a reed bed system had been introduced, along with the creation of a lake by Yorkshire Water, and the emergence of a community forest on the edge of Hull. He suggested that the combination of these initiatives have created additional wildlife and nature habitats, and by implication improvements in bio-diversity and “greening of the city at the minimum of cost”. These initiatives, along with efforts to persuade private developers to “protect natural habitats”, were viewed as “a change in mentality” and political thinking which signalling progress in terms of environmental sustainability but revealingly did not address wider sustainability principles.

LA21 OFFICER AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES OF SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed LA21 Officer’s perception of the politically constituted LA21 Task Group was that it has

basically got no authority but it will report to the Portfolio Holder for LA21 (who), ‘as it happens’, is the Leader of the Council. So if they make a decision that needs to be fed into the formal council system, then they will report that to the Leader, and he potentially will raise it in the cabinet.

He recognised the strategic and symbolic significance of the Leader of the Council as Portfolio Holder for sustainability “because we needed his authority really to promote sustainability”. However, he intimated that the Leader of the Council has to engage in a “political balancing act” as, “being a major supporter (of sustainability), he has obviously got a much wider remit. So at times, he has to look at other issues too”.

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In response to the question of particular service areas which have led the way in incorporating the principles of sustainability into policy formulation and service delivery, the interviewed Leader of the Council felt that

the dilemma is between the cost saving mentality which is still deep rooted with CCT, which meant that the only way to keep services was to cut costs during 18 years of Thatcherism. Even the new policy of Best Value, which includes green issues, is still about cutting costs.

As a corollary of this, he suggested that many service areas considered the cutting of energy costs as a main policy priority towards achieving environmental sustainability. In his view a barrier to successful implementation of principles of sustainability within policy making, was the inconsistent responses to sustainability with “changing public mood. For example, people are in favour of public transport, although people do not use it”. In terms of the public response to sustainability, and whether it would emerge as a local election issue, he suggested that the question of whether Hull should have a new waste incinerator would become an election issue.

10.2.1.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO OFFICERS RESPOND CORPORATELY TO THE CONCEPT SUSTAINABILITY?

Insights were sought on the status of sustainability as a policy priority within Hull City Council and how it had responded strategically to positioning the principles of sustainability within policy making processes. LA21 had been given corporate ‘clout’ with the interviewed LA21 Officer (a former Environmental Chief Officer within this local authority) being positioned within the Strategy Management Group. This is part of the Chief Executives Department, reflecting the corporate commitment to sustainability as a key policy priority. This, combined with the Leader of the Council being the Portfolio Holder for sustainability within the cabinet system of local governance (and having sanctioned the creation of a ‘member’ constituted LA21 Task Group), provided compelling evidence of a joint political and officer corporate commitment to sustainability.

In highlighting the conceptual origins of sustainability guiding corporate policy responses in this authority, the interviewed LA21 Officer identified sustainability as, “very much sort of
meeting people's needs of the moment, whilst making sure that we do not compromise service delivery and opportunities for the future. It is a sort of "Brundtland sort of angle" adding that "the futurity issue (which) is fundamentally important, but it is easier said than done really".

He emphasised that dimensions of sustainability should be "across the board, including economic, social, environmental issues and that there are departments, say Highways, where there is a focus, but that is promoted within the department themselves". He highlighted some distinct responses to sustainability, with departments taking their own lead. Examples included by "the Local Transport Plan, and how sustainability had been built into it".

Another policy response was where the corporate political influence of LA21 had been instrumental in modifying the actions of departments, for example on the issue of changing practices on fuel procurement. The interviewed LA21 Officer suggested that

may be we are challenging departments to move ahead, and so we can be seen to be stimulating policy development and the incorporation of sustainability issues, and there is probably a lot of ranges in between.

Additionally, he suggested that the development of a community stadium, where consultants are looking at environmental impacts, and traffic impacts, is emblematic that "policy (for sustainability) develops in a range of different ways, partly dependent on the nature of issues and the people involved".

10.2.2 THEME TWO: INTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES AND POLICY NETWORKS FOR OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.2.2.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES LOCAL AGENDA 21 INFORM THE PROCESS OF INCORPORATING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN SERVICE DELIVERY?
Having established that Hull City Council has attempted to create a ‘corporate policy’ response to sustainability, evidence was sought as to how this was translated into strategic policies for sustainability from within particular service areas, and through the pivotal role of LA21 initiatives. The interviewed LA21 Officer (together with a team of two additional officers), positioned within the Chief Executives Department within a Strategic Management Group, “works alongside a whole range of policy managers working on things like social inclusion, Best value, Community Safety, a Community Plan and so on”. He indicated that

having said that we need to be aware that our strategies develop in a complementary way, at the moment things are relatively isolated in the ‘LA21 area’, with the fundamental objective of producing a strategy by the end of this year, and then the priority is to move on to sub-objectives of working on different service areas.

In the 18 months that the LA21 Officer has been in post, he admitted that he had been “blown off course from the strategy, by some of the service issues that have cropped up”, which “include Genetically Modified food, energy issues such as gas and vehicle fuels, (and) we are a member of the group of Nuclear Free Local Authorities, which crops up from time to time with North Sea and regional issues”. In response to whether LA21 is one of a number of competing issues within the Strategic Management Group, the interviewed LA21 Officer, suggested that

potentially all (their work includes) LA21 issues, and that it is not a case of competing with other policy managers, but its how I feed into the service departments really, and how I can influence them. But some of these issues can take a huge amount of time and some of these issues never come to a conclusion, so it can be quite sapping really on these resources.

In terms of the implementation of policy initiatives for sustainability across a range of service areas, the LA21 Officer suggested that he would like to see

the various service managers as having responsibility for incorporating sustainability within their particular professional (service) areas, so the Highways, Engineers or Waste Management Officers or whatever, and I would see them as being the ‘first line of attack’, and certainly their strategies would be the documents that would incorporate sustainability.
In the context of these comments, the LA21 Officer identified his role as “partly a facilitator, partly maybe someone to scrutinise and question, and to give a certain amount of guidance. I mean in a perfect world I would not be here and they would just do it all automatically”. He reflected on his scope to influence departments in the integration of the principles of sustainability into policy areas, and given the size of the local authority. He highlighted that sustainability is seen to be a way forward, and because we are a huge authority, there is no way anyway that you can have one person who is the Sustainability Officer. I mean, although I suppose I fulfil that role, mine is a corporate angle, and a co-ordinator.

The interviewed LA21 Officer was cognisant of the issue of challenging policy inertia towards sustainability and associated policy initiatives, citing the example of E-MAS and LA-EMAS “which was pursued vigorously for 2-4 years, and we had some external consultancy to try and move it forward”. However, he indicated that it proved to be a problematical process, stating that in our experience it was so bureaucratic and resource intensive, and also not an easy concept to understand, progress was incredibly slow and I don’t think people found it a very comfortable process to go through. I cannot imagine repeating it, if we were to do anything like that again, I would see it coming from within the departments as part of their management process. E-MAS, as it was done before, was extra and bolted on, and that was one of the failings of it as well. I think that departments need to buy in expert help and maybe develop it in areas where it has got sympathetic officers.

He added, “I think that it has got a role to play, but its just so long a process” and identified that policies for Best Value were still in a transitional phase, and presented a similar challenge for officers similar to the implementation of E-MAS/LA-EMAS. He suggested that Best Value required a whole set of new rules which are resource intensive and maybe with one or two of the E-MAS problems associated. It is not necessarily the sort of thing that people enjoying doing, and it is almost a step possibly too far at the moment. I know we had Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) and so on, but equally Best Value is more challenging, and I think there are a lot of difficulties just easing it through the early years and getting people confident that they have got some control of the outcomes. You will probably gather that I am a bit sceptical about it, but certainly I see it as being a strong tool to promote sustainability, whether the sort of the
environment surrounding it allows that come through as strongly as it might, I wonder.

These comments had wider resonance in terms of how departments might implement the principles of sustainability. In highlighting additional internal obstacles to successfully implementing the principles of sustainability within policy making processes he suggested that

lack of knowledge is one of them, (where) people are working within old systems, where they have felt for example finance was their main constraint, so for arguments sake, if sustainable outcome was going to cost more, they at the moment they would choose the cheaper option, rather than ask the Council what their preference would be. The classic case in energy efficiency is the problem of having a fairly high capital outlay with a fairly slow revenue payback, which had held back new approaches to energy purchasing based on sustainability options.

The interviewed LA21 Officer identified policy inertia in departments in 'working towards sustainability', and that these could be addressed by the political scrutiny of the LA21 Task Group, in addition to the influence of the LA21 Team. This was demonstrated by the statement that

there can be quite direct challenges I suppose. I answer to a LA21 Task Group which is a group of 8 elected members, they in part see themselves as having a scrutiny type role, and although some of the subject areas are fairly ad hoc, they will invite people into meetings and ask them to explain what they are doing, and question as to why that is, how it is, and there are a range of issues that sort of develop.

The combination of the creation of the politically constituted LA21 Task Group and the LA21 Officer and Team, demonstrated that the local authority had responded positively to create the structural arrangements for assimilating sustainability principles within policy development. The next section determines the extent to which these structural arrangements have contributed to the wider dissemination of these sustainability principles in service areas within the local authority.
Beyond identifying both a corporate commitment and individual departmental strategic response to policies for sustainability, insights were sought into the organisational linkages between departments, in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy making processes. This required the location of 'functioning' communication channels between departments, with shared policy innovations and initiatives for sustainability.

LA21 AND SUSTAINABILITY

The LA21 Officer and his team’s response to creating communication channels to disseminate information on sustainability was to be initiated through an internal training programme that is about to commence in a couple of months, and will target probably a hundred key staff in the authority, but until then, apart from training which is given to elected members and Chief Officers, training has not been formal. But there has been input into specific departments on specific issues.

Nevertheless, he highlighted that this has not been totally straight forward, and has tended to use more technical arguments as to what is the sustainable solution, if you want to call it that. So certainly on the gas vehicle fuels, these days state of the art diesel vehicles are producing pretty good emissions, and again probably purchasing is an area where it is not all straight forward as to which the appropriate choice is, but a lot people and it includes people from Open Spaces Management, Highways, Waste Management, are supportive and relatively are well on board, and we are learning and we have not got ‘there,’ and with technology changing all the time, its always going be a moving agenda really.

The dominant theme to emerge from this pronouncement from the LA21 Officer was that the interpretation of the principles of sustainability within the local authority was almost exclusively directed towards environmental issues. This might be partly explained by the
LA21 Officer being a former Chief Environmental Officer and that ‘technical solutions’ for sustainability were viewed to be exclusively within an environmental domain.

In response to the question of the capacity of LA21 to stimulate departments to work in new and innovative ways beyond “traditional service delivery” the interviewed LA21 Officer suggested that

I think that it can do it. It may mean that there are solutions that might be implemented that nobody would have dreamt of doing, quite a short time ago, perhaps as recently as 5 years ago. We are beginning to get an example in departments, that they are purchasing green energy, even though it is more expensive than (traditional fuels). In previous times those decisions would have been judged on price, and I think that there is an increasing realisation locally that there is a need to adopt good practice even though it might not be the cheaper option. So I think that there are quite a number of issues that might change the priorities for decision making.

The issue of ‘cost accounting’ became a recurrent theme in responses from the political respondent and the LA21 Officer, in the sense that assimilating sustainability principles within service delivery, was viewed as creating a resource burden that could not be absorbed by individual departments.

PLANNING AND SUSTAINABILITY

There was evidence of emerging communication channels between the LA21 Officer and the Planning Service, with the LA21 Officer sending information related to the creation of a LA21 strategy, for ‘Planning’ to comment on. The interviewed Planning Officer viewed the work of the LA21 Team pragmatically, suggesting that

what they are doing is such a vast job really, it is the sort of thing that if you get too detailed and too involved in it, you never get anything produced. I suppose that you need to get some kind of balance or tone.

Another interviewed Planning Officer suggested that other service areas had “traditionally gone their own way on strategies, and in particular Tourism and Economic Development have really developed their own strategies without a great deal of reference to planning”. Although this interviewed Planning Officer suggested that there is a chapter on Tourism
within the Local Plan, this had not been scrutinised for references to sustainability. He therefore concluded that an overall co-ordinating role for sustainability is needed really, having to draw on things like Tourism and Economic Development, because they are economically driven and where social and environmental concerns do not come into them directly. But now I think they are having to take on board sustainability and environmental issues, which I don't think that they did in the past.

He contrasted this with the service area of Transport, which he felt “is quite different, partly because for some time Planning and Transportation have been linked in one Department, and the officers have always worked closely together”. This interviewed Planning Officer added that “a lot of the ideas about sustainability and transportation date back from the early 1990s, when the emphasis shifted from catering for the car, to developing alternatives, including cycling”.

His colleague, the Planning Policy and Information Officer, felt that Planning as a service area has more of an overview of issues like sustainability than other service areas within the local authority, because in particular, it has to co-ordinate different aspects of land use, which he felt addresses the environmental dimension of sustainability, as well as wider aspects. He indicated that sustainability is an issue that “is at the centre of local government, rather than something which is shoved on one department, which is what most local authorities have done”.

He suggested that the aims and objectives of the Local Plan reflect “changing corporate objectives and changing national priorities”, with national political changes post-1997 responding to “the notion of joined-up government and the emergence of the definition of social initiatives”. The interviewed Planning Policy and Information Officer felt that “there was shift away throughout the 1990s, from a non-planning approach, towards a recognition that development needed to be led by environmental plans and strategies, and a move from a free market approach, to planning”.

He identified that some of the challenges of policy making for sustainability, which are addressed within the Local Plan, are “urban renaissance, to restrict population drift and
restrain development pressures outside of the city". He also highlighted that the Local Plan (and other plans)

are not implemented in the sense that they 'gather weight' as they go through the process, in other words a draft plan which has not been through a convoluted inquiry still has some 'weight' because it represents the local authority’s aspirations.

TOURISM AND SUSTAINABILITY

On the issue of sustainability and the service area of Tourism, the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer emphasised that "(she was) aware of the need to have responsibility for what (the LA21 Officer) is doing and (the) need to work closely with all the relevant organisations to achieve sustainability". She added that "its just a question of how it is achieved". The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer acknowledged that she had had a meeting with the LA21 team, basically just to 'touch base', as I did not know what they were doing. They have become more involved as things evolve and I intend to pass these draft (sustainability) indicators on to them, although they have no real experience of tourism at all. A lot of their work is do with energy saving and more to do with recycling and some of the bigger issues, and we have agreed to keep in touch and consult each other, so when I get to know more about this I will discuss the draft tourism strategy with the LA21 Officer.

Additionally, she suggested that the LA21 Team had “agreed to do an audit of our office to see if there is anyway that we can key into the recycling initiatives”. Potential LA21 intervention was viewed as adding to existing ‘environmental’ initiatives, such as providing bio-degradable carrier bags. The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer indicated that “German tourists will not take carrier bags unless they are bio-degradable”. The English Tourism Council have also encouraged the Tourism service to introduce a system of green audit kits for accommodation providers in the Hull area.

Importantly, on the theme of sustainability, the English Tourism Council, in conjunction with the Department of Culture Media and Sport, had identified Hull as a pilot local authority to develop sustainability indicators. The significance of this pilot project was that it was anticipated that Hull would combine a ‘menu’ of local indicators with nationally determined sustainable tourism indicators, and in the process would provide a potential
framework to monitor policies underpinned by the principles of sustainability. This at least offered the prospect that the future work of the service area of Tourism would be underpinned by the principles of sustainability. However, what was less clear was how local community orientated indicators might emerge within this pilot project.

The Tourism and Marketing Officer also highlighted that the current Tourism Strategy (which was in the process of being superseded by a new strategy) promoted community-based events to attract tourists, with priorities for “continuing with partnerships, maintaining quality, branding Hull as a top ten city to visit, developing tourism products, and sustaining work and protecting the future”. Although the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer described this last objective as “a bit weak and woolly”, this was interpreted as “managing the local environment to minimise the impacts of traffic and to encourage the use of cycling”. This commitment to cycling was further exemplified by the Tourism and Marketing Officer in conjunction with the Cycling Officer, annually attending overseas travel trade shows in Belgium and the Netherlands to promote Hull as destination for cycle tourism.

THE LOCAL TRANSPORT PLAN-CYCLING AND SUSTAINABILITY

Embodied within the Local Cycling Strategy (2000) is a policy commitment to sustainability, with ‘Policy Objective 1’ highlighting that an increase in cycle use could “improve mobility and provide more sustainable travel choices” and ensure that policies to increase cycling are fully integrated into all areas of Council activity, including the Local Transport Plan and environmental, Local Agenda 21/sustainability, education, health, leisure and social inclusion strategies (‘Policy Objective 3’- 2000:6).

The interviewed Cycling Officer demonstrated that he and colleagues had taken a lead on recognising the strategic importance of incorporating the principles of sustainability into outlined policies for cycling. He suggested that he is consulted fairly widely. For example, all planning applications come through me and I mean a lot of the ‘planning gain’ is done by our own planning procedures. The Council identifies that we could ask the developer to put in a 50 metre length of cycle track, and link it with an existing route and just put a planning condition on that and get it through that way.
The implementation of a cycle network for utilitarian, leisure and tourism use is underpinned by the principles of sustainability in terms of improving access and mobility for people without a car. However, the interviewed Cycling Officer suggested that this policy issue, related to operationalising the principles of sustainability, emerged within the Local Cycling Strategy, as "the LA21 (Team) have not actually published their strategy yet, so they are still working on it". He acknowledged however that the task of the LA21 Team is to integrate what they are doing into absolutely every activity that the Council performs, which is a huge task and I think that they sort of realise that we are well down the line of promoting and developing sustainable transport, and that they do have an input into the Local Transport Plan. The policies that are running through the Cycling Strategy, are the very same ones that are running through the LA21 strategy, on sustainable transport.

He also indicated that the Local Transport Plan has a section on LA21, which includes references to aspects of sustainability, incorporating Education, Health, Leisure and Social Inclusion. Furthermore, the LA21 Team have worked with the Transport Section on a Green Travel Initiative promoted by the Government "to make employers look at the travel habits of employees within the local authority, and employers within the city of Hull looking at offering public transport subsidies as an incentive, and central to this initiative was the use of the bicycle".

10.2.3 THEME THREE: EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION PROCESSES, POLICY NETWORKS AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.2.3.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COMMUNICATE AND COLLABORATE WITH COMMUNITY GROUPS IN OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

In addition to expressing a political and corporate commitment to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy making processes, Hull City Council had started to create communication channels between different departments to promote these principles.
With an expectation that LA21 would play a pivotal role in creating local authority and community linkages, the interviewed LA21 Officer suggested that

the community side is not well developed at the moment, although it is better than it has been for a long time. Up until relatively recently I would have described us as a sort of paternalistic authority probably with relatively limited links with the community, except in one or two sort of exceptional cases.

However, he did acknowledge that changes in Council structures, which reflect national and local agendas for more effective community involvement, create the potential for greater participation in policy making processes. These changes were characterised as “the Council moving onto a cabinet system, and has got 7 area committees, and beneath the area committees are varying numbers of ward forums. Some of them have got 20 forums and some of them have got one per ward”. Nevertheless, he suggested that even within these structural changes there is a huge capacity building problem with people not always know(ing) how to contribute, with the general social circumstances of Hull, which is relatively poor, and there is a long way to go. But the signs are right anyway, I mean there is genuine commitment, but what will be produced is quite modest I would have thought in the near future.

These comments were contrasted with what he perceived to be an effective officer infrastructure, with area committees supported by community workers and area co-ordinators, who have the capacity to support local issues. He indicated that it might be certain highway issues, it might be street lighting, it might be some of the school issues. Really anything that has got a local focus. I mean, refuse collection and so on has been an issue, rather than any particular department that has featured strongly.

Furthermore, he suggested that this area officer infrastructure had the potential to facilitate community involvement, and the opportunity “to set up the meetings when the various departments would feed into the process”. The concept of area co-ordinators had emerged from housing personnel who traditionally have been responsible for ‘managing’ council housing areas.
The interviewed Planning, Policy and Information Officer identified that within the “long process” of ‘creating’ the Local Plan, there is receptiveness to community input. However, he acknowledged that “there is an element of those people who understand the system, who are best at participating in it, and can benefit from it, and we have got to find better ways of involving people”. Similar to the LA21 process, he identified that potential modifications in this process could make it more ‘community receptive’. He felt that this process was underway with “the Council chang(ing)its own practices from old style governance towards area governance, devolved budgets. So I think there are changes anyway towards opportunities for people to participate in local planning”. These observations suggest that the structures are emerging to involve local people in policy making processes for planning, which might be transferable to policymaking for sustainability. Nevertheless, there was still the issue of community capacity building, and the fact that some parts of the community are better able to engage with the local authority.

These comments were supported by the fact that there were 2000 objections from the local community to the policy proposals advanced in the Local Plan, with the suggestion that “some commentators would say that when you strip it all away, the people who really benefit are the educated, professional interest groups with both commercial and special interest groups”. However, despite attempts to stimulate community representation through ‘presentations’ in local shopping malls, and local media outlets of radio and newspapers to communicate summaries of the Local Plan, with 2000 objections from residents, commercial interests and single interest groups, he felt that the process had involved “not so much talking to communities but to interest groups”. The ‘Local Plan team’ were innovative in communicating with ward councillors within Hull City Council’s seven area committees, suggesting that; “we wrote our version (of the Local Plan) for each ward. I mean there are 20 wards in Hull, with 3 members per ward. I was not particularly happy with this because we wanted members to see the big picture”. In line with the LA21 characterisation of the paternalistic political culture of Hull, he suggested that “not unlike other Northern cities, there is a dependency culture and the Council ‘knows best’ mentality".
TRANSPORT AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The interviewed Cycling Officer identified effective communication channels between local community groups and the local authority, in the formulation of policies on cycling, particularly through the process of formulating the Local Cycling Strategy. The interviewed Cycling Officer suggested that there is a Cycle Forum which meets every 3 months and he sits down with members of the Cycling Touring Club (CTC), Hull Cycle Campaign, British Cycling Federation and the Cycling Officer for East Riding, and go through the issues of the day and they have had quite an input into the development of a Local Cycling Strategy. For example, I would give them a copy of the Local Cycle Map and they would go away and have their regular meetings and come back with their ideas and suggestions as to what they would see as their ideal cycle network. This has been a very useful exercise and we have got some good information and ideas from them.

Additionally, he highlighted that the local authority had utilised 300 hundred cycles from the police which have been stolen and not reclaimed, and they have set up New Deal employees to refurbish them, and they have actually got the bikes and doing the work, and the next stage is to get to release them out to the community. That is where we have to more work, to find out who is going to get the bikes and how it is going to be managed.

This was viewed as an example of the local authority moving away from a service led structure, to more community based structures, which take advantage of 7 area based committees to promote cycling in local communities. This type of initiative had been enhanced by the sale of 40,000 cycle maps of Hull, produced through the Transport Section. The interviewed Cycling Officer acknowledged the importance of giving people a say in what is going on, but in terms of actually implementing a strategic network this does not necessarily make it easier for officers, if you get one person who does not particularly like an idea.

He indicated that in 1996 local cycle groups gave us lots of grief over not doing enough for cycling, ignoring the needs of cyclists and so on, and they have realised they can have quite a big input into what we do. We have taken on board a lot of the suggestions and now they have realised that we have actually funded these things and have built on them.
He emphasised that the community response to cycling is not always positive because "the problem with cycling facilities is that you are not necessarily putting them in to benefit people who live next to them, so if it is inconveniencing their parking situation it is very difficult to sell it to them". He provided evidence that policies for cycling in Hull were formulated in conjunction with local community representatives and further evidence of this collaboration is provided in 10.6.

**POLITICAL PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT**

In response to the question of whether sustainability issues have started to emerge 'through a community voice', the interviewed Leader of the Council suggested that

we are at an early stage, and this is what we are working on at the moment through the Community Plan. We are asking people all sorts of questions (10% of people in each ward will be surveyed), getting a better feel for whether public opinion does vary from area to area and what the top priorities are.

He suggested that it is important that "LA21 questions" are not missed out of these surveys in determining priorities for sustainability, but that the Community Plan might well address similar issues, in terms of questions of public transport, litter and rubbish collection. He highlighted the ability of LA21 to operationalise sustainability at a community level with "neighbourhood forums which provide an opportunity for people to talk together, and this has come into place with the driver of the Community Plan". The complexity of local authority and community engagement was epitomised in his response of

neighbourhood forums being overwhelmed by activists with single issues ('with a chip on their shoulders') contrasted with a consensus emerging on the key issues. This is an extension of a 'citizens jury' format which has been operating in other parts of Hull, and which provides the opportunity for people at a local level to find solutions to problems such as derelict flats on outer estates.

He suggested that this replaces the "old paternalistic style of 'we know better than you lot", approach of local government.

A recurring theme that emerged from all interviewees was the question of community capacity building, which the interviewed Leader of the Council suggested was required to
address "low morale and self-esteem amongst the people of Hull". He identified the linkage with "a sustainable community (which) needs to be one that is better educated and which respects learning", adding that "I do not think that our society does get down to the big issues at all, and if you are going to make progress at all, there needs a new framework and new forms of thinking".

Therefore in terms of being able to submit a document (LA21 Strategy) to central government by December 2000, which addresses community aspirations, he felt that it should be "in a simple form. Its got to be aspirational, its got to be workable and do-able and not try to do 'fancy' things which you are not going to achieve in the short term, and to do simple things such as public transport and insulation".

TOURISM AND COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer identified the role of a Community Brand Manager (who works for City Vision which is a joint commercial and City Council initiative) who is responsible for "drawing the local community into the decision making process in everything". The focus of the work is on regeneration and projects such as the creation of light railway system for the city of Hull, discussed by the interviewed Leader of the Council.

Additionally, through New Deal funding, the service area of Tourism has created a community based 'ambassador scheme' (using the Hull Tourism Business Network) which provides training for organisations working with tourists, but has also set up a community guide system to welcome tourists to the city. Whilst the service of Tourism had started to consider the incorporation of sustainability indicators as an element of their work, this did not extend to community linkages specifically related to the policy issue of sustainability.
10.2.3.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DOES THE LOCAL AUTHORITY COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL AND REGIONAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY?

In questioning local authority respondents within Hull City Council on the origins and evolution of policies for sustainability, respondents alluded to a range of national and regional influences in the policy making process for sustainability. Therefore, in addition to identifying the local authority response to the policy sustainability at a corporate and departmental level, and also recognising linkages with local communities, insights were sought as to the input of ‘external’ organisations and agencies in the policy making for sustainability.

On the issue of National influences, the interviewed LA21 Officer indicated that the local authority early actions on sustainability were government inspired, with sustainability having been written into so much of the bidding guidance of the various strategy issues, and with the Prime Minister wanting the strategy by the end of the year and so I think the Council recognise that we couldn’t ignore it any longer.

Likewise, in terms of the Regional level, he indicated that Hull City Council is part of a Regional network of local authorities who discuss the issue of sustainability, stating that: We have a regional forum. In fact their next meeting in York in February which is addressing both Best Value and LA21. I think they recognised that they should be developed in a complementary way.

The interviewed Planning, Policy and Information Officer highlighted the importance of Regional Planning Guidance to the planning process locally, and that there had been a sustainability appraisal of Draft Regional Planning Guidance. Pursuing this theme, a second interviewed Planning Officer emphasised that the Regional Plan is one of the first plans based on sustainable development, and is very much a centre of it, which has taken over in recent years from the environment, and has become a lot more central, rather than something which has been tagged onto the plan.
He felt that these changes were in part a result of the influence of the Government's National Sustainable Development Strategy (1998) and that there was a realisation that "things are related together, instead of the narrow environmental focus". Although there might be different time scales employed for the planning process at a Regional and Local Planning level, the two interviewed Planning Officers felt that Regional Planning has a role to play in underpinning local planning strategies with the principles of sustainability.

The interviewed Planning, Policy and Information Officer related service definitions of sustainability to the "Brundtland definition", but he recognised the national objectives for sustainability which "incorporate aspects such as intra and inter-generational equity, and needed to be operationalised through joined-up thinking approaches to policy initiatives such as neighbourhood renewal". He added that he felt that National Government was looking to local authorities for "leadership on sustainability" to "underpin planning credibility". He felt that there was scope particularly to seek guidance on sustainability indicators from Central Government, but that "not only planning documents but all sorts of strategies should be looked at in terms of sustainability". He added that "in common with a lot of local authorities, most of your time is concentrated on keeping up to date and getting plans out and that evaluation tends to be left as a paragraph at the end of the plan".

The interviewed Cycling Officer identified linkages with other Regional networks of Cycling Officers, highlighting that

there is a local authority planning group, which is a national organisation and brings together Cycling Officers from all the different local authorities, once sometimes or twice a year for a conference and locally it tends to be more informal. We ring each other up more frequently. I know the Cycling Officer at North East Lincolnshire, and one at the East Riding of Yorkshire, and we are in fairly regular contact, but that is more of an informal arrangement.

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer highlighted that the first part of the process of creating a Tourism Strategy would involve her and her line manager "sitting down to draft the next tourism strategy together to go out to consultation with the Tourism Business Tourism Network and all the directorates within the Council".
In addition to creating a strategy in line with the corporate strategy of the City Council, the Regional Yorkshire and Humberside Tourist Board strategy (in conjunction with the National Department of Culture Media and Sport (DCMS) strategy) would provide a policy framework to base the strategy on. The Tourism and Marketing Officer added that, “If everyone has done their work properly, all the strategies will key into each other (including the Yorkshire Tourist Board)

10.2.4 THEME FOUR: POLICY INNOVATION AND THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.2.4.1 SUB-THEME: HOW DO POLICIES FOR CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM OPERATIONALISE THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL?

Within corporate and departmental responses to operationalising the principles of sustainability within the policies of service areas, Cycling emerged as an alternative form of transport to the motorcar for local people, and also as a distinctive form of tourism for visitors. It was seen as exemplifying environmental dimensions of sustainability, with social benefits. This section explicitly explores policy innovations related to cycling within the different service areas and with communities and external organisations.

CYCLING AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed Cycling Officer who worked within the City Council’s Regeneration and Development Directorate, identified his three main roles as “to identify, design and manage a programme of work of approved facilities for cyclists; secondly (to) integrat(e) cycling into all areas of the Council’s work, and thirdly promot(e) cycling as a healthy and a sustainable form of transport”. Cycling was viewed as an important part of a sustainable transport system and within a ‘Transport User Hierarchy’, cycling was positioned “second in the hierarchy after pedestrians and those with restricted mobility” (Local Cycling Strategy Document, 2000:2). Similar to the Local Cycling Strategy formulated by North Lincolnshire Council, Hull City Council had adopted the template of the National Cycling Strategy, 1996.
This policy framework is based on policies related to creating (engineering) a cycle infrastructure, encouraging cycle use (with associated educational policies), with associated enforcement measures and procedures to monitor and review the progress of the implementation of these policies.

Another important element of the Local Cycling Strategy was to attract appropriate levels of funding to develop cycling facilities and infrastructure, with the interviewed Cycling Officer stating that he had been successful in attracting a good level of government funding which has created the physical infrastructure for cycling, and the next stage is to spend more and more of my resources promoting it and getting people (within the local authority and community) out of their cars and using their bikes more.

Having been in post since 1996, which coincided with the launch of the National Cycling Strategy, he was in a position to recognise the changes in the way local authorities have addressed cycling post-1996, suggesting that "(cycling) was taken seriously after a long time of cycling being in decline". Within Hull City Council, policy initiatives for cycling form part of a Local Transport Plan, which is the basis of local transport bids for a 5 year period, viewed as providing a more strategic approach to transport planning and replacing the established convention of annual funding bids. These bids focussed on "integrating a range of transport forms based on reducing car use, and (which) reflects the significance of cycling in Hull".

The Local Transport Plan was created by a transport policy group (a group of officers within the Regeneration and Development Directorate) who liaise with other Council departments and external bodies to "put together funding bids to central government". Within the context of a Local Transport Plan the interviewed Cycling Officer has had a pivotal role in creating a Local Cycling Strategy, identifying that this Strategy has gained political support, and "went to the cabinet for approval and it also went before the final group. It also went to the neighbourhood committees for their consultation and comments".

A key objective within the Local Cycling Strategy is to increase utilitarian and other forms of cycle use within the local authority area, and encourage a shift away from private car use
to alternative transport modes such as cycling ('Policy Objective 2,' 2000:6). In line with the objectives of the National Cycle Strategy, the interviewed Cycling Officer sought to "minimise the adverse effects of transport on the environment, and provide more sustainable travel choice and reduce congestion". He identified that cycling

has got to be one of the most sustainable forms of transport. In theory, if everybody cycled, the consequences would be having more space to park, and the consequences of every single person driving a car are just unthinkable. It just wouldn't happen, but that's the way that it has been going over the last 20-30 years.

Headlining policies within the Local Cycling Strategy emphasised the importance of principles of sustainability which "improve mobility and provide more sustainable travel choice" ('Policy Objective 1,' 2000:6). These policy objectives “ensure(d) that policies to increase cycling are fully integrated into all areas of Council activity, including the Local Transport Plan and Environment, Local Agenda 21/Sustainability, Education, Health, Leisure and Social Inclusion ('Policy Objective 3,' 2000: 6).

The interviewed Cycling Officer suggested that in Hull, 40% of journeys to work are by bicycle, and the local authority have the capacity to monitor cycle usage by flow counters and automatic counters on strategic cycle routes, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, with Hull having the sixth highest level of cycling in the UK.

He was encouraged by the scale of the cycling infrastructure which had been created in a 4 year period, which has largely been a result of government funding but also as a result of 'planning gain,' where private developers have put in cycle infrastructure linked to leisure and retail development. The Local Cycling Strategy has been successful in creating an infrastructure for cycling which includes “80 kms of cycle routes, 37 kms of off-road cycling, 32 kms of cycle ways on road, 11 kms of signed routes, which are mainly traffic calmed, and 23 kms of cycle and bus lanes”. Underpinning this cycling infrastructure was the concept of ‘Greenways’ which are cycling and walking corridors which incorporate a ‘Safe route to Schools’ initiative. He highlighted the comprehensive network of cycle facilities within the city which creates a

balance providing for the commuter type cyclist that wants to get from A-B quickly and generally will always stay on the road, because it is the quickest point from A-B. Then at the other extreme
you have the occasional Sunday cyclist who is going out with the kids who wants a traffic-free pleasant environment, not bothered how long it takes to get from A-B. In between you have got all sorts of people. We have tried to develop as many facilities as possible and in some respects it has been very opportunistic.

CYCLE TOURISM AND THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY

The interviewed Cycling Officer emphasised that the policy priority is principally to develop utilitarian cycling “to increase the proportion of trips by bike to work, for shopping and ‘stuff like that’, with the tourism side a secondary function”. However, he emphasised that improvements to the infrastructure for utilitarian cycling, can also benefit cycle tourists, with route improvements from the ferry terminal to the city centre (with the route linked to a new visitor attraction known as ‘The Deep’). Despite the policy priority within the Local Transport Plans focusing on utilitarian cycling, the interviewed Cycling Officer nevertheless acknowledged that

they’ve have been lucky in Hull because a lot of the routes used for utilitarian purposes have lent themselves to becoming part of longer tourist routes, including routes to Beverley and the (Sustrans) ‘White Rose Route’ to Middlesbrough.

He felt that as a mainly urban local authority they had an advantage over rural local authorities who find it harder to fund cross country cycle routes and he highlighted the close links that the local authority has developed with Sustrans, who

realise the importance of Hull to the success of their project with a large number of cyclists coming through Hull, and they’ve been important in raising the profile of cycling and cycle tourism. I think that we have benefited from that too.

Sustrans had initially raised the profile of cycling and cycle tourism, with one of Sustrans Regional Officers making a presentation to Council Committees, and had succeeded in achieving political support for Sustrans cycling initiatives in Hull. The interviewed Cycling Officer identified that Hull also has the advantage of being

an important hub in the Sustrans National Cycle Network with the Hull to Harwich Route, Trans-Pennine Trail, and Hull to Middlesbrough routes linked to the North Sea Ferry terminal, with a lot of cyclists coming off the ferry.
He also highlighted the promotion of cycle tourism at travel shows in the Netherlands and Belgium, and joint initiatives with the Tourism Section in Hull City Council, promoting cycle tourism in the Hull area within a nationally published Green Tourism Guide. He noted that “there is a big potential to increase cycle tourism within Hull with the ferry terminal, and because we are a cycle friendly city” and that, anecdotally, he had seen groups of 10-12 cycle tourists coming through the city. He also suggested that cycle tourists have a “high spend and stay in an area longer”.

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer suggested that she and the Cycling Officer were working on a project to introduce a cycle and ride scheme in the city. Additionally, the Tourism and Marketing Officer recognised the potential for cycle tourism in Hull, with promotions at overseas shows geared towards marketing Hull as a cycling destination. She stated that we take all the cycling maps with us at the shows organised by the British Tourist Authority (BTA) and they have all the Sustrans maps and cycling maps of Great Britain, and people come across and ask for particular (Sustrans) routes like Hull to Harwich, and Hull to Newcastle. The interest is growing because I do not think that people like the Dutch had thought about this region as a place to cycle. We also did the launch of the Hull to Harwich Route and got some Belgium policeman to cycle the route, and that was a direct result of the Holiday Show. They had actually been on a cycle tour and came to launch it with us, in conjunction with P&O ferries for their packages for cyclists. A tour operator came to spend some time in the city and he was looking for 2 to 3 day cycle routes.

The interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer was aware of the tradition of cycling within Hull and added that cycle tourists would be “happy to use Hull as a base and cycle in the surrounding area”. Work had been done with hoteliers and other accommodation providers to “welcome schemes for cyclists and storage for bicycles”. The interviewed officer also recognised the work that Sustrans had done in locating parts of the National Cycle Network and long distance routes in Hull, and that this had “top level political commitment”. “The local authority have recognised the opportunity and taken it”.

One of the two interviewed Planning Officers identified that “the local development plan generally promot(ed) cycling”, stating that development should make provision for cycling and to have cycling parking standards. “Developers are expected to provide cycle parking
and we have a planner who has been allocated part of his time to work on the Trans-Pennine Trail (a long distance cycling and walking route). He added that "the idea of having more sustainable tourism is an area that has arisen fairly recently, therefore I doubt whether it has developed very far, but certainly the Trans-Pennine Trail has been put forward as that kind of thing". Likewise, he felt that there was scope for the development of cycle tourism with the proximity of the cross channel ferry terminal close to the centre of the city of Hull.

10.3 B) COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

10.3.1 THEME FIVE: COMMUNITY ‘BOTTOM-UP’ APPROACHES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY IN CYCLING AND TOURISM

10.3.1.1 HOW DO COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS COLLABORATE WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN CYCLING AND CYCLE TOURISM INITIATIVES?

The perceptions of the interviewed Political representative, and the Planning and LA21 Officers was that Hull City Council has ‘traditionally’ had a paternalistic approach to service delivery for local communities. In this respect the interviewed LA21 Officer recognised both the past limitations and the potential of ‘new structures’ to enable collaboration on sustainability issues between local authority and communities. Indeed, there was a consistency of responses from interviewed officers as to how new Council structures had the capacity to provide opportunities for more community-responsive service delivery. The basis of this restructuring was the creation of 7 area committees which were designed to devolve service delivery to a community level. The interviewed Leader of the Council, whilst sanguine about the challenge of community capacity building, recognised the opportunity to engage communities in initiatives for sustainability, both through LA21 and Community Planning.
The interviewed Planning Officer recognised the imperative of consultation with local communities as a fundamental part of the initial draft stage of the creation of the Local Plan. However, he felt that the consultation stage of the Local Plan process was potentially dominated by interest groups with development interests which had the capacity to exclude community views. This was despite attempts to provide an 'outreach approach' to communicating with community groups in shopping centres and to canvas the views of ward councillors through a 'localised' version of the Local Plan.

The interviewed Cycling Officer sought out joint community involvement in formulating policies for cycling, and provided evidence of the ability of community-based interest groups to influence policy making agendas. Cycling as a sustainable form of transport provided scope for community groups to support sustainability initiatives, consistent with the service area of Tourism's support for community cycling initiatives. This was the extent of initiatives for sustainability with potential community involvement.

The Hull Cycle Campaign Group was identified as an example of an organised community response to the development of cycling within the City. This Campaign Group emerged in 1994 to “improve conditions for cyclists in and around Hull and promote cycling as a sustainable means of transport”, with the group emphasising that “many of the cycle schemes now in place in Hull would not be there if we hadn’t worked hard to persuade the Council to install them”.

It is apparent from the available literature on the Hull Cycle Campaign that they have been able to establish effective communication channels with local authority officers and through a series of regular meetings have extended their lobbying role function to having an input into policy formulation for cycling both within Hull City Council, and the neighbouring local authority of East Yorkshire Council (http://www.nic.karoo.net/hcc/campaign.htm). Their input on cycling policy relates to safety, rights of way information, and route design, including responses to proposals for Sustrans routes within the Hull local authority area.

An interview was arranged with a founder member of the Hull Cycling Campaign who has been a community based cyclist in the Hull area since the 1940s, as is an active member of the local Cycling Touring Club. As a CTC member representing the East Riding of
Yorkshire area, he is active in promoting the CTC’s ‘Right to Ride Campaign’ which focusses on sustaining the legal rights of cyclists and liaising with local authorities and train companies in improving the mobility arrangements for cycling. He is also Regional Membership Secretary for the Youth Hostels Association, and has been campaigning on cycling issues since the 1970s (e.g. campaigning for cantilevered cycle and pedestrian tracks to be included as part of transport routes on the Humber Bridge).

He has never owned a car and tries to cycle each day. Since the 1940s he has witnessed changes in the cycling culture in Hull, indicating that “someone remarked to me a few days ago that they can remember a time when everyone in Hull had a bike, with swarms of people coming out of factories on bicycles”. He suggested that “so much has changed in Hull because of the volume of new housing on the edge of the city which has been a main influence on increased car use” (see e.g. Naess, 1989).

He highlighted that the founding members of the Hull Cycle Campaign Group were previously involved in local transport issues, were involved in organising a Local Transport Day, within the centre of Hull at the Guildhall, and during the 1980s attended a series of meetings with the City Council on the ‘health of the city’. He indicated that since the formation of the Hull Cycling Campaign “members of this group attend a quarterly forum with the City Council to discuss cycling issues with the local authority Cycling Officer”. He suggested that

the Hull Cycle Campaign Group were initially composed of a lot of CTC members who were part of the ‘Right to Ride Campaign’, and also members of Friends of the Earth. However we did not attract as many members as we had hoped of the general ‘work-a-day’ cyclist. It has meant that we have been able to work on a ‘City Cycle Map,’ and has culminated also in the success in pedestrianisation, and to encourage those who were not so keen on cycling.

He also emphasised that the Cycling Officer had initially had great difficulty in getting the funding for cycling initiatives in Hull and he felt that “we have done something about that in terms of encouragement and we had a good relationship with the City Council. It was a question of the Council helping us to help them”. In terms of helping to develop an infrastructure for community based cycling, he felt that getting access to disused railways
had been a long slow job” but that the City Council had “accepted that the linearity should be retained for cycling and pedestrians”. Additionally, he suggested that the Group had “got the City Council to modify the white lines put down, to value cyclists perceptions and to modify problems with the cycling network”. He also highlighted that crucial in this support for maintaining a cycling culture in Hull was the capacity of the Group to foster political support, which is

something we have done in the past, with the Hull Cycling Campaign and CTC having club runs with Councillors and Officers around the city for an annual inspection of cycling ‘facilities’ and then have lunch together. Sadly, this no longer happens under cabinet system of governance.

He felt that Hull still had higher cycling rates than other cities (and that cycling is still a significant form of transport in the outer estates) partly because of “the lack of hills. Although I think that it is thriving anyway to some extent. But according to people that I have met in Hull from Holland, the attitude to cycling is different there where cyclists are treated with dignity and, after all, that is part of the culture of cycling”. He indicated that in this area, “people are scared off cycling with the number of dangers caused by an increase in car usage”.

He stressed the importance of the ‘community voice’, which had a lot of influence, and that the “Cycling Officer frequently phones me with suggestions and to tell me how he’s getting on with various projects”. “For example, I have the cycle map for 2112 here with these proposals, and it is for me to pull them to pieces”. He made reference to the Local Transport Plans, and indicated that he gets the annual progress reports which suggested that the City of Hull “come out moderately well, highlighting that the Council’s targets for increased cycling cannot be as high as that of other local authorities, because cycling levels are already high”.

In terms of the question of the Local Cycling Strategy reflecting the needs of local cyclists, he indicated that “it tries to, but as we have already discussed, there are difficulties. Cycle lanes and paths finish very often where they are most needed. The attitude of the Cycling Officer and others was that they hoped in time to link them up”. Furthermore, he indicated
that the City Council is also looking to link up a ‘cycle and ride’, with a ‘park and ride’ scheme, and have the cycling parking under cover with special lockers.

10.3.1.2 SUB-THEME: HOW DO COMMUNITIES INTERPRET THE CONCEPTS OF SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM?

Whilst the interviewed Hull Cycle Campaign member has had no formal links with Hull City Council’s LA21 Officer, he nevertheless recognised linkages between sustainability principles and cycling. Specifically he felt that these principles are advanced through the work of Sustrans, suggesting that “Sustrans routes have encouraged cyclists a great deal with initiatives like the Hornsea Rail Trail and Route 66, which is used by workaday cyclists within the city”. His response to the question of what constitutes principles of sustainability included the following elements:

For one thing I want to see the ability of young people to get out and about and have freedom. I do not want to see a lot of tankers taking too much oil and breaking up, and people unnecessarily using cars. Rail travel should be sustained, and if only people had stuck to cycling and walking more, that would have been sustained, and we would not have had such wild spending on roads and would have improved our railway system a great deal.

He suggested that “there is a general recognition now that cycling is more sustainable and that health is more sustainable through cycling”, and “it is a sustainable form of transport for community use”. He also recognised cycling as a sustainable form of tourism suggesting that tourism could come as a spin-off from other cycling initiatives. I think that within local authorities there is a lot of pushing from industry, as it were, and for those who are going to make money out of tourism by any means, there is a realisation has not sunk in that cycling does bring in a lot of money, and that has been shown by the development of Sustrans routes around the country - things like the C2C. It is something that we must keep promoting to make people aware of this.

In terms of cycle tourists arriving in Hull, he found it hard to determine the volume of cycle tourists arriving through P&O North Sea Ferries, suggesting that I do know that before we started the Hull Cycle Campaign it was reported that the numbers of cyclists travelling on P & O North Sea
Ferries was tremendous, but somebody told me a few months ago when he uses it there are very few cyclists. I do not know what to believe but I know that over the years there has been a tremendous amount of people in Hull cycling.

He was also aware of the large number of families from Belgium and Holland being stuck in Hull because only one cycle was able to be put on trains at a time and that a further barrier to encouraging more cyclists in the city is the problem of accommodation and the lack of a youth hostel and also the timing of the arrival of ferries in the morning with cyclists wanting to get away. We need more cycle-friendly accommodation in the city and things for people to see. Perhaps this will happen with the Deep (Hull’s new visitor attraction) and museum quarter in the Old Town attracting cycle tourists.

He noted that the former Cycling Officer had been working to create a ‘Riverside Route’, linking up the Deep and the route to the docks for those cyclists coming in and leaving by ferry (and this is still an on-going project). He viewed the City Council commitment to cycle tourism to “be part of the same thing of a commitment to cycling generally, if people are using cycles within the city tourism could come as a spin off”. This last view is consistent with balancing benefits for communities and tourists in promoting the practical application of the principles of sustainability through cycling initiatives.

10.4 POLICY SYNTHESIS. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS ON THE OPERATIONALISATION OF PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Hull City Council have made a demonstrable corporate commitment to policy development which is underpinned by principles of sustainability, supported by a discernible political and strategic commitment to ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability, within service delivery. This corporate commitment to ‘mainstreaming’ of the principles of sustainability within policy development and implementation had been galvanised by the positioning of a LA21 Officer, and an associated LA21 Team within a Strategy Management Team, in the Chief Executives Department. This political commitment was further emphasised symbolically by the Leader of the Council becoming the Portfolio Holder for sustainability
within the cabinet system of local governance. His role was supported by a LA21 Task Group who put in place a political scrutiny initiative, which could monitor departmental and operational responses to sustainability. The role of this group might also be interpreted as providing a ‘Centralist’ approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development.

The Leader of the Council had both a visionary and pragmatic approach to the operationalisation of principles of sustainability within policy development in major service areas, stating that “technically and in theory, everything should be subject to sustainability” but that this aspiration had to compete with the Council’s “traditional cost saving culture”. The political and policy agenda related to sustainability was guided by the Brundtland Report (1987), as a general reference point for interpreting principles of sustainability at a local level. However, the absence of (or at least it was in the process of being developed) an LA21 Strategy meant that the articulation of themes or dimensions of sustainability, to be incorporated within policy development, were less clear.

As a prelude to ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within the operational work of the local authority, attempts had been made to create ‘effective’ communication channels, to disseminate the benefits of sustainability to officers and politicians. This process of awareness raising had been initiated by the LA21 Team, through an internal training programme for Chief Officers and politicians, and with similar training programmes planned for officers within all the departments. The LA21 Officer was concerned that this process of awareness raising of the conceptual aspects of sustainability should explore policy innovation for sustainability, which moved beyond the “traditional cost saving mentality” of departments, and could encourage integrative working between service areas.

Whilst this planned training programme was at an early stage of implementation within the organisation, communication linkages between the LA21 Team and departments remained largely informal and ad hoc. The service area of Planning had received information for comment on the LA21 Draft Strategy. The service area of Tourism had ‘touched base’ with the LA21 Officer to share information on service delivery, but there was no established protocol on communication.
The interviewed Cycling Officer had not made formal contact with the LA21 Officer, but had promoted headlining policies for sustainability within the Local Cycling Strategy. Both the interviewed Planning Officer and Cycling Officer stressed the importance of the coordinating role of LA21 to ensure that sustainability “should be integrated into every activity that the council performs”. Arguably however, the emergence of a network of (formal and informal) communication related to sustainability does provide evidence of the potential for the emergence of policy communities for sustainability within Hull City Council.

Furthermore, the local authority acknowledged the significance of National and Regional influences in the creation of policies for sustainability and provided evidence of the scope for horizontal dimensions to policy making for sustainability, and the capacity for policy communities to emerge beyond the boundaries of the local authority organisation.

However, the linkages with community groups in creating policies for sustainability were largely aspirational and reliant on the ‘new’ political structures of area committees. However, having reflected on the limitations of a ‘past’ paternalistic approach to service delivery within an ‘old style’ representative form of governance, they disclosed that the new devolved style of governance, with 7 area committees and 20 ward forums, offered greater potential to facilitate community involvement in sustainability issues.

Arguably, without identifiable linkages between the local community and the local authority in both the formulation and implementation of policies for sustainability, criticism could be levelled at the local authority that they are engaged in an exclusively ‘top-down’ policy approach to policy development, that did not adequately address community priorities. The corporate political commitment to sustainability guided from the ‘centre’ might have been critical in galvanising internal officer actions, but conversely prevents the emergence of local implementation structures (Sabatier, 1993; Holland, 2002) for sustainability.

Encouragingly however, the Local Plan process is receptive to community input in the consultation stage, although this was characterised as being dominated by single-issue representation. The Planning Service had attempted to introduce innovations of communicating the Local Plan process through local media outlets and adopting citizen
juries. The interviewed LA21 Officer, Planning Officer and Leader of the Council also recognised the challenge of community capacity building, which has to overcome a dependency culture with a deferential, ‘council knows best’ approach. The Leader of the Council also believed that the challenge of engaging communities in sustainability issues was to encourage “better educated communities who respect learning”.

The LA21 Officer distinguished between two distinct approaches to formulating policies for sustainability within the local authority, with departments creating their own interpretation of principles of sustainability or through the influence of LA21 processes. For example, the Transport Section devised a Local Transport Plan with policies specifically related to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability through a variety of ‘headlining’ policies. The other identified approach to the ‘mainstreaming’ of policies for sustainability was through the influence of LA21 in changing policy responses to issues such as fuel procurement, through the introduction of policies for the ‘greening’ of fuel within the local authority. This was perceived as an example of policy innovation and a new “way of thinking and working” beyond existing policy practices.

The LA21 Officer recognised that because of the size of the local authority, the onus was on individual departments to incorporate principles of sustainability within strategic and operational policies. Whilst he felt that he had a role to play in guiding departments to adopt the principles of sustainability, he emphasised that ultimately he had a co-ordinating role on sustainability.

The fact that the attempted implementation of E-MAS and LA-EMAS had been perceived by officers as a ‘bolt-on’ to the everyday business of departments, was seen as a useful lesson by the LA21 Officer in the future incorporation of principles of sustainability within service delivery. EMAS and LA-EMAS provided an opportunity for individual departments to audit their environmental practices, and this process of environmental auditing could be applied to sustainability auditing within the local authority. This officer highlighted that the attempted implementation of LA-EMAS and EMAS demonstrated the “resource intensive and bureaucratic challenge” of a local authority-wide initiative, which would offer a similar challenge to that of the implementation of Best Value and policies for sustainability. One of the main barriers to policy innovation for sustainability was perceived to be the existing
"cost conscious culture" of the local authority. The political scrutiny by the Leader of the Council and the politically constituted LA21 Task Group, could counter policy inertia from directorates resisting policy innovations for sustainability.

The interviewed Planning, Policy and Information Officer viewed the service area of Planning and the policy instrument of the Local Plan as an important co-ordinating response to policies for sustainability, which were particularly directed to land-use issues. The interviewed Planning Officers recognised that the Local Plan should incorporate principles of sustainability, and not least the futurity dimension of changing local development visions. The service area of Tourism indicated that they were committed to the environmental dimension of sustainability, through the promotion of activities such as cycle tourism, as a form of sustainable tourism, which also ‘countered’ car use.

Furthermore, the service area of Tourism demonstrated a commitment to a national pilot scheme for sustainable tourism indicators, initiated through the English Tourism Council, which demonstrated a commitment to monitoring progress in the implementation of the principles of sustainability within service delivery. Despite some concern from the service area of Planning, that the service area of Tourism and Economic Development had narrow economic objectives and that they embraced ‘shallow’ interpretations of sustainability, the service area of Tourism understood the utility of principles of sustainability. The service area of Tourism has also created established community linkages in the promotion of an events-based strategy for attracting tourists to Hull.

In terms of policy innovation for sustainability, there is a demonstrable political and policy commitment by Hull City Council to the development of an infrastructure for cycling through the policy instrument of the Local Transport Plan and the Local Cycling Strategy which both outline the policy commitment to the development and promotion of cycling within Hull for both residents and tourists. The interviewed Cycling Officer expressed the positive role of local community groups in formulating policies for the sustainable transport form of cycling and community priorities for cycling. Underpinning headlining policies for cycling are references to principles of sustainability which address environmental, economic and social dimensions. The interviewed Cycling Officer identified that a key objective of the
Local Cycling Strategy was to integrate cycling into all areas of the local authority’s work, with cycling promoted as a healthy and sustainable form of transport.

There was evidence of both political support and policy commitment to cycling within the Local Transport Plan (and local development plans) which emphasised the importance of cycling as an important part of a sustainable transport system, and as a cornerstone of transport bids to central government. Within this strategic approach to transport planning, the development of a cycling infrastructure appeared as an important element in attracting funding for transport initiatives at a local level. The interviewed Cycling Officer emphasised that 80 km of new cycling infrastructure had been created within a 4 year period to minimise the adverse environmental impacts of motorised transport.

Cycling was promoted as a more sustainable travel choice which would not only reduce traffic congestion but would allow communities greater non-motorised access to a range of services. Central to this aim was the creation of ‘Greenways’, which are cycling and walking corridors providing social sustainability benefits for travel to school and work journeys. Whilst the principal policy focus for cycling was on the development of utilitarian cycling, with leisure and tourism forms of cycling a secondary policy consideration, the interviewed Cycling Officer emphasised that improvements to cycling infrastructure “can benefit other forms of cycling”.

There was recognition of Hull’s strategic location close to the P&O North Sea Ferry terminal, which has led to a range of long-distance cycling and walking routes supported by Sustrans. Whilst no formal surveys have been carried out by Hull City Council on cycle tourism activity in Hull, anecdotal evidence from the interviewed Cycling Officer and others suggest that “groups of cyclists from the Netherlands can be seen cycling through Hull”. The interviewed Cycling, Tourism and Marketing, and Planning Officers all identified cycling as a sustainable form of tourism, citing the strategic importance of the proximity of the P&O ferry terminal as an important transport node for incoming continental cyclists. All three officers recognised the pivotal role of Sustrans in promoting the development of long-distance leisure and tourism routes with Hull positioned as an important nub for cyclists, with established Hull to Harwich and Trans-Pennine cycle routes. The Tourism and
Marketing Officer and Cycling Officer had also collaborated in promoting cycling with a nationally published ‘Green Tourism Guide’.

Within the context of the policy initiatives for sustainability which have emerged within Hull City Council, cited examples were the development of a green fuels policy and electrification of vehicles policy, with cycling also promoted as a sustainable transport form. Whilst there was an emphasis on the environmental dimension of sustainability, the interviewed Cycling Officer recognised the social benefits of cycling to provide greater access to services for non-car based travel. Arguably cycling (and cycle tourism) as a sustainable form of transport, is at a more advanced stage of policy implementation than other policy initiatives which appear to be more incremental and piecemeal by comparison. Furthermore, there is evidence of a ‘bottom-up’ approach to policy formulation for cycling, with the interviewed Cycling Officer welcoming a horizontal approach to policy making for cycling in actively seeking community involvement in determining priorities for cycling initiatives.
CHAPTER ELEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

11.0 INTRODUCTION

The review of literature initially highlighted the challenge of translating the conceptual elements of sustainability into discernible local implementable projects and 'everyday' actions (Brown, 1997). The study offered justification for choosing the research context of the local level, predicated on the view that future scenarios for sustainability should incorporate, and crucially reflect the views of local people (Brown, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998; Griffiths, 2000). Therefore this study has sought tangible evidence from three local level case studies, that the principles of sustainability are operationable through the emergence of policy making processes within local authority policy arenas which are receptive to local community priorities.

The review of literature highlighted the lack of clarity and diversity of discourses as to how to interpret the concept of sustainability (Shiva, 1992; Galtung et al., 1995; Bramwell et al., 1996), which might in part explain the limited evidence of progress in local authorities operationalising the concept of sustainability, not least within the policy area of tourism (Leslie and Hughes, 1997). Doubts as to the capacity of local authorities to translate policy intent for sustainability into discernable actions and practical projects, might be partly due to Berger's (2002) contention that power structures at a local level are inevitably 'top-down' in nature. Therefore evidence was sought of the emergence of more diverse local implementation structures which provide opportunities for the emergence of local community collaboration and engagement on sustainability issues (Sabatier, 1993; Holland, 2002).

The first research aim scrutinised the role of LA21 as a policy process with the capacity to create awareness and stimulate actions for community orientated policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability. Whilst LA21 might 'mainstream' the principles of sustainability within policy development in local authorities and open up dialogue with local communities, evidence was sought within the second research aim that these principles had been assimilated within the policy area of tourism (Bramwell et al.,
The third research aim narrowed the focus of the study on highlighting the capacity of cycle tourism to exemplify a model for sustainable tourism (Sustrans, 1996; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999).

Therefore this conclusions chapter revisits and applies the framework of the aims and objectives of the study to draw together the main insights from the three case study local authority areas and, within them the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development and implementation generally, and more specifically within the policy areas of tourism and cycling. Furthermore, the three main aims of the study are linked to related research objectives to provide cumulative research insights from the three highlighted case studies. Research insights from each local authority area are initially structured within highlighted ‘section themes’ prior to comparing patterns and commonalities to emerge from a comparison of research insights from the three case studies.

In addition to these linked research aims and objectives, are two further highlighted ‘research objective sections’ which jointly synthesise ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ critiques of policy implementation, and also consider the ‘body of practice’ to emerge from the three case studies. Research insights from these two objectives are augmented to highlight three models of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, and consider how cycling and cycle tourism have the capacity to implement principles of sustainability within these models. Finally, areas for further research are explored.

11.1 RESEARCH AIM ONE: TO ESTABLISH THE ROLE OF LA21 PROCESSES IN OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL IN THE UK

The review of literature established the limitations of anthropocentric bias (Fox, 1990) in which solutions are sought to find more sustainable applications to the usage and access to resources. Furthermore, there was recognition of a normative expectation of sustainable development as a policy objective that should be ‘pursued’ (Turner, 1991). This policy objective is informed by different perspectives and discourses of sustainability, which express ecocentric and technocentric approaches to sustainability (Henry and
Jackson, 1995). Given these potentially contrasting idealistic and pragmatic approaches to sustainability, Shiva (1992) and Galtung (1995) questioned the capacity of UNCED 1992 and Agenda 21, to stimulate the implementation of the principles of sustainability at the local level. Hall and Lew (1998) recognised the importance of the local level as a policy context for community priorities and aspirations for sustainability to emerge, with Brown (1997) recognising that LA21 processes potentially provides the scope for local actions for sustainability to emerge.

The review of literature also considered secondary research on the capacity of local authorities to engage in LA21 policy processes, particularly linked to the policy area of tourism, identifying inconsistent progress (Leslie and Hughes, 1997; Leslie and Muir, 1997; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999; Font and Morpeth, 2002). Not only was there uncertain progress, but the review of literature also highlighted the orientation towards environmental interpretations and applications of the principles of sustainability through LA 21 processes (Bond et al., 1998). This emphasise on environmental principles might eclipse wider dimensions of sustainability emerging, not least the democratising possibilities of sustainability (Bramwell et al., 1996; Young, 1997).

However, beyond the evidence from these cited secondary sources, a spokesperson from the UK Sustainable Development Unit, in 2002, identified that 93% of UK local authorities had responded positively to submitting some form of LA21 strategy to Central Government by December 2000. This raised the possibility that the three case studies within this research project might demonstrate an increased commitment to LA21 as a policy mechanism to promote the principles of sustainability at the local level. There was also recognition in the review of literature that the intervention of Central Government within the process of the operationalisation of the principles had created policy initiatives of Best Value and Community Planning, which might either complement or divert the policy momentum of LA21 processes (Stewart, 1994). Therefore it was important to establish the utility of LA21 processes within the three case studies.
11.1.1 Research Objective One: To Establish the Role of LA21 Policy Processes in ‘Mainstreaming’ the Principles of Sustainability Within Service Delivery, and Engaging Officers and Politicians in This Process

North Lincolnshire Council

The Origins of an LA21 Process: An Evolving Environmental Dimension

The research findings indicated that the origins of a LA21 process within North Lincolnshire Council can be traced to the inception of the newly formed unitary authority in April 1996, with a corporate statement supporting environmental policies. Structurally, North Lincolnshire Council strengthened this political and corporate commitment to environmental sustainability through the creation of an Environmental and Local Agenda 21 sub-committee, serviced by an Environment Team and the appointment of a LA21 Officer.

Consistent with the review of literature (Bond et al., 1998), the Environment Team created awareness of environmental issues within the local authority and sought to improve the authority’s environmental performance through the implementation of LA-EMAS and associated environmental appraisals of policies. This process was supported politically through the Environment and Local Agenda 21 sub-committee scrutinising the environmental ‘impact’ of all policies. Such an approach advanced the corporate philosophy that service delivery should be initially premised on sound environmental principles.

However, what emerged within the case study narrative was that rather than retain an exclusively environmental focus to sustainability, North Lincolnshire Council demonstrated the capacity for policy learning in expanding the coverage of dimensions of sustainability (Heclo, 1974; Davis et al. 1993). Specifically, this corporate commitment to sustainability evolved and was formalised within the policy vehicle of a Council Service Plan, which highlighted a broad range of themes of sustainability including futurity, empowerment, collaboration, fairness, equity and access. These themes were consistent with the wider
restructuring democratising reforms within the local authority, with a committee system being replaced by a cabinet system of governance (Young, 1997). Furthermore, the emergence of a Sustainability Portfolio within the cabinet system, replacing the Environment and LA21 Committee, symbolised an evolving political and corporate commitment to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery. Corporate restructuring also led to the Environment Team being superseded by a Sustainability Team, with the prospect of a more distinct corporate policy focus for sustainability.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

This process of policy learning (Davis et al., 1993) in operationalising the principles of sustainability might, in part, be due to the heightened awareness of sustainability as a political and a policy issue within the local authority, but also through external political and policy influences at a national and regional level. Within the local authority, the LA21 Officer and associated Environment Team and Planning Service initiated internal communication on sustainability issues, developed in part by seminars organised for political representatives which linked the global principles of sustainability to a local planning context.

The positioning of a LA21 Officer within the Sustainability Unit (formerly the Environment Team) and not within the Chief Executives Unit can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, that this might dilute the corporate focus for sustainability, but conversely that it provides a specific policy focus which reflects a specialist input from a team of officers with experience in community focused environmental work.

ESTABLISHING A LA21 STRATEGY

Perhaps reflecting this initial environmental focus to sustainability, a LA21 Strategy was initially launched at an Environment Forum in 1997, principally to incorporate community responses to sustainability and, as such, an evolving community LA21 strategy is emerging.
This commitment to incorporate community views within the evolving strategy could be interpreted as symbolising a desire for policy development to emerge at the 'Periphery' rather than the 'Centre', supported by local implementation structures committed to operationalising the principles of sustainability (Sabatier, 1993; Holland, 2002). This commitment to develop the strategy through 'external' linkages was exemplified through the creation of the 'Jigsaw Project' (a creative metaphor for communicating the principles of sustainability in a LA21 strategy) which is a forum for community and multi-agency input. As such, the LA21 policy process initiated policy learning and succession, related to the policy issue of sustainability.

SUMMARY

North Lincolnshire Council could initially be characterised as adopting a 'standardised' approach to interpreting sustainability as an environmental issue, which could be operationalised through specific environmental policies. However, unlike local authorities highlighted within the Local Government Management Board'S (1997) 'First Five Years Review', which explored the adoption of LA21 processes through UK local authorities, North Lincolnshire has moved beyond exclusively environmental applications of sustainability. Consistent with Brown's (1997) supposition that sustainability is a dynamic concept, North Lincolnshire Council has engaged in a process of policy learning (Davis et al., 1993), and within corporate restructuring, the creation of a Sustainability Unit has added momentum to the evolution of a LA21 strategy, crucially by exploring community responses to sustainability.

WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL

A STALLED LA21 PROCESS

In contrast to the positive commitment to operationalising the principles of sustainability within a LA21 process in North Lincolnshire Council, West Lindsey District Council demonstrated pragmatic indifference to assimilating the principles of sustainability in policy
development. This approach was largely predicated on the corporate philosophy that a LA21 process creates a resource burden which a ‘small’ rural local authority is unable to respond to. This point exemplifies the challenge for different local authorities to create transformational change through assimilating the principles of sustainability within policy development, which might require the specific application of resources (see LGMB, 1997). West Lindsey District Council’s corporate indifference to sustainability was manifested by the non-appointment of a LA21 Officer. Instead, the Deputy Chief Executive described his role as a “post-box for LA21” and as having a “holding role” for LA21 issues. Such an approach contrasted with the authority’s ‘Corporate Best Value Plan’ (2000) which highlighted that a LA21 strategy would be submitted to central government by December 2000. Such a strategy was not created or submitted.

Furthermore, whilst LA21 as a policy function in theory had the corporate advantage of being ‘positioned’ within a Chief Executive’s Department, a LA21 process was never initiated. The Deputy Chief Executive remained detached from the process of ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within departmental strategic and operational policies. According to the Deputy Chief Executive the lack of a corporate commitment to operationalising the principles of sustainability was in part due to the absence of a statutory obligation to produce a LA21 Strategy or employ a designated LA21 Officer. The Deputy Chief Executive’s managerial approach to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability was redolent of Ham and Hill’s (1984) supposition that the ‘view from the top’ is as relevant as ‘bottom-up’ perspectives of policy making and implementation. As such policy development remained under the ‘control’ of ‘verticalised’ (Colebatch, 1998) local authority policy making processes.

Whilst he was aware of the potential benefits of the principles of sustainability underpinning policy development, he indicated that the local authority would wait for the opportunity within the future mandatory policy initiatives of Best Value and Community Strategies to ‘mainstream’ these principles (the citing of these policy initiatives became a recurring theme within all three case studies). He nevertheless expressed concern that Central Government was imposing many ‘standardised’ policy initiatives on local authorities which small rural local authorities, such as West Lindsey, were finding hard to resource and respond to. This
echoed the work of Stewart (1994) and Berger (2002) who observed that Central Government has the capacity to erode the power and functions of local authorities through engaging in centralised policy agenda setting.

Therefore the Deputy Chief Executive suggested that in the absence of corporate leadership for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in policy development, it was the responsibility of individual departments to incorporate the principles of sustainability into service delivery. However, despite corporate policy inertia for sustainability, one consistent positive strategic response by services areas, was that all submitted committee reports should provide evidence of an environmental appraisal of policies. Additionally, there was also a commitment to recycling which could be construed as a potential exemplar of environmental sustainability.

DEPARTMENTAL RESPONSES TO OPERATIONALISING THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

Revealingly, in the absence of corporate leadership, dissemination of information and policy development for sustainability has led to separate departments establishing unilateral policy responses to sustainability. Emblematic of this approach was that adopted by the service area of Planning, which through both formal policy pronouncements and through community based environmental work, has taken a lead in the promotion of the principles of sustainability. Within the Local Plan process the service area of Planning had not only incorporated the principles of sustainability within 'headline policies' for sustainability, but had demonstrated a capacity to engage in community-based consultation.

In this sense the Local Plan was identified as a strategic policy framework for advancing the principles of sustainability based on the "spirit of the Brundtland report". As such, the interviewed Principal Planning Officer was able to offer a more in-depth interpretation of the concept of sustainability than the Deputy Chief Executive, arguing that the social, economic and environmental dimensions of sustainability had been a mainstay of his work as a planner for a period of 25 years.
This case study highlighted that whilst LA21 was not viewed as a vital policy vehicle to create awareness of sustainability in this Authority, nevertheless, in the absence of corporate commitment to sustainability, 'mainstreaming' of the principles of sustainability was occurring, but as a piecemeal process, and was largely reliant on the commitment of individual officers to these principles. At a corporate level there was recognition of the benefits of inter-agency collaboration, particularly within the developing policy process of Best Value, guided by a regional policy framework for LA21. There was additional evidence of the service area of Planning being 'in tune' with the wider national and regional guidance related to the principles of sustainability, not only in land use issues but in promoting sustainable transport forms such as cycling and walking. This was consistent with the capacity for wider collaboration on sustainability issues expressed through the service area of Tourism, which envisaged joint initiatives with a range of regional organisations, including Sustrans.

Politically, with no caucus of one dominant political group, there was both a political and policy vacuum in terms of the lack of a political strategic plan which might further integrate the principles of sustainability within service delivery. The interviewed Liberal-Democratic political representative endorsed the environmental interpretation of sustainability that was communicated by the Deputy Chief Executive, in that all submitted committee reports should be scrutinised for their environmental implications. However, the political representative felt that with the lack of a political strategic plan and also with opposition to principles of sustainability by the local Conservative Party, consistent political support for the principles of sustainability within service delivery was not universally evident.

**SUMMARY**

The recurrent evidence from interviewed officers was that corporately there was no dissemination of information on sustainability, so that initiatives were delivered in isolation of corporate guidance. Arguably, the local authority is at an embryonic stage of policy development for sustainability, with piecemeal approaches to assimilating the principles of sustainability into service delivery. At a corporate level it is intended that the principles of sustainability would emerge through the policy processes of Best Value and Community
Planning. The non-completion of a LA21 Strategy to Central Government by December 2000, was further evidence of a stalled process for operationalising the principles of sustainability.

West Lindsey District Council viewed the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability 'rationalistically' in ignoring non-statutory policy processes such as LA21, supposedly because of the 'resource burden' implications. As such, there was an absence of innovative or systemic approaches to policy development for sustainability, with no attempt to create a wide constituency of participants within local implementation structures for sustainability. This 'top-down approach' or a 'Centralist approach' to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development assumes that Best Value in particular, would incorporate policy priorities for sustainability in preference to establishing a LA21 policy process. Having not attempted to initiate a LA21 Strategy, it was difficult to anticipate the advantages of Best Value and Community Strategies in operationalising the principles of sustainability. Currently, the adopted 'managerialist approach' ignored the capacity for these principles to be expressed through policy development emerging at the 'Periphery', beyond a corporate-led approach from the 'Centre'. As such, the full expression of the democratising, social equity and justice principles of sustainability have been subsumed within environmental expressions of sustainability.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL CITY COUNCIL

THE POLITICAL ORIGINS OF A LA21 PROCESS

Contrasting with West Lindsey District Council, Hull City Council appointed a LA21 Officer and an associated LA21 Team, positioned in a Strategic Management Unit within a Chief Executives Department. Working at the 'Centre' of the local authority the LA21 Team provided a corporate focus for operationalising the principles of sustainability within strategic and operational policies. The corporate status of sustainability was bolstered symbolically and practically by the Leader of the Council adopting the role of Portfolio Holder for Sustainability, supported by a politically constituted LA21 Task Group. At the
time of the interview with the LA21 Officer, a LA21 Strategy was being developed with associated sustainability indicators being created by ‘external’ consultants.

The Leader of the Council expressed both a ‘visionary’ and pragmatic approach to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development in major service areas. He stated that “technically and in theory everything should be subject to sustainability”, but added with political realism that this aspiration had to ‘compete’ with the Council’s “traditional cost saving culture”. Arguably, in this respect Hull City Council ‘recognised’ both technocentric and ecocentric approaches to sustainability (Henry and Jackson, 1995). The role of the Leader of the Council could also be described as a political champion for sustainability, in so far that he believed ‘passionately’ in the transformatory capacity of the principles of sustainability, advocating that these principles should be ‘mainstreamed’ (Kitchen, 1996) and systematised (Brown, 1997) within all Council activities. His role was supported by a LA21 Task Group with a political scrutiny function which monitors departmental and operational responses to sustainability. However, the role of this group might also be interpreted as providing a ‘Centralist’ approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development.

ESTABLISHING INTERNAL COMMUNICATION CHANNELS

As a prelude to ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within policy development, attempts were made to create ‘effective’ communication channels to disseminate the ‘benefits’ of sustainability to officers and politicians. This was essentially a process of awareness raising which was initiated by the LA21 Team through an internal training programme for Chief Officers and politicians. Similar training programmes were planned for officers within all departments. The interviewed LA21 Officer was concerned that this process of awareness raising should result in policy innovation for sustainability, which moved beyond the “traditional cost saving mentality” of departments, and additionally encouraged integrative policy initiatives between service areas. Consistent with the research insights from the other two case studies and from the review of literature, there was an identifiable environmental focus to articulating the principles of sustainability in policy development. Of wider currency for the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability
within local authorities, the LA21 Team had influenced departments to re-orientate policy responses to fuel procurement and through the introduction of policies for the ‘greening’ of fuel. However, conversely this was also perceived as an example of policy innovation and a new “way of thinking and working” beyond existing policy practices (see Miller and Ahmed, 1997).

The LA21 Officer distinguished between two distinct approaches to policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability. These included departments creating their own interpretation of the principles of sustainability within policy development; and secondly, through the influence of the LA21 Officer. Exemplifying the former approach, the Transport Section ‘devised’ a Local Transport Plan with policies specifically related to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. The interviewed Planning Policy and Information Officer viewed the service area of Planning, and the policy instrument of the Local Plan as an important co-ordinating process to create policies for sustainability. These policies were particularly directed to land-use issues, but also expressed the futurity dimension of changing local development visions. On the second approach, the interviewed LA21 Officer suggested that because of the size of the local authority, the onus was on individual departments to incorporate the principles of sustainability within strategic and operational policies. Whilst he felt he had a role to play in guiding departments to adopt the principles of sustainability, he emphasised that ultimately his role was a co-ordinating one.

Whilst this planned training programme of awareness raising of the principles of sustainability was at an early stage of implementation, communication linkages between the LA21 Team and departments was largely informal and ad hoc. For example, the service area of Planning had been asked to comment on the LA21 Draft Strategy and the service area of Tourism had ‘touched base’ with the LA21 Officer to share information on service delivery. However, there was no established protocol on formal communication between the LA21 Officer and individual departments. Whilst awareness raising might stimulate policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability, the interviewed LA21 Officer recognised potential barriers to this process. This view was based on the previous attempts to implement E-MAS and LA-EMAS which was perceived by officers to be a ‘bolt-on’ to service delivery. Furthermore, although EMAS and LA-EMAS provided an opportunity for
individual departments to audit their environmental practices, this was viewed as a "resource intensive and bureaucratic challenge".

However, the LA21 Officer viewed the political scrutiny by the Leader of the Council and the politically constituted LA21 Task Group as countering policy inertia from departments which resisted policy innovations for sustainability. There was no indication of party political distinctions for support for the principles of sustainability, with the Leader of the Council suggesting that councillors responded to interpretations of sustainability which transcended party political affiliation.

SUMMARY OF LA21 AND 'MAINSTREAMING' THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

Within the three local authority case studies there were different corporate responses to the utility of LA21 processes, yet with commonalities and discernible patterns emerging. North Lincolnshire Council and Hull City Council demonstrated well-defined political and corporate commitments to LA21, manifested through the resourcing of a LA21 Officer and Teams dedicated to raising awareness and stimulating actions for sustainability. Hull City Council's political commitment to operationalising the principles of sustainability was particularly evident. Internal processes for communicating the principles of sustainability through the work of LA21 Officers incorporated the organisation of seminars and 'embryonic' communication systems for sustainability, expressed through largely informal communication between the LA21 Officer and individual departments.

The commitment of individual officers to operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development and service delivery was prevalent within all three local authorities. The inference was that whilst LA21 processes systematise local authority responses to the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability, yet individual officer commitment and political support is important in establishing these processes. All three local authorities offered evidence of a commitment to operationalising environmental dimensions of sustainability, but with North Lincolnshire Council highlighting a commitment to the broader dimensions of sustainability through a range of guiding principles.
Of all the three local authority case studies, North Lincolnshire Council demonstrated the most advanced approach to assimilating community priorities in policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability. In contrast to North Lincolnshire Council, West Lindsey District Council responded more pragmatically to the discretionary status of LA21 by claiming that the principles of sustainability would emerge in community-based policy development within statutory initiatives such as Best Value and Community Strategies. This was a recurrent theme which emerged within all three case studies, in that there was the recognition that Best Value and Community Strategies might provide an additional opportunity for operationalising the principles of sustainability. However conversely, such formulaic approaches to operationalising the principles of sustainability might flounder without meaningful community engagement. Whether these statutory initiatives will ultimately supersede LA21 processes in this country and perhaps intangibly respond to implementing the 'spirit' of sustainability, is unclear, and would need to be addressed within future research.

11.1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE TWO: TO ESTABLISH THE CAPACITY OF LA21 TO STIMULATE COMMUNITY ORIENTATED POLICY DEVELOPMENT FOR SUSTAINABILITY

The review of literature highlighted that local authority engagement with communities is likely to be a complex process, not least where there is the issue of local authorities engaging with a diversity of community representatives, rather than with representative or dominant interest groups (Butcher et al., 1993; Cooper and Hawtim, 1997). Whilst LA21 was viewed as an important process in 'mainstreaming' the principles of sustainability in policy development within local authorities, its role in stimulating community actions was less clear. In this respect, community interpretations and actions on sustainability issues might arise in isolation and separate from local authority guidance and facilitation.
What emerged from the North Lincolnshire Council case study was that the interviewed Environment Team Officers had identified a practical challenge in establishing a community consensus from a population of 150,000 people on priorities for sustainability. They also emphasised that identifying a community 'voice' and priorities on sustainability issues is susceptible to over-simplification in viewing communities as an homogenised group of people. This view is consistent with the review of literature which identified that increasingly communities are heterogeneous and fragmented in quality (Hodgson, 1995). In particular, the interviewed Planning Officer recognised that an 'urban voice' on sustainability issues was difficult to locate, whereas the 'advocacy interests' of parish and town councils were more audible. However, there was consistent evidence that community collaboration was evident in formulation of the Local Plan and Local Transport Plan, although in the case of the Local Plan, there was a recognition that 'single interest groups' might dominate this process. The work of the Tourism Unit, whilst based on an economic development orientation to regeneration (which might be construed as a 'weak' approach to sustainability), is nevertheless focussed on community based event projects.

CREATING LOCAL IMPLEMENTATION STRUCTURES

Despite the complexity of securing community engagement, North Lincolnshire Council was receptive to urban and rural community inputs into the evolving LA21 Strategy. Building on existing linkages with community environmental groups, a crucial event in the evolution of sustainability as a policy issue, was the launch of the LA21 process at an annual Environment Forum in 1997, in which local politicians and community representatives communicated their interpretations of the concept of sustainability. This forum was augmented by a household 'leaflet drop' of a draft LA21 Strategy in which residents of North Lincolnshire had further opportunities to identify priorities and themes for sustainability. The culmination of this process was the creation of a community forum, comprised of both community representatives, multi-agencies and organisations, creating a
Sustainability Core Group (‘Jigsaw Group’) which assumed the stewardship of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ - a creative metaphor for an evolving LA21 Strategy.

Symbolically, North Lincolnshire Council chose not to submit a LA21 strategy document to Central Government (by the December 2000 deadline) and instead they sought community endorsement and subsequently Council approval for this document in Spring 2001 at the ‘official launch’ of the ‘Jigsaw Project’. This could be interpreted as signalling the importance of the formation of local implementation structures composed of (community representatives and multi-agency organisations) as significant members of policy communities related to sustainability issues. As such, it can be argued that this commitment to community-based policy development for sustainability required more complex implementation structures which are receptive to a range of ‘advocacy interests’ (Houlihan, 1991; Sabatier, 1993; Colebatch, 1998; Holland, 2002). These implementation structures transcended the local authority’s operational ‘boundaries’, incorporating regional and sub-regional collaboration to policy development for sustainability and community input.

The nature of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ under the stewardship of the Sustainability Core Group was that progress was sought through community-based projects which were structured through set themes and associated indicators. Furthermore, there was an expectation that policy outputs for sustainability would be monitored through a range of sustainability indicators, approved and created by the Sustainability Core Group. The ‘Jigsaw Project’ can be interpreted as a form of policy innovation for sustainability and as a metaphor for communicating and making more accessible the integrative elements of sustainability to community representatives.

Conversely, the identification of community-based projects which exemplify themes of sustainability within the Sustainability Core Group could be interpreted as a form of ‘projectification’ (Bell and Morse, 2002) where ‘one-off’ projects symbolise success in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. This raises the issue of the sustainability of initiatives which express the principles of sustainability beyond local authority intervention. However, interviews with officers and political representatives highlighted the potential for a heightened capacity for on-going community engagement on issues of
sustainability might occur through the reform of local authority structures of governance. In this respect it was anticipated that a ‘shift’ from a system of representative to participative democracy would enable greater community input in establishing sustainability priorities, building on existing innovative participatory techniques.

WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL

Given the lack of an LA21 policy process, there were disparate officer and political responses to developing a dialogue with communities on potential actions related to the principles of sustainability in West Lindsey. Paradoxically given his reticence to initiate a LA21 process within the local authority, the interviewed Deputy Chief Executive indicated a willingness to move beyond “the traditional local provider” role and to make service delivery more community responsive. However, in his view Best Value and Community Planning, not LA21, would potentially provide the policy vehicle to advance community based initiatives on sustainability.

He was cognisant that the mandatory status of Best Value and Community Planning could potentially promote the principles of sustainability in “policy development” in a cost-effective way. This amplified the local authority perception of the resource implications of sustainability as a key operational issue related to sustainability. The Deputy Chief Executive suggested that there was already a strong rapport with parish and town councils, and that the Lincolnshire County Council initiative of a Citizen’s Panel, provided the capacity to determine community responses to policy issues within the district. It was anticipated that this mechanism for community engagement could be used as a forum to discuss sustainability issues.

SERVICE RESPONSES TO COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Beyond the LA21 policy inertia it appeared that Planning as a service area had created an effective consultation with local communities as part of the Local Plan process, although the interviewed Planning Officer acknowledged that it was difficult to establish a balance
between community and local authority ‘planning visions’. The service area of Planning appeared not only to have a heightened awareness of the broad application of the multi-dimensions of sustainability, but the interviewed Principal Planning Officer felt that he had inadvertently taken a ‘corporate lead’ in furthering the aims of sustainability, particularly in seeking community involvement in the Local Plan process.

The interviewed Tourism Officer highlighted that “Community Planning is way behind schedule and that LA21 is also way behind and not addressed as a policy issue”, suggesting incomplete communication channels both in the local authority and linked to the wider community. Despite having established ‘traditional’ channels of communication with parish and town councils, the absence of a LA21 Officer proved to be a barrier to the wider dissemination of information on sustainability. This negated the prospect of community participation on sustainability and the emergence of local implementation structures. In particular the empirical insights highlighted a lack of community awareness of the concept of sustainable development and LA21, which emerged through a small community ‘survey’. This can perhaps be explained by the lack of the appointment of a LA21 Officer and the development of an LA21 Strategy, and is likely to be a significant barrier to sustainability issues emerging and progressing. Through the review of literature there was recognition of the instrumentality of political agendas and the rationing out of opportunities for ‘community participation’ (Stewart, 1994). Arguably, West Lindsey District Council have denied communities the opportunity for meaningful dialogue and engagement on establishing priorities for sustainability through not employing a LA21 Officer to assist in the facilitation of this process (see Pereira, 2002).

As such, given the lack of a commitment to initiating a LA21 process, it is open to interpretation whether ‘statutory commitments’ of Best Value and Community Planning could lead to more effective channels of communication, both within the local authority and linked to the wider community, both generally and in operationalising the principles of sustainability. The broader issue for local authorities such as West Lindsey District Council is that they might engage in a ‘top-down’ approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability through Best Value and Community Planning, when LA21 processes might stimulate more ‘bottom-up’ approaches to operationalising the principles of sustainability.
One interpretation of the absence of identifiable linkages between the local community and the local authority in community orientated development for sustainability in Hull, is that the local authority was engaging in a ‘top-down’ approach to policy development. The corporate political commitment to sustainability was guided from the ‘Centre’, and whilst potentially perceived as an important factor in galvanizing internal officer actions, it might conversely curtail the emergence of local implementation structures for sustainability (Sabatier, 1993).

Therefore local authority linkages with community groups in creating policies for sustainability were largely aspirational and currently reliant on the capacity of ‘new’ political structures through area committees to stimulate actions on sustainability. The interviewed LA21 Officer, Planning Officer and Leader of the Council also recognised the challenge of community capacity building designed to overcome a ‘dependency culture’, with a deferential “Council knows best” approach. Both the interviewed LA21 Officer and Principal Planning Officer reflected on the past limitations of the paternalistic approach to service delivery by the local authority, expressed through an ‘old style’ representative form of governance.

These two interviewed respondents anticipated that with a new devolved style of governance, there was a greater potential to facilitate community involvement in sustainability issues. The Leader of the Council believed that the challenge of engaging communities in sustainability issues was to encourage “better educated communities who respect learning”. Whilst the Local Plan process was perceived to be receptive to community inputs in the consultation stage, it was also characterised as being dominated by single-issue representation. To overcome this, the service area of Planning had attempted to introduce innovative techniques to engage communities in the Local Plan process through the use of local media, exhibitions in shopping malls and by adopting participative techniques such as citizen juries.
SUMMARY OF LA21 AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

The literature review highlighted the work of Miller and Ahmed (1997) who recognised the ambitious, yet crucial policy goal, that local authority policy agendas should be more receptive to 'bottom-up' approaches to policy development. This raised the question as to how a shift from 'top-down' to 'bottom-up' approaches to policy development might occur, and crucially the role of LA21 in this process. The review of literature acknowledged that there were antecedents to LA21 as a process in facilitating participatory practice in the process of local governance in the UK (Young, 1997; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999). Furthermore, these initiatives signalled that community participation and partnership with local authorities are achievable. However, what was less certain from the literature was the capacity of LA21 to facilitate community empowerment in creating social transformation based on the principles of sustainability (Leslie and Hughes, 1997; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999).

Whilst each case study local authority was cognisant of community-based participatory techniques which might be used in the process of policy development, there were mixed responses to the utility of LA21 as a participatory technique in operationalising the principles of sustainability. Two of three case study local authorities had introduced a LA21 process with the expectation that this process would engage communities in establishing priorities for sustainability. However, in one of these case study areas, interviewed officers from Hull City Council, by their own admission suggested that they had a tradition of paternalism and 'a council knows best approach', which had constrained 'meaningful' community engagement in policy development. This response was consistent with Miller and Ahmed's (1997) observation of the challenge that faced local authorities in 'thinking' and operating in new ways beyond 'top-down' approaches to policy development and the challenge identified by Berger's (2002) that local power structures are inevitably 'top-down' in nature.

Nevertheless, in the case of Hull City Council the introduction of a LA21 process had stimulated a process of reflection within the local authority, with the recognition that a LA21 process would enable the local authority to address the short-comings of its paternalistic approaches to service delivery. This capacity for reflection and policy learning
was consistent with the work of Kitchen (1996) and Brown (1997) who argued that local authorities should develop a capacity for 'reflexive learning', prior to achieving meaningful engagement with communities in establishing priorities for sustainability.

The review of literature also highlighted the emergence of Best Value and Community Planning as policy initiatives with the potential for community orientated policy development underpinned by principles of sustainability. Consistent with this observation, West Lindsey District Council had decided not to initiate a LA21 process in favour of introducing both Best Value and Community Planning processes. However, this signalled policy intent to operationalise the principles of sustainability in these processes without having first established a LA21 process.

There were contrasting approaches within the three local authorities to engaging local communities in sustainability issues, with North Lincolnshire Council demonstrating the most advanced approach to expressing community views on sustainability within policy development. West Lindsey District Council have 'stalled' the process of operationalising principles for sustainability, apparently waiting for the introduction of Best Value and Community Planning to execute a mandatory responsibility to engage with local communities. Ironically, through involvement with a county-wide citizens panel and through existing ties with town and parish councils, West Lindsey District Council anticipates that existing communication channels with communities could be capitalised on in community based policy development for sustainability. Hull City Council demonstrated a political and corporate commitment to initiate and scrutinise policy development for sustainability, bolstered by a LA21 Team. The corporate aspiration was that decentralised approaches to service delivery through the introduction of area committees would stimulate community engagement in sustainability issues.
11.2 RESEARCH AIM TWO: TO CONSIDER THE CAPACITY OF THE POLICY AREA OF TOURISM TO OPERATIONALISE THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AND THUS PROVIDE EVIDENCE OF THE WIDER IMPLEMENTABILITY OF SUSTAINABILITY PRINCIPLES WITHIN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The review of literature highlighted the work of Kitchen (1996) and the importance that he placed on the ‘mainstreaming’ of the principles of sustainability within policy development in local authorities. He viewed the process of ‘mainstreaming’ as a vital prelude to local authorities being receptive to community priorities for sustainability emerging within policy development. Within this process of ‘mainstreaming’ he contended that LA21 Officers and associated teams had an important role to play in creating awareness of the principles of sustainability that might be adopted by a range of service areas within local authorities.

Whilst he did not make specific reference to the scope of Departments of Tourism to assimilate sustainability principles, nevertheless by implication such departments might face operational challenges within local authorities in being receptive to principles of sustainability. Part of the challenge for a Department of Tourism is the rationale underpinning policy development and delivery given the discretionary nature of Tourism as part of a policy portfolio for local authorities. This raised the question as to how the principles of sustainability might be embedded within tourism policy development processes.

The review of literature also distinguished between ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ approaches to the application of the principles of sustainability to policy development and delivery, with the suggestion that the service area of Tourism might be more amenable to promoting an economic development focus, and by implication a more ‘weak’ approach to sustainability. Whilst McKercher (1993) characterised tourism as a resource dependent and private sector dominated industry guided by commercial and economic imperatives, the review of literature also emphasised the wider dimensions of sustainability that might be integrated within tourism policy beyond economic and commercial considerations (Bramwell et al., 1996). In this respect the emergence of small-scale community-based forms of tourism (Federation of Nature and National Parks, 1993; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999) provided the scope for community stakeholders to play a positive role in the development of tourism
initiatives at the local level. Furthermore, the integration of tourism policy with other policy areas, might help to overcome operational challenges in assimilating the principles of sustainability in tourism policy development. Specifically Jackson and Morpeth (1999) noted that cycle tourism has been used as the catalyst for the development of cross-border community based rural tourism initiatives in Northern Ireland and Ireland. Therefore cycle tourism was viewed as a model for community based tourism development which exemplifies the principles of sustainability which could be replicated in other localities.

Within the context of these considerations, each local authority case study expressed a specific rationale for policy development for the service area of Tourism, largely based on economic development priorities. As such, it could be argued that associated interpretations and applications of the principles of sustainability might be based on 'weak approaches' to sustainability. However, within North Lincolnshire Council there was awareness of definitions and aspects of sustainable tourism, and although tourism did not feature as a main theme of the evolving LA21 Strategy, it nevertheless was given coverage across different themes. In West Lindsey District Council in the absence of a LA21 process the service area of Tourism viewed the development of community-based village tourism initiatives as a method of stimulating sustainable tourism initiatives. Hull City Council had adopted a similar approach to North Lincolnshire Council, in so far that community based tourist events were viewed to part of sustainable tourism considerations but without formal linkages with LA21 processes. This is germane to the empirical research findings which emerged within the previous sections, which suggested that there is evidence albeit incomplete, that LA21 processes have inconsistently stimulated local authority departments to engage in the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development and policy delivery.

This is apposite to the work of Leslie and Hughes (1997); Leslie and Muir (1997); Jackson and Morpeth (1999) and Font and Morpeth (2002), who highlighted the paucity of evidence of collaboration between LA21 and Tourism Departments in UK local authorities, in the 'mainstreaming' of the principles of sustainability in tourism policy development. In particular Leslie and Hughes' (1997) UK national survey was useful in indicating that local authorities had been slow to create linkages between the service area of tourism and LA21.
Furthermore, the LGMB’s review of the first five years of LA21 (LGMB, 1997) concurred with Leslie and Hughes’ (1997) survey that linkages with tourism and principles of sustainability were largely limited to the introduction of environmental management systems to the tourism and hospitality sectors (Young, 1997). However, insights from secondary research and the empirical research findings also indicated that there might be departmental-led initiatives for sustainability within the service areas of tourism and cycling, which are not dependent on the intervention of LA21 processes, with initiatives emerging from other departments within local authorities.

11.2.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE THREE: TO CONSIDER THE INTEGRATION OF LA21 POLICY DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES FOR SUSTAINABILITY WITHIN THE POLICY AREAS OF TOURISM AND CYCLING

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE COUNCIL

What emerged in previous sections was the pivotal role of the ‘Jigsaw Project’ as a forum for articulating themes of sustainability. Within the ‘Jigsaw Project’ (the evolving LA21 Strategy) tourism was not highlighted as one of the ten themes for sustainability which constituted the Jigsaw ‘pieces’, but was particularly evident as an element within the ‘Local Identity and Heritage theme’. Generally, whilst there was awareness of both the concept of sustainability and the process of LA21 within different departments within North Lincolnshire Council, awareness of sustainability as a policy issue was not necessarily a result of formal linkages with the LA21 Officer. Furthermore, parallel to a LA21 process emerging within the local authority, there were unilateral attempts to articulate the principles of sustainability within separate service areas. For example, the interviewed Team Leader for Planning identified sustainable tourism development as being related to “development on an appropriate scale” and the Transport Officer and Sustainability Officers recognised the sustainability principles exemplified by cycle tourism initiatives.

However, the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer was aware of the work of the LA21 Officer and Sustainability Unit, and was also able to offer a definition of sustainable tourism as the “sustainable and sympathetic development of natural and built environment
and quality of life”. Nevertheless, despite the capacity of the interviewed Tourism and Marketing Officer to respond to the principles of sustainability, there was ambivalence in the response of other service areas to the service area of Tourism, with the suggestion that Tourism was driven principally by a commitment to economic development objectives (couched within regeneration objectives) informed by association with ‘weak’ approaches to sustainability.

Revealingly, initiatives for tourism policies did not emerge exclusively within the service area of Tourism. For example, the Transport and Environment Team, together with a political representative, had established initiatives for cycle tourism in creating cycle routes and route guides. One interpretation of this process of collaboration is that there are policy ‘animatuer’s’ (or policy brokers, see Sabatier, 1993) who work to promote advocacy interests, within policy communities across policy boundaries committed to developing particular activities such as cycling and cycle tourism (Houlihan, 1991).

The interviewed community tourism Town Council representative, whilst sceptical about the concept of sustainability, nevertheless highlighted cycle tourism as a discernible form of sustainable tourism and as a growth form of tourism within the town he represented. He stressed in particular, the environmental dimension of cycle tourism which he contrasted with the ‘over-dependency’ on car based tourism. The recognition of cycle tourism as a sustainable form of tourism was not however, initiated through collaboration with a LA21 Officer (or Tourism and Marketing Officer) but was exclusively through a community interpretation of what constituted sustainable tourism.

WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL

The interviewed Deputy Chief Executive highlighted the expectation that in the absence of a LA21 process (and prior to the operationalisation of statutory policy frameworks of Best Value and Community Planning) the responsibility for promoting the principles of sustainability within policy development was contingent on unilateral actions within individual service areas. This led to negative responses from service areas to the corporate
apathy towards sustainability, but conversely had also stimulated some positive actions from individual service areas.

The interviewed Tourism Officer suggested that the lack of a LA21 process had created a policy vacuum which had prevented opportunities for community consultation and engagement in the issue area of sustainability. However, this interviewed officer also suggested that within the development of a proposed Tourism Strategy the policy focus of sustainability will “certainly be in there”. This provided evidence that the service area of Tourism had, in the absence of corporate encouragement and guidance, started the process of community consultation with village communities particularly through parish councils. These activities had focussed particularly on integrating water-based tourism initiatives linked with leisure and tourist based cycling routes. Cycling was promoted by both the service areas of Planning and Tourism (and was endorsed by the interviewed political representative) as a sustainable form of transport within the local authority area.

Furthermore, West Lindsey District Council’s collaboration with Sustrans in 1996, through the commissioned a report on the development of cycle routes, had led to the creation of a network of cycle routes throughout the District. In this sense, political and officer support for cycling within the local authority suggested that cycling had the potential to be a distinct transport and tourism form which could advance the principles of sustainability within policy development and delivery.

KINGSTON-UPON-HULL CITY COUNCIL

Whilst the service area of Tourism had made tenuous links with the LA21 Team, it was cognisant of the assimilation of the principles of sustainability within policy development. In particular it demonstrated a commitment to a national pilot scheme for sustainable tourism indicators, initiated through the English Tourism Council, as a guide to monitoring progress for sustainable tourism. The intention was that national indicators might be combined with local indicators, which would monitor progress in the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability. This provided the prospect of ‘progressive’ policy learning related to the benefits of the principles of sustainability within the service area of Tourism.
Despite concern from the service area of Planning that the service area of Tourism espoused 'narrow' economic objectives, which exemplified 'shallow' interpretations of sustainability, the interviewed officer within the service area of Tourism understood the utility of the principles of sustainability. In particular they communicated the importance of creating community linkages in the promotion of an events-based strategy for attracting tourists to Hull. The interviewed Cycling Officer stressed the importance of the co-ordinating role of LA21 to ensure that sustainability “should be integrated into every activity that the Council performs”. However, this officer had not made formal contact with the LA21 Officer but had, nevertheless, promoted headlining policies for sustainability within the Local Cycling Strategy.

SUMMARY OF THE LINKAGES BETWEEN LA21 AND THE POLICY AREAS OF TOURISM AND CYCLING

Consistent with the secondary research sources which highlighted uncertain policy linkages between LA21 and the policy area of Tourism, what emerged within the empirical part of the study was that contact between LA21 and the policy area of Tourism was found to be largely informal (and in the case of West Lindsey was non-existent). However, this did not appear to be a barrier to the policy area of Tourism assimilating the principles of sustainability in policy development. Furthermore, the service area of Transport, and specifically through policy development in cycling, has been receptive to articulating the principles of sustainability. Whilst LA21 might not be pivotal in stimulating actions for sustainability, it nevertheless appears to have an important role in creating awareness of the principles of sustainability. Additionally, policies for Tourism linked to the principles of sustainability, are also emerging within other service areas and are predicated on the commitment of policy ‘animateurs’ working within policy communities to develop activities such as cycling and cycling tourism. Such commitment to integrative working appears to be based on individual ‘enthusiasm’ rather by corporate ‘engineering’.
11.3 RESEARCH AIM THREE: TO SCRUTINISE THE POTENTIAL OF THE EXAMPLE AREA OF CYCLE TOURISM AS A MODEL OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Whilst this research project has already highlighted the capacity of LA21 to stimulate 'broader' policy processes to operationalise the principles of sustainability, this section examines the significance of cycling as a model of a sustainable form of transport and tourism, which is consistent with the central research question of this research project.

The review of literature highlighted the scope for cycling to exemplify a sustainable form of transport and tourism with both community and tourist benefits (Cope et al., 1998; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999). What emerged were discernible political, policy and community responses to cycling with its capacity for policy integration (Sustrans, 1996) and the exemplification of the principles of sustainability across policy boundaries (DETR, 1998). The renaissance in these different aspects of cycling within a UK context, has in part been due to the creation of a National Cycling Network through the continuing work of Sustrans in collaboration with local authorities. Furthermore, Central Government provided the policy impetus for cycling through the development of a National Cycling Strategy (1996) which in turn has stimulated the production of Regional and Local Cycling Strategies (DETR, 1998). A common element of these strategies is the exemplification of the principles of sustainability and tangible benefits of the wider application of a sustainable form of transport and tourism (Jackson and Morpeth, 1997).

Specifically, the review of literature highlighted the linkages between the cycling and the principles of sustainability through the Sustrans report 'Local Agenda 21 and the National Cycle Network: Routes to local sustainability' (1996b). This report related how the National Cycle Network (NCN) provides the scope to promote sustainability themes, incorporating reduction in pollution, efficient resource usage, health and creating diversity of nature and opportunities for culture, recreation and leisure. The agglomeration of these themes highlighted the flexibility of cycling to provide greater access to local services by communities and reduce the over-reliance on car usage. An important element in infrastructure development is political and policy commitment which prioritises
infrastructure development for community usage, which then has wider utility for recreation and tourism usage. In each of the case study local authorities there was political, officer and community support for the sustainability benefits of cycling.

11.3.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE FOUR: TO ESTABLISH THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CYCLE TOURISM AS A COMMUNITY BASED IMPLEMENTABLE MODEL OF SUSTAINABLE TOURISM

NORTH LINCOLNSHIRE COUNCIL

This case study identified that there is a corporate commitment to cycling within North Lincolnshire Council with both political representatives and officers endorsing cycling as part of a wider commitment to sustainable forms of transport and tourism. Specifically this 'issue area' has discernible policy objectives, implementation structures and evaluative mechanisms.

This corporate and strategic commitment to promoting linkages between the principles of sustainability and cycling is evident within a range of strategies and through policy integration between various service areas. In this respect the Transport Section has taken a lead in policy development for cycling with an emphasis on providing safe conditions for utilitarian, leisure and tourism based cycling. This commitment is embodied within a Local Transport Plan and Local Cycling Strategy (DETR, 1998) which has produced a framework for operationalising policies which are responsive to community-based cycling. Cycling is positioned within a transport hierarchy which is intended to give greater priority to 'greener forms' of transport in preference to motorised forms of transport. Consistent with this approach is the creation of concept of the North Lincolnshire Sustainable Cycle Network, which recognises the wider policy application of cycling as a sustainable form of transport, which exemplifies environmental, health and community accessibility dimensions of sustainability. This is consistent with the work of Sustrans (1996b) and Jackson and Morpeth (1997) who suggest that there are tangible linkages to be made between the principles of sustainability and cycling. In particular Sustrans (1996b) demonstrated that the development of a National Cycle Network had the capacity to promote environmental and
community benefits offering an alternative to car-based travel, and it was evident that North Lincolnshire Council was receptive to this view.

The interviewed Transport Officer (with responsibility for the development of cycling) also highlighted his ‘informal’ role, beyond the utilitarian focus of his work, to develop policy initiatives for leisure and tourism-based cycling, with policy integration with the Environment Team, Planning Service and the Tourism Unit. Additionally, both the interviewed Tourism Officer and interviewed political representative volunteered cycle tourism as an example of a sustainable form of tourism with likely economic and community benefits. Policy development for cycle tourism has largely been the result of informal collaboration between ‘policy animateurs’ in different service areas and has emerged pragmatically and incrementally rather than through a strategy for cycle tourism. ‘Policy animateurs’ for cycling include Environmental Officers, Transport Officers and politicians, collaborating on the development of cycle routes (and associated promotional literature) in the local authority area with particular relevance for recreation and tourism usage.

Local implementation structures for the policy area of cycling encompass a range of policy actors from within the local authority, from the local community and through advocacy interests of organisations such as Sustrans, who partly resource cycle infrastructure development within the local authority area. The interviewed Transport Officer also highlighted the importance of the monitoring of local cycle routes, as an integral part of securing central government funding for local transport initiatives. However, this officer’s insights into cycle tourist usage of cycle routes within the local authority area were largely anecdotal.

Consistent with the DETR’s (1998) expectation that local authorities should seek community engagement in creating local cycling strategies, the Transport Section sought the views of local cycling groups as part of consultation on the creation of the Local Cycling Strategy. In addition, the interviewed community tourism group representative confirmed that cycle tourists were visiting ‘his’ town, which is on the Hull to Harwich Cycle Route, suggesting that cycle tourism is a good example of a sustainable form of tourism, in the sense that tourists are arriving in Barton-upon-Humber on bicycles rather than in cars,
offering less of an environmental impact. He also viewed cyclists as adding income to the local economy.

SUMMARY

Within this case study there was compelling evidence of political and policy commitments to community-based cycling initiatives with discernible sustainability benefits. The main emphasis was on the development of signed and managed cycling routes designed to encourage greater community usage. In this respect cycling has the capacity to attract resources (not least from Central Government funding) to implement local projects which exemplify the principles of sustainability. Furthermore, there was an expectation by the interviewed Transport and Tourism Officers that cycle tourists would derive shared benefits from the creation of coherent and safe cycling infrastructure. Future research could monitor the levels of cycle tourist usage of the cycle network within the local authority area, not least the Sustrans' Hull to Harwich Route identified by the interviewed community respondent.

WEST LINDSEY DISTRICT COUNCIL

With Lincolnshire County Council having the responsibility for policy development for transport within the West Lindsey District, the County Council Structure Plan identified cycling as a sustainable transport form which might be developed within the West Lindsey District. Whilst there was a general commitment to developing and promoting cycling within the local authority area, there was the question of how this would occur in the absence of a specific Transport Officer within West Lindsey District Council. This paralleled the lack of a corporate focus for sustainability, in so far that policy responses would have to emerge within separate departments, perhaps signalling reduced opportunities for a coordinated response to policy integration for cycling and the recognition of its sustainability possibilities. In the context of these considerations the interviewed officers and political representatives offered consistent responses of the significance of cycling and cycle tourism within the District.
The interviewed Planning Officer highlighted that the local authority had succeeded in extending cycle routes between rural and urban parts of the District, providing communities with improved access to schools and shops by bicycle. He also cited the extended length of cycle routes as a measurable sustainable indicator, and likewise he recognised the capacity of cycle tourism to capitalise on the “quiet use of Greenways” within the local authority area. The interviewed political representative also recognised that the development of cycling infrastructure for utilitarian usage was an important community resource. Furthermore, he recognised that the physical geography of the West Lindsey District provided scope for leisure and tourism applications of cycling.

The interviewed Tourism Officer viewed the development of cycle tourism as a complementary part of special interest tourism development, (Hall and Weiler, 1992) with cycle routes linking village-based tourism initiatives, which combined Church Tourism and river based tourism. This officer had also held a public meeting in Gainsborough, one of the two main urban settlements within the District, to raise awareness of the potential for community benefits to be accrued from developing cycle tourism, not least from the section of the Hull to Harwich Route which traverses the local authority area. No specific community-based initiatives emerged from this meeting.

SUMMARY

As with progress generally towards the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development, there was a reliance on individual service responses to the development and promotion of cycling. Despite the lack of a co-ordinated corporate policy response to cycling, there was a discernible commitment to cycling by both officers and politicians. The fact that West Lindsey District Council commissioned Sustrans in 1996 to write a report which highlighted the utilitarian, leisure and tourism potential of cycling as a sustainable form of transport, emphasised the important policy status of cycling within the local authority, and its association within the principles of sustainability.
Within the context of policy development underpinned by the principles of sustainability, with the exception of a 'green fuels policy' and the electrification of vehicles, cycling emerged as one of the main cited policy initiatives which promotes the principles of sustainability within Hull City Council. Specifically the interviewed Cycling Officer for Hull City Council identified that “putting in the physical infrastructure for cyclists” would provide benefits for utilitarian, leisure and tourism cycling. Whilst there was an emphasis on the environmental dimension of sustainability (Bond et al., 1998), the interviewed Cycling Officer also recognised the importance of community benefits of cycling with the potential for greater access to services, and as an ‘healthy’ alternative to car-based transport.

This officer established communication channels with local cycling groups (The Hull Cycling Campaign) through a Cycling Forum, providing evidence of a ‘bottom-up’ approach to policy development for cycling. This ‘horizontalisation’ of policy development (Colebatch, 1998) which expresses community priorities for cycling, and might be interpreted as exemplifying the principles of sustainability at a more advanced stage of policy operationalisation than other policy initiatives within the local area, which are incremental and piecemeal in comparison. This case study demonstrated that community priorities for cycling were expressed through policy development for cycling, particularly through the policy priorities which emerged within the Local Cycling Strategy. In particular the Hull Cycling Campaign had an important role in promoting advocacy interests for cycling. In terms of policy innovation for sustainability, there is a demonstrable political and policy commitment by Hull City Council officers to the development of an infrastructure for cycling, through the policy instruments of the Local Transport Plan and the Local Cycling Strategy.

Underpinning headlining policies for cycling within the Local Cycling Strategy are references to the principles of sustainability which incorporate environmental, economic and social dimensions, consistent with advocacy in the literature for a broad range of dimensions of sustainability to be operationalised (Bramwell et al., 1996; Hall and Lew, 1998; Hall, 2000). For example the interviewed Cycling Officer identified that a key objective of the
Local Cycling Strategy was to integrate cycling into all areas of the local authority’s work, with cycling promoted as a healthy and environmentally sustainable form of transport. There was also evidence of both political support and policy commitment to cycling within the Local Transport Plan (and local development plans) which emphasised the importance of the creation of a cycling infrastructure as an important part of a sustainable transport system and as a cornerstone of transport bids to Central Government.

In terms of the practical implementation of cycling infrastructure, the interviewed Cycling Officer emphasised that 80 kms of new cycling infrastructure had been created within a 4 year period and served to minimise the adverse environmental impacts of motorised transport. The inference was that cycling was promoted as a more sustainable travel choice which would not only reduce traffic congestion but would allow communities greater non-motorised access to a range of services. Whilst the principal policy focus for cycling was on the development of utilitarian cycling, with leisure and tourism forms of cycling a secondary policy consideration, the interviewed Cycling Officer emphasised that improvements to cycling infrastructure “can benefit other forms of cycling”. For example there was recognition of Hull’s strategic location as an important transport hub, with P&O North Sea Ferry terminal 2 kms from the city centre. This has led to the emergence of long-distance cycling and walking routes supported by Sustrans, with the development of the Hull to Harwich and Trans-Pennine routes viewed by interviewed officers as promoting a sustainable form of tourism. Whilst Hull City Council has not implemented surveys on cycle tourism activity in Hull, anecdotal evidence from the interviewed Cycling Officer suggests that “groups of cyclists from the Netherlands can be seen cycling through Hull”.

SUMMARY

As with North Lincolnshire Council, Hull City Council has established a commitment to cycling as a sustainable form of transport and tourism articulated through a Local Transport Plan and supporting Local Cycling Strategy. In creating an infrastructure for community-based cycling, benefits and associated environmental improvements were anticipated which would provide better access to services. Pragmatically Local Transport Plans which incorporated cycling initiatives, provide scope for improved funding of local transport
initiatives from Central Government. As such, funding for local practical projects for cycling appear to be a means of promoting principles of sustainability within local authorities. Interviewed officers also highlighted the potential for shared usage of cycling infrastructure for recreational and tourism usage, with anticipated economic benefits (Sustrans, 1997) in addition to tangible social and environmental sustainability benefits for communities.

SUMMARY OF CYCLING, SUSTAINABILITY, TRANSPORT AND TOURISM

All three local authority case studies provided evidence of the commitment to the development of a cycling infrastructure for utilitarian, leisure and tourism usage which provide community and tourist benefits. Two of the three case study local authorities had appointed Transport Officers with a key role in the development and promotion of cycling. What emerged within all three case studies was the commitment to policy integration, cross-departmental collaboration and establishing external linkages with multi-agencies. The development of a section of the Hull to Harwich Cycling Route within each of the three local authorities, provided opportunities for collaboration with Sustrans and an East of England Tourism Group (a coalition of local authorities and tourism groups in East Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Suffolk and Essex responsible) for developing this route. This represents a discernible policy community with advocacy interests related to cycling (Houlihan, 1991; Colebatch, 1998). Cycling and cycle tourism provide evidence of the capacity to create the local implementation of practical projects for sustainability (Brown, 1997) with the ability to attract resources through national funding which adds to the prospect of policy sustainability. Furthermore, cycling demonstrates, the capacity to overcome policy inertia and to engage policy ‘animateurs’ and policy communities (Houlihan, 1991; Colebatch, 1998) in policy integration within local authorities and with external agencies and communities.

Cycling also demonstrates a capacity for ‘bottom-up’ community orientated policy development guided by regional and national bodies such as Sustrans and the CTC. Cycling as a policy issue has received political, policy, community and organisational support which suggests that it has the capacity to exemplify the principles of sustainability within a ‘climate’ of policy sustainability. With policy makers and politicians recognising the
importance of creating cycling infrastructure primarily for community applications (but which has the potential for leisure and tourism usage) confirms the capacity of cycling to engage communities with local authorities in establishing a sustainable form of transport with multiple applications. In short, cycling offers a practical solution to implementing the complex principles of sustainability at the local level.

The next section evaluate how changes within the structure of local governance provides the prospect for increased democratisation which potentially provides opportunities for collaboration and community orientated policy development, moving away from a model of 'top-down' policy making (Berger, 2002). Arguably 'exposure' to LA21 processess might be the catalyst which 'unlocks' the wider democratising applications of the principles of sustainability beyond narrow environmental applications, and in which 'bottom-up' approaches to policy making reflect a coalition of community based sustainability priorities (Holland, 2002).

11.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE FIVE: TO APPLY 'BOTTOM-UP' AND 'TOP-DOWN' MODELS OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION TO THE POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

With Clarke (1992) suggesting that the implementation of policy has centralised (vertical) and 'decentralised' (horizontal) elements, this research project recognises that it is important not to oversimplify a polarity of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' perspectives of policy development and delivery. In this respect Sabatier (1993) notes how 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' perspectives provide different strengths to the process of policy analysis. Consistent with this view, the application of 'bottom-up' perspectives focuses on "the perceptions and activities of participants" (1993:280) without necessarily being related to an explicit theory and, as such, is allied to a grounded theory approach (ibid.). Conversely Sabatier (1993) argues that 'top-down' perspectives have a greater predisposition to theoretical development which seeks to determine casual relationships, predictions and theory construction and, as such, are potentially hidebound by an assessment of policy outputs and outcomes.
This research project has synthesised elements of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ perspectives, which enables a combination of a ‘top-down’ assessment of the structure of policy making processes in local authorities, to be contrasted with ‘bottom-up’ perspectives which explore “the dynamics of local variation” (Sabatier, 1993:283) which seeks to locate ‘shared belief systems’ and advocacy coalitions (Houlihan, 1991). The review of literature highlighted that the policy making process within ‘traditional’ liberal democratic systems, promotes ‘trickle-down’ or idealised models of policy making processes (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984; Clarke, 1992). Consistent with this view, Ham and Hill (1984: 208) highlighted that the “view from the top is as relevant than that of other levels” based on the doctrine of political legitimacy of representative democracies. This is apposite to Barrett and Hill’s (1981) observation that there are normative expectations of how policy should be formulated and implemented. Part of this normative expectation is a rational and ‘top-down’ approach to policy implementation, where there is the ‘control’ of the policy making process so that policy is seen as unambiguous, with limited numbers of implementing actors and that there is a ‘Centralised’ implementation of policy without ‘interference’ from peripheral interests (Ham and Hill, 1984:96).

However, this study emphasises that the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability within policy development challenges the traditional orthodoxy of how policy should be made and delivered. Arguably, the full possibilities of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability requires evidence of the democratisation of local governance, in which ‘bottom-up’ processes to policy development are evolving. What emerged within two of the three of case studies is that there is control from the ‘Centre’, and a ‘top-down’ approach to operationalising the principles of sustainability. West Lindsey District Council made a corporate decision not employ a LA21 Officer or Team, and whilst Hull City Council had put in place the structural arrangements for LA21, this process was controlled from the ‘Centre’.

Therefore, whilst local authorities might co-ordinate and facilitate policy delivery systems, Elliott (1997) and Brown (1997) argue that there is a need to attract a diversity of inputs to make policy work. In this respect Barrett and Hill’s (1981) appraisal of ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy implementation focus on the interaction between actors and agencies,
rather than through the actions of ‘controlling’ organisations. Consistent with this view North Lincolnshire Council adopted a ‘bottom-up’ approach to community orientated policy development and delivery which is underpinned by the principles of sustainability. This local authority was ‘comfortable’ with the notion that community representatives and other organisations and agencies involved in local governance should play a key role in determining priorities for sustainability at the local level. The innovative ‘Jigsaw Project’ provided a forum and ‘accessible public space’ for collaboration on sustainability issues (Brown, 1997; Griffith, 2000).

More generally what emerged from the case study research findings is that identified local authorities in conjunction with community representatives responded in different ways to operationalising the principles of sustainability. These differences were expressed in a spectrum of corporate responses ranging from non-participation in a LA21 process, to a ‘Centralist’ approach driven by a strong political commitment, and thirdly a community orientated approach. There was greater synergy between the three local authorities in the development of cycling and cycle tourism, with consistent recognition by politicians, local authority officers, and community actors of the exemplification of sustainability principles within cycling.

The research insights also indicated that there are complementary (and potentially competitive) processes which are emerging at a local level which do not necessarily emanate within a LA21 policy framework. Specifically Best Value and Community Strategies were cited as having the capacity to stimulate community-based policy development which assimilates the principles of sustainability. However, whilst there was evidence of the capacity of LA21 to engage communities in ‘bottom-up’ responses to sustainability, Best Value and Community Strategies might be ‘managerially’ directed processes. Furthermore, processes for operationalising the principles of sustainability might involve a complex matrix of evolving (and stagnating) relationships between actors, and does not conform to a ‘linear’ and rational process of policy formulation through to policy implementation. Additionally, relationships might be incomplete, leading to piecemeal initiatives and fragmented processes.
Reflecting the empirical research insights, the review of literature highlighted that within the evolving dynamics of local and regional governance increasingly multi-agencies might play a partnership role (offering scope for further research beyond this research project) with local authorities in service delivery. There is evidence that LA21 processes have created opportunities for collaboration between local authority and community actors related to sustainability. Furthermore, without a LA21 process local authorities seem to be reliant on the individual commitment of officers to interpret principles of sustainability which are applied in a piecemeal fashion to service delivery.

Encouragingly perhaps for the future of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in policy development and delivery, is the capacity of LA21 to raise awareness of the transformatory qualities of the principles of sustainability. Arguably, political commitment and democratised political processes are needed to translate good intentions into actions and provide the scope for community priorities to emerge in these processes. The next section highlights the emergence of different models of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability at the local level.

11.5 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE SIX: TO IDENTIFY HOW EMPIRICAL INSIGHTS FROM A NUMBER OF CASE STUDIES CAN HELP BUILD A BODY OF PRACTICE WHICH HELPS TO INFORM SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS TO REFINE THE CONCEPT OF SUSTAINABILITY AND ITS OPERATIONALISATION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

The application of a case study research strategy was designed to ‘capture’ contextually and conceptually rich case study data which expresses scenarios for sustainability at a local level. The communicated case study narratives and associated policy analysis provided the scope for different interpretations of the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability at a local level.

The adoption of a largely qualitative research approach through a case study research strategy, was partly in response to the limitations of quantified approaches which attempt to make research insights generalisable to other “contextually stripped situations”, and which
seek to identify subsets of variables rather than contextual information (Denzin and Lincoln, 1992:15). Therefore the question of the generalisability of case study insights based on a qualitative research approach has to be balanced with the potential uniqueness of the process of operationalising the principles of sustainability in policy development at a local level. Consistent with this view, Stake (1998) considered that a case study research strategy has the capacity to “optimise understanding of the case rather than generalisation beyond” (1992:236) and has to resist the temptation to generalise in order to create theory. This has to be balanced with Stake’s (ibid.) notion of the “epistemology of the particular” (1998:33) in which the case study acts as a form of learning but can also act as “a single example of a broader class of things” (1998:36).

Within the context of this research project this raises the question of the recognition of the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability which are transferrable to different case study contexts. This might signal the broader application of epistemological (and methodological) insights with more general understanding of how to implement the principles of sustainability within policy making processes (with the prospect of transferring insights to planning and management processes) (Bramwell et al. 1996). This research project highlights that a theory of the implementation of the principles of sustainability is contingent on its application to specific contexts and distinctive socially-constructed scenarios of sustainability. This is consistent with the application of Punch’s interpretation of grounded theory as “full conceptual description” (2000:39), in so far that theories are provisional in character. Furthermore, the local narratives of sustainability which emerged within the three case studies expressed different interpretations, as well as commonalities and patterns from community representatives, politicians and local authority officers. Contingent on specific local authority contexts, three models of operationalising the principles of sustainability at the local level are highlighted below but which offer wider scope for the implementation of the principles of sustainability within local governance.
11.6 THREE MODELS OF THE OPERATIONALISATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

A COMMUNITY ORIENTATED POLICY DEVELOPMENT MODEL

North Lincolnshire Council can be characterised as a ‘Community Orientated Policy Development Model’ which demonstrates a ‘balanced’ political and policy response to operationalising the principles of sustainability. Sustainability as a policy issue has been inculcated within departmental and cabinet structures, with evidence of policy learning and succession (Davis et al., 1993) with evolution from distinctive environmental origins to the adoption of broader applications of principles of sustainability. Community input into the evolving LA21 Strategy and the ‘Jigsaw Project Group’, demonstrates ‘horizontalisation’ of policy development for sustainability structured within defined themes and the principles of sustainability, which supports Sabatier’s (1993) theory of the capacity for emergence of local implementation structures to be receptive to ‘common’ advocacy issues.

The membership of the ‘Jigsaw Project Group’ reflects the emergence of policy communities with multi-agency and sectoral input, but which also reflects community themes for sustainability, supporting Miller and Ahmed’s (1997) view that ‘new’ ways of making community orientated policies are possible. Within the framework of a strong corporate and political articulation of the principles of sustainability, the local authority has shifted the focus for operationalisation of the principles of sustainability from the ‘Centre’ to the ‘Periphery’, led by a discernible LA21 community-orientated process (Barrett and Hill, 1981; Sabatier, 1993).

In addition to this LA21 process, which communicated principles of sustainability within the local authority and within community fora, departmental responses to operationalising the principles of sustainability within strategic and operational policies have a distinctive environmental focus (consistent with the work of Leslie and Hughes, 1997 and Bond et al., 1998). However, cycling has been integrated in policy development between departmental and policy boundaries, stimulated by ‘policy animateurs’. The development of cycling is predicated on the primacy of community initiatives expressed within a Local Transport Plan and Local Cycling Strategy, but which have wider utility for tourism usage. Cycle tourism
has also received endorsement as a sustainable form of tourism from the representative of a local community tourism group.

A PRAGMATIC CENTRALISED POLICY MODEL

West Lindsey District Council’s ‘Pragmatic Centralised Policy Model’ can be characterised as a “stalled process” and as a managerialist approach (Clarke, 1992) to promoting the principles of sustainability within policy development. Not only was there a lack of corporate guidance and direction in sustainability as a policy issue, to the extent that a LA21 Officer was not appointed, but also and there was no LA21 strategy. As a ‘hung council’ there was no political pressure to stimulate corporate responses to sustainability, and departments were given the responsibility to articulate the principles of sustainability within policy development and service delivery.

The lack of a LA21 process meant that the channels of communication were not established with local communities, with the response from community representatives highlighting that there had been no community engagement or awareness raising related to sustainability. The Deputy Chief Executive anticipated that Best Value and Community Planning would create local authority and community dialogue on sustainability issues, but the inference was that this would be created with ‘managerial efficiency’, rather than by seeking to create local implementation structures which create policy communities. As such, the suggestion was that the operationalisation of the principles of sustainability in policy development would be controlled from the ‘Centre’ and would not emerge at the ‘Periphery’. The paradox of this case study was that West Lindsey apparently had established communication channels with community groups, mainly through the dynamic of parish and town councils, but had not used these communication channels to raise awareness of sustainability. Nevertheless, political and officer representatives consistently highlighted cycling and cycle tourism as important models of sustainable transport and tourism within West Lindsey District and had collaborated with Sustrans on route development.
A POLITICAL STEWARDSHIP MODEL

Kingston-upon-Hull City Council’s ‘Political Stewardship Model’, demonstrates how a local authority has invested political resources to determine that LA21 is positioned strategically within a Chief Executives Unit. If officers in North Lincolnshire Council can be characterised as ‘policy animateurs’ for developing cycling as a sustainable form of transport and tourism, the interviewed Leader of Hull City Council could be characterised as a ‘political animateur’ for sustainability. His philosophy, that all Council services should be underpinned by the principles of sustainability, received mixed officer support, yet in creating a politically constituted LA21 Task Group, he emphasised that policy inertia for sustainability could be challenged. The paradox of this case study was that there were officer insights as to the limitations of local authority paternalism within a representative system of local governance.

However, there were also insights that evolving democratised political structures could with “community capacity building”, enable a horizontalisation of policy development for sustainability. A further enigma was that political and corporate commitment for sustainability had not been matched by engagement with community groups to advance actions for sustainability. The process of operationalising the principles of sustainability within policy development was characterised as a dominant process within the local authority, with the creation of local implementation structures remaining largely aspirational. Cycling and cycle tourism were also highlighted by the political representative and interviewed officers as models of sustainable transport and sustainable tourism, with the Local Plan, Local Transport Plan and Local Cycling Strategy all communicating sustainability benefits of cycling.
One of the dominant themes which emerged within these three case studies was, to paraphrase Griffith (2000), the question of whether the obituary of sustainable development (LA21) should be written? Respondents within each case study made reference to Central Government policy agenda setting, with Best Value and Community Planning emerging through the statutory framework introduced by the Local Government Act (2000), to increase community-responsive service delivery. The inference was that the policy territory for LA21 within local authorities might become constrained, with resources being directed to Best Value, Community Planning (and latterly Local Strategic Partnerships) as statutory undertakings, with the discretionary activity such as LA21 losing its policy momentum.

The postscript to the North Lincolnshire Council case study is that the community inspired process of the evolving LA21 document and ‘Jigsaw Group’ (a Sustainability Core Group) has been subsumed within an environmental ‘element’ of an evolving Local Strategic Partnership. Therefore, what needs to be established is whether these policy processes will overtly create awareness and operationalise the principles of sustainability that was anticipated from LA21 policy processes? There were multiple references within the three case studies of the emergence of these policy initiatives directed by central policy agenda setting (Stewart, 1994). This can be contrasted with the positive ‘aspects’ of LA21 to emerge from this study, not least its capacity to establish policy sustainability for sustainability. Indeed LA21 has made possible the facilitation of policy processes for sustainability and has enabled wider dissemination of the concept of sustainability.

LOCATING ADDITIONAL CASE STUDY ACTORS

Within the design and application of the case study research strategy there is not only the question of who to interview first, but also which actors should emerge within the case
study design. Deciding on the configuration of case study actors to question, required
cognisance of the situational aspects of case study research contexts, which are
characterised by sub-sections and “a concatenation of domains - many so complex that at
best they can only be sampled” (Stake, ibid.). The case study profiles of local authority
areas therefore inevitably represent limiting perspectives of how highlighted actors interact,
to create relationships which form the processes of operationalising principles of
sustainability. Despite a meticulous case study approach, as always, there remains a
question mark over how widespread these sample experiences are. Within the scope for
further research exploring relationships between a range of other community representatives
would therefore provide additional insights into the emergence of community priorities for
sustainability.

LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND THE PRINCIPLES OF SUSTAINABILITY

Whilst the scope of this study focused on the interrelationship between local authorities and
local community representatives, one aspect that might be investigated within further
research is to explore the matrix of relationships within local governance, related to
assimilating principles of sustainability within policy development. Within the wider
arrangements of local governance within the sub-region of Humberside, which incorporates
local authority areas within this study, The Humber Estuary Partnership co-ordinates
environmental work between the 5 local authorities in the Humber basin and describes itself
as a “mechanism for the delivery of sustainable development in the Humberside Estuary and
Floodplain (2001)”. Their project manager commissioned a report in 2001 to consider the
potential for the development of Green Tourism initiatives within this sub-region. This
report concluded and recommended that within a range of potential ‘green tourism’
products, favourable for development and promotion is cycle tourism. This insight adds
further evidence of the receptiveness of this sub-region to the development of cycle tourism
as a community based form of sustainable tourism offering scope for further research on the
opportunities for the emergence of cycle tourism.
This study has confirmed that the well rehearsed conceptual and theoretical aspects of sustainability (Jackson and Morpeth, 1997) have been translated within local authority political and policy arenas but tangibly through LA21 processes in two of the case study local authorities. Given the many discourses and interpretations of sustainability perhaps unsurprisingly the three case study local authorities offered different interpretations of the principles of sustainability, and how these principles should be operationalised within policy development and delivery. However, regardless of the pivotal role of LA21 processes in operationalising the principles of sustainability, there is evidence of political, policy and community ‘animateurs’ who are committed to the principles of sustainability and finding tangible and practical projects. In this respect both the systematisation of policy processes for sustainability and the emergence of policy advocates and policy animateurs working across policy boundaries, are important in establishing policy sustainability.

LA21 proved to be a significant catalyst in the process of ‘mainstreaming’ the principles of sustainability within local authority operations, with evidence of its capacity to create awareness of principles of sustainability. Whilst the focus of its applications tended to reflect dominant environmental interpretations, two of the three highlighted case study local authorities recognised the importance of restructuring existing systems of representative democracy to more participatory systems. This at least offered the prospect of participatory processes to enable the articulation of the priorities of sustainability to emerge at a local level.

Whilst Best Value, Community Planning and Local Strategic Partnerships all signal policy initiatives which in theory provide the scope for the operationalisation of the integrative elements of sustainability, they may be ultimately characterised as ephemeral initiatives. LA21 has started the process of both local authorities and communities articulating priorities for sustainability and at least engaging in discussion and processes of awareness raising. This study has identified a dominant environmental interpretation of sustainability with piecemeal actions related to the ‘greening’ of local authority operations, nevertheless there is cognisance of the global principles of sustainability and how these ‘grand narratives’ might inform ‘local narratives’, not least the democratising qualities of sustainability.
Cycling and cycle tourism are given significant coverage within all three local authorities as promoting a variety of principles of sustainability, with benefits for communities and tourists. Therefore cycling has attracted inter-agency collaboration and community participation and as a model of sustainable tourism is implementable albeit in different ways within different policy frameworks.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX ONE

Map of the UK District and Unitary local authorities
(Interactive map website: www.gwydir.demon.co.uk/uklocalgov/localgov.htm)

Local authority case study area profiles

Kingston-upon-Hull City Council
www.hullcc.gov.uk

North Lincolnshire Council
www.northlincs.gov.uk/Northlincs/

West Lindsey District Council
www.west-lindsey.gov.uk
North Lincolnshire Council

Strategic Management Structure - 2001

Chief Executive

Director of Corporate Affairs

Director of Community Services

Director of Education and Personal Development

Director of Environment and Public Protection

Director of Social and Housing Services

- Sustainability unit
- Local Agenda 21
- Tourism Team
- Transport
- Cycling
- Planning
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Kingston upon Hull City Council
Directorate Organisation Chart

Chief Executive
Ian Crookham

Managing Director
Jim Brooks

Group Director
Hull City Services
Martin Mancey

Group Director
Community Services
Tom Hogan

Assistant Chief Executive
(Strategic)
Tony Taylor

Group Director
Regeneration & Development
John North

Group Director
Learning Services
Peter Fletcher

- Local Agenda 21
- Transport
- Cycling
- Planning
- Tourism
APPENDIX FIVE

Questions in semi-structured interviews

(Bracketed questions emerged in response to answers given by interviewees as part of the semi-structured interview process)

Case Study One: North Lincolnshire Council

LA21 and Environment Team Officers
1/9/99

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. Could you outline the aims and objectives of the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection?
Q. What are your roles within the Directorate?
Q. How does the work of the Directorate specifically relate to the implementation of sustainable development policy both within the council and in North Lincolnshire?
Q. How do you define sustainable development?
Q. What dimensions of sustainable development does the Environment Team focus on?
Q. To what extent does the Local Agenda 21 (LA21) strategy focus on the environmental dimension of sustainability?
Q. What is the significance of EMAS and LA-EMAS in the implementation of sustainable development?
Q. How is LA 21 policy/strategy created -developed-implemented-monitored?
Q. How are the ‘guiding principles’ established?
Q. What are the main obstacles to successfully implementing sustainability policies?
Q. To what extent does LA21 offer ‘new’ and innovative ways of working beyond ‘traditional service delivery’ for local communities?
Q. How do you influence/inform/raise awareness of council departments adopting the principles of sustainable development within their service delivery?
Q. What is the time scale for the implementation of LA21 strategies at the local level?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. What input do councillors/politicians have in creating policy/strategies for sustainable development?
Q. Who are the key political contacts?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. How do you involve community representatives in the policy/strategy making process on sustainable development?
Q. How do you raise awareness with local communities in sustainability issues?
Q. How do you empower and encourage all sections of the community to participate in decision making on sustainable development?
Q. How do you resolve conflicting aspirations - different sets of priorities for a sustainable future by local communities?
Q. Are there examples in North Lincolnshire of area based fora /‘mini’ LA21’s for parishes and wards?
Q. What are village design statements?
Q. How do you avoid expert agenda setting for LA21 policy?

External organisational linkages and sustainability
Q. How do you co-ordinate your policies/strategies of sustainable development with other local authorities/regional organisations?
Q. How does Central Government scrutinise progress in the implementation of Local Agenda 21 (LA21)?

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
Q. How do you influence the service delivery on tourism to include the principles of sustainable development within their policies?
Q. How is cycling/cycle tourism included within policies/strategies for sustainable development?
Q. Do you have a particular input on Local Transport Plan and the development of the North Lincolnshire Cycle Network?
Q. How do you see the scope for cycling/cycle tourism to further progress in the implementation of sustainable development with North Lincs?
Q. Is there evidence of local community involvement in the development of tourism/cycle tourism initiatives?

Transport Officer (‘Cycling Officer’)
18/10/99

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. What is your role within the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection?
Q. Could you describe the process of formulating and implementing the Local Transport Plan (LTP)?
Q. How has environmental policy within the Directorate influenced the orientation of the LTP e.g. particularly the objective to provide a more sustainable transport system?
Q. To what extent are the principles of LA21 incorporated within the LTP?
Q. Did the Environment Team have an input into the development of the LTP?
Q. How does EMAS-LA-EMAS influence transport policy in the LTP?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. Do local councillors/politicians ‘champion’ cycling?

External organisational linkages and sustainability
Q. To what extent is this plan informed and influenced by the 1997 Integrated Transport White Paper (New Deal for Transport)?
Q. Other Central, Regional Government initiatives?
Q. Have TPPs been replaced by a new generation of transport bids?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. What input do local people, businesses and operators have in the implementation of the LTP?
Q. To what extent was cycling promoted as a ‘need’ by local people?
Q. How does the LTP address the notion of social inclusion, integration and access issues?
Policy innovation tourism, cycling and sustainability

Q. How was cycling incorporated within the LTP as a transport issue?
Q. What role does cycling play in LTP bids to Central Government?
Q. Does the Cycling Strategy make a distinction between the development of utilitarian and recreational cycling?
Q. How did the concept of the North Lincolnshire Sustainable Cycle Network (NLSCN) come about?
Q. What are the guiding principles behind the NLSCN?
Q. To what extent is cycle tourism incorporated within the Cycling Strategy?
Q. How has the Sustrans’ National Cycle Network initiative incorporated within the Local Cycle Network?
Q. Does the local authority have an input into the Hull to Harwich cycle tourism initiative within the local authority area?
Q. Does the service area of Tourism have an input into the Hull to Harwich cycle tourism initiative within the local authority area?
Q. Does the service area of Tourism have an input into the LTP particularly through the development of joint initiatives on cycle tourism?

Tourism Officer
3/3/00

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability

Q. What are the aims and objectives of the service area of Tourism within the Directorate of Environment and Public Protection?
Q. What are the main functions of the service delivery of Tourism?
Q. What are the Tourism Development aims of the local authority?
Q. What is your role as Tourism Officer?
Q. Could you outline the process of how Tourism policies and strategies are produced?
Q. What is the officer/political/community input into this process?
Q. What has been the impact of EMAS/LA-EMAS and sustainable auditing on the service delivery of Tourism?

External, community linkages and sustainability

Q. Are there community participation initiatives in Tourism?
Q. Are there specific initiatives on sustainable tourism?
Q. What are the role of Tourism in the development of cycling/cycle tourism?
Q. Interaction with Sustrans/Hovis on cycle route development?

Political representative (Labour)
Chair of the Environment and Public Protection Committee
Spokesperson for Environment and LA21
3/4/01

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability

Q. When did sustainability first emerge as a policy issue within North Lincolnshire Council?
(Q. So in this transitional period that you talked about—when the cabinet system is in place do you think that sustainability will remain a key issue?)
(Q. You said that the importance of sustainability was symbolised by LA21 and the Environmental Sub-Committee but within the ‘new’ local authority structure it sounds as though there will not be a replication of that sub-committee?)
(Q. Will there be a new structure in place for sustainability?)
Q. (It sounds as though it is very much championing the cause of sustainability with the wider community and partnership roles?)
Q. What is the policy status of sustainability within NLC?
Q. What particular service areas have led the way in formulating/implementing policies for sustainability?
Q. (Are there other service areas which have led the way with sustainability?)
Q. What is the role of Best Value as a means of implementing policies for sustainability?
Q. What are the main barriers to the successful implementation of policies for sustainability within NLC?
(Q. Is money an issue in the resourcing of initiatives for sustainability?)
Q. Do local authority policies go through an environment/sustainability audit?
Political responses to sustainability
Q. Could you explain your political role in NLC?
(Q. So will the function of the Environment and LA21 reappear somewhere in the cabinet style of government?)
(Q. Is it an aspiration of yours to continue in the role of LA21?)
Q. Could summarise your work on sustainability?
Q. Is it possible to highlight particular successes on sustainability during the time of the Sub-Committee?
(Q. Is this through EMAS/LA-EMAS?)
Q. How do members influence officers in formulating/implementing policies for sustainability?
Q. What is the role of political representatives in awareness raising for sustainability issues within the local authority and wider community?
Q. Are there different political approaches to sustainability within NLC?
Q. Do politicians have training/awareness raising related to sustainability?
Q. Can the issue of sustainability go beyond party political issues?
Q. (Do you see sustainability as encompassing some of the fundamental socialist principles that you described-as a reinvention of these types of principles?)
Q. What role do ward councillors have in promoting sustainability as an issue at a ward level?
(Q. Are there ward councillors who have taken a key process in the overall process of raising awareness of sustainability in the local authority?)
Q. Are there councillors who have ‘championed’ sustainability?
Q. So depending on the outcome of the internal elections then there will be a lead person for the Environment and Sustainability?
(Q. So a cabinet member will be a key person?)
Q. With NLC have scrutiny committees?
Q. Does NLC have a Political Sustainability Task Group?
Q. Is it important that the Leader of the Council ‘takes on board’ the importance of sustainability?
External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. To what extent do you feel there is positive community involvement in creating/implementing policies for sustainability?
Q. It seems to be a question of what will emerge from steering committee/steering group in terms of the JIGSAW Project?
Q. Do feel optimistic about the progress of the project?
Q. (So there is a wider social agenda than the environmental dimension?)
Q. (How do you get that across to the wider community –do you think that message is getting across with perhaps confusing jargon?)

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability

Q. On the issue of local transport has cycling has emerged as a political issue?
Q. On political discussions of sustainability does cycling/cycle tourism come onto the agenda?
Q. Are you aware of the work of Sustrans?
Q. Are you involved on initiatives on tourism?

Development Plans Manager
25/7/01

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability

Q. What is your role in the Planning and Environment Division?
Q. How is the service structured?
Q. How was the Local Plan (LP) created internally within your unit?
(Q. Was that a fairly painful process or an enlightening one?)
Q. What are the LP objectives?
Q. What are the key planning issues (planning issues of adopting existing plans)?
Q. What guidance is there towards sustainable development in the Local Plan?
Q. Have you taken advice or guidance from the Sustainability Unit/Environment Team –or does their work parallel what you are doing?
Q. Is the Local Plan the most effective strategic framework for establishing the sustainable development aims of NLC?
Q. What are the definitions of sustainable development which emerge within the planning process – is it mainly an environmental dimension?
Q. What guidance is there towards sustainable development in the Local Plan?
Q. Have you taken advice or guidance from the Sustainability Unit/Environment Team –or does their work parallel what you are doing?
Q. Is the Local Plan the most effective strategic framework for establishing the sustainable development aims of NLC?
Q. Do make use of sustainability indicators in terms of monitoring the Local Plan?
Q. Is the monitoring done internally through some form of review?
Q. Has there been an Environmental/Sustainability Appraisal of the Local Plan?
Q. Do make use of sustainability indicators in terms of monitoring the Local Plan?
Q. Is the monitoring done internally through some form of review?

External, community linkages and sustainability

Q. Community input-consultation?
Q. Do you use ‘Planning for Real’ or any simulations which look at the ‘vision’ for the Local Plan?
Q. Was there any comment by the public on the LP’s contribution to sustainable development?
Q. How successful was the consultation with community involvement?
Q. (Is community ‘capacity building’ a nationwide concern in getting people engaged in the planning process?)

**Political responses to sustainability**
Q. Do members take a party political view of planning?
Q. Do members actually speak for community representatives on planning issues in political wards?

**External organisational linkages and sustainability**
Q. Who co-ordinates the Humber Trade Zone?
Q. You mentioned before that you are linked to the North East Lincolnshire on Structure Planning—is there synergy between the Structure Plan and Local Plan?
(Q. So yourselves and North East Lincolnshire are ‘seeing out’ the final parts of an existing Structure Plan?)
Q. What is the role of Regional Planning Guidance?

**Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability**
Q. What is the role of Tourism within the Local Plan?
(Q. Has the notion of sustainable tourism been discussed?)
(Q. In preparing planning issues related to Tourism are they discussed with the Tourism Officer or is there a strategic overview from Planning?)
Q. Are there links between the Local Plan and the Local Transport Plan?
Q. What about the role of cycling—does cycling feature in the Local Plan?
Q. Have you had any involvement with Sustrans?

**Community tourism representative – Barton Tourism Group**

9/2/2001

**Organisational elements of the Barton Tourism Group**
Q. How long has the Barton Tourism Group been in operation?
Q. How have you expanded?
Q. How many people are on the committee?
Q. How did the idea of the Tourism Partnership come about?
Q. How long did it take to set up?
Q. How often do you meet?
Q. What is your role in the Group?
Q. So to date would say that there are any particular initiatives which have ‘got off ground’—or things which you have been involved in?
Q. What sort of budget do you work within?
Q. What are the roles of the members of the Barton Tourism Group?
(Q. So is it initiative by initiative?)
Q. What are the official aims of the Group?

**Linkages with North Lincolnshire Council and responses to sustainability**
Q. Do North Lincolnshire Council provide funding?
Q. Have you had any involvement with the LA21 Officer?

**Tourism initiatives**
Q. Is there a particular type of tourism that you would like to see in Barton?
Q. Have you witnessed a growth in a particular type of tourism?
Q. Have any types of survey been done?
Q. Do you think of the aims of the group reflect the tourism aims of the wider community?
Q. Is it representative of the Barton community?
Q. Are they particular party political representatives within the group?
Q. Does the group have links with North Lincolnshire Council Tourism Service?
(Q. Does she attend the meetings?)
(Q. Would that be the only time you would meet?)

Cycle tourism initiatives
Q. You mentioned more cyclists coming to Barton - are you seeing those cyclists through the development of the (Sustrans) Hull to Harwich Route?
Q. Has there been any discussion of cycle tourists through the group?
Q. Will you have discussions with Sustrans?
Q. When the Hull to Harwich Route was created did the Barton Tourism Group have an input?
Q. You seem to suggest that there is a lot of scope for cycle tourism in Barton?
Q. Is it known what the origins are of these tourists?
Q. Has the Group talked about promoting sustainable tourism/used the term sustainable development?
(Q. Why have you identified cyclists as an example of sustainable tourism?)
Case Study Two: West Lindsey District Council

Community responses of the awareness of Sustainable development/LA21
Market Rasen residents
4/11/00

Q. Have you heard sustainable development/ LA21 ?
if so
Q. Where have heard it from ?
Q. What does it mean to you ?
Q. Have you received information from West Lindsey Council on sustainable development/ LA21 ?
if so
Q. Please state what this information is ?

Deputy Chief Executive/ ‘Acting LA21 Officer’
10/11/00

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. What is role as LA21 Officer ?
(Q. What is your role as Deputy Chief Executive in relation to LA21 ?)
(Q. Are you going to submit an Action Plan to Central Government by December 31, 2000 ?)
(Q. You seem to have linked the principles of LA21 with the Community Strategy and Best Value ?)
(Q. You have explained the linkages of principles of sustainability with these dimensions and seem to be suggesting that you do not focus just on an environmental dimension ?)
Q. How do you define sustainable development ?
Q. What is the significance of EMAS/LA-EMAS for sustainable development ?
Q. How is LA21 policy developed-what is the process from conception to implementation ?
Q. Is there awareness raising of LA21 issues within local authority ?
Q. Are there linkages between LA21 and between different service areas ?

External, community linkages and sustainability
(Q. When the Community Officer is in post will they promote the principles of sustainability (within their remit) ?)
Q. Where do the people in the Community Panel come from ?
Q. How do choose these people ?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. What is the political influence on strategies for LA21 ?
Q. Is the engagement with communities ‘expert-led’ ?

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
Q. Do initiatives related to tourism and cycling come from the Tourism Officer ?

External organisational linkages and sustainability
Q. Are there joint initiatives with LA21 and other local authorities ?
(Q. Is this co-ordinated through East Midlands Government Office ?)
Tourism and Arts Officer  
14/11/2000

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. What are the main aspects of your role as Tourism and Arts Officer?
Q. What are the main aims and objectives of the service area of Tourism/Arts - development/promotional role?
Q. What are the key initiatives?
Q. Could you highlight how Tourism/Arts policies and Strategies are produced?
Q. What is officer/political/community input into this process?
Q. What is the EMAS/LA-EMAS / sustainability auditing on the service area of Tourism/Arts?
Q. What links do you have with the LA21 Officer/Team?
Q. Do they have a formal/informal input into tourism policies and strategies?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. Are you involved in community development initiatives of the local authority?
Q. Is there community participation in Tourism/Arts?
Q. Is there community involvement in cycle tourism?

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
Q. Are you involved in specific initiatives on sustainable tourism?
Q. Have you involved in the development of sustainable tourism initiatives on indicators (involving local and national)?
Q. What is the role of Tourism in the development/marketing of cycling/cycle tourism?
Q. Do you have responsibility for the development of cycling/cycle tourism?
Q. What interaction do you have with Sustrans/Hovis on cycle route development in West Lindsey?
Q. Are there current/future initiatives on cycle tourism within WLDC/Partners?

Principal Planner-Forward Planning.  
25/11/00

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. What is your main role in Planning Services?
Q. How is the service structured?
(Q. Do your colleagues in this Team have specific functions?)
Q. How is the Local Plan created within Planning Services, WLDC (How do you put it together?)
(Q. So is ‘planning vision’ for West Lindsey is really a joint vision between officers and members?)
Q. What are the Local Plan objectives – are there key objectives which determine the ‘shape’ of the plan?
Q. What are the key challenges for the plan area?
Q. Is the Local Plan the most effective framework for establishing the sustainable development aims of WLDC?
(Q. This is almost defining local authority planning and philosophical elements of sustainable development?)
(Q. Is the ‘language’ of sustainability something which you have been working with for a number of years already?)
Q. What is your definition of sustainable development?

Q. What are key dimensions of the planning process?

Q. Have you built in sustainability indicators and monitoring?

Q. How does the Local Plan support and complement other corporate strategies?

Q. Is there internal consultation within departments of the Local Plan?

Q. Do you have linkages with policies for LA21 within your local authority?

Q. Have you got a key role in the LA21 process?

Q. Are LA21 (principles) implicit in the work that you do?

**External, community linkages and sustainability**

Q. Could you characterise what the community input is in terms of the consultation?

(Q. It sounds quite difficult to get information from communities—has it been a new approach to you?)

(Q. The consultation had successes then—you have to build up trust in this process?)

Q. What has been the proactive role of communities in shaping the Local Plan?

(Q. What is the role of the inspector in acting as an arbiter between conflicting ideas?)

Q. How do you see the balance of the planning vision between the community and the local authority?

**Political responses to sustainability**

Q. What was the level of awareness on sustainable development when you were going through the consultation stages—did members have something to say about sustainable development?

(Q. Was this something which was significant at the Deposit Stage—that people raised without prompting?)

(Q. It’s an underpinning set of principles throughout the Local Plan then?)

(Q. Is there a notion of policy learning in that the time of the next Local Plan there will be policy succession?)

**External organisational linkages and sustainability**

(Q. Is there a dichotomy between planning functions between Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty and other landscapes?)

Q. How does the Structure Plan guide the Local Plan?

(Q. Does the Regional framework influence the plan process?)

Q. What position does sustainable development have within the Structure Plan?

(Q. Is this (sustainable development) the ‘driver’ through Regional Guidance?)

(Q. Was the sustainability appraisal an addition to the environmental appraisal?)

**Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability**

Q. Does the issue of tourism development create challenges for the plan process?

Q. What are percentage of applications are for tourism applications for projects?

Q. Are there planning linkages with the service area of Tourism?

Q. Is there a link between the Local Plan and Community Transport Plan and cycling?

Q. What monitoring exercises are done?

Q. Does cycle tourism impact on planning priorities in identifying ‘quiet’ routes?
Political Representative (Liberal Democrat)
11/1/01

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. What is your role in Community Services/LA21?
Q. Does that directly relate to LA21?
Q. In terms of December 31, 2000 deadline (of LA21 submission of LA21 Plan to National Government) is there a WLDC statement on LA21?
Q. When did policy formulation for sustainability first emerge within WLDC?
Q. Do you feel that the term sustainability has become common currency yet within WLDC?
Q. What is the policy status of LA21 with WLDC?
Q. What is the facilitating role of the LA21 Officer?
Q. Do you know who first initiated policies for sustainability in WLDC?
Q. How has sustainability progressed as a policy priority within WLDC?
Q. Does Best Value provide a greater incentive for the local authority than LA21/Sustainability?
(Q. It sounds like it might be a very successful way of promoting success/awareness raising in sustainability?)
Q. Can I ask you what WLDC sustainability objectives are?
Q. In terms of those objectives how well advanced are they? What are the particular issues?
Q. Are there particular service areas which have led the way in incorporating the principles of sustainability into policy formulation and service delivery?
Q. What are the main barriers to the successful implementation of policies for sustainability within WLDC?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. Are there different party political perspectives/responses to sustainability issues/LA21 within WLDC?
Q. Do you feel that your perspective on sustainability as a Liberal Democrat is different for instance to that of the Conservatives?
Q. Are your ideas on policy formulation as a Liberal Democrat perceived in a hostile way by other members?
Q. How do members influence officers in forming/implementing policies for sustainability?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. Is there community awareness of sustainability issues?
Q. Is there community awareness of the work of WLDC and sustainability?

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
Q. Are there linkages in LA21 issues related to tourism and cycling and cycle tourism?
Q. How does cycling feature in Transport policies/strategies?
Q. In your political role are you aware of the role of Sustrans?
Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. Could you outline the aims and objectives of your Department (the Strategic Management Group)?
Q. What is your role within the local authority?
Q. How long have you been in post in?
Q. Is LA21 one of a number of competing issues within the Policy Group?
Q. Is anyone else working with you on LA21?
Q. What is their remit?
Q. In terms of implementing sustainable development policy—how does that work within the local authority?
Q. Do you do any training (awareness raising) related to LA21?
Q. What has been the response of departments to sustainability?
Q. How do you define sustainable development?
Q. What dimensions do you focus on as a local authority, are there particular principles which are highlighted?
Q. Have you developed EMAS/LA-EMAS within the local authority?
(Q. Is there a legacy from this that departments see the sustainable development debate being about an environmental focus to sustainable development?)
(Q. Has the focus of sustainability being affected by the transition from one type of local authority to another (i.e. shift to Unitary status?)
Q. How is LA21 policy created—could you talk about the origins of policies within your area?
(Q. When you talk about challenging departments (and the experience with E-MAS) can you formally challenge departments, or does it happen through a devolved ownership of sustainable development?
External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. How are communities involved in creating policies for sustainable development?
Q. What service areas are well developed at this community interface?
(Q. Are there origins within say Housing Departments of community development?)
Political responses to sustainability
(Q. Where does the Task Group ‘sit’ within the cabinet system?)
(Q. Is it fortuitous that the Portfolio Holder is Leader of the Council?)
(Q. Is he a supporter of LA21 role?)
Q. What are the main obstacles to successfully implementing policies on LA21/sustainable development?
Q. How does Best Value fit into financial objectives of departments?
Q. To what extent does LA21 offer new and innovative ways of working towards traditional service delivery?
External organisational linkages and sustainability
Q. On a regional basis is York City Council the co-ordinating local authority for LA21 in the region?
Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
Q. Are you involved in tourism and cycling initiatives?
Cycling Officer  
18/9/00

Internal, corporate responses to sustainability
Q. What is your role as Cycling Officer for Hull City Council?
(Q. Are those roles fairly equal?)
Q. Which department do you operate in—are you in the Transport Section?
Q. In terms of cycling, are you the lone member then?
Q. What are the main cycling infrastructure initiatives which have occurred in Hull?
(Q. Is this map one that I can take?)
(Q. So you are talking about different lengths of routes that you have got—have you actually set some targets for different types of routes?)
(Q. In terms of a length of route, in terms of monitoring use have you done that as part of transport packaging—to show possible levels of increasing usage?)
Q. What involvement have you had in the formulation and implementation of a Local Transport Plan?
Q. What is the role of the Transport Section?
Q. Is this in line with National Strategy targets?
Q. What influence has the National Cycling Strategy had on the creation of a Local Plan/Strategy?
Q. What role does cycling play in the Local Transport Plan/Local Plan/Cycling Strategy?
Q. In terms of the Cycling Strategy has there been an input from other officers?
Q. What are the main objectives of the Cycling Strategy?
Q. Moving onto sustainability—does the Cycling Strategy interpret the Council’s ‘version’ of sustainability—or do ‘you’ have your own interpretation?
Q. To what extent are the principles of LA21 incorporated in the Cycling Strategy?
(Q. How did that (with the LA21 Team) consultation come about?)
(Q. Is this an EMAS/LA-EMAS initiative?)

External, community linkages and sustainability
(Q. Has there been local consultation (on route development)—how has it being received by local residents?)
(Q. It looks as though you are actually fulfilling two functions here, you are actually improving the infrastructure for utilitarian cyclists—and in improving corridor routes in and out of the city potentially for cycle tourists?)
Q. What resources have you got to get people in areas onto bikes?
(Q. Presumably initiatives through schools has happened?)
(Q. Is this through TPPs?)
Q. What input have local community groups had in the formulation of the Cycling Strategy?
(Q. Are they (the Hull Cycle Campaign) a lobbying group?)

Political responses to sustainability
Q. What support is there politically for officers?
Q. Have politicians championed the cause of cycling?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. Are you part of a regional network of cycling officers?
Q. What about the idea of monitoring and targets—because nationally derived indicators might not relate to local conditions?
(Q. You have said that you have set headline targets—if you do not does that effect your funding regimes?)

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability

(Q. So is this going to improve the prospects of cyclists coming off the (P+O) ferry?)
(Q. Is this dependent on an application for European funding?)
Q. What are the priorities for utilitarian, leisure and tourism initiatives?)
Q. What are the cycle tourism route links related to Hull?
Q. Does cycle tourism feature in the Local Cycling Strategy?
Q. Do you monitor/cycle tourism levels in Hull (cyclists coming through North Sea Ferries)?
Q. What links do you have with Service Area of Tourism?
Q. What links do you have with Sustrans?

Tourism and Marketing Officer
18/10/2000

Internal corporate and departmental responses to sustainability

Q. What the main aspects of your role as Tourism Marketing Officer within Hull Tourism?
Q. What are aims and objectives of the service delivery of Tourism?
Q. What are the main functions of the service delivery of Tourism? e.g. your developmental and promotional?
Q. Could you explain the process of how Tourism policies and strategies are produced?
(Q. You have suggested the launch of a Tourism Strategy in 1998 but it sounds as though there is to be a rewrite in the next few months?)
(Q. Because the National Tourism Strategy came up with a policy framework is this a template for this local authority?)
Q. What impact of EMAS/LA-EMAS and sustainable auditing on the service delivery of tourism?
Q. What links do you have with the LA21 team?
(Q. It sounds as though linkages have been established?)
(Q. Are the LA21 Team actually putting on an event to raise the profile of sustainability?)
(Q. When the strategy is rewritten would the LA21 Team be another Team with the potential input into the strategy?)
Q. Do they have a formal/informal input on tourism policies and strategies?

External, community linkages and sustainability

Q. Has the service area of Tourism been involved in developing sustainable indicators? (involving local and national initiatives?)

Political responses to sustainability

(Q. Does the local strategy have to have committee/cabinet approval?)
Q. What is the officer/political/community input into this process?

External, community linkages and sustainability

Q. Is Hull Tourism involved in specific initiatives on Sustainable Tourism?
Q. Have there been initiatives on ‘Green Tourism’?
Q. What is the role of Tourism in the development/marketing of cycling/cycle tourism?
(Q. When you travel to trade shows do you promote cycling there and the cycling tradition of Hull?)
(Q. It sounds as though cycling is not just a niche product but that you have a broader perspective on what is happening on the cycling side and how it feeds into tourism?)
Q. What links do you have with the local authority Cycling Officer in cycling initiatives?
Q. What interaction do you have with Sustrans/Hovis cycle route development in Hull?
Q. What current/future initiatives on cycle tourism do you have with partners?

Planning, Policy and Information Officer(s)
29/11/00

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. Could you outline the main aspects of role within Renervation/Development/Planning and Transportation?
Q. How is the service structured?
Q. How are Local/Structure Plans created?
Q. Key objectives of plans?
Q. What are the key challenges for the Plan Area?
Q. Is the local planning system the most effective framework for establishing sustainable development aims for Hull City Council?
Q. What is your definition of sustainable development/which dimensions of sustainable development are promoted?
Q. Are sustainable indicators used?
Q. How does the local planning system support and complement other corporate strategies?

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability
- the Local Transport Plan?
- Cycling?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. What is the community input -consultation with the LP?
Q. What are the stages involved in the draft Deposit parts of the Local Plan?
Q. Is there a proactive role of communities in ‘shaping’ the Plan?
Q. Has there been innovation in making the planning process more accessible to the wider public?
Q. What is the balance of the planning vision of the local authority and community input?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. Have you taken advantage of the seven area committees and the planning process?
Q. Has the idea of cabinet government and area committees set the local authority on a different course in terms of its interaction with local people?
External organisational linkages and sustainability
Q. Has the regional context influenced the local context in formulating plans?
Q. What is the significance of Regional Planning Guidance?
e.g. PPG 12 and guidance on sustainable development?

Political Representative
Leader of Hull City Council
29/11/00

Internal, corporate and departmental responses to sustainability
Q. Could you explain your role as Leader of Hull City Council?
Q. When did policy formulation for sustainability first emerge within Hull City Council?
Q. Who first initiated policies for sustainability within the local authority?
Q. How has sustainability progressed as a policy priority within the local authority?
Q. What are the current sustainability objectives of the the local authority?
(Q. Having set up this Sustainability Task Group –did you have your own vision of a ‘sustainable Hull’-and were the Task Group working towards that vision?)
(So was important to have an exemplar in place?)
Q. Has your local authority started to do a sustainability audit?
Q. What is the role of LA21 within the local authority?
Q. What are the particular service areas which have led the way in incorporating the principles of sustainability into policy formulation and service delivery?
Q. What is the role of Best Value in implementing policies for sustainability?
Q. What are the barriers to the successful implementation of principles of sustainability?
Q. Is there training internally to raise awareness of sustainability?
Q. Are you on line for a December 31, 2001 deadline (submitting an Action Plan to Central Government?)
Q. How will you monitor progress?
Q. How do you define sustainable development?

Political responses to sustainability
Q. How do members influence officers in forming/implementing policies for sustainability?
(Q. Does the approach toward sustainability, of the Task Group differ to the cabinet?)
(Q. Sustainability is an all encompassing concept-you were saying that the Task Group incorporates different party political approaches?)
Q. What is your role as Portfolio Holder for Sustainability?
(Q. Is your position of great symbolic importance-elevates the status of Local Agenda 21?)
Q. Has sustainability become a local election issue?
Q. What are the policies for sustainability within Area Committees?

External, community linkages and sustainability
Q. Have sustainability issues come through at an early stage from a community voice?
(Q. Is this reflected in an LA21 Action Plan?)
Q. How do you improve community awareness of sustainability?
(Q. Do you have a Citizens Jury?)

Policy innovation, tourism, cycling and sustainability

Q. What are the policy commitments to tourism?
(Q. Policy commitments for cycling?)

Hull Cycling Campaign community representative
6/12/02

Organisational elements and the Hull Cycling Campaign
Q. First of all tell me about your life in Hull as a cyclist
- When did you start cycling?
- involvement in utilitarian/leisure/tourism?
Q. Have there been changes to the cycling culture in Hull?
Q. Which cycle groups do you represent?
Q. What is the role of cycle groups within Hull?
Q. What are the aims of the Hull Cycle Campaign?
Q. Successes? Current/Future issues?

Linkages with Hull City Council and responses to sustainability
Q. What the linkages with the local authority with cycling issues?
Q. Was the Group contacted initially by Hull City Council?
Q. What input did the group have in formulating the Local Transport Plan?
Q. What input into formulating the Local Cycling Strategy?
Q. Does this strategy reflect the ‘needs’ of local cyclists?
Q. What are local requirements for cycling (beyond specialist cyclists)
Q. What are ‘your’ groups expectations of the development of cycling by local authority? e.g. infrastructure development?/Improvements?
Q. What does the term sustainability mean to you?
Q. What does the term sustainable tourism mean to you?
Q. What is the role of cycling in sustainable form of transport and tourism?

Cycle tourism initiatives
Q. Do the group have linkages with Sustrans?
Q. What is significance of Hull to Sustrans routes?
Q. What is the history of cycle tourism in Hull and district?
Q. What is the significance P+O North Sea Ferries to cycle tourism?
Q. What is the role of the local authority in development and promotion of cycle tourism?