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Investigating the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks

A doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy of Loughborough University

Joe Kendal

June 2011

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Certificate of Originality

This is to certify that I am responsible for the work submitted in this thesis, that the original work is my own except as specified in the acknowledgements or in footnotes, and that neither the thesis nor the original work contained therein has been submitted to this or any other institution for a degree.

Joe Kendal
14 June 2011

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Publications

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Kendal, J., Enoch, M.P., and Ison, S.G., (2010). Policy Change in Transport: Lessons from the UK. World Conference of Transport Research Society, Green Transport Conference, 3rd International Forum, Shanghai, China, 11-13 September.

Abstract

The National Parks of the United Kingdom are characterised by their beautiful countryside and spectacular rural landscapes. They are also significant leisure based trip attracting locations, the dominant transport mode being the private car which typically accounts for 90% of all journeys made to these destinations. Excessive car use in National Parks is problematic since traffic congestion, environmental degradation, vehicle noise and parking problems serve to undermine the natural and recreational values which they are intended to promote.

As recognition of the negative impacts of car use in National Parks has grown, so have calls for innovation and experimentation in approaches to traffic management and transport policy in these locations. Despite this, policy change has been slow. Sustainable and effective solutions to transport problems in UK National Parks appear no nearer to being found now than they were sixty five years ago.

Accordingly, this thesis seeks to investigate the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks. The study adopts the Multiple Streams framework (Kingdon, 1984) as the mechanism by which to explore policy change in the sector, and a case study method is chosen as the overarching research approach. Within the case study design, a three stage research method is undertaken, consisting of a) documentary analysis combined with semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers at UK National Park Authorities, b) two sub case studies at the local level in the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Parks, and c) semi-structured interviews with National Park transport planning experts at the national level.

The Multiple Streams framework is shown to accurately identify important processes and mechanisms which can be seen to account for policy stability (and therefore inhibit change) within the National Park transport planning sector. As such, the thesis concludes that at the present time there is no significant window for policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks. A number of barriers exist which make this so. First are perceptions of public and political apathy towards transport problems in the National Parks, and a lack of quantifiable data by which to 'frame' these issues. Second are competing agendas of key delivery agencies in the policy sector, where conflict between economic and environment objectives limit the consideration of certain transport planning instruments for use. Third are issues surrounding the technical feasibility (in terms of implementation) and public acceptability of a range of transport planning instruments, and fourth is a lack of advocacy for policy change amongst the general public and politicians at the local and national level. In light of the research findings, recommendations and advice to policy makers and practitioners seeking change within the sector are offered.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The National Parks of the United Kingdom (UK) are characterised by their beautiful countryside and spectacular rural landscapes. They are also significant generators of leisure based travel demand. That is, 'people travelling to access and enjoy the natural environment in all its forms' (Natural England, 2008a, p.1). Over 90% of visitors to National Parks arrive by car, making it by far the most dominant transport mode for leisure travel in these areas (Reeves, 2006). High levels of car use in any location can create a number of issues. In areas such as National Parks – often so designated in order to afford greater protection to particularly vulnerable locales – these impacts can be magnified and hence become critically important.

1.1.1 The impacts of car use in National Parks

Impacts pertaining to car use in the National Parks include congestion, environmental degradation, noise pollution, air pollution and conflicts with wildlife (Natural England, 2008a). Recent literature serves to highlight the extent of these issues:

> 'The sheer volume of traffic can undermine the special qualities of National Parks, like their tranquillity, and conflict with aims to conserve and enhance the natural environment, heritage and local character. Given the nature of the areas affected, ENPAA believes Government and other policy makers need to address transport problems in National Parks as a priority' (English National Park Authorities Association, 2007, p. 1).

> '[Levels of private car use] entails a huge volume of traffic, often in seasonal influxes, which threatens many of the special qualities that draw both residents and visitors to National Parks in the first place. Air and water pollution levels rise; habitats and landscape character are threatened by vehicle encroachment; tranquillity is broken by traffic noise; and the wider impacts of transport emissions and their contribution to climate change are already being seen in changing ecosystems, migration patterns and other critical aspects of species and habitat survival' (The Campaign for National Parks, 2009a, p.1).

Despite these assertions, it is difficult to actually quantify existing traffic conditions in the National Parks, since data monitoring in these locations is both complex and expensive. As a result, there is no comprehensive or consistent approach to the collection of transport

data. Historical policy documents however clearly illustrate long-standing and increasing unease about the impacts of transport in National Parks.

1.1.2 The growth of the transport challenge

Concern regarding the impact of transport in UK National Parks is not new. In 1945, prior to their official creation, a group led by civil servant John Dower was asked by the Government to report on the theory and purpose of National Parks. The issue of vehicle leisure traffic in particular formed a central theme to the report, in which it was stated that 'because motor tourists have unrestricted freedom to use all these primary and good secondary roads and to enjoy the scenery, it does not follow that they have any proper claim for the endless widening and improvement of all such roads to enable them to travel everywhere at high speeds, regardless of the view, and without risk of congestion, however many of them may take simultaneously the same Sunday outing' (Dower, 1945, p. 24).

This was echoed nearly 30 years later in a review of National Park policies (known as the Sandford Report) which stated that 'we hold most strongly that in National Parks environmental quality should be the primary criterion and that the planning of road systems, the design of alterations and the management of traffic must be governed by that criterion' (Sandford, 1974, p. 81).

Furthermore, a 1991 review of the role of National Parks (the Edwards Report) identified that traffic conditions in the National Parks had deteriorated since the publication of the Sandford Report. The report stated that 'we believe that National Park Authorities should become leaders in experimental initiatives for traffic management in sensitive rural environments…Park Authorities should be bolder and more imaginative' (Edwards, 1991, p. 53).

Crucially, each of these reports identified the relative failure of policy makers to suitably address the transport challenges posed. In summarising these reports, Cullinane (1997, p. 271) concluded that 'successive official committees established to review the future of National Parks have recommended that traffic in National Parks should not be allowed to expand to the detriment of the environmental quality of the Parks or the enjoyment of users. Indeed, it is possible to detect a definite progression towards increasingly radical suggestions of ways to control the car as the severity of the traffic problem increases'.

1.1.3 Transport planning and policy responses in UK National Parks

The academic literature pertaining to transport and UK National Parks reveals a considerable imbalance between the theoretical call for measures to control car use and practical examples on the ground. Cullinane and Cullinane (1999, p. 86) stated that 'to stand any realistic chance of success…traffic management initiatives in National Parks

should compromise an integrated package of 'carrot' and 'stick' measures which together attract car trips to public transport while simultaneously deterring car use'. Similarly, Eaton and Holding (1996, p. 64) concluded that 'it might well in extreme cases be necessary to implement traffic restrictions and promote an integrated traffic strategy as part of a 'green' programme…the time for a sea change in attitudes and policies has come. Much further research work remains to be done to clarify attitudes and identify the enterprising projects that will induce a change in behaviour'.

A number of unsuccessful attempts at traffic management schemes involving elements of vehicle restraint were made during the 1990's, but projects were ultimately withdrawn or abandoned, due in large part to their high profile public unpopularity (Cullinane et al, 1996). More recent efforts to reduce car use in National Parks have largely been limited to the use of incentives (such as improvements in public transport service provision and marketing) which serve to make alternative modes to the car more attractive, as opposed to the use of disincentives designed to restrict or discourage car use (Guiver et al, 2008).

Accordingly, research has also focussed on the identification of the factors behind the problematic implementation of traffic management schemes in rural areas. Regnerus et al (2007) concluded that the problem relates primarily to the interdependence of stakeholders concerned and involved with planning and decision making. Beunen et al (2006) concluded that in rural localities negative attitudes to traffic restraint schemes can be reinforced by a lack of alternative transport modes, which can compound car dependency and serve to increase hostility towards restraint schemes, and reinforce negative attitudes towards alternative transport. Furthermore, previous research into traffic restraint schemes in rural areas (Holding and Kreutner, 1998; Dickinson and Dickinson, 2006) concluded that opposition to vehicle restraint initiatives is greatest among resident populations as opposed to tourists, who are concerned that to limit vehicle access in a specific location will discourage visitors and harm the local economy.

1.2 RESEARCH GAP

A significant body of literature pertaining to transport policy and planning for UK National Parks exists, and much has been written about the *need* for changes in policy and planning approaches in these locations (Cullinane, 1997. The National Trust, 2005. ENPAA, 2007). Furthermore, a wider policy framework exists which encourages National Parks to become exemplars for sustainable development:

> 'Parks are…expected to offer an environment where innovative policy, particularly with regard to sustainable development, should be spearheaded and tested…National Park management should therefore expect to break new

> ground. Keynote projects have a clear role to play' (Countryside Commission, 2005, p. 19).

Despite calls for innovation and experimentation in approaches to traffic management and transport policy, change is slow. Indeed, literature explored briefly in this introduction, and more comprehensively in future chapters, supports the assertion that sustainable and effective solutions to transport problems in UK National Parks are no nearer to being found now than they were sixty five years ago.

Studies examining successes or failures of specific planning approaches within a single locale are frequent (Lumsdon and Owen, 2004. Cullinane et al, 1996). Less prevalent however is research on the opportunities for policy change within the leisure transport sector in UK National Parks. It is this gap which the thesis aims to address. The study aim and objectives are outlined in the next section.

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Arising from the identified research gap, the aim of this thesis is as follows:

> **AIM:** To investigate the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks.

This is supported by the following objectives:

- To identify issues and policies relating to the leisure based use of National Parks, with particular regard to transport;
- To examine the views of National Park Transport Officers on the current and likely future development of leisure transport and related policies in UK National Parks;
- To analyse perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies amongst relevant communities of interest at a local level;
- To analyse current perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies nationally, and explore possible future avenues for policy change;
- To develop recommendations and advice to policy makers and practitioners who maintain aspirations for transport policy change within UK National Parks.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The thesis is composed of thirteen chapters. Following this introductory chapter, it is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a review of literature pertaining to leisure travel and the impacts of the demand for leisure within National Parks. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical framework which guides the study and which is constructed around the concept of policy change, whilst Chapter 4 details the research approach taken. As the research focus narrows, Chapter 5 revisits the literature to provide a comprehensive overview of issues and policies relative to leisure travel and transport in UK National Parks specifically, and Chapter 6 reports on interviews from a UK wide survey of National Park Transport Officers. Case study findings examining transport policy making processes in the New Forest National Park (Chapters 7 and 8) and the Yorkshire Dales National Park (Chapters 9 and 10) are then presented. Chapter 11 next validates the earlier case study findings through interviews with UK transport experts, which also yield perspectives on future approaches to transport planning and policy making in the National Park context. Findings are brought together for discussion in Chapter 12, which helps inform the study conclusions, limitations and areas for further research as set out in Chapter 13.

Chapter Two: Leisure Travel and National Parks – Issues and Policies

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of the literature pertaining to leisure travel and the impacts of the demand for leisure within National Parks. The aim of the chapter is two-fold. First, to provide a contextual overview of information relevant to the study. Second, to aid in the formulation of the research aim, objectives and questions. The chapter is structured as follows. Section 2.2 provides an examination of leisure travel as a form of transport demand, whilst section 2.3 constructs an international overview of the role of National Parks and an appraisal of the challenges arising from leisure based use of these resources. An in-depth assessment of issues and policies surrounding transport, leisure travel and National Parks internationally is undertaken in section 2.4, and conclusions are presented in section 2.5.

2.2 TRANSPORT DEMAND FOR THE PURPOSE OF LEISURE

The concept and impacts, both positive and negative, of transport demand for the purpose of leisure forms a key foundation of this study. This section seeks to elucidate on the most important aspects of leisure travel relative to this thesis. It examines the role of the car as the primary transport mode for leisure travel at the local level. The complexities and inherent contradictions that exist in seeking to encourage leisure whilst limiting the impacts of the transportation on which it often relies are documented.

2.2.1 Defining leisure travel

It is challenging to find universally accepted definitions relating to the concepts of leisure, recreation and tourism (Jackson and Burton, 1999. Butler and Boyd, 2000). It is equally difficult to determine the points on the leisure/tourism/recreation continuum at which the concepts merge or devolve. In discussing this complexity, Butler and Boyd (2000) note that tourism can generally be considered simply as holiday travel for pleasure, with recreation taken to imply non-holiday visitation for pleasure.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to expound this debate. For the purpose of this thesis, tourism, recreation and leisure, and the transport demand that they derive, are considered together under the umbrella term of leisure travel. As outlined in the introductory chapter, leisure travel can be defined as ‘people travelling to access and enjoy the natural environment in all its forms’ (Natural England, 2008, p. 1). This will be the preferred definition of leisure travel in this thesis.

2.2.2 Leisure travel and car use

In the UK, the private car is the dominant mode of transport for leisure travel (Lumsdon and Owen, 2004. Connell and Page, 2008). The National Travel Survey (DfT, 2005) estimated that 30% of all trips, and 40% of all mileage, undertaken in the UK can be broadly categorised as leisure travel (this definition incorporates journeys allied to visiting friends and relatives, eating out, sport and entertainment, and holidays and day trips). Journeys by private car account for 82% of the distance travelled.

More specific to this study are statistics relating to day visits and holiday travel to, and within, rural areas, and more specifically National Parks. Guiver et al (2007) assert that 83% of day trips to the countryside are made by private car. This figure is even higher in the context of UK National Parks, where 90% of visitors arrive by car (Reeves, 2006. ENPAA, 2007. CNP, 2009b).

Such findings are replicated internationally. Following an international empirical review of traffic data, Gronau and Kagermeier (2007, p. 128) reflect that 'leisure and tourism traffic is a segment of the transport market which has a high affinity for motorised private vehicles'.

Despite the contribution of leisure transport to overall transport demand, a number of authors in the field (Dickinson et al, 2009. Lumsdon, 2006) assert that historically it has not been subject to the same level of policy attention nationally as other derivations of travel such as journeys to work or education. There are a number of reasons why this may be the case, as examined below.

2.2.3 Differences between leisure travel and other forms of transport demand, and its implications for policy development

There are inherent differences between leisure travel and other forms of utility travel. In their study of the potential for traffic reduction at visitor attractions, Guiver et al (2008, p. 144) neatly outline one element of this disparity:

> 'Leisure travel differs from utility travel in the degree of discretion exercised by the traveller in whether or not to travel, where, when and how to go. Journeys to work, education, shopping and health facilities are usually restricted to one destination and certain times, but journeys for leisure have an infinite number of possible destinations and can be spontaneous decisions with few time constraints'.

As a result, the private car offers a greater degree of choice to the consumer, relative to other transport modes (Dickinson et al, 2004). The dispersed nature of leisure destinations

and attractions means that they are often infrequently served by, or completely removed from, public transport routes (Dickinson and Robbins, 2008). Or, where public transport options are available, the relatively infrequent nature of leisure trips (in comparison to journeys to work or school) may mean that visitors are unfamiliar with the destination and its associated public transport networks and/or infrastructure, and therefore continue to favour the use of a private vehicle (Guiver et al, 2007).

Cost is also an important element in determining the choice of transport mode for leisure travel. As Robbins and Dickinson (2007, pp. 174-175) assert:

> 'Fares for public transport continue to rise in real terms and in this era of mass car ownership the cost of taking leisure and tourism journeys by car is low. Although the full cost of car use is estimated by the Automobile Association at around 44p per mile, around 60% of these costs are fixed costs, incurred on an annual basis and unrelated to mileage. A discretionary tourism journey does not generate additional fixed costs, therefore the escapable costs of such journeys, e.g. the cost of the trip as opposed to leaving the car parked, is low compared to public transport alternatives. In addition, the cost of carrying additional passengers by car is virtually zero'.

Furthermore, there is an inherent conflict in the core ideologies of policies for transport and leisure/tourism. On the one hand is an overarching transport policy framework which seeks to suppress growth in car use, and on the other are policies for leisure/tourism (already demonstrated to rely heavily on car use) which seek to promote growth in the industry (Robbins and Dickinson, 2007).

With these factors in mind, it is possible to justify a policy focus on encouraging more sustainable travel in the context of journeys to work and employment than leisure travel (Dickinson et al, 2004). This is because these kind of journeys tend to be shorter and more familiar to the individual, and offer the greatest potential for modal switch from car to more sustainable transport modes. This said, evidence to be presented in this and future chapters suggests an increasing academic and practical focus on the amelioration of some of the issues arising from car-borne leisure travel at the destination/site specific level. Such a scenario emerges largely because these locations are where the impacts of excess demand car use are most keenly felt (Lumsdon, 2006). This concept is explored in more detail below.

2.2.4 Leisure travel at the local level – classification of key terms

Leisure travel literature makes frequent reference to the impacts of car-borne traffic at the local level. Within this context, the terms 'destinations', 'visitor attractions' and

'honeypots' are often used. Each of these terms are of relevance in the context of this thesis, though there are nuances to their use and they will not be used interchangeably. It is useful to clarify the application of their use here.

Destinations (area based)

Destinations are categorised on the basis of a geographical area. For example, Swarbrooke (2002, p. 9) defines destinations as 'large areas that include a number of individual attractions together with the support services required by tourists'. Destinations for leisure travel which can be incorporated within this definition may include the countryside, the coast, or large towns and cities. In terms of this thesis, a National Park itself will be considered to fall under the umbrella of this definition.

There is an expanding literature base, which focuses on the concept of destination based leisure travel, of which National Parks are often the subject. Notable areas for research in the field include amongst others: attitudes to, and potential for increased use of, public transport in rural areas (Eaton and Holding, 1996. Cullinane and Cullinane, 1999); the potential for encouraging more sustainable travel within and around destination areas (Beunen et al, 2008); the possible role for vehicle restraint as part of transport strategies for leisure travel (Steiner and Bristow, 2000. Eckton, 2003); and the role of public attitudes in transport policy development for destination areas (Lumsdon and Owen, 2004).

Visitor attractions (site specific)

Visitor attractions can be defined as 'generally single units…based on a single key feature' Swarbrooke (2002, p. 9). A comprehensive classification of different types of visitor attractions is provided by Leask (2010), and summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 - Summary of visitor attraction categories
(Source: Leask, 2010)

Attraction category	Examples in a UK context (not exhaustive)
Theme parks/amusement parks	Water parks, theme parks, amusement parks
Museums/galleries	Art, cultural, historical, open air museums
Natural	Gardens, country parks, forests, lakes, valleys
Animal	Farms, zoos, aquariums
Visitor centres	Cultural, industrial, transport
Religious sites	Cathedrals, chapels
Heritage	Castles, forts, historic houses, monuments

Visitor attractions are important in the context of this study as they can be significant generators of leisure based transport demand. As Guiver et al (2006, p. 17) note: 'attractions, ranging from small museums and monuments with fewer than 10,000 visitors

per season to theme parks attracting over 1 million visitor-trips are often the predominant reason for leisure trips to any destination area'. That is, whilst destinations may induce travel demand in their own right, visitor attractions within them can also influence travel demand on a site-specific basis.

The greatest academic coverage of leisure travel with regard to visitor attractions in the UK has been in the context of natural and heritage attractions located within rural destinations themselves (Cullinane et al, 1996. Guiver et al 2006). The focus on much of this research being case-study based projects examining the factors behind the success or failure of particular transport strategies designed to ameliorate some of the negative impacts surrounding the propensity of car based travel to site.

Honeypots (site specific)

The subject of honeypots adds a further dimension to the concept of site specific leisure travel. A simple definition of the term is provided by Page (2005, p. 53) who considers honeypots to be 'locations that attract a large number [of people] in a confined area'. Although there is apparent overlap between this definition and that of visitor attractions, the most obvious distinction is that a honeypot need not necessarily represent a single recreational resource. For example, in summarising the results of research into visitor behaviour in the Lake District, Sharpley (2009, p. 60) asserted that 'although the natural beauty of the area is a major attraction, the majority of visitors participate in more passive activities such as visiting towns, shopping, [and] visiting restaurants and pubs…hence tourism activity is centred on the main honeypots referred to previously'. The honeypots in question being the small towns within the Lake District in which the greatest number of amenities to the visitor is available. Thus, in much the same way that visitor attractions generate transport demand in destination areas, so too can honeypots.

2.2.4.1 The two dimensions of leisure travel

The classifications above help to illustrate two distinct elements of leisure travel, namely journeys <u>to</u> a visitor attraction/honeypot or destination area, and journeys <u>within</u> destination areas. It is important to be aware of this distinction, since it highlights the fact that a range of transport policies and planning strategies may be required to seek to address identified issues, and that there is no 'one size fits all' solution.

2.2.5 Summary

This section has sought to elucidate a number of the key issues relevant to leisure travel in the context of this thesis. The concept has been defined, and the reliance on car use for leisure travel has been documented. The differences between leisure travel and other forms of transport demand have been demonstrated, whilst consideration of the practical issues that this disparity has for policy makers has also been noted. It has been revealed

that interest in ameliorating the impacts of car-borne leisure traffic at the local level is increasing due to an exacerbation of the issues that it creates. Finally, the different dimensions of leisure travel, in terms of travel to/from destinations/attractions, and within/between them have also been documented.

One such destination which the literature reveals to be particularly sensitive to the impacts of leisure based vehicle traffic is National Parks. The next section provides an international overview of the role of National Parks and an appraisal of the challenges arising from leisure based use of these resources.

2.3 OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL PARK HISTORY, PHILOSOPHY, FUNCTION AND ISSUES

This section provides an introduction to the National Park concept, charting its beginnings in the USA in the late 19th century through to the present day. The founding philosophies of the National Park movement, and their relevance today are examined. The section concludes with an assessment of the challenges currently facing National Parks internationally. Many of these challenges are shown to arise from the demand for leisure-based usage of the resources.

2.3.1 The development of the National Park concept

The National Park movement began in the USA in the late nineteenth century. Yellowstone, the world's first National Park, was established in 1872. The literature notes two primary factors influential in the initial inception of the National Park concept. First, recognition of the need to preserve and protect the country's most sensitive natural resources. Second, acceptance that areas of such beauty should be accessible to the general public for their benefit and enjoyment (Butler and Boyd, 2000. Eagles and McCool, 2002. Hall and Frost, 2009a). In assessing the compatibility of these two factors during the time of National Park inception, Pigram and Jenkins (1999, p. 182) note that:

> 'efforts at 'popularisation' of the parks read a little strangely in view of latter-day problems in North America, stemming from visitor pressure, congestion and fears of deterioration of park landscapes. However, the historical context should be borne in mind. The first parks were remote and difficult to access; transport was relatively slow and primitive, and public funds for park development were very limited. While patronage remained low, there must have seemed little contradiction between use and preservation, nor any need for management plans to maintain ecological values'.

This statement hints at some of the issues emerging in the context of National Park management in the present day. These will be examined in more detail in later sections of

this chapter. For now, the focus remains on the growth of the National Park movement over time.

In charting the history of the National Park movement internationally, Hall and Frost (2009a) classify its development into three stages:

Stage 1 – The birth of the National Park concept (1872 – 1900)
Yellowstone National Park is established, and by the end of the nineteenth century further parks had been created in the USA whilst the idea had also spread to other English speaking nations of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Stage 2 – European engagement minus the major powers (first half of 20th century)
The National Park movement reached Europe during the first half of the twentieth century, when parks were established in countries such as Sweden, Italy, Romania, Greece, Spain, Iceland, Ireland and Switzerland. Notable by their absence from this list are some of the major European countries such as the UK, France and Germany. Frost and Hall (2009) outline a range of factors contributing to the late establishment of National Parks in these countries, including:

- A perceived lack of synergy with the National Parks models of the early adopters;
- Lack of public land and the prohibitive cost of purchasing private land in order to create National Parks;
- Cultural confidence negated the desire to promote national identity through the creation of National Parks; and
- Other priorities for political decision makers such as the two World Wars and the Great Depression.

Stage 3 – Global engagement (second half of 20th century)
The second half of the twentieth century saw the National Park concept spread globally, to the extent that 'nearly every country boasted them – and indeed one could hardly boast of being a true nation without one' (Hall and Frost, 2009a, p. 7).

2.3.2 National Parks today

Whilst they may all share the same title, in practice models of National Park operation vary from country to country (Butler and Boyd, 2000). As Hall and Frost (2009a) note, National Parks are free from an international controlling organisation, and countries have been able to adapt and evolve the concept and use of the term to their own physical, social and

environmental circumstances. As such, it is hard to find a universally accepted definition of the term. For example, following an international conference on National Parks in 1969, the IUCN provided the definition of a National Park as 'a relatively large area where:

- one or several ecosystems are not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation;

- the highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or to eliminate as soon as possible exploitation or occupation in the whole area, and to enforce effectively the respect of ecological, geomorphological or aesthetic features which have led to its establishment; and

- visitors are allowed to enter, under special conditions, for inspirational, educative, cultural and recreative purposes'.

This definition may be useful in illustrative terms. In practice, particularly in the context of countries establishing National Parks during the second and third stages of development, it is not entirely appropriate (Pigram and Jenkins, 1999). As will be discussed in Chapter Five, the UK model of National Parks is one quite far removed from the IUCN description (Parker and Ravenscroft, 2000).

Despite nuances in the application of the National Park model internationally, a point of particular significance is the conclusion of Hall and Frost (2009b, p. 303) that:

> 'Two elements tend to lie at the core of the majority of National Park legislation throughout the world. First, that parks should be protected areas to enable environmental and scenic conservation. Second, that they should be accessible for public recreation, including tourism and enjoyment. These elements have been a part of the creation of National Parks and National Park systems since before the First World War and lie at the core of National Park establishment in the New World and in Europe. The potential contradictions between these two elements have often served as a major problem for park management'.

It is towards the conflict between access and promotion of leisure on the one hand, and conservation and preservation on the other, that this section now turns.

2.3.3 Access, use and enjoyment versus preservation and conservation

As noted above and reinforced by Boyd (2000), there is a fundamental and well-established link between National Parks and the encouragement of their use by the general public. As will now be examined, this relationship yields both advantages and disadvantages.

2.3.3.1 Benefits arising from public use of National Parks

Eagles and McCool (2002) consider the relationship between National Parks and public use to yield benefits in three distinct dimensions, namely society in general, benefits at the local level and benefits at the personal level.

Societal benefits of relationships between National Parks and public use

At the widest societal levels, encouraging interaction between National Parks and people can be seen to assist in government objectives relating to: increasing employment, assisting and enforcing community cohesion, sustaining and promoting national identity, providing education opportunities for all members of society, protecting and conserving natural and cultural heritage, and promoting health benefits allied to outdoor recreation and leisure. The way to assess if these benefits are actually realised is by examining National Parks at the local level (Eagles and McCool, 2002).

Benefits of public use of National Parks at the local level

As Pigram and Jenkins (1999) note, in economic terms, the contribution that visitors make to National Parks and their environs are considerable, and can include:

- support of local employment, be it in the tourism/leisure sector or areas supporting them;
- the stimulation of profitable domestic industries in accommodation, restaurants, transport, guide services and artefacts;
- diversification of the local economy in line with new/increased demands for local products; and
- improvements to local infrastructure and intercultural communication and understanding.

Benefits to individuals of their use of National Parks

The use of National Parks generates benefits for individual participants. Eagles and McCool (2002, p. 7) note the personal benefits of park use to participants: 'Parks are special places for the restoration of the physical and emotional health of visitors. They help to renew a person's health and relieve the stress of urban living'. Recognition of the personal benefits

that outdoor recreation brings, and the desire to protect areas such that it could be undertaken, were part of the founding movement of the National Park concept (Hall and Frost, 2009a). This is a theme which continues today, as recent health initiatives in the UK have sought to present National Parks as 'green gyms' - that is, areas in which to promote both mental and physical well being (Sharpley, 2009).

In outlining the benefits that access in terms of recreation, leisure and tourism in National Parks bring to different aspects of society, it must also be recognised that there are costs involved. These are examined In detail in the next section.

2.3.3.2 The dis-benefits of public use of National Parks

The literature is rich with examples of issues arising from human use of the National Parks. However, as Shackley (1996) notes, the type of recreational and tourism activity undertaken in National Parks internationally is dependant on many factors, including the services and infrastructure available, visitor demands and desires, and the resource of interest. As such, there are many ways in which the human impacts of National Park use can be classified. This section will examine issues in two dimensions. Firstly, in the context of three key conflicts which can be seen to emerge from the literature, namely:

- Cultural conflict;
- Conflict with wildlife; and
- Conflict with the natural environment.

Secondly, in broader and more general terms in the context of management issues pertaining to:

- Overuse of National Parks and the subsequent need for visitor management.

This approach is reflective of the two primary approaches taken by authors in defining visitor based issues in National Parks. That is, either case study based research on specific issues within a single National Park (or group thereof within a particular system or context), or a broader based assessment of management issues pertinent to National Parks more generally. This section now continues with an examination of cultural conflicts arising from the recreational use of National Parks.

Cultural conflicts

Estimates suggest that 50% of all National Parks and protected areas globally are on indigenous land, including 85% of all such areas in Latin America and Africa (Colchester, 1996. MacKay, 2002). According to MacKay (2002, 2007), since the beginning of the National Park movement over 12 million people have been removed from these areas in order to

allow for their establishment. This trend began with the removal of Native Americans from Yellowstone in the late nineteenth century, and continued into the twentieth century with, to name only a few, the expulsion of Aboriginal (Australia), Maori (New Zealand), and Maasai (Kenya and Tanzania) peoples from their traditional lands (Zeppel, 2009). It is only relatively recently that holistic attempts at an international level have been made to secure rights for indigenous people in the context of National Park legislation.

Conflicts with wildlife

In an assessment of the visitor impacts on wildlife in National Parks, Lilieholm and Romney (2000) note that they vary according to their ecological settings. This finding is reflected in the literature, which reports a variety of issues. For example, in some of Africa's National Parks, mountain gorillas are vulnerable to the transfer of disease from tourists. This has resulted in the implementation of strict visitor guidelines in order to minimise this risk (Orams, 2002). Lilieholm and Romney (2000) cite animal casualties from vehicle accidents as the most direct conflict between wildlife and recreational use of National Parks, and consider this to be an internationally relevant issue. For example, they cite heavy losses of Bushbuck, Roan Antelope, and Hartebeest to road traffic accidents in Nigeria's National Parks, and the annual loss of between 1-2% of Yellowstone National Park's Elk, Mule Deer and Wolves from vehicular collisions.

Conflicts with the natural environment

Use of National Parks for recreation has also been demonstrated to create numerous conflicts with, and degradation of, the natural environment. Table 2.2 below summarises a range of these impacts.

Table 2.2 - Ecological impacts of recreation in National Parks (Source: Spink, 1994)

Ecology	Recreational use	Impact
Vegetational habitats (moors, heaths, ferns, woodland, etc)	Rambling, hiking, camping, mechanised sport, climbing	- Habitat destruction and damage from access and trampling; - Development of roads, buildings and visitor infrastructure
Wildlife habitats (nest sites, dens, colonies, feeding sites, etc)	Rambling, hunting, intrusive naturalism, mechanised sport	- Impact of human presence; - Disturbance and destruction; - Pollution (exhausts, sewage, refuse, etc)
Landscape features (woodland, walls, paths, dwellings, etc)	Sightseeing, touring, hiking, mechanised sport	- Visitor damage; - Construction of facilities and infrastructure

Endorsing the findings of Spink (1994), Pigram and Jenkins (1999) conducted a review of academic studies undertaken in the context of Australian National Parks in order to understand the environmental impacts of tourism within them. The most frequent impacts identified across these studies included land damage/erosion from vehicles and walkers, water pollution from a range of tourism activities and support services, litter, visual impacts of tourism related infrastructure and noise occurring from tourism.

2.3.4 The need for visitor management

The accumulation of conflicts discussed above leads authors (Vaske et al, 2000. Eagles and McCool, 2002. Boyd and Butler, 2009) to theorise about National Parks being over-used. The phrase 'loving a place to death' is one which is frequently asserted. In summarising concern about the over-use of National Parks in the context of their dual mandate of conservation and enjoyment, Vaske et al (2000, p. 203) note that it:

> 'creates an inevitable tension, because any use has some impacts on natural features or tourist experiences. As more people have gained the time, financial resources and inclination to visit parks over the past half-century, the notion that we are loving the parks to death has become a common theme in park management. The over-use problem provides a classical illustration of Hardin's (1968) tragedy of the commons. Individual use is not the problem, but as each new person visits a park, they may incrementally and collectively degrade the resource or experience for all'.

The popularity of National Park based access and recreation, and the advantages and disadvantages this trend harbours, has increased the need for effective and appropriate visitor management in these locations (Sowman and Pearce, 2000). Indeed, as Eagles and McCool (2002, pp. 97-98) assert, 'designating an area and drawing a boundary around it cannot adequately protect National Parks and protected areas if planning and management do not accompany the gazetting process. Management of the factors that threaten the values for which the areas was established is needed'. The ultimate intention being to 'bring together supply and demand to attempt to equate resource adequacy with human recreational needs and desires' (Pigram and Jenkins, 1999, p. 111).

Eagles and McCool (2002) identify three strands of visitor management that are, or can be, practiced by National Park Management. They can be used as stand-alone techniques or in conjunction with others in order to maximise their effectiveness and will be examined here:

Information and education – influencing behaviour

This technique is grounded in a belief that visitors to National Parks, many of whom are drawn to National Parks from urban areas, can be unaware of their special qualities and types of behaviour necessary to protect them. Information campaigns can target a range of visitor-based issues such as littering, inappropriate interaction with wildlife (feeding, etc), off-path walking and rambling, and so on. These techniques are targeted to influence visitor decision making, but do not aim to directly mitigate the impacts of visitors or formally regulate their behaviour. The concept being that when people become aware of the impacts of behaviour deemed undesirable in National Parks, they will change their behaviour accordingly (Vaske et al, 2000).

Managing conflict – minimising the impact of visitors

The second strand of visitor management as identified by Eagles and McCool (2002), relates to the implementation of actions that seek to directly mitigate visitor impacts. They cite a range of examples in this regard including formalising previously informal sites such as car parks or walkways with concrete/asphalt and locating visitor facilities in areas most able to accommodate them. However, strategies such as this may serve to compromise the very character and aesthetics of an area. For example, Mulvaney (1999) reported conflict between indigenous peoples and park management authorities at Keep River National Park, Australia where walkways, signage and barriers allied to tourism at rock art sites were deemed to be at odds with their cultural history and landscape. Turley (1998) notes the inherent complexities and unintended consequences that may arise from such approaches. That is, improvements to visitor infrastructure may encourage greater demand than previously existed, and may therefore be self defeating.

Regulating access – controlling visitor behaviour

Given their founding motivations, the concept of limiting access to National Parks is a controversial aspect of visitor management. This is largely because it seeks to directly regulate and restrict access to protected areas. It generally takes one of two forms, namely:

- Limiting access to specific areas; and/or
- Limiting the range of recreational activities allowable.

Regulating access to specific areas of National Parks is usually achieved through the process of zoning. As Eagles and McCool (2002, p. 107) describe, 'zoning is not only a method of providing appropriate locations for desired or preferred recreation opportunity settings, but also a tool to direct and control the spread of visitor-induced impacts'. Medina (2009) describes the zoning concept as applied to National Parks in Spain, where three hierarchies apply. In 'reserve' zones (the areas of highest ecological importance and sensitivity) there

is no public access, use of the areas is limited to environmental scientists. Zones of 'restricted' use have limited and controlled public access, due to the combination of ecological, educational and aesthetic interests. Finally, there are zones for 'moderate and special use' in which visitor facilities, services and infrastructure are located.

2.3.5 Summary

This section has provided an overview of the National Park movement to date, identifying their founding philosophies and the objectives they are designed to meet. The majority of National Parks worldwide operate to a dual mandate of protection and conservation on one hand, and the provision of access and recreation on the other. Such purposes frequently conflict.

A range of issues relating to human use of National Parks for recreation, leisure and tourism have been identified, as have the general strategies designed to address them. Issues can be seen to emerge through the execution of tourism activities by individuals themselves, or by incidental activities designed to stimulate/aid tourism or those upon which tourism relies. That is, ancillary factors supporting leisure and recreational activities within National Parks can be very problematic in terms of visitor impact management.

One such element in this regard is the function of transport (Runte, 1997. Wilkinson, 2003). Some of the fundamental impacts of transport have already been identified in this review. For example, road traffic accidents involving wildlife. Similarly, the development of transport related infrastructure in sensitive natural areas has been shown to contribute to environmental degradation at the local level.

However, another key aspect in the context of transport and the National Parks is the reliance on private car use for travel to, from and within these destinations, and the social, economic and environmental impacts that this trend generates. Section 2.4 will now examine this concept in more detail.

2.4 LEISURE TRAVEL AND NATIONAL PARKS

National Parks feature heavily in much of the transport and tourism literature concerning car use and leisure travel. Excessive car use in National Parks, regardless of the setting, is particularly undesirable. The externalities it generates (traffic congestion, environmental degradation, vehicle noise and parking problems for example) serve to undermine the natural and recreational values which they are intended to promote (Regnerus et al, 2007). Indeed, it threatens to challenge both the core values – those of promoting access and enjoyment whilst also protecting and conserving the natural environment – that the majority of National Park administrators worldwide seek to provide (Dunning, 2005).

This section will examine the issues surrounding car use and National Parks from a global perspective. It will also document the approaches to managing the impacts of car use in National Parks internationally.

2.4.1 An international perspective of car use and National Parks

In the context of American and Canadian National Parks, a range of literature serves to illustrate concern about levels of car use. In a general assessment of transport issues, White (2007) notes that increasing public demand for access to National Parks, coupled with a societal reliance on cars serves to contribute to congestion, car park overcrowding, noise and air pollution, wildlife impacts and roadside vegetation disturbance. Turnbull (2003) makes similar assertions, which in turn reflect the state of the National Parks as set out in the US National Parks' Service (NPS) transport planning guide (1999, pp. 1-2):

> 'Most visitors come to parks by automobile. The increasing number of vehicles have stretched some roadways beyond their limits, causing a deterioration of facilities that exceeds our ability to repair and replace them. The effects can be seen in potholes, deteriorating bridges, and other dilapidated features. Visitor parking areas at some of our major parks are routinely over capacity. Cars and buses spill onto roadside shoulders and into vegetated areas. Air quality is compromised and natural resources are degraded. Noise and congestion create frustration for park visitors, and diminish their experience. In short, continued growth in visitation may threaten significant park resources and the ability of visitors to enjoy themselves'.

Dilsaver and Wyckoff (1999, p. 76) assert that two principal factors contribute most heavily to the status quo. First, 'a culture of management and experience' adopted and accepted by both the NPS and the general public that access to a National Park, using any transport mode, is a basic and fundamental right. Driven by this philosophy, the authors assert the second contributing factor to be a 'spiraling of inter-development and use' leading to an over-supply of car based infrastructure within National Park settings. The findings of Hallo and Manning (2008) seem to support this dual notion. First, they note the historical inter-twining between US National Park establishment and the growth of the automobile industry to the extent that the use of the car has now become a societal norm. Second, they note that recreational driving in National Parks themselves has actually become one of the primary reasons for visiting National Parks, placing pressure on park authorities to provide the infrastructure that allows this to happen.

Similar concern about the impacts of car use is also raised in the context of National Parks in mainland Europe. Beunen et al (2008) for example report on a range of issues emerging from heavy volumes of motorised vehicle traffic in the Veluwe natural area of the

Netherlands. The stated impacts are similar to those experienced in US National Parks, and the authors note the emergence of a general imbalance between access on the one hand, and environmental protection and conservation on the other. Similar problems are examined and reported in the Veluwezoom National Park in the Netherlands by Regnerus et al (2007), the Bayerischer Wald National Park in Germany by Holding and Kreutner (1998), and the Meijendel Dunes natural area in the Netherlands (Beunen et al, 2006). Concern as to levels of car use, and their impacts in National Parks domestically in the UK was first identified in the introductory chapter and will be examined in more detail in Chapter Five.

It is clear then that there is significant concern about the impacts of car use across many National Parks internationally. The following section now provides an assessment of the transport planning policies and initiatives that have been implemented in order to try and address them.

2.4.2 Planning and policy responses to issues surrounding car use in National Parks

Table 2.3 below identifies a number of measures that are, or could be, implemented to influence travel behaviour in National Parks. Incentives are instruments which attempt to make competing modes of transport more attractive to car users. Conversely, measures seeking to make car use less attractive to the user are disincentives (Ison and Rye, 2003).

Table 2.3 - Taxonomy of transport planning measures for use in National Park settings (Source: Steiner and Bristow, 2000 - amended)

	Measure	Description	Expected effectiveness in reducing car use
Incentives	Enhanced public transport provision	Improved frequency, reliability, coverage, service quality	Low/Medium
	Public transport fares subsidisation	Reduction of public transport fares through subsidy to make use more attractive	Low/Medium
	Public transport publicity/campaigns	Improved marketing; Improved timetabling	Low
	Cycling / pedestrian improvements	Cycle hire; Cycle routes; Cycleway and footpath improvements	Low
Disincentives	Road pricing	Charging for use of roads, or for access to National Park or specific locations within	High
	Road closures	Prohibiting access for motor vehicles	High
	Rationing - quantity	Access prohibited once a certain level of vehicle numbers reached	Medium
	Parking control	Limiting provision, charging	Low
	Route hierarchies	Advisory routes to keep vehicles on appropriate roads	Low
	Speed limits	Speed limits below the norm for the type of road	Low
	Traffic calming	Vehicles slowed through road capacity reduction or speed humps	Low
	Signposting/gateways	Use of signing to increase awareness of special nature of the area	Low

Due to the complexities underpinning the demand for private car use, most strategy approaches favour the implementation of integrated or packages of policy measures, which are usually based on the following principles (Vigar, 2002):

- Expanding and improving public transport networks to encourage modal shift from private transport (incentives);
- Improving provision for pedestrians, cyclists and improvements/encouragement of environmentally friendly forms of transport (incentives); and
- Using both traditional and innovative traffic management measures such as traffic calming and traffic restraint to control speed and increase reliability, as opposed to designing for maximum vehicular capacity (disincentives).

There are many innovative examples of the use of incentives and disincentives, be they stand alone measures or integrated approaches, as attempts are made to tackle issues relating to leisure travel in National Parks. A review is presented below.

2.4.2.1 Integrating vehicular restrictions with public transport service provision

A summary of some of the most high profile integrated transport schemes in National Parks is shown in Table 2.4 and examined further below.

Table 2.4 - Notable integrated transport schemes operating in National Parks

Location	Scheme Type and Context	Reference
Bayerischer Wald National Park, Germany	High quality bus system, pedestrian and cycle routes, and the seasonal closure of selected roads to private vehicles.	Holding and Kreutner (1998)
Grand Canyon National Park, USA	Closure of historic Hermit Road to private vehicles between March and November. Free shuttle bus services provide access along the scenic route.	Upchurch (2009)
Zion National Park, USA	Peak time (summer) closure of Zion Canyon scenic drive to private vehicles. Canyon only accessible through use of free propane powered shuttle bus system.	Turnbull (2003)

Following collaboration between the Department of the Interior and the Department of Transport in 1997, two National Parks were chosen as suitable locations for demonstration projects involving vehicular restraint and public transport improvements (Turnbull, 2003). Both have now been formalised into full-time initiatives.

In Zion National Park, the Zion Canyon Shuttle System was introduced as a result of acute congestion and air pollution along the Zion Canyon scenic drive. The initiative involves the peak time (summer) closure of the Zion Canyon scenic drive to private vehicles. Visitors wishing to access Zion Canyon must do so using the free public transport (propane powered shuttle buses) which link the Canyon with the neighbouring gateway community of Springfield (Turnbull, 2003). Similarly, Upchurch (2009) reports on the closure of the historic Hermit Road in the Grand Canyon National Park to private vehicles between March and November. As with the previous example, the closure was motivated by the congestion and pollution (air, noise and visual) arising from excessive car use in the popular tourist locations. With vehicular access restricted, free shuttle bus services provide the only form of motorised access along the scenic route.

Outside of the USA, Holding and Kreutner (1998) document the development of an integrated transport strategy for the Bayerischer Wald National Park in Germany. Due to concern about the impact of cars within the National Park, authorities introduced a high quality bus system along the most popular tourist routes, in combination with the seasonal closure of selected roads. The scheme was paid for by a collaboration of local and central Government agencies. The project was preceded by a much smaller scale demonstration scheme in a specific area of the National Park, which research showed garnered public support for the small scheme itself and its subsequent expansion. Thus, success of the smaller initiative empowered policy makers to expand the scheme in later years.

In each of these three cases, two factors can be seen to be influential with regard to implementation. Firstly, the collaboration between a range of agencies involved in the transport policy sector. Secondly, the imposition of projects on an initial temporary or trial period, and its formalisation after demonstrating the effectiveness of the scheme.

2.4.2.2 Supporting public transport through revenue hypothecation

US National Parks, like many others internationally, routinely charge entrance fees to visitors. In these cases, user fees form an essential part of the revenue stream for National Park operators (Eagles and McCool, 2002). Motivations for access charging are therefore concerned with revenue generation as opposed to any stated form of transportation demand management. However, in addition to the collection of entrance fees, in US National Parks the 1999 Appropriations Act authorises the levy of a supplementary transport fee from visitors. Revenue arising from this fee must be hypothecated and used to provide funding for transport initiatives and services within each National Park (National Park Service Transport Planning Guidelines, 1999). As a result, Daigle (2008, p. 57) asserts that 'to solve the growing congestion problem throughout the National Park system, there are 63 visitor transit systems in 50 parks, that vary in size ranging from single vehicles to bus fleets'. A summary of the most high profile schemes is shown in Table 2.5 overleaf.

Table 2.5 - High profile public transport schemes supported through revenue hypothecation

Location	Scheme Type and Context	Reference
Acadia National Park, USA	Island Explorer Shuttle Bus Service. Free shuttle bus employing real-time information. Revenue generated in part by mandatory payment of a transit fee, added to the Park's entrance fee. Use of the bus service is optional.	Turnbull (2004)
Golden Gate National Park	Free shuttle bus service along two major routes linking several major visitor attractions. Service operates 7 days a week.	Turnbull (2004)
Yosemite National Park, USA	Yosemite Valley Shuttle System. Free network of shuttle buses providing access within and around Yosemite Valley.	Turnbull (2004)

2.4.2.3 The 'gateway' approach in National Parks

In transport planning terms, the 'gateway' concept emerges as one of the most notable conflict management strategies currently in use across National Parks. The technique involves the provision of car parking and facilities related to recreational and tourism at the edges of National Parks and protected areas, in an attempt to discourage further penetration of sensitive areas by motor vehicle. It is widely employed across American National Parks, and is becoming more popular in Europe (Regnerus et al, 2007).

Beunen et al (2008) examined the impacts of 'gateways' in two nature areas in the Netherlands. A number of parking locations on the edge of the resorts were expanded, and additional tourism facilities provided, in an attempt to attract car users from more sensitive locations and encourage more sustainable onward transport. The authors concluded that whilst the scheme was successful in focusing transport demand in a specific area, it also found that the gateways became attractions in themselves, and actually served to increase total traffic volumes in the area. Whilst positive from an economic point of view, this is undesirable in terms of the environmental implications of increased car use. Indeed, on the wider concept of gateways, Butler and Boyd (2000, p. 325) assert that some people seek:

> 'to sacrifice parts of National Parks to development in the hope of saving the remaining, often significantly larger areas…while [this] has the apparent advantage that it would keep most parties somewhat satisfied, in reality, over the longer term, the pressures from tourism and recreation would inevitably

increase as they have done for the last century and a quarter and the area devoted to related activities and developments would inevitably increase'.

2.4.2.4 Influencing behaviour through information and education

A novel way of delivering information to large numbers of people is demonstrated through the use of Intelligent Transport Systems (ITS) in a number of US National Parks. As Dilworth and Shafer (2004, p. 162) report, 'the use of electronic signs to advise visitors of open parking areas, road closures and other transportation access issues can improve the visitor experience by reducing time spent searching for a parking space…directing visitors to less congested areas, the ability of the visitor to make informed decisions and the provision of accurate, real-time information are some of the most important issues that ITS is intended to address…these tools have the potential to provide low impact solutions to congestion and crowding in the study parks'. More traditional methods of information provision such as road signage and public education campaigns can be similarly used to inform motorists as to the impacts of undesirable behaviour such as verge/off-road parking and speeding (Vaske et al, 2000).

2.4.3 Summary

This section has provided an international perspective of issues surrounding leisure travel and car use in National Parks. An examination of the impacts of the reliance on car use for travel to, from and within many National Parks globally has been made. An overview of some of the most notable policy and planning responses to the problems caused by car use has also been provided. Having now provided a comprehensive information baseline, the following section concludes the chapter.

2.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has served to introduce the concept of leisure travel, providing a definition for the term and exploring the relationship between the demand for leisure travel and the propensity for car use. Impacts of car use at the destination/site specific level have been outlined, with sensitive rural environments such as National Parks shown to be particularly vulnerable.

The concept of National Parks has been explored, with them being shown to usually operate to a dual mandate of environmental protection coupled with the promotion of public access. Conflicts frequently arise between these purposes. Whilst beneficial on a societal and economic level, leisure-based use of the parks can create a number of challenges, not least with regard to transport. Visitor management is therefore an important function within many National Parks. A range of transport planning approaches in place in National Parks internationally have been identified.

Evidence presented in the introductory chapter, and which will be revisited again in Chapter Five, suggests that transport planning responses in UK National Parks do not show the same level of innovation or experimentation as their international counterparts. Whilst interest in transport planning and policy for sensitive rural environments such as National Parks is increasing domestically, actual policy change in the sector is slow to occur. This can partly be explained by some of the differences between leisure travel and other forms of transport demand, and the subsequent impact of this on policy development. However, this offers little insight into the potential for policy change within the transport sector. As such, further research is required. Findings to date give rise to the following research propositions:

- Proposition 1: Conflict between the two founding purposes of National Parks – conservation and enhancement versus understanding and enjoyment – restricts transport policy development in these settings;

- Proposition 2: National Park administration, operation and usage varies between countries, therefore lessons from international schemes cannot be easily transferred; and

- Proposition 3: The complex nature of leisure travel in rural settings serves to discourage its elevation on local or national transport policy agendas.

The next chapter will explore academic theory regarding the concept of policy change. Findings will be used to help structure research and analysis of the potential for policy change in the National Park transport planning sector in the UK.

Chapter Three: Exploring Policy Change[1]

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the theoretical approach which will underpin this thesis. The chapter is grounded within public policy literature and is structured as follows. Section 3.2 provides an overview of the policy making concept and the role of public policy studies in exploring policy change. Section 3.3 summarises the findings of an additional literature review undertaken as part of the thesis which explored policy change in the transport sector. The review itself is appended to this thesis as Appendix 1. Section 3.4 outlines the methods used to study the policy making process, focusing in particular on three notable frameworks, each of which are assessed for their suitability for use in the study. In section 3.5, a more-in depth analysis of the chosen theoretical framework, that of the Multiple Streams Framework, is presented. Section 3.6 provides the conclusion to the chapter.

3.2 PUBLIC POLICY MAKING AND THE EXPLORATION OF POLICY CHANGE

'Why are humans not more effective in actually solving problems?' ask Lindblom and Woodhouse (1993, p. 2) in their seminal text on the process of policy making. By way of illustration, they list some of the most serious failures of policy making in the twentieth century, which they considered to include:

- Spending of over $5 trillion on military weaponry, accompanied by untold fear and nearly 100 million lives taken in violent conflict;
- Allowing an estimated 20 million children and adults to die annually of malnutrition and related diseases; and
- The depletion of far more of the earth's irreplaceable oil and natural gas reserves than are required for efficient transport, heating, and industry.

These were not of course the intended consequences of policy, however they serve to illustrate the complexity of policy making. Indeed, the policy process involves an enormously complex set of elements, interacting over time, which serve to influence policy

[1] The work discussed in section 3.3 of this chapter is appended to the thesis as Appendix 1. The basis of this work was presented at a Transport Conference in Shanghai in 2010. Full reference: Kendal, J., Enoch, M.P., and Ison, S.G., (2010). Policy Change in Transport: Lessons from the UK. World Conference of Transport Research Society, Green Transport Conference, 3rd International Forum, Shanghai, China, 11-13 September.

outcomes and impact on effective decision making (Marinetto, 1999). If policy making were simple, surely Lindblom and Woodhouse's historical list of political failings would by now have been reversed, as opposed to being carried into the twenty first century.

Public policy research represents academic attempts to address the question posed by Lindblom and Woodhouse. John (1998) believes the primary functions of public policy research to be to provide an understanding of how the state and its political actors interact to produce policy output; to illuminate the policy making system; and to explore the variations and complexities of the decision making process. In doing so, analysis should also provide for an understanding of how and why policy changes, or doesn't change. Simply, public policy research is an attempt to understand and explain the public policy process (Hill, 1997).

3.2.1 The importance of policy sectors

Policy making is not simply the preserve of national Governments making decision after decision from their traditional seats of power. Whilst presidents and prime ministers, ministers, mayors and governors, may be the most visible part of the policy-making process, policy outcomes cannot and should not be judged simply by referencing the actions of world leaders or top government officials (Lindblom and Woodhouse, 1993). Public policy researchers therefore largely focus their efforts on the study of individual policy sectors, since 'each sector has all of the elements of the political system: interest-group representatives, bureaucrats, elected politicians, and the general public, who operate within a complex institutional structure of voting systems, legislatures, courts, bureaucracies and public agencies' (John, 1998, p. 2). Indeed, John (1998, p. 5) asserts that 'the variability of policy making challenges the unitary character of modern states…once the notion of a singular political system is abandoned, the variety of the political processes that surrounds each policy area can be observed in all its complexity'.

3.2.2 Policy change and policy stability

John (1998) suggests that there are two main sets of phenomena that public policy research primarily sets out to explain, namely policy variation and policy change. It is the concept of policy change, and its mirror opposite, policy stability, which form the basis for this study.

In certain policy sectors, such as agriculture, policy changes relatively slowly. This is due in part to the dominance of decision makers who hold power for a long period of time. Examples of such decision makers in the agricultural sector may be ministerial bureaucrats or powerful representatives of stakeholder interest groups. The danger of such stability is that policy starts to reflect the interests only of an established elite. The role of public policy analysts here therefore is to investigate why such policy making remains stable, and reject the acceptance of the status quo as purely the natural order of things. Research

should therefore focus on why participants in the policy making process agree on what the policy problems are and accept the means proposed for their solution (John, 1998).

The opposite of policy stability is policy change, namely the emergence of new policies, either as a replacement to existing ones, or as a means of addressing new policy problems. The role of the policy analyst here being to unpick the origins of change, and understand their influences on the policy process (John, 1998). Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993) for example, seek to explore the factors which have supported the emergence of pollution control policies, whose prominence have, from a lowly position, risen up the political agenda so dramatically in the last couple of decades.

As part of this thesis, an additional literature review regarding policy change in the UK surface transport sector was undertaken. Drawing lessons from both the development of over-arching transport policies and the implementation of specific transport planning measures as instruments of policy across a geographical range of transport sectors, it sought to identify and document the motivations and factors which can be seen to have brought about policy change in the transport sector. An overview of key findings is presented in the next section. The complete review is included in the thesis as Appendix 1.

3.3 POLICY CHANGE IN TRANSPORT: LESSONS FROM THE UK

The literature review described briefly above was undertaken in order to determine the principal factors which could be seen to account for major aspects of policy change in the UK transport sector over the last twenty years.

Strategic transport policy and the instruments of which it is composed can be developed and delivered across a range of different dimensions. For example, transport policy formulation in the UK can be explored in the context of a geographical classification, which Headicar (2009) breaks down into:

- EU transport policy making – intra-national policy and planning;
- National transport policy making – white papers and associated planning guidance;
- Regional transport policy making – regional transport strategies; and
- Local transport policy making – local transport plans.

On a similar basis, instruments of transport policy, whether applied individually or as a wider strategy, can also be classified geographically in terms of the scope of their implementation (Banister, 2005). Table 3.1 provides an illustration. Note, the contextual list and examples in the second and third columns are by no means exhaustive.

Table 3.1 – Geographical dimensions of transport policy delivery (Source: Banister, 2005)

Scope of instrument use	Context	Practical examples
National	Nationwide policy coverage	Free bus travel for over 60s; Speed limits; Fuel duty
Area-wide (Regional/Local)	Urban, Intra-Urban, Urban-Rural, Rural	London/Durham road pricing; Park and ride schemes; Light rail; Pedestrianisation; Parking strategies; Demand Responsive Transport; Community Transport.
	Urban – historic city, central business district, shopping district Rural – commuter countryside, rural tourist areas, 'deep' rural areas	
Site specific	Business parks; Out of town retail/leisure parks; Airports; Honeypots; Universities; Other significant trip generating locations	Travel plans; Parking management; Car share schemes;

As such, the geographical classifications of transport policy formulation and delivery were used to structure the review. Contextualising it in this way was helpful, since it allowed the division of the policy arena into smaller sub-sectors for analysis. Analysis therefore focused on policy change at the following levels:

- National;
- Area wide; and
- Site specific.

Within these classifications, particular areas of focus with regard to policy change in the UK surface transport policy sector included:

National level

- The emergence of transport's new realism in the 1990s; and
- The subsequent restoration of old policy paradigms in the new millennium

Area wide level

- Transport planning in urban centres – the implementation of road pricing in London and Singapore, and its abandonment in Edinburgh and Hong Kong; and
- Transport planning in historic cities – the birth of Park and Ride in Oxford, and the development of road pricing for Durham.

Site specific level

- The mainstreaming of travel planning into contemporary transport policy.

Whilst the circumstances surrounding each scenario differed, it was possible to broadly categorise 'change agents' deemed influential in transport policy change into three different dimensions:

1) Public and political identification, acknowledgement and conveyance of a transport 'problem' which needs addressing

In the transport sector, as perhaps in others, policies are not changed without reason. A number of examples cited in the literature review determined that motivations for policy change were driven by an awareness of the need to change. Sometimes, as with growing congestion problems in London (Ison, 2004. Ison and Rye, 2005. Santos, 2005) and Singapore (Wilson, 1988. Phang and Toh, 2004) which preceded the implementation of road pricing, recognition of the problem was a long time in gestation. Other times, critical events conspired to push a hitherto hidden or 'less important' policy item up the agenda and promote action. Examples in this case being the fuel tax protests (Begg and Gray, 2004) and the Hatfield rail crash (Glaister et al, 2006), both of which occurred in the year 2000 and brought immediate public pressure to bear on the relatively new Labour government at the time.

As was the case in the national policy example, one pressing issue may emerge, such as environmental concerns, which then dominates the agenda for a time. However, concern around other issues, such as congestion, can be such that they overtake the incumbent issue, and they in turn become the primary focus of policy attention (Glaister, 2002. Glaister et al, 2006). Thus, the mood of the public and stakeholders can be seen to influence policy direction in transport. On the flip side, as was illustrated with examples of abandoned road pricing schemes (Gaunt et al, 2007) and low take-up of travel plans by organisations (Enoch and Zhang, 2008), lack of problem awareness can inhibit motivations for change and ensure stability.

2) The development of policy 'ideas' or solutions which can be seen to address identified problems and which satisfy/overcome traditional implementation barriers in the transport sector

The review also highlighted how policy change can be influenced by the emergence of new ideas and policy approaches in related sectors. For example, the origins of travel planning came not from public sector decision-makers in transport, but from private sector responses driven by the 1970s fuel crisis (Ferguson, 2000. Martz, 2006). It was only when acknowledging the sensible rationale behind this 'new' concept (site based mobility management) that the policy began to develop. In turn it then grew (and continues to

grow) with regard to the scope and segment of its application (e.g. from workplace to school travel planning). Similarly, historic cities were shown to be leaders in Park and Ride development in the 1970's as, faced with unique problems revolving around the historic fibre of their cities, new policy approaches needed to be adopted (Parkhurst, 2004. Meek et al, 2009). The success of these schemes in these areas was one of the primary motivating factors for their adoption in other localities (Parkhurst and Dudley, 2004).

3) Events in the political arena

Events in the political arena were also demonstrated to have been influential in the context of policy change. Political factors leading to change can be broadly categorised as influenced on an 'institutional' or 'individual' basis, or a combination of the two.

Institutionally for example, the initial break up, then restoration of the Department for Transport (DfT) as a single Government Department emerged as an important factor in the move first towards new realism and ultimately retrenchment from it. In joining up related departments of transport, environment and planning, the Government brokered new communication channels and opened transport policy development up to hitherto marginalised influences. In then breaking the department up, such influence was lost and familiar paradigms restored (Glaister et al, 2006. Headicar, 2009). Similarly, periods of long term political control in Durham (Ieromonachou et al, 2004) and London (Santos, 2005) were identified as important in helping to deliver their flagship road pricing schemes. However, political events in Oxford, where a new administration was able to implement a raft of new transport measures (Parkhurst and Dudley, 2004) illustrate that a change in political administration can also account for change in the transport sector.

Individually, political policy champions, committed figures willing to invest significant time and energy to the development and implementation of their preferred policy, also emerged as having important roles in policy change processes. The role of policy champions seems particularly influential in the context of radical policy changes such as road pricing. The input of Ken Livingstone in regard to the London road pricing scheme makes an excellent case in point (Santos, 2005).

To summarise, these change agents can be seen to affect both policy change and policy stability in the transport sector. That is, when one or more of them combine there would appear to be a greater chance for policy change or implementation than when they are not there. In instances where change agents are not present, policy stability is likely to be maintained.

From the literature review summarised above, the following research propositions were derived. These complement the three research propositions derived earlier in Chapter Two:

- Proposition 4: Transport in National Parks is not a policy area which attracts public or political attention.

- Proposition 5: It is difficult for practitioners to link innovative transport policies or schemes with wider social and economic objectives in National Park settings.

- Proposition 6: Political arrangements at local and national levels serve to restrict the potential for new transport policy development in National Park settings.

Whilst the findings outlined above are helpful in informing the thesis, a more comprehensive assessment of the theory behind policy change is required. The next section will explore three well established approaches to the study of public policy and decision making, namely the stages heuristic framework; multiple streams framework; and advocacy coalition framework. This is necessary to identify the suitability of one or more of these approaches to take forward as the method by which to explore the policy sector under examination in this thesis.

3.4 SIMPLIFYING COMPLEXITY: METHODS OF STUDYING THE POLICY PROCESS

Given the complexities of the policy process, and the desire of policy research studies to help illuminate it, how might the intricacies of policy making be best explored? Sabatier (1999, p. 4) asserts that, 'given the staggering complexity of the policy process, the analyst *must* find some way of simplifying the situation in order to have any chance of understanding it. One simply cannot look for, and see, everything'.

Policy analysts have therefore developed a number of approaches by which to examine the policy process and explore the intricacies of policy making within individual policy sectors. Sabatier (2007, p. 5) terms such approaches as a way of looking 'at the world through a lens consisting of a set of simplifying suppositions'. This section will critique three of the most popular of these approaches, the primary objective being to determine the most suitable approach for use in this thesis. That is, the approach which will provide the greatest insight to the nuances of the policy process in the National Park transport planning policy sector, and provide the clearest answers to the research questions of this thesis. The three approaches to be critiqued for their suitability of use in this study are:

- The stages heuristic framework;
- The advocacy coalition framework; and
- The multiple streams framework.

It is acknowledged that these three frameworks present far from an exhaustive list of available analytical approaches. They have been selected as preliminary points of entry on the basis of the breadth and depth of available literature, and their likely pertinence to the subject matter of this research. As will be demonstrated, they have also been widely applied empirically across a range of policy analysis studies.

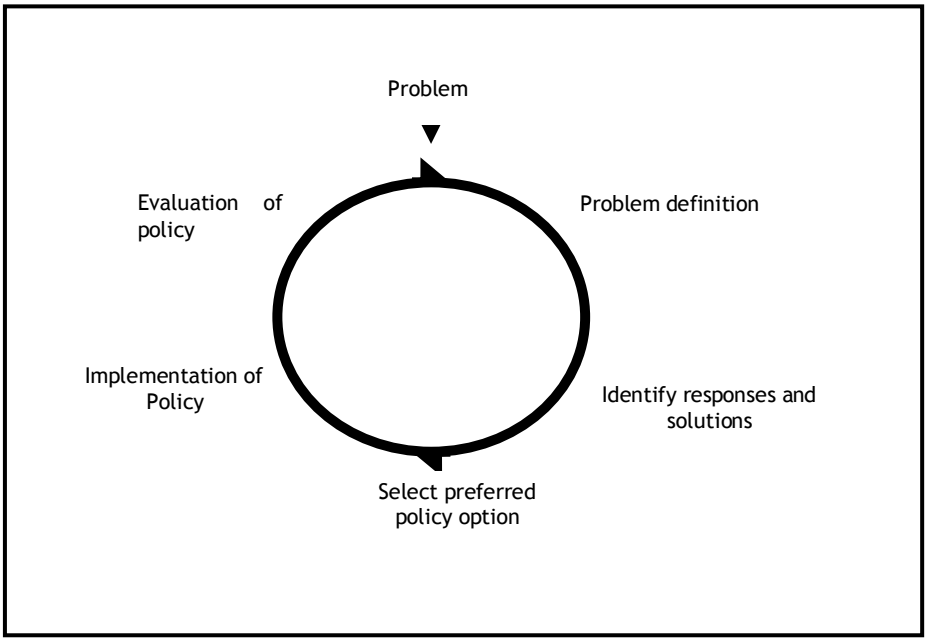
3.4.1 Stages Heuristic Framework

The stages heuristic framework (SHF) seeks to simplify policy analysis by disaggregating policy making into a series of stages for analysis (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Its origins are rooted in the work of notable policy analysts such as Lasswell (1956) and Jones (1970). It has been subject to various revisions and amendments over time. For example, Parsons (1995) identifies seven influential and independent pieces of research to be influential in shaping thinking about the stages heuristic framework. It is often referred to simply as the policy cycle and is a useful model for developing knowledge about the policy process (Hudson and Lowe, 2004) and assisting in the comprehension of the complexities of the process of decision making (Hill, 1997).

3.4.1.1 Structure and workings of the SHF

The SHF conceptualises policy making as beginning with the emergence of a problem and ending with an evaluation of the impacts of the chosen policy (John, 1998). The framework as defined by Hudson and Lowe (2004) is summarised below as Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 – The stages heuristic framework
(Source: Hudson and Lowe 2004)



In summarising the use of the framework by policy analysts, Howlett and Ramesh (2003, p. 14) assert that 'it facilitates the understanding of public policy making by breaking the

complexity of the process into any number of stages and sub-stages, each of which can be investigated alone or in terms of its relationship to any or all of the other stages of the cycle'. In providing a linear representation of the SHF, Knoepfel et al (2007) also outline the questions likely to be posed by analysts during each stage of analysis:

- Stage 1: Emergence of a problem – How is an awareness of the problem reached?
- Stage 2: Agenda setting – What are the factors that will make the government act in response to the problem?
- Stage 3: Policy formulation – What are the solutions proposed and accepted by the government and parliament? On the basis of which processes are these solutions formulated?
- Stage 4: Policy implementation – Have the decisions of legislature and the government been implemented?
- Stage 5: Policy evaluation – What are the direct and indirect effects of the policy?

Proficient application and execution of these questions in the context of a specific example of policy change/stability should therefore provide the analyst with an explanation of the processes involved in the outcome.

3.4.1.2 Practical application of the framework as a means by which to examine policy change

Sabatier (2007) asserts that until the mid 1980's, the SHF was the most influential framework for understanding the policy process. Since that time, many academics (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1993. John, 1998. Hupe and Hill, 2006) have questioned the usefulness of the framework as an analytical tool. Criticism of the framework revolves around three key areas, as summarised by Knoepfel et al (2007):

- The framework is descriptive as opposed to analytical, and can be misleading since the chronological development of policy cannot always be seen to align with the stages outlined. That is, it suggests a systematic approach to policy making that is not reflective of real life approaches;
- The framework offers no notion of causality. It cannot account for the factors which drive policy development from one stage or another, and makes an implicit assumption that the policy process inevitably continues on a stage to stage basis rather than stall at a certain point of development; and

- It is unclear at which level and with what method of analysis the framework should be applied. That is, the framework was developed with a top-down assumption of policy change driven at the state level, but fails to account for change drivers that originate from the 'bottom up'. It is therefore limited in its utility.

In light of these criticisms, authors in the field reached the following conclusions about future use of framework as a means by which to explore policy change processes:

> 'While the five-stage cycle helps analysis by disaggregating the policy process, it does not well illustrate the nuances and complexities of public-policy making. A better model is needed that delineates in greater detail the actors and institutions involved in the policy process, helps identify the instruments available to policy makers, and points out the factors that lead to certain policy outcomes rather than others' (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003, p. 15).

> 'The conclusion seems inescapable: the stages heuristic has outlived its usefulness and needs to be replaced with better theoretical frameworks (Sabatier, 2007, p. 7).

3.4.1.3 Summary

Historically, the stages heuristic framework was a popular means through which to examine the public policy process. As the field of political science has developed however, there appears to be, with notable exceptions (Parsons, 1995. DeLeon, 1999. Knoepfel et al, 2007), acceptance of a) the technical failings of the framework and b) the emergence of superior frameworks by which to analyse policy change within an individual sector. On this basis, the framework is discounted for consideration in this thesis. The next section will now provide an assessment of the suitability of the advocacy coalition framework for use in this study.

3.4.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework

The advocacy coalition framework (ACF) is one of the most developed alternatives to the stages model in terms of the representation of the policy process (Parsons, 1995). Theorisation about the ACF began in the late 1980's, and was revised further in the mid-1990s following broader empirical testing across a range of policy sectors in both North America and Europe (Sabatier and Wieble, 2007). At the heart of the ACF is an assumption that it is the relationships between stakeholders in specific policy sectors that serves to induce policy change (John, 1998).

3.4.2.1 Structure and workings of the ACF

The ACF is structured on the basis of four primary tenets (Sabatier and Wieble, 2007):

- That to understand policy change processes requires a time perspective of a decade or more;

- That policy change over such a time period is best viewed in the context of policy sectors – that is, the study of interactions between stakeholders from a range of institutions relative to the policy area;

- That a policy sector must be seen to include an inter-governmental dimension – that is, they must be assumed to involve governmental input at the local, regional and national level; and

- That public policies can be conceptualised in much the same manner as belief systems, and can be therefore seen to be attached to individuals' values and priorities.

On the basis of the above, the ACF considers policy sectors to be composed of a number of coalitions, each comprised of a range of stakeholders relative to their core beliefs, which all compete for influence. The dominant coalition within each sector is the one with the greatest influence and control over policy making direction (Houlihan and Green, 2006).

With this position outlined as the status quo, the ACF accounts for policy change in one of two dimensions:

- Changes in the beliefs of the dominant coalition; or

- Changes in the resources, venues (access to key decision makers) or support for passive coalitions.

Weible (2006) outlines the three factors that the ACF considers bring about these changes:

1) External shocks - events that occur outside the policy sector but directly or indirectly result in a change of policy direction. Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1999) offer changes in socio-economic conditions or changes in governing coalitions as examples. The impact being that such events may either a) shift resources or open venues because of renewed attention on the policy sector, serving to empower previously passive coalitions, or b) serve to change the core beliefs of the dominant coalition;

2) Policy learning – changes to the core beliefs of coalitions over long periods of time (a decade or more) due to the accumulation of information, be it evidence based or anecdotal based on stakeholder experience; and

3) A hurting stalemate – a situation in which the continuation of a policy status quo is viewed as unacceptable by all coalition members. This leads to a willingness to compromise on policy output by all participants and can bring about significant policy change.

3.4.2.2 Practical application of the framework as a means by which to examine policy change

Sabatier and Wieble (2007) assert that since 1998, the ACF has been applied in over 100 policy analysis studies across a variety of policy sectors including sport policy, environmental policy, domestic violence and nuclear policy. Furthermore, they note that it provides a suitable framework for both qualitative and quantitative based enquiry. Table 3.2 provides an overview of notable studies utilising the ACF as an exploratory mechanism.

Table 3.2 – Typology of ACF studies

Title	Policy Sector	Research Approach	Reference
An Advocacy Coalition Framework approach to stakeholder analysis: understanding the political context of California marine protected area policy	Environmental policy	Stakeholder analysis incorporating qualitative and quantitative research methods	Weible (2006)
Reshaping the Dutch planning system: a learning process?	Planning policy	Documentary analysis	Wolsink, (2003)
Competing advocacy coalitions and the process of 'frame' reflection: a longitudinal analysis of EU steel policy	Steel policy	Qualitative case study	Dudley and Richardson (1999)

The ACF is not without criticism. Two main points emerge in the literature. Firstly, both Parsons (1995) and John (1998) question whether the framework actually serves to explain policy change, or merely comes to reflect competing sides of a policy debate. In rebuffing this assertion, Sabatier and Wieble (2007) argue that the broader scope of the ACF, one that seeks a deeper understanding of policy sectors and the core beliefs of coalitions that underpin them, allows for a comprehensive assessment of change to be made. Of further concern is the fact that the ACF has been revised and revisited by its creators on a number of occasions over the past twenty years, making previous applications of it obsolete or out of date. Again, in addressing this criticism, Sabatier and Wieble (2007, p. 208) cite such revisions as 'a strength of the framework and a productive path of science'. That is, when justified criticisms of, or proposed extensions to, the framework come to light, it is right and proper to rectify them as and when appropriate.

3.4.2.3 Summary

A range of literature over varying periods of time (Parsons, 1995. Dudley and Richardson, 1999. Wieble 2007) cite the ACF as a useful tool through which to explore and examine policy change. Despite the acknowledged limitations, it has shown itself to be applicable across a range of policy sectors, suitable to support a range of research methods, and it has been utilised over an extended period of time. As a framework by which to examine policy processes, it is worthy of consideration for this study.

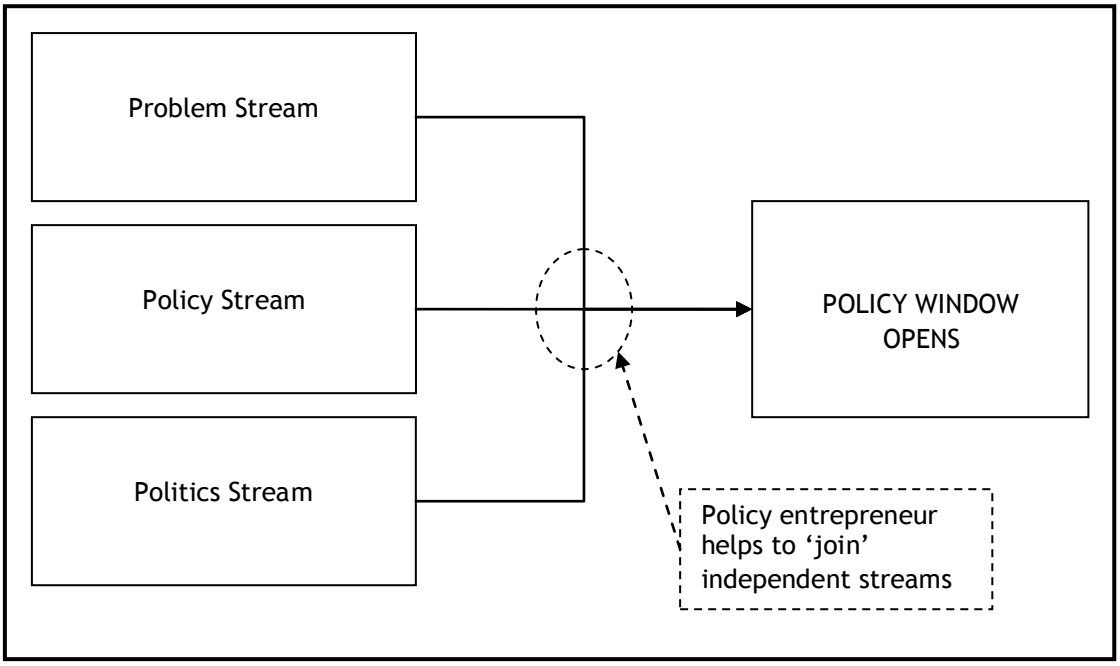
3.4.3 Multiple Streams Framework

The multiple streams (MS) framework represents the outcome of work into the process of agenda setting by John Kingdon (1984). Agenda setting can be defined as 'the process through which problems come to public attention and then appear on the political agenda for possible resolution through public policy' (Schneider and Ingram, 1997, p. 19). Indeed, Kingdon (1984, p. 1) describes the motivation for his initial research as seeking to answer the following question: 'what makes people in and around government attend, at any given time, to some subjects and not to others'? In seeking to illuminate the process of policy making therefore, Kingdon developed the MS framework, an 'approach [which] celebrates the importance of ideas in public policy, but also seeks to explain how ideas emerge by their adoption and rejection by the many decision-makers involved'. (John, 1998, p. 175).

3.4.3.1 Structure and workings of the MS framework

The MS framework is composed of three 'streams', namely the problem stream, the policy stream and the political stream, which Kingdon uses to describe the public policy process. When the three streams meet, often with help from a policy entrepreneur in the sector, a policy window opens. This is at a time when a 'problem is recognised, a solution is developed and available in the policy community, a political change makes the right time for policy change, and potential constraints are not severe' (Kingdon, 1984, p. 174). This is summarised in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 – The MS framework



The framework is concerned with how problems come to be defined, how they are brought to the attention of policy makers, how agendas are set and why certain policies come to be implemented, whilst others are discarded (Parsons, 1995). Kingdon (1984) proposes that the policy making process is best understood as three separate streams which flow through the policy arena. The confluence of the streams is perceived to lead to policy or agenda change:

1) *The problem stream.* Problems come to the attention of policy makers and are recognised as important;

2) *The policy stream.* A 'primeval soup' in which policy ideas are generated and evaluated. Policy measures emerge through an evolutionary process and must be politically and technically feasible to survive. Policy entrepreneurs - 'people who are willing to invest resources of various kinds in hopes of a future return in the form of policies they favour' (Kingdon, 1984, p. 151) – inhabit this soup and are crucial to the success of an idea;

3) *The political stream.* The means by which problems and solutions reach the decision agenda. The stream is comprised of elements including national mood, organised political forces (such as pressure groups), shifts in public opinion, and changes in political administration. It has its own dynamics and rules and can have a powerful impact on the policy agenda.

Neilson (2001, pp. 108-109) states that 'the key to understanding agenda and policy change lies in the coupling of the three streams. Problems are combined with solutions and enter the political stream. This happens when policy windows open, because particular problems become pressing, or as a result in the shift of the political stream. Policy windows open relatively rarely, and do not stay open for long. At such times, policy entrepreneurs – individuals advocating certain policy ideas or proposals – play a key role in coupling solutions to problems and political opportunities'. Policy windows are defined by Kingdon (1984, p. 166) as 'the opportunities for action on given initiatives'.

3.4.3.2 Practical application of the framework in studies of policy change

The MS framework has been used in academic studies across a range of policy sectors, and in the context of the political context of many different countries. Table 3.3 provides an overview.

Table 3.3 – Typology of MS framework studies

Title	Policy Sector	Research Approach	Reference
Understanding policy change: multiple streams and emissions trading in Germany	Environmental and economic policy	Interviews Historical data analysis	Brunner (2008)
Decriminalising queer sexualities in India: A multiple streams analysis	Social policy	Historical data analysis	Sharma (2008)
Why education policies fail: multiple streams model of policy making	Education policy	Historical data analysis	Teodorovic (2008)
A multiple streams model of US foreign aid policy	Foreign aid policy	Quantitative modelling Historical data analysis	Travis and Zahariadis (2002)
Three strikes and you're in: a streams and windows model of incremental policy change	Criminal policy	Historical data analysis	Saint-Germain and Calamia (1996)
Selling British Rail: an idea whose time has come?	Transport policy	Historical data analysis	Zahariadis (1996)

As noted from Table 3.3, studies incorporating the MS framework typically employ qualitative case study approaches to explain policy change/stability within specific sectors. To some authors this has been seen as a weakness (Bendor, Moe and Shott, 2001). For protagonists of the approach however, this presents more of an opportunity than a threat. Adeptly designed case studies, it is argued, based on solid qualitative data collection techniques and analysis, provide real insight into policy change processes by identifying key actors, institutions and political processes (Saint-Germain and Calamia, 1996). A historical criticism of the framework was that it was solely US focussed and that question marks therefore existed over the utility of the framework in other contexts and sectors (John, 1998). The variety of applications cited above would seem to dilute this criticism however.

3.4.3.3 Summary

The MS framework is a well established mechanism for examining policy change within a particular policy sector. It has been widely applied across a range of disciplines, usually on the basis of a qualitative case-study based research approach. It would appear to offer synergy with the findings of the literature review with regard to historical motivations for policy change in the transport sector, and will be further considered for use in this study.

Having now completed the assessment of the three frameworks, the next section outlines the preferred analytical approach to be used in the study.

3.4.4 Preferred analytical approach – the MS framework

On the basis of the preliminary assessment of the three frameworks described above, the MS framework has been selected as the lens through which to explore the policy process in this thesis. A number of factors support this decision. Firstly, the additional literature review summarised in section 3.3 and attached as Appendix 1 sought to identify factors accounting for policy change in the transport sector. The review concluded that primary drivers of policy change across this sector consisted of:

- Public and political identification, acknowledgement and conveyance of a transport 'problem' which needs addressing;
- The development of policy 'ideas' or solutions which can be seen to address identified problems and which satisfy/overcome traditional implementation barriers in the transport sector; and
- Events in the political arena.

The MS framework would therefore appear to offer the best method to explore these variables in more depth, since it also cites such factors as an important part of the policy change processes. Whilst the ACF also demonstrated compatibility with certain findings of the literature review, not least in the context of the roles of policy learning and external shocks in bringing about policy change, in also incorporating these variables the MS framework appears to offer an all round better 'fit'.

Both the MS framework and ACF emphasise the importance of formal and informal actors in the policy process. However, it is within the MS framework that the role of policy entrepreneurs, individuals who can unite stakeholders or have the influence to overcome barriers between them, is emphasised most vigorously. Again, this demonstrates synergy with the findings of the transport policy change literature review, which cited policy champions as often being important in helping to facilitate change.

The utility of the MS framework is also important. Whilst Kingdon (1984) first used the framework to explain the process of agenda-setting at the national level in the USA, subsequent studies have shown that it can be used to explain the entire process of policy formation (Zahariadis, 2007). The prevalence of MS framework based policy studies provides valuable insights in terms of how to design, conduct and analyse studies using this approach. In addition the variation in policy backgrounds in which these studies are grounded provide confidence that the MS framework will also be suitable for use in this study.

Of similar importance is the ability of the framework to enable policy analysis to be undertaken in transparent and structured terms (in the streams of problems, policies and politics). It therefore offers a more pragmatic and systematic approach to policy analysis than either the ACF or the stages heuristic.

With the MS framework chosen as the preferred mechanism for policy analysis, section 3.5 now provides a more comprehensive assessment of the framework.

3.5 EXPANSION OF THE MS FRAMEWORK

This section expands on the preliminary MS framework assessment to provide a more comprehensive account of its composition, and describe how it will be used in the context of this thesis.

As outlined, the MS framework conceptualises the policy process as composing of three largely independent streams – the policy stream, the problem stream and the political stream - which flow through policy arenas (Sabatier, 2007). Kingdon (1984) perceives these streams to flow independently of each other, except on occasions where the emergence of policy windows permit policy entrepreneurs to link or 'couple' the streams with each other. Major policy change is achieved if policy entrepreneurs are successful in coupling the streams at these moments in time. The MS framework can therefore be seen to involve five primary elements:

- The problem stream;
- The policy stream;
- The political stream;
- Policy entrepreneurs; and
- Policy windows

Sections 3.5.1 – 3.5.5 will now provide an in-depth assessment of each of these key features.

3.5.1 The problem stream

The problem stream is used to consider how problems come to be recognised, and how conditions come to be defined as problems (Kingdon, 1984). The rationale behind the problem stream is that in any given situation which may theoretically require the use of a policy solution, the 'issue' which the policy should seek to address must be defined and explicitly identified as a 'problem'. Furthermore, there must be a desire that the existing situation is in someway wrong or requires attention, and that policies can be pursued which may correct the situation. As Kingdon (1984, p. 119) states, 'for a condition to be a problem, people must be convinced that something should be done to change it'. The problem stream therefore denotes which social conditions are perceived by people as problems which need to be remedied by policy action (Teodorovic, 2008).

Three mechanisms can serve to bring problems to the attention of policy makers and elevate issues into the problem stream:

- Indicators for example road traffic deaths or infant mortality rates, are measurements which can be used to assess the scale or changes of problems. They can be used 'politically' in an attempt to measure magnitudes of change in the hope of catching official attention (Zahariadis, 2007);

- Focusing events can also draw attention to problematic conditions. As Kingdon (1984, p. 94-95) describes, 'problems are often not self-evident by the indicators. They need a little push to get the attention of people in and around government. That push is sometimes provided by a focusing event like a crisis or disaster that comes along to call attention to the problem, a powerful symbol that catches on, or the personal experience of a policy maker'. The 9/11 terrorist attacks (Birkland, 2004) and rail crashes (Zahariadis, 1996) are cited in the literature as notable examples of such focusing events (note the synergy here with regard to the concept of the power of the unforeseen event as discussed in section 3.3); and

- Feedback refers to both formal and informal communication mechanisms by which problems with existing policy approaches come to the attention of political administrators. Taking the performance of urban mass transportation systems as an example, Kingdon (1984) identifies formal channels to include indicator based assessments such as ridership, load-factors, and on-time performance. More informally, and maintaining transport as an example, he cites public feedback about events such as deteriorating road surfaces, coupled with administrator concerns about the lack of funds to address them, as informal communication of problem awareness.

Figure 3.3 below summarises the composition of the problem stream, and outlines key areas for research in the context of the thesis.

Figure 3.3 – Problem stream components and areas for research

Problem stream composition	Areas for research
- Focusing events - Indicators - Feedback	- stakeholder perceptions of strategic challenges across UK National Parks - stakeholder perceptions of transport problems across UK National Parks - whether the way problems are defined has any influence on the elevation of one issue over another on the policy agenda

3.5.2 The policy stream

When problems are identified, the search for a solution begins. The policy stream is therefore conceptualised as a 'primeval soup', home to many potential policy ideas which float around, confronting and bumping into one another (Brunner, 2008). The policy stream is representative of the fact that, in principle at least, many ideas are possible (Kingdon, 1984). Some of these ideas rise to the top of the agenda, whilst others sink to the bottom and are ultimately discarded (Brunner, 2008). Policy measures therefore emerge through an evolutionary process, and only a few policy ideas ever receive serious consideration. Those that do have to satisfy criteria in terms of technical feasibility, personal beliefs and likelihood of public acceptability. For example, ideas which appear difficult to implement are rarely favoured. Similarly, proposals which do not conform to the values of policy makers are unlikely to be considered for adoption (Zahariadis, 2007).

Policy ideas are largely generated by specialists in policy communities (networks of individuals in single policy arenas), and are considered in a number of different forums. Such forums may include formalised processes such as policy papers or public meetings, or more informal activities such as simple conversations with other members of the policy community. It is during these periods that ideas may survive unchanged, evolve into new ideas, or disappear altogether (Zahariadis, 2007). The policy stream therefore produces a short list of policy proposals, from an initial large list of possible ideas. As Kingdon (1984, p. 144) states, 'this short list is not necessarily a consensus in the policy community on the one proposal that meets their criteria: rather it is an agreement that a few proposals are prominent'.

Figure 3.4 below summarises the composition of the policy stream, and outlines the areas for research in the context of this thesis.

Figure 3.4 - Policy stream components and areas for research

Policy stream composition	Areas for research
The policy community	- the strengths of relationships between members of policy communities - fragmentation and unification within policy communities
Policy objectives	- community members' consensus/divergence on transport policy objectives
The policy 'primeval' soup	- views of community members with regard to transport policy proposals in terms of their feasibility, personal value acceptability, and public acceptability

3.5.3 The political stream

The political stream flows independently alongside the problem and policy streams. It is composed of three elements (Zahariadis, 2007):

- The national/local mood: the notion that fairly large numbers of individuals in a given country/area think along common lines and that the mood swings on occasion. Government officials sensing changes in this mood act to promote certain items on the agenda, or conversely, play down the prospects of others;

- Organised political forces/pressure group campaigns: politicians view the support or opposition of interest groups as indicators of consensus or dissent in the broader political arena. Political policy actions can be influenced as a result; and

- Existing governmental arrangements: the make-up of governing arrangements and institutions surrounding policy making can be influential. Changes in terms of political administrations, or their composition may help to bring about change.

Each of the above elements are perceived to influence the action that decision makers take, and are deemed important in shaping the policy agenda (Saint-German and Calamia, 1996). Events which occur in the political stream may, or may not, be favourable for the emergence of new policy (Teodorovic, 2008).

According to Kingdon (1984, p. 163), 'the political stream is an important promoter or inhibiter of high agenda status. All of the important actors in the system, not just the

politicians, judge whether the balance of forces in the political stream favours action. They also judge whether the general public would at least tolerate the directions pursued at the elite level. Without that tolerance, the potential for retribution at the polls is likely to torpedo the idea'.

Figure 3.5 below summarises the composition of the policy stream, and outlines the areas of research to be addressed.

Figure 3.5 - Political stream components and areas for research

Political stream composition	Areas for research
The local mood	- the influence (if any) of the local mood on the policy process
Organised political forces	- the presence or otherwise of organised political forces in the policy sector, and the extent that they affect the policy process
Local government arrangements	- the impact (if any) of existing local government arrangements on the policy process

3.5.4 Policy entrepreneurs

Policy entrepreneurs are individuals or corporate actors who attempt to couple the three streams. When policy windows open, policy entrepreneurs must immediately take hold of the opportunity to take action. Failure to grasp the opportunity of an open policy window means it will soon be lost, and policy entrepreneurs must wait for the next one to come along (Zahariadis, 2007).

Kingdon (1984, p. 151) defines policy entrepreneurs as individuals or corporate actors 'who are willing to invest resources of various kinds in hopes of a future return in the form of policies they favour'. They may be politicians, bureaucrats, analysts, consultants, journalists, or academics (John, 1998) and are not exclusive to one area of the political system.

Figure 3.6 below outlines the areas for research to be addressed when looking for evidence of entrepreneurial activity in the context of the MS framework.

Figure 3.6 – Policy entrepreneurs and research questions

MS framework composition element	Areas for research
Policy entrepreneurs	- evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector - their status within the policy community and influence on policy processes

3.5.5 Policy windows

Policy windows occur when the three streams described above are temporarily joined together, or coupled. Sometimes a policy entrepreneur is evident in the coupling process, other times not. The merging of the three streams leads to advantageous choice opportunities which Kingdon (1984) calls policy windows. A policy window is a moment in time where 'a problem is recognised, a solution is developed and available in the policy community, a political change makes the right time for policy change, and potential constraints are not severe' (Kingdon, 1984, p. 174).

The metaphor of a launch window in a space flight mission is used by Kingdon to illustrate his definition. If, for whatever reason, a launch window is lost, it is necessary to wait until all the necessary requirements for a successful launch are in place again. The probability of an issue gaining prominence on the political agenda therefore increases when problems interact with both solutions and politics to produce a single package which is acceptable to policy makers (Travis and Zahariadis, 2002).

In the event that the streams are not coupled, then no policy windows emerge and the status quo is largely maintained. For example, a problem may exist but is never elevated onto the policy agenda because a feasible solution to it cannot be found, or a politician is not interested in the problem as it is currently defined. Conversely, policy specialists may develop solutions for which problems have not yet formally been acknowledged, thereby limiting the likelihood of implementation (Saint—Germain and Calamia, 1996).

On occasions such as budget reviews, or in instances of major political upheaval, policy windows may open quite predictably. At other times, their opening may be quite unpredictable, for example those driven by a focusing event or crisis as described in the problem stream. Open windows do not stay open for long, and may close for a variety of reasons. Kingdon (1984) outlines five key reasons behind the closure of policy windows:

- Participants feel they have addressed the problem through decision making or enactment;

- Participants may fail to get action. Failure to achieve action means participants are unwilling to invest further time, energy, political capital or other resources in their endeavour, and turn attention elsewhere;

- Events that prompted the window to open may pass from the scene;

- If a change in personnel opens a window, the personnel may change again. People in key positions come and go, and so do the opportunities their presence furnishes;

- There is no available alternative. The opportunity for the implementation of a new policy or scheme passes if the ready alternative is not ready.

Successfully addressing the research areas allied to the individual elements of the MS framework as outlined in Figures 3.3 – 3.6 should allow a comprehensive assessment of the potential for change in the policy sector to be made. It should also allow the development of recommendations by which to improve the potential for change to be generated. Figure 3.7 summarises this assessment.

Figure 3.7 – Assessment on the opening, or potential for opening, policy windows in the National Park transport planning sector

MS framework composition element	Area for research
Policy windows	- is there any evidence of the framework components 'coupling' to create a policy window for change in the sector?

3.5.6 Summary

This section has provided a comprehensive assessment of the MS framework, and outlined how it is to be used in the context of this thesis. The component parts of the framework have been examined, and their relevance to future research areas established. Section 3.6 now concludes this chapter.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Policy making is a complex process involving numerous actors at a range of institutional levels. Studies of public policy processes can take place at the national level, or within particular policy sectors. A key aspect of policy research involves studying particular sectors in order to account for and document instances of policy stability or change. To demonstrate this fact, and provide initial insight into the motivations for policy change, a transport policy review was undertaken. The results showed that three 'change agents' were particularly influential in supporting change in the sector, namely: problem awareness; the availability of policy solutions; and events in the political arena.

These findings were particularly helpful when judging the strengths and weaknesses of a range of formalised theoretical policy change frameworks which were assessed for their suitability for use in this thesis. As a result, the MS framework has been chosen as the means by which to explore the policy process under study in this thesis. The processes by which it accounts for policy change have been shown to bear synergy with preliminary

findings of the transport policy change literature review summarised in section 3.3. The key strengths of the framework are its utility, transparency, structure and fluidity.

Study of the MS framework yields three further researcher propositions to add to the six already identified in Chapter Two and earlier in this chapter. These are:

- Proposition 7: How transport problems are defined by politicians and the general public influences the attention which the issue receives on the political agenda.

- Proposition 8: The presence of a policy entrepreneur within the local or national UK National Park transport planning sector would aid the potential for significant policy change.

- Proposition 9: There is currently no open policy window through which to secure significant transport policy change with respect to leisure in the context of UK National Parks.

On the basis of the research aim, objectives and questions, and in accordance with the data requirements of the MS framework, the following chapter outlines the research approach which underpins this thesis.

Chapter Four: Research Approach

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter details the research approach taken in this thesis with regard to the collection of primary data necessary to satisfy the study aim, objectives and research questions. The chapter is structured as follows. Section 4.2 provides an overview of the research aim, objectives and propositions the research approach is designed to address. Section 4.3 provides an examination of the influence of the chosen theoretical framework (the MS framework) on both research design and qualitative data analysis. Based on these findings, section 4.4 documents the overarching case-study approach employed in this thesis. The component parts of the overarching case-study approach, namely in-depth interviews with UK National Park Transport Officers complemented by document analysis (section 4.5), the New Forest National Park and Yorkshire Dales National Park case studies (section 4.6) and in-depth interviews with expert practitioners in the field (section 4.7) are then examined. A conclusion is presented to complete the chapter in section 4.8.

4.2 AIM, OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS

The aim of this thesis is:

> **To investigate the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks.**

This is supported by the following objectives:

- To identify issues and policies relating to the leisure based use of National Parks, with particular regard to transport;
- To examine the views of National Park Transport Officers on the current and likely future development of leisure transport and related policies in UK National Parks;
- To analyse perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies amongst relevant communities of interest at a local level;
- To analyse current perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies nationally, and explore possible future avenues for policy change;
- To develop recommendations and advice to policy makers and practitioners who maintain aspirations for transport policy change within UK National Parks.

4.2.1.1 Research propositions

The research propositions provide the structure by which to satisfy the aim and objectives. They have been derived from the work of chapters two and three.

Proposition 1

Conflict between the two founding purposes of National Parks – conservation and enhancement versus understanding and enjoyment – restricts transport policy development in these settings.

Proposition 2

National Park administration, operation and usage varies between countries, therefore lessons from international schemes and policy development cannot be easily transferred.

Proposition 3

The complex nature of leisure travel in rural settings serves to discourage its elevation on local or national transport policy agendas.

Proposition 4

Transport in National Parks is not a policy area which attracts public or political attention.

Proposition 5

It is difficult for practitioners to link innovative transport policies or schemes with wider social and economic objectives in National Park settings.

Proposition 6

Political arrangements at local and national levels serve to restrict the potential for new transport policy development in National Park settings.

Proposition 7

How transport problems are defined by politicians and the general public influences the attention which the issue receives on the political agenda.

Proposition 8

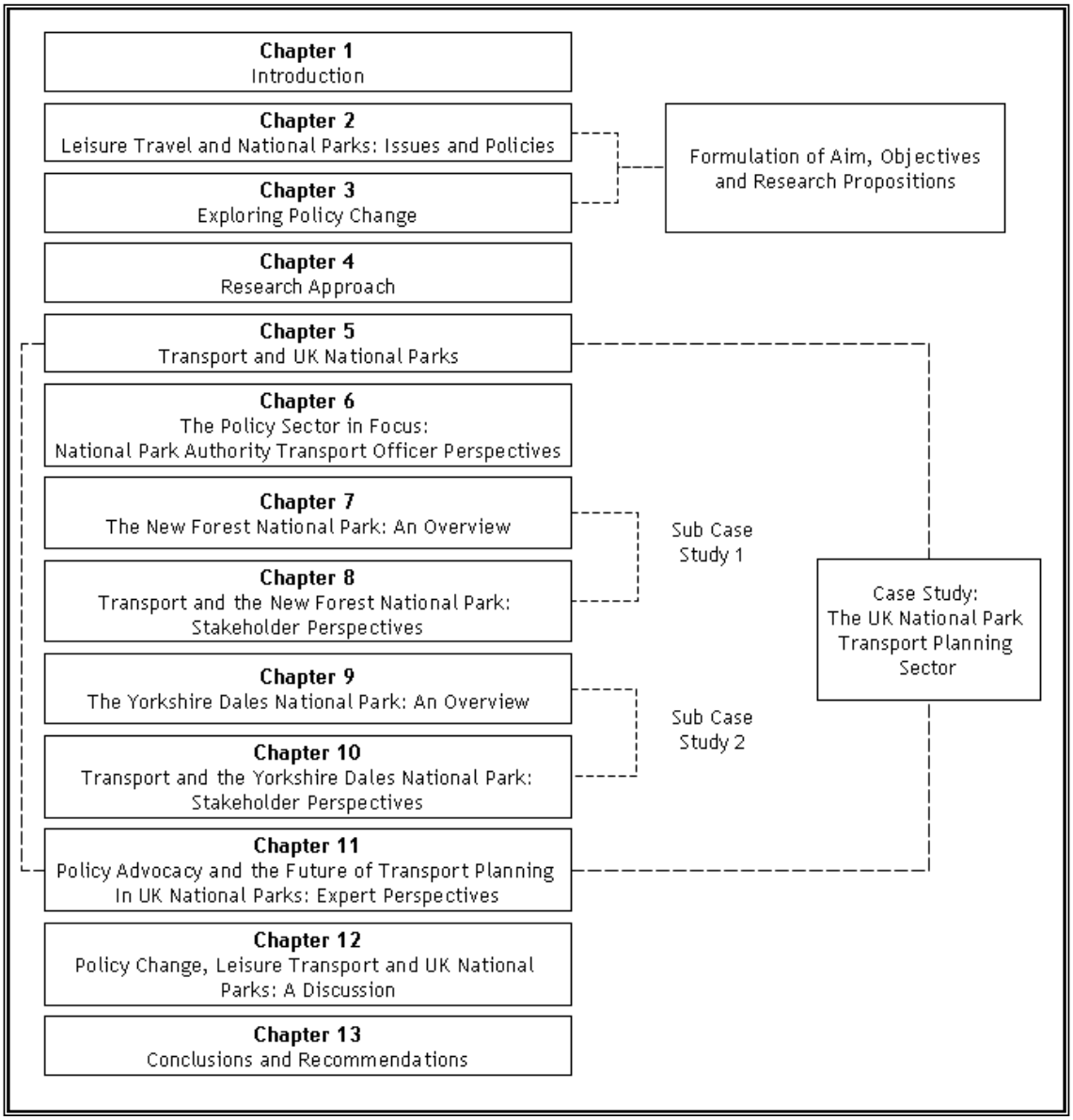
The presence of a policy entrepreneur within the local or national UK National Park transport planning sector would aid the potential for significant policy change.

Proposition 9

There is currently no open policy window through which to secure significant transport policy change with respect to leisure in the context of UK National Parks.

In order that the research aim, objectives and propositions are satisfied, the thesis will be structured as shown in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 – Map of research



The following sections of this chapter now document the construction of the research design allied to this thesis. Section 4.3 begins by providing an assessment of the influence of the chosen theoretical framework with regard to the chosen research approach.

4.3 INFLUENCE OF MS FRAMEWORK ON THE RESEARCH APPROACH

A coherent research approach is concerned with turning research questions into projects (Robson, 1993); its purpose being to help avoid the situation in which the evidence does not address the initial research question (Oppenheim, 1992). A robust research approach therefore provides a logical framework to guide the investigator through the collection,

analysis and interpretation of observations, setting up the study in a way that allows specific answers to specific questions to be generated (Yin, 2003). As such, the actual formulation of the research approach is informed by a number of factors, not least the needs of the chosen theoretical framework. As Chapter Three demonstrated, and Silverman (2010, p. 103) confirms, 'methodologies and research questions are inevitably theoretically informed'. Therefore, before outlining the chosen research approach, it is necessary to consider the influence of the chosen theoretical framework upon it.

4.3.1 Research requirements of the MS framework

The MS framework has been chosen as the analytical framework by which to examine the potential for policy change in the National Park transport planning sector. The type of research methods typically employed in studies incorporating an MS framework analysis were discussed in Chapter Three and summarised in Table 3.3. Of the studies identified, a qualitative research approach consisting of interviews and/or documentary analysis were organised in a case study based format on all but one occasion.

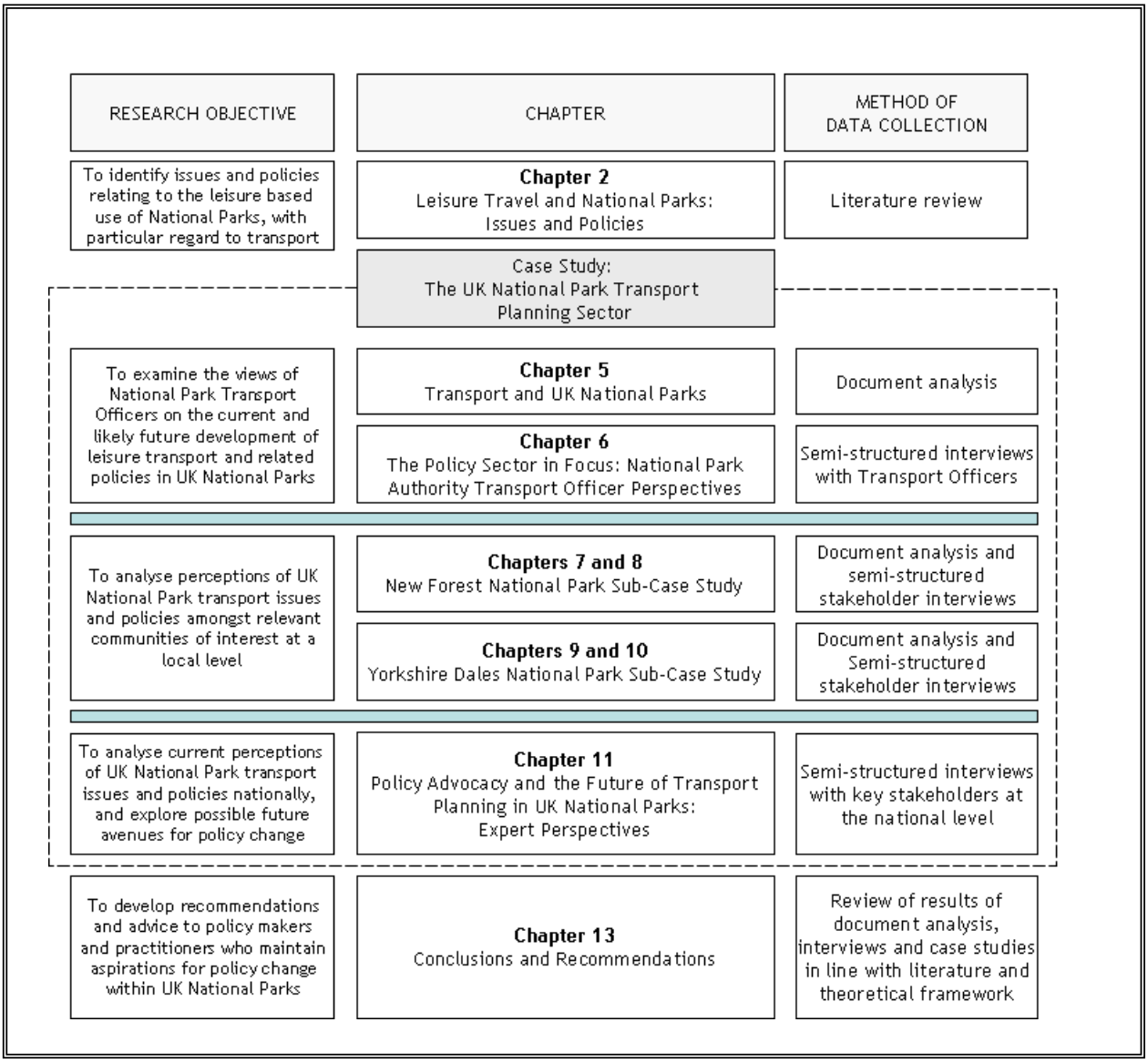
The reliance on qualitative research methods as described above appears to be reflective of policy studies on the whole. For example, Hill (1997, p. 120) asserts that 'policy process studies are likely to be case studies, using qualitative methods'. This is perhaps because qualitative methods allow for the study of selected issues, cases, or events in greater detail than would be possible through a quantitative approach (Mason, 1996). Moreover, the fact that the collection of data is not constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth and detail of qualitative data gathering and analysis (Patton, 1987). Furthermore, in the context of qualitative research and policy analysis studies, it appears that such importance is attached to qualitative data techniques since they 'are essential so as to preclude premature focusing on a limited number of aspects of [an] issue, to the neglect of others which may emerge during the process of data collection and analysis' (Varvasovszky and Brugha, 2000, p. 341).

To summarise therefore, this thesis is a policy analysis study, which through the adoption of the MS framework seeks to explore the policy making process in a particular policy sector. In this context, and as will now be documented, the research approach has focused predominantly on the collection of qualitative data anchored within an overarching case study method. This corresponds with the philosophies of public policy research, and presents itself as an effective way of collecting the data required to meet the research aim and objectives, and examine the research propositions.

4.3.2 Application of an overarching case study method to address requirements of MS framework

In order to satisfy the research requirements necessary to conduct an MS framework analysis, the research approach as shown in Figure 4.2 has been constructed.

Figure 4.2 – Overview of case study method and wider research approach



Prior to the examination of the wider case study construct, and the data collection stages which support it, consideration is given to the method of qualitative data analysis necessary to support MS framework based research.

4.3.3 Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative based case study approach documented in Figure 4.2 led to the collection of a large amount of data. Whilst transcripts of interviews undertaken provide a descriptive record of the research, without further interpretation they do not provide any meaningful

explanation or insight from which to benefit the research (Pope et al, 2000). This section will now examine the process of qualitative data analysis employed in this thesis.

4.3.3.1 Aims of qualitative data analysis

The role of qualitative research analysis is to provide coherence and structure to the data set without losing sight of the original accounts and observations from which they were derived (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). Fielding (1993, p. 156) contends that 'good qualitative analysis is able to document its claim to reflect some of the truth of a phenomenon by reference to systematically gathered data', whilst in contrast, 'poor qualitative analysis is anecdotal, unreflective, descriptive without being focused on a coherent line of inquiry'.

In the context of policy research, qualitative data analysis is essentially concerned with detection, and is underpinned by the key tasks of data *definition, categorisation, theorisation, explanation, exploration* and *mapping* (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). The approach used to analyse qualitative data therefore needs to facilitate the completion of these key tasks. As is true in the context of this thesis, Ritchie and Spencer (1994, p. 176) note that 'these functions will vary depending on the research questions being addressed, but, certainly in applied policy research, the following are frequently included:

- Defining concepts: understanding internal structures;
- Mapping the range, nature and dynamics of phenomena;
- Creating typologies: categorising different types of attitudes, behaviours, motivations, etc;
- Finding associations: between experiences and attitudes, between attitudes and behaviours, between circumstances and motivations, etc;
- Seeking explanations: explicit or implicit; and
- Developing new ideas, theories or strategies.'

4.3.3.2 Deductive analysis – the framework approach

Deductive analysis lends itself for use in the analysis of applied policy research since the objectives of studies are usually clearly set, and shaped by specific information requirements. A deductive analytical approach fits well with the theory of Krueger and Casey (2000, p. 127), who suggest that the purpose of the research should drive data analysis, stating that 'analysis begins by going back to the intention of the study and survival requires a clear fix on the purpose of the study'.

The framework approach was developed in Britain specifically for the analysis of policy relevant qualitative data derived from studies in which the objectives of the research were pre-set (Pope et al, 2000). The most comprehensive presentation of the framework approach to qualitative data analysis is that described by Ritchie and Spencer (1994). They

define the technique as 'an analytical process which involves a number of distinct though highly interconnected stages' (p. 177). Essentially, it provides a series of clear steps allied to data analysis which help researchers to analyse and manage large amounts of qualitative data in a methodical and transparent way (Krueger, 1994). This involves 'a systematic process of sifting, charting and sorting material according to key issues and themes' (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994, p. 177). There are five key stages allied to the framework approach, which are summarised by Pope et al (2000) in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 - Five stages of the framework approach to data analysis (Source: Pope et al, 2000)

1) Familiarisation – immersion in the raw data by listening to tapes, reading transcripts, and studying notes, in order to list key ideas and recurrent themes.

2) Identifying a thematic framework – identifying all the key issues, concepts and themes by which the data can be examined and referenced. This is carried out by drawing on a priori issues and questions derived from the aims and objectives of the study as well as issues raised by the respondents themselves and views or experiences that recur in the data. The end product of this stage is a detailed index of the data, which labels the data into manageable chunks for subsequent retrieval and exploration.

3) Indexing – applying the thematic framework or index systematically to all the data in textual form by annotating the transcripts with numerical codes from the index, usually supported by short text descriptors to elaborate the index heading. Single passages of text can often encompass a large number of different themes, each of which has to be recorded, usually in the margin of the transcript.

4) Charting – rearranging the data according to the appropriate part of the thematic framework to which they relate, and forming charts. For example, there is likely to be a chart for each key subject area or theme with entries for several respondents.

5) Mapping and interpretation – using the charts to define concepts, map the range and nature of phenomena, create typologies and find associations between themes with a view to providing explanations for the findings. The process of mapping and interpretation is influenced by the original research objectives as well as by the themes that have emerged from the data themselves.

This was the approach taken in the analysis of all qualitative data collected and reported on as part of this thesis. The thematic framework referred to in step 2 of the framework

approach was in part formed by the MS framework structure. That is, where appropriate data was analysed in the context of the three streams of the framework.

4.3.4 Summary

This section has documented the influence of the MS framework on the adoption of the chosen research approach and methods of qualitative data analysis allied to this thesis. Section 4.4 – 4.7 will now examine the wider case study method, and each of the three distinct stages of research which support it.

4.4 THE CASE STUDY METHOD

'A strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence' is how Robson (1993, p. 146) defines a case study. Similarly, Yin (1994, p. 13) asserts a case study to be 'an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident'. Moving away from definitions and towards the reasoning behind the use of the case study method, Punch (1998, p. 150) offers a simple rationale:

> 'The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible'.

Two points emerge from this preliminary introduction. First, a prerequisite for the use of the case study method is that a succinct working knowledge of the area (or case) under study, in combination with the development of a theoretical position, has been formalised prior to the research. Second, that the case study method is not a data collection approach in itself. Rather, it is a means of organising research in such a way that study aim, objectives and research propositions can be satisfied.

The next section will therefore seek to address the applicability of the case study method for use in this thesis, whilst the specific research approaches allied to the approach will be discussed in later sections of the chapter.

4.4.1 Applicability of the case study method to this thesis

The case study method has been identified as a popular method for facilitating research in the public policy field. A number of reasons combine to make this so, and they will now be briefly examined. The grounds for rejection of other possible research designs will be conducted alongside this analysis.

4.4.1.1 Research designs available to the researcher

As outlined by Oppenheim (1992), a range of possible research designs are available to the researcher. The selection of the correct design is primarily a matter of appropriateness for the subject under research. On this basis, Yin (2003) considers that three particular conditions are influential in helping the researcher to identify the most appropriate design, namely:

- The type of research question posed;
- The control or otherwise that an investigator has over the events to be studied; and
- The degree of focus on contemporary as opposed to historical events.

Briefly then, it is helpful once again to consider these criteria in light of the research to be undertaken in this thesis. Starting first with the type of research questions posed, the study aims to understand aspects of policy change and stability. That is, using the MS framework the aim is to explore the potential for policy change by examining why it is so slow to do so, and how change might ever be achieved in the sector. Secondly, the area under study is one which the researcher has no control over. It is a 'live' and dynamic area, which cannot be directly or indirectly controlled for the basis of experimentation or research. Finally, the research will draw on both retrospective and prospective analysis in this thesis. Whilst historical data and events will serve to provide a contextual baseline, the research is intended to maintain a forward-facing element, focusing largely on contemporary events.

Incorporating the three outline conditions for research described above, Yin (2009) provides an overview of the five most prominent research designs used in academic study, outlining the circumstances in which each design is most appropriate. This is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 - Relevant situations for different research designs (Source: Yin, 2009)

Strategy	Form of research question	Requires control of behavioural events?	Focuses on contemporary events?
Experiment	How? Why?	Yes	Yes
Survey	Who? What? Where? How many? How much?	No	Yes
Archival analysis	Who? What? Where? How many? How much?	No	Yes/No
History	How? Why?	No	No
Case study	How? Why?	No	Yes

The case study method presents itself for use in situations where 'how' and 'why' questions relating to contemporary events out of the control of the research are to be addressed.

This is of particular importance to the research to be conducted in this thesis, where the emphasis is on examining why policy has been slow to change in the National Park transport planning sector and how future change may be achieved.

Crucially, other strategies which can be seen to focus on 'how' and 'why' type questions – namely experiments and histories – do not meet the necessary requirements of the research in terms of some of the conditions already outlined. For example, experiments normally require the researcher to exert a form of control over events for study, and as discussed this is not possible in the context of this research. Similarly, whilst the study will draw on historical events and data on a contextual basis, it is more concerned with contemporary events in that it seeks to identify conditions under which policy change may be possible. On this basis, both experiments and histories are rejected as possible research designs.

Table 4.1 shows surveys to focus on contemporary events and not require control over behavioural events. However, the type of research questions they seek to address are not completely consistent with those outlined in this thesis. As Gray (2004, p. 98) asserts, surveys are 'a system for collecting information to describe, compare, or explore knowledge, attitudes and behaviour…most surveys are conducted using a questionnaire'. Yin (2009) considers the survey method to be advantageous when seeking to identify or describe the prevalence of a phenomenon, or when trying to be predictive about outcomes. However, the research in this thesis is more exploratory than predictive and therefore less suited to the survey method. It is considered then that adoption of the survey method would not allow the collection of the detailed data necessary to form a deep understanding of the issues at play within the National Park transport planning sector. Similarly, as archival analysis does not allow for 'how' and 'why' questions to be addressed, and only focuses in part on contemporary events, it was not considered suitable as a research design.

In summary therefore, the case study method can be seen to fit the research requirements of this thesis, and comprehensively aligns with the three conditions for appropriate research design outlined by Yin (2003). Similarly, previous scholarly research in the public policy field has frequently employed the case study method, presumably for these reasons. With the case study method now selected, section 4.4.2 now outlines its design.

4.4.2 Case study design

Yin (2009, p. 46) provides a clear classification of case study design, identifying four different types of case study. Each type is differentiated on the basis of single or multiple cases, and whether they are embedded or holistic. Table 4.2 summarises this information.

Table 4.2 - Case study designs
(Source: Yin, 2009, p. 46)

	Single case design	Multiple case design
Holistic (single unit of analysis)	Type 1: Single case, single unit of analysis	Type 3: Multiple cases, single unit of analysis
Embedded (multiple units of analysis)	Type 2: Single case, multiple units of analysis	Type 4: Multiple cases, multiple units of analysis

The units of analysis discussed above relate to areas within a particular case that are afforded attention by the researcher (Yin, 2003). So for example, single or multiple cases employing only one unit of analysis will largely be one dimensional and focused on a specific area of research. Meanwhile, embedded case studies employing more than one unit of analysis address research questions across a number of dimensions within the particular case.

Yin (2009) notes that each of the four approaches has advantages and disadvantages, and care should be taken in selecting the most appropriate design for the research. With reference first to single or multiple cases, Yin presents five rationales for undertaking a single case design. One of these rationales relates to circumstances when the case chosen for study is the *representative* or *typical* case. In the context of this thesis, the case itself is the UK National Park transport planning sector as a whole. In this regard, it can be considered as the representative/typical case, since it is the only one of its kind in the UK. As such then, the case study design in this instance is that of a single case, the UK National Park transport planning sector.

It now needs to be identified whether the case design will be a holistic or embedded study (that is, incorporating single or multiple units of analysis). Holistic studies are to be considered on occasions when it is not possible to logically break the case down into sub-units for analysis, or when the theoretical framework which supports the case study is itself holistic. However, problems may occur in holistic case study approaches in that the researcher may not be able to generate the detailed knowledge of the case required to answer research questions or address project aims and objectives. That is 'the entire case study may be conducted at an unduly abstract level, lack sufficiently clear measures of data' (Yin, 2009, p. 50). Conversely, embedded designs involving multiple units of analysis 'can often add significant opportunities for extensive analysis, enhancing the insights into the single case' (Yin, 2009, p. 52). However, the research may at this time run the risk of providing too much attention to the individual units, in fact losing sight of the bigger picture (the case) resulting in a change of study orientation.

In line with the study aim, objectives and research questions, the case study method allied to this research will adopt an embedded approach, consisting of three separate units of analysis (or three distinct research stages). Therefore, the basic design of the case study approach in this thesis is that of type 2, namely a single case incorporating multiple units of analysis. The case itself being the UK National Park transport planning sector, and the units of analysis being the three stages of independent research allied to it. The case study method incorporated in this thesis is shown in Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 - The case study method applied in this thesis

THE CASE: An examination of the process of policy change with regard to the UK National Park transport planning sector	
Unit of analysis	***Appropriate research method***
Transport, UK National Parks and National Park Authority Transport Officer perspectives	Documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews
Transport Planning at the local level in UK National Parks	Sub case studies of two National Parks incorporating documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews
The future of transport planning in UK National Parks – the national perspective	Semi-structured interviews

As demonstrated, three distinct stages of research allied to the case study method have been undertaken. The intention here being to ensure that the data collected allowed for extensive analysis and insight into the policy sector (or case) under study. Each of three stages of research, and the methods used in executing them, will now be examined in detail in Section 4.5 – 4.7.

4.5 ARTICULATING 'THE CASE' - DOCUMENT ANALYSIS AND UK NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY TRANSPORT OFFICER PERSPECTIVES

This section will outline the rationale and processes surrounding the first stage of primary data research. It began with a comprehensive review of documents relating to transport planning and UK National Parks, prior to the execution of semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers at UK National Park Authorities.

4.5.1 Rationale

A preliminary document analysis was necessary in order to allow for the articulation of the research area (the case) to be addressed. Academic journal articles and outputs from previous academic research in the policy sector, stakeholder policy statements, reports and position statements were all reviewed at this time (see Chapter Five). Whilst this approach

represented a positive first step, a further appraisal was necessary to obtain more information on the systems and issues under study in this thesis.

Consequently, semi-structured interviews with National Park Transport Officers were also deemed necessary for this stage of the research. In instances such as this, the literature suggests that researchers seek out individuals with specific knowledge of the system under investigation in order to provide further clarity as to the context and issues arising in the area under study. Grimble (1998) suggests identifying a key group of stakeholders that are by intuition of importance to the issue, and using personal interviews by way of scene setting and initial stakeholder identification. Semi-structured interviews with 'knowledgeables' at this stage also present the preferred data collection technique of Crosby (1991).

4.5.2 Document analysis

As Yin (2009, p. 101) notes, 'except for studies of preliterate societies, documentary information is likely to be relevant to every case study topic. This type of information can take many forms and should be the object of explicit data collection plans'. As such, a range of literature, from academic journal articles to government legislation and stakeholder position papers, was identified and analysed throughout the first two stages of primary research (see Chapters 5, 7 and 9). The use of document analysis in the first stage of research will be discussed here, and revisited in the sub-case study section of this chapter.

In the context of the first stage of primary research, document analysis was necessary in order to help articulate the case and set the boundaries for subsequent analysis. The analysis helped yield the following information:

- A comprehensive overview of the inception and development of the National Park movement in the UK;
- An examination of how National Parks in the UK are administered, operated and managed; and
- Perspectives of historic and current transport issues, and the planning and policy responses to them.

It was essential to develop an understanding of the above factors, since they help to inform the information baseline in which to ground the case. Document analysis was also crucial in helping to identify the key stakeholders, at both the local and national level, with regard to the policy sector under study. National Park Authority Transport Officers emerged from the

document analysis as active members of the policy community. Semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers therefore completed the first stage of primary research.

4.5.3 Selection of stakeholders: National Park Authority Transport Officers

National Park Authority Transport Officers were approached for their participation in the initial element of research primarily because they satisfied the criteria of 'knowledgeables' outlined by Crosby (1991) and Grimble (1998). It was also assumed that interaction with Transport Officers may yield the provision of further opportunities to access additional secondary data sources which may otherwise not be available. Transport Officers were also helpful with identification of decision-makers and stakeholders relevant to the second and third research stages.

Of the fifteen UK NPA's, interviews for this stage of research were undertaken with representatives of 12 of them. Table 4.3 summarises the interviewees.

Table 4.3 - National Park Authority Transport Officer Interviewees

Interviewee	Organisation
Planning and Policy Officer (with transport remit)	North Yorkshire Moors NPA
Economic Development Officer (with transport remit)	Cairngorms NPA
Transport Officer	Loch Lomond NPA
Visitor Development Manager (with transport remit)	Northumberland NPA
Transport and Tourism Officer	New Forest NPA
Access and Recreation Manager (with transport remit)	Exmoor NPA
Planning and Policy Officer (with transport remit)	Lake District NPA
Transport and Visitor Management Officer	Yorkshire Dales NPA
Transport Officer	Pembrokeshire Coast NPA
Planning and Policy Officer (with transport remit)	Dartmoor NPA
2 x Transport Policy Officers	Peak District NPA
Sustainable Tourism Manager	Brecon Beacons NPA

Three NPAs did not take part in the first stage of the research. Firstly, it was established that the Norfolk Broads Authority did not employ an officer in a transport or related post, and felt unable to suggest anyone with enough expertise in the area to take part in an interview. Secondly, Snowdonia National Park Authority was approached for inclusion in the study, but did not wish to participate. The South Downs National Park was designated after the execution of stage one of the research.

4.5.4 Research interviews

A research interview is described by Robson (1993) as a conversation with a purpose; a situation where one person talks and one person listens. In defining the research interview in more academic terms, Cohen and Mannion (1989, p. 307) state that they are 'initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation'. This definition takes the interview out of the realms of mere conversation and into a more formalised and focussed approach, the design of which is dependant on research needs and project aims and objectives. Types of interview therefore vary along a scale, from completely unstructured and conversational on the one hand, to rigidly tight and structured on the other.

4.5.4.1 Typology of research interviews

Interviews can be categorised in one of three ways, namely structured, semi-structured, or open-ended (Silverman, 2006). A fourth classification, the focus group, in which the researcher takes on the role of facilitator of a group discussion, rather than an interviewer, is presented by Noaks and Wincup (2004). A typology of research interviews, along with a list of required skills expected to be undertaken by the participating researcher is presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 – Interview typology
(Source: Noaks and Wincup, 2004, p. 80)

Interview type	Required skills
Structured interview	Neutrality; no prompting; no improvisation; training to ensure consistency
Semi-structured interview	Some probing; rapport with interviewee; understanding the aims of the project
Open-ended interview	Flexibility; rapport with the interviewee; active listening
Focus group	Facilitation skills; flexibility; ability to stand back from discussion so that group dynamics emerge

Structured interviews are those which involve a pre-determined set of questions, responses to which are recorded on a standardised schedule. This approach is very similar to a questionnaire, with the exception that responses are filled in by the researcher as opposed to the individual respondent (Robson, 1993). Structured interviews allow very little leeway to expand or discuss the subject area beyond the boundaries which are set by the questions themselves (Easterby-Smith et al, 1991; Bryman, 2001). At the opposite end of the interview scale are open-ended interviews, in which a general area of research interest or

concern is identified, from which the conversation is allowed to develop naturally within this sphere (Robson, 1993). Semi-structured interviews provide the middle ground between the two previous approaches, with the interviewer having prepared a list of questions based on a defined topic area, but allowing the respondent a significant amount of leeway in which to form their reply (Bryman, 2001).

4.5.4.2 Preferred interview approach

Semi-structured interviews were identified as the most suitable type in this case. A number of factors supported this decision. Firstly, whilst there was a clear view of what needed to be investigated, and the issues that should be addressed, there was still a significant element of room in which respondents may have wished to address and approach their answers. To this end, semi-structured interviews emerged as the most appropriate type of interview. They allowed interviewees to be introduced to the broad notion of the subject for study whilst still allowing 'the interviewee [to] develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher' (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 2000, pp. 167). Furthermore 'they allow[ed] interviewees to use their own words and develop their own thoughts. Allowing interviewees to 'speak their minds' is a better way of discovering things about complex issues' (Denscombe, 2003).

In designing the questions therefore, consideration was given to the study aim and objectives, the needs of the MS framework, and the findings of the initial literature review. The interview questions are shown in Figure 4.5.

4.5.5 Summary

This section has outlined the research approach allied to the first research stage of this thesis. The next section will now examine the research methods allied to the second stage of research, namely the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Park sub case studies.

Figure 4.5 – Interview questions for National Park Transport Officers

1 What do you consider to be the key issues which may impact on the NPA's ability to fulfil its objectives over the next five years?

2 Focusing more specifically, in your opinion what are the main issues facing the NPA with regard to transport at the present time?

3 Please outline the measures which are currently being used in order to address the transport issues currently facing the NPA.

4 What is the rationale behind the use of these measures?

5 How effective do you perceive the use of these measures to be in addressing the transport issues outlined earlier?

6 Are there any constraints which limit the ability of the NPA to address the transport issues identified?

7 If yes, please explain how these constraints may be overcome.

8 Do you see a role for more experimental traffic management initiatives in National Park settings?

9 Are there any additional transport planning measures that you would like to see introduced in the NPA?

10 Please outline the factors which preclude the implementation of these measures.

4.6 THE NEW FOREST AND THE YORKSHIRE DALES NATIONAL PARK SUB CASE STUDIES

The nuances of case study research have been outlined in section 4.4 of this chapter, so will not be repeated here. Instead, the research methods allied to the in-depth sub case studies conducted in the context of the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Parks will be examined and justified as appropriate.

4.6.1 Rationale

Research findings from stage one supported the assertion that the actors within the National Park transport planning and policy environment form an important and influential part of the policy making process. The MS framework also places people, ideas and interests at the heart of policy making. Case studies were therefore identified as a means by which to examine stakeholder interests, attitudes and perceptions in this multi-actor policy context.

Of the complications of multi-actor policy contexts, Runhaar et al (2006, p. 34) state that 'typically, the resources required for successful policy implementation (e.g. money, information, support) tend to be spread over actors other than (central) government…yet the actors from various domains typically perceive a given problem differently. Moreover, they have the potential to block problem-solving activities. Policy-makers thus face the

challenge of finding a balance between policy alternatives that are both satisfactory in terms of problem-solving and that can count on sufficient support from stakeholders'.

Accordingly, and also in line with research requirements of the MS framework, some of the key areas seeking to be examined included answering questions surrounding the following:

- stakeholder problem perception;
- the involvement of stakeholders in problem areas;
- their interests in solving or maintaining the problem;
- policy alternatives supported or opposed by most stakeholders, and the perceived effects of their favoured approach and its alternatives;
- relationships between stakeholders, and the identification of individual actors or coalitions who may support or block problem solving activities.

Grimble (1998) notes that such analysis is particularly relevant in instances where issues are characterised by:

- Cross-cutting systems and stakeholder interests;
- Multiple uses and users of the resource;
- Multiple objectives; and
- Negative externalities.

As has been and will continue to be demonstrated, UK National Parks are home to instances of all the above characterisations. There were clear links therefore between the policy sector under study and the research requirements supporting the application of case studies as a method of policy analysis. Note here also the synergy between these research requirements, and the data needs required to undertake an MS framework analysis.

4.6.2 The single case study method

Each case study combined preliminary data gathering and analysis with semi-structured interviews with key National Park stakeholders. Both research approaches are briefly summarised here.

4.6.2.1 Document analysis within the sub case studies

Document analysis within the sub case studies focussed on the documentation allied to transport planning and policy development with the sub-sector. Literature in the form of policy and legislative documents, resident and visitor surveys, press releases, and policy position statements were incorporated in each case. The use of secondary data at this stage was particularly helpful in providing context to the case studies. Data was also used as

another forum by which to ascertain alternating stakeholder perspectives on key issues under study. The research interview process is now documented below.

4.6.2.2 Semi-structured interviews within the sub case studies

The interviews were informed by the data requirements of the MS framework, in addition to the research findings yielded from the literature review, Transport Officer interviews and document analysis. Semi-structured research interviews were again identified as the best technique for use. As Grimble (1998, p. 6) states, 'field experience points in particular to the usefulness of informal, semi-structured interviews (using simple check-lists of key topics) both with individuals representing one stakeholder group, or with a number of representatives from different stakeholder groups'. Varvasovszky and Brugha (2000, p. 341) further extol the use of semi-structured interviews, favouring one to one interviews over the use of focus groups or informal group discussion since they 'can help structure data collection while keeping the focus sufficiently broad to allow for hidden or emerging themes'.

The selection of the cases and stakeholders is now discussed.

4.6.3 The New Forest National Park case study

A more in-depth overview of each National Park will be presented in the relevant chapters. However, a brief summary here is helpful in order to justify the selection of each case study area.

The New Forest National Park is the newest in the UK, designated in 2005. It is the second smallest of all the National Parks, but the most heavily populated and is located between the two growing urban areas of Southampton and Poole. In addition, forecast future housing and development growth in the south of England is expected to place further pressure on the National Park itself. The New Forest National Park is also home to a complex system of local governance, involving Hampshire County Council, New Forest District Council, the Forestry Commission, the New Forest Verderers and the New Forest National Park Authority itself. It therefore faces unique challenges in reconciling conservation needs with those of residents, visitors, business and local authorities.

In late 2008, the New Forest NPA released a draft National Park Management Plan which raised the issue of road pricing and other demand management measures as possible future transport planning approaches. The release of the document prompted a great deal of local and national interest which doubtless served to promote interest in transport policy in the context of the New Forest National Park. The timing of the events made the New Forest National Park a particularly relevant location for a case study.

The selection of the New Forest as a case study can therefore be justified on the following basis:

- Relevancy of recent transport policy events to thesis;
- Second smallest National Park but most heavily populated;
- Proximity of National Park to large urban centres (Southampton, Bournemouth, Poole);
- Forecast future development growth in the south of England;
- Young National Park with fledgling National Park Authority; and
- Complex system of local governance.

4.6.3.1 Selection of interview participants

Interview participants in the New Forest case study are shown overleaf in Table 4.5 (the codes after their positions are to allow for the attribution of quotes in Chapter 8. This approach will be undertaken in all subsequent research stages). The selection of participants was made on the basis of three separate lines of enquiry:

- Advice from the New Forest NPA Transport and Tourism Officer surrounding key stakeholders within the policy sector;
- Public comments made in light of release of New Forest National Park Authority Draft Management Plan; and
- Documented attendance at local government or public meetings involving transport.

Due to the transferability of research findings from the first research stage, testimony from the New Forest NPA Transport Officer was also coded and used where appropriate during this stage of research. The same is true of the interview with the Yorkshire Dales Transport Officer with regard to the Yorkshire Dales case study also.

It should be acknowledged here that there was no representation from public transport operators or local media organisations in either of the two sub-case studies. The reason for this is largely a matter of practicality.

During the early stages of each case-study research process a number of additional interviews with a variety of stakeholders in both the New Forest and the Yorkshire Dales were undertaken but not included in this thesis. Notable examples include interviews with representatives of public transport and community transport operators, and members of local chambers of commerce. Whilst any background information about the case is helpful to the researcher, on certain occasions participants lacked the breadth of knowledge required to provide relevant information necessary to conduct an MS framework analysis of

interview responses. That is, the focus of the interview questions required a certain depth of knowledge about a range of issues in the policy sector, and were not simply limited to one or two niche aspects relating to a particular issue within it.

Whilst contextually helpful, interviews undertaken but not ultimately included in the thesis resulted in costs to the research in terms of both time and finance. Thus, in addition to the selection criteria documented in section 4.6.3.1, future approaches to, and selection of, interview participants were partially informed by their perceived ability to address a wide-range of the proposed interview questions. In both the sub-case studies this approach therefore led to the exclusion of public transport operators and representatives of the local media during the interview process. Ideally, the decision to exclude stakeholder contributions from the thesis would be taken after the commencement of all interviews (as was the case with a number of interviews not included in this thesis), as opposed to the researcher deciding not to approach certain people or groups on the basis of certain assumptions. In this case however, time and financial constraints meant this course of action was not always possible.

Table 4.5 - New Forest case study interviewees

Interviewee	Organisation	Code
Leader	Hampshire County Council	NF1
Tourism Manager	New Forest District Council	NF2
Deputy Surveyor	Forestry Commission	NF3
Chairman	New Forest Business Partnership	NF4
Chairwoman	New Forest Tourism Association	NF5
Councillor (Transport Portfolio)	Hampshire County Council	NF6
Chairman	New Forest Campaign to Protect Rural England	NF7
Policy Officer	New Forest Association	NF8
Verderer	New Forest Verderers	NF9

Documentary and interview analysis regarding the New Forest National Park case study is presented in Chapters Seven and Eight. For now, the next section outlines the rationale of the selection of the Yorkshire Dales National Park as a case study for this thesis.

4.6.4 The Yorkshire Dales National Park case study

The Yorkshire Dales National Park is one of the UK's oldest, designated in 1954. Due to its size – it is nearly three times greater than the New Forest – business and tourism interests are more widely dispersed throughout the National Park. Its population is less than half that of the New Forest, yet its location places it within easy access of the West Yorkshire and East Lancashire conurbations. Whilst far from straightforward, the system of local

governance is simpler than that found in the New Forest. The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority is well established and sits comfortably within the local government framework.

Whilst sharing some of the same challenges as the New Forest, the Yorkshire Dales National Park contrasts geographically and historically with it. It therefore represented an excellent location in which to ground a second case study. The selection of the Yorkshire Dales as a case study can therefore be justified on the following basis:

- An established National Park with good communication channels in the context of the local government framework;
- Geographical and historical contrast with New Forest National Park;
- Proximity to large urban conurbations; and
- Dispersed business and tourism interests over a large geographic area.

4.6.4.1 Selection of interview participants

Interview participants in the Yorkshire Dales case study are shown in Table 4.6 below. The backgrounds and interests of interviewees participating in the Yorkshire Dales case study varied slightly to those of the New Forest. Participants in this case were largely drawn from the board membership of the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority (both local authority and secretary of state appointees – see Chapter 5 for an overview of selection criteria for NPA board membership) and other areas of local government. As a result, participants often held more than one position of responsibility relative to the policy sector (for example, some Yorkshire Dales NPA board members were also elected local councillors).

The variation in the selection of stakeholders relates primarily to issues of geography and population density in the Yorkshire Dales relative to that of the New Forest. The Yorkshire Dales National Park is much greater in size but far less densely populated than the New Forest National Park. Similarly, honeypots and settlements are widely dispersed throughout the Park, as opposed to the New Forest where they are all relatively closely located. As such, business and tourism groups are far less formalised in the Yorkshire Dales, and not able to reflect area wide issues. Therefore the decision was made to focus on elected local councillors and Yorkshire Dales NPA board members in order to ensure the breadth and depth of collective opinion necessary to undertake an analysis was achieved.

Documentary and interview analysis regarding the Yorkshire Dales National Park case study is presented in Chapters Nine and Ten. The next section will examine the interview approach allied to the case studies.

Table 4.6 - Yorkshire Dales case study interviewees

Interviewee	Organisation	Additional responsibilities	Code
Chairman	Yorkshire Dales NPA	Councillor, Craven District Council	YD1
Chairman	Yorkshire Dales Society	Board member (secretary of state appointee), Yorkshire Dales NPA	YD2
Board member (local authority appointee)	Yorkshire Dales NPA	Councillor, North Yorkshire County Council (and former Chairman of the Yorkshire Dales NPA)	YD3
Board member (secretary of state appointee)	Yorkshire Dales NPA	Managing Director, Rural Transport Consultancy	YD4
Board member (local authority appointee)	Yorkshires Dales NPA	Councillor, North Yorkshire County Council and Richmondshire District Council	YD5
Chairman	Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company	Rural Transport Consultant	YD6
Chairman	Yorkshire Dales Green Lane Alliance	Member, Yorkshire Dales Local Access Forum	YD7
Member	Yorkshire Dales Local Access Forum		YD8
Transport Policy Officer	North Yorkshire County Council		YD9

4.6.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

The advantages and disadvantages of semi-structured interviews have been outlined already and will not be revisited here. Rather, this section focuses on the specific questions asked of the participants in the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales case studies. Again informed by the literature review and requirements of the MS framework, the interview questions allied to the case studies are shown in Figure 4.6 overleaf.

4.6.5 Summary

This section has outlined the research approach allied to the second stage of data collection, namely the National Park case studies. The selection of cases and their participants have been identified, and the methods allied to their execution documented. Section 4.7 will now examine the final stage of primary research allied to this thesis, namely interviews with experts in the UK National Park transport planning field.

Figure 4.6 - New Forest/Yorkshire Dales stakeholder interview questions

1) What do you believe are the most important issues facing the National Park at the present time?

   - have these issues changed over the last five years, and if so, how?
   - looking ahead, do you think the issues currently facing the National Park will still be prominent five years from now?
   - do you anticipate any new issues emerging between now and then, and if so, what and why?

2) What are your thoughts on the current situation with respect to transport in the National Park?

   - have these issues changed over the last five years, and if so, how?
   - looking ahead, do you think these issues will still be prominent five years from now?
   - do you anticipate any new issues emerging between now and then, and if so, what and why?

3) I would like to ask you about more specific issues relating to transport policy and the National Park.

   - what do you think should be the primary objectives of transport policy with respect to the National Park?
   - to what extent do you consider these objectives are currently being met?
   - in what ways might current transport policy be improved?
   - who do you perceive to be the most influential stakeholders with regards to transport policy development in the National Park?
   - are there any recent local, national or international events or developments which have served to focus attention on transport policy making in the National Park? If so, what has been the impact of such events?
   - does the National Park lend itself as a suitable location in which to trial imaginative traffic management schemes?

4) Finally, in light of your opinion on the current transport situation, what are your thoughts on the possible use of the following transport planning measures in the context of the National Park, either now or at some time in the future?

   - selective expansion of road capacity;
   - an increase in car parking charges;
   - the provision of more car parking spaces;
   - public transport service improvements: frequency and reliability;
   - a reduction in public transport fares;
   - a road pricing scheme involving a payment made by **all** motorists for the use of roads at certain times or in certain locations with revenue used to improve public transport and fund transport initiatives;
   - a road pricing scheme involving a payment made by **visitors** for the use of roads at certain times or in certain locations with revenue used to improve public transport and fund transport initiatives;
   - vehicle bans / restrictions on certain roads and in certain areas of the National Park.

4.7 POLICY ADVOCACY AND THE FUTURE OF TRANSPORT PLANNING IN UK NATIONAL PARKS – EXPERT PERSPECTIVES

This section will document rationale and processes surrounding the third stage of the primary research, namely semi-structured interviews with transport experts at the national level.

4.7.1 Rationale

The case study approach adopted in this thesis began with documentary analysis and semi-structured interviews with National Park Authority Transport Officers. It sought to provide a broad overview of the case under study. The sub case studies described above took the research to a more local level, exploring in-depth the policy making processes in two specific National Parks. On this basis therefore, it was necessary for the research to return to the national level as a means by which to complete the data collection. The rationale behind this approach was two-fold.

Firstly, it was necessary to identify areas of synergy and divergence between internal stakeholders in the National Parks, and external stakeholders who may also seek to influence the development of transport policy in these locations. The MS framework suggests that the possibilities for the opening of policy windows are enhanced when a majority of stakeholders are in agreement as to specific problems, their causes, and the means by which they should be addressed. This stage of the research allowed analysis of the extent to which local and national stakeholders were in agreement with regard to their identification of transport issues, support or opposition for particular policy measures, and opinions of public and political barriers which change protagonists must overcome.

Secondly, in light of research findings to date, this stage of research also sought to identify 'the vision' for future transport planning in the National Parks amongst key industry transport experts. That is, to understand and document expert opinion regarding the aims and objectives for future transport policy and planning in National Park settings, and how, in light of identified barriers, preferred policies may ever be implemented.

Semi-structured interviews, informed by earlier research findings, again emerged as the most appropriate research method in this case. The next section focuses on the selection of stakeholders for the research interviews.

4.7.2 Selection of stakeholders

Research undertaken to this point was used to derive the list of stakeholders to be approached for interview during this stage of the research. Key organisations such as the English National Park Authorities Association (ENPAA), and Campaign for National Parks

(CNP) were approached on the basis of their involvement in the policy sector and their widespread publication of a range of transport and National Park related literature.

Individual transport practitioners were approached on the basis that they were/are heavily involved in the development of policy at both the local and national level, and were therefore in a particularly well informed position in which to contribute to the debate. Table 4.7 outlines the participants involved in the interview process. (An interview with participant E2 was scheduled but cancelled at short notice. Written responses to the interview questions were submitted in lieu of the interview).

Table 4.7 – Expert practitioner interviewees

Interviewee	Organisation	Additional responsibilities	Code
Director	English National Park Authorities Association		E1
Transport Policy Officer	Campaign for National Parks		E2
Transport Policy Officer	Commission for Rural Communities		E3
Transport Policy Officer	Cumbria County Council / Friends of the Lake District National Park	Governmental advisor on transport	E4
Rural Transport Consultant	'Widen the Choice' Transport Partnership		E5
Transport Academic	Stockholm Environment Institute, University of York	Governmental advisor on transport	E6
Sustainable Transport Consultant	Transport for Quality of Life Consultancy	Governmental advisor on transport	E7

The interview questions allied to this stage of research are shown below in Figure 4.7. The questions were derived from the research findings to date, and involved both current and prospective elements.

4.7.3 Summary

This section has outlined the research approach allied to the third stage of data collection, namely expert perspectives on the future of transport planning in UK National Parks. The selection of participants has been identified, and the methods allied to the execution of research have been documented. Section 4.8 now provides the conclusion to this chapter.

Figure 4.7 – Interview questions for National Park transport planning experts

Transport and the National Parks today

- what are the most important transport issues facing National Parks today?
- what are the factors behind their emergence?
- will they still be prevalent say five or ten years from now?
- will new issues emerge between now and then?
- do you think existing transport issues are being satisfactorily addressed?
- are identified transport issues significant in the context of other strategic challenges facing UK National Parks? (i.e. where does – or should – transport sit on the list of 'things to do'?)

Future perspectives on transport and the National Parks

- what is your vision for transport in the National Parks?
- where are we now in relation to achieving this?
- on what specific objectives is your vision based?
- what are the barriers that prevent the realisation of this vision?
- why do such barriers exist?
- can they be overcome? If so, how?
- in light of the above, is it realistic to suggest that your vision can ever be achieved?
- do you foresee any change in public or political mood that may signify a move towards transport policy change in UK National Parks?

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the development of the case study method as the overarching research approach allied to this thesis. The influence of the chosen theoretical framework, the MS framework, on data collection and analysis has been examined. Within the case study design, a three-stage research approach has been outlined, consisting of a) documentary analysis combined with semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers at UK National Park Authorities, b) two sub case studies at the local level in the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Park, and c) semi-structured interviews with experts in the wider field of the policy sector. An overarching view of the research approach, and how it aligns with the study's research objectives is shown overleaf as Table 4.8.

With the research approach now identified, the next chapter undertakes a documentary analysis to serve as an introduction to transport planning and UK National Parks.

Table 4.8 - Alignment of research objectives with stages of research design

Research objective	Method	Chapter
To identify issues and policies relating to the leisure based use of National Parks, with particular regard to transport.	Literature review	Chapter 2: Leisure travel and National Parks: issues and policies
Overarching Case Study Method		
To examine the views of National Park Transport Officers on the current and likely future development of leisure transport and related policies in UK National Parks.	Semi-structured interviews with National Park Transport Officers	Chapters 5 and 6: Document analysis; and National Park Transport Officer interviews
To analyse perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies amongst relevant communities of interest at a local level.	Sub case studies: - New Forest National Park - Yorkshire Dales National Park	Chapters 7 and 8, and 9 and 10: New Forest and Yorkshire Dales sub-case studies
To analyse current perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies nationally, and explore possible future avenues for policy change.	Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders at the national level	Chapter 11: Policy advocacy and the future of National Park transport planning: expert perspectives
To develop recommendations and advice to policy makers and practitioners who maintain aspirations for transport policy change within UK National Parks.	Review of the results of interviews and case studies in line with the research aim and objectives, and propositions.	Chapter 13: Conclusion and Recommendations

Chapter Five: Transport and UK National Parks[2]

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide a comprehensive overview of information relating to the administration, operation and management of UK National Parks. A perspective of historic and current transport issues, and the planning and policy responses to them, will also be presented. The chapter is structured as follows. Section 5.2 documents National Park purposes and administration, and briefly outlines the history of their development in the post-war years. Following this, three component parts of the MS framework, namely the problem stream; policy stream; and politics streams are used to structure a documentary analysis of literature relative to the subject area. The aim being to ensure a full articulation of the research area is made. (Policy entrepreneurs form the fourth component of the MS framework and are discussed specifically in the interview-based findings chapters – numbers 6, 8, 10 and 11. Policy windows are the fifth and final component of the MS framework and are discussed in the discussion and conclusion chapters – numbers 12 and 13).

Accordingly section 5.3 studies the problem stream, and seeks to identify the comprehensive transport issues arising specifically within UK National Parks. Section 5.4 covers the policy stream, which details theoretical and practical transport planning and policy responses arising from identified transport challenges. The political stream is discussed in section 5.5, in which some of the practical barriers to policy and planning implementation in UK National Parks are outlined. Section 5.6 concludes the chapter, presenting a summary of the findings.

5.2 NATIONAL PARKS IN THE UK: AN OVERVIEW

The origins of the National Park movement in the UK can be traced back to the Lake District in the early 19th century (MacEwen and MacEwen, 1987). William Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes, published in 1810, first put the idea of a National Park into words. Wordsworth's dream would be realised nearly a century and a half later, when the Lake District was formally designated as a National Park. Now, there are fifteen National Parks in total across England, Scotland and Wales. What follows is a brief chronological overview of the recent history of the National Park movement from the post-war years to the present day.

[2] This chapter forms the basis of a paper accepted for presentation at the 90th annual meeting of the Transportation Research Board in Washington DC in January 2011.

5.2.1 UK National Parks: the post-war years to the present day

Following a century long battle to obtain the right of public access to open countryside, much of which was privately owned, the Second World War is frequently cited as the decisive factor in securing National Parks in the UK (Bush, 1973. MacEwen and MacEwen, 1982). Public demand for 'a better Britain', combined with an urgency to rebuild cities and restore prosperity to the countryside, eased the way for the passing of important legislation (Bell, 1975). Between 1943 and 1945, a senior civil servant named John Dower wrote a White Paper entitled *National Parks in England and Wales* which was to become the blue print for creation of National Parks in Britain. It is in this report that Dower proposed the classic definition of a British National Park:

> 'A National Park may be defined, in application to Great Britain, as an extensive area of beautiful and relatively wild country in which, for the nation's benefit and by appropriate national decision and action: a) the characteristic landscape beauty is strictly preserved, b) access and facilities for public open-air enjoyment are amply provided, c) wildlife and buildings and places of architectural and historic interest are suitably protected, while d) established farming use is effectively maintained' (Dower, 1945, as cited by Harmon, 1991, p. 34).

In late 1945, the new post-war Labour government commissioned a new committee to consider how best to practically apply the recommendations from the Dower report. The committee reported in 1947, which in turn led to the historic passing of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949.

On the 17th April 1951, the Peak District became the UK's first National Park, followed shortly by the Lake District. Eight more National Parks – Snowdonia, Dartmoor, the Pembrokeshire Coast, the North York Moors, the Yorkshire Dales, Exmoor, Northumberland and the Brecon Beacons – were created before the end of that decade. In contrast to the rapid designation of National Parks in the 1950's, thirty years were to elapse until the next one. In 1989, the Norfolk Broads was granted equivalent National Park Status, and in 2002 and 2003, the devolved Scottish Government designated Loch Lomond and the Trossachs, and the Cairngorms, respectively. The most recent additions to the list of National Parks are the New Forest, conferred in 2005 and the South Downs conferred in 2010.

The UK's fifteen National Parks – ten in England, three in Wales, and two in Scotland – are shown in Figure 5.1 which presents a geographical representation of their locations.

Figure 5.1 – The location of UK National Parks
(Source: Author's own work)

UK National Parks are designated on the basis that they exhibit special qualities which are of national (and frequently international) significance. Examples of such qualities include outstanding landscapes, cultural and historical heritage, abundant and rare wildlife, and the opportunity for the public's enjoyment of them (ENPAA, 2008). Such designation affords the National Parks the highest status of protection in terms of landscape and scenic beauty.

5.2.2 National Park purposes

The purposes of the National Parks, as laid down explicitly in section 5 of the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949, and as amended by section 61 of the 1995 Environment Act are:

- **Conservation and Enhancement:** To conserve and enhance the natural beauty, wildlife and cultural heritage of the National Parks; and
- **Understanding and Enjoyment:** To promote opportunities for the public understanding and enjoyment of the special qualities of the Parks.

In any case where conflict exists between the two purposes, and reconciliation is not possible, the first purpose must always take precedence. This rule is known as the

'Sandford Principle', and is named after its creator Lord Sandford, chair of the National Parks Policy Review Committee in 1974.

UK National Parks are also important economically, as well as environmentally and socially. As a result, a supplementary objective to the two statutory purposes is that in seeking to support them, care must be made to:

- 'Foster the economic and social well being of local communities within the National Park' (Environment Act, 1995, p. 5).

5.2.2.1 Strategic challenges facing UK National Parks

Recent policy (Countryside Commission, 2005) literature outlines six cross-boundary issues deemed to face every UK National Park. These are:

- Climate change – primary areas of concern relate to its impact on the landscape, biodiversity, and the air, soil and water of National Parks. Also of concern are issues relating to the implication of climate change on recreational and visitation patterns.

- Agriculture and farming – the need to refocus these industries to ensure that production does not inhibit environmental protection, and encourage more sustainable land management.

- Affordable housing – house prices are being made unaffordable to local people, due largely to the second home market and house purchases by commuters and retirees.

- Renewable energy – National Parks can be targeted by developers as suitable locations for large scale renewable energy schemes such as windfarms.

- Transport – this will be discussed further in section 5.3.

- Sustainable tourism – many concerns regarding sustainable tourism link closely with the transport issues to be discussed in section 5.3. The primary area of unease relates to the potential for visitation and associated travel patterns to undermine the very values that the National Parks seek to promote.

5.2.3 Demographics

In contrast to many National Parks internationally, those in the UK are not set aside exclusively for the conservation of landscapes and the protection of the natural

environment. They are multi-purpose 'living landscapes', containing communities in which many people live and work, and enjoyed by millions of visitors each year (Holdaway and Smart, 2001).

Prior to the designation of the South Downs in 2010, the National Parks were populated by over 300,000 residents, and received over 116 million day visits every year (Smith, 2008). A summary of key information is presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 - UK National Parks: a summary of key information
(Source: http://www.nationalparks.gov.uk/learningabout/factsandfigures.htm)

National Park	Year of Designation	Area (Square Miles)	Resident Population	Visitor Days per Annum (Million)
Peak District	1951	555	38,000	22
Lake District	1951	885	42,200	22
Dartmoor	1951	368	29,100	4
Snowdonia	1951	840	25,500	10.5
North York Moors	1952	554	25,000	9.5
Pembrokeshire Coast	1952	240	22,800	4.7
Exmoor	1954	267	10,600	1.4
Yorkshire Dales	1954	685	19,700	9
Northumberland	1956	405	2,200	1.5
Brecon Beacons	1957	519	32,000	7
Broads	1989	117	5,700	5.4
Loch Lomond	2002	720	15,600	4.11
Cairngorms	2003	1467	16,000	1.5
New Forest	2005	220	34,400	13.5
South Downs	2010	627	120,000	39

The presence of large incumbent populations within UK National Parks serves as the first major noticeable contrast between many of their international counterparts (MacEwen and MacEwen, 1987). Second to this is the fact that the majority of land within UK National Parks is privately owned. As Eagles and McCool (2002, p. 35) assert, 'the British approach deviated considerably from that pioneered in North America in that the creation of the British protected areas often occurred using the regulatory powers of Government over private land, rather than government land ownership. Therefore many of the sites remain in private ownership with regulations governing the type of activities allowed'.

5.2.4 National Park administration

Each National Park is administered and managed by its own National Park Authority (NPA). Their principal duties are to maintain and uphold the statutory purposes of the National Parks as outlined above. That is, to take the action needed to put into practice the purposes of the National Parks (Countryside Commission, 2005). Each NPA is funded directly from central Government, and operate within the framework of UK local government (DEFRA, 2005a).

However, NPAs form only one part of the local government arrangements in UK National Park settings. Whilst NPAs are statutorily responsible for planning and development control, County, District, Borough, City and Metropolitan councils (the precise arrangement differs between National Parks according to local circumstances) maintain responsibility for the delivery of all other public services within their boundaries.

As such, the duty for transport planning does not lie with the NPAs themselves. Instead, the statutory responsibility for transport delivery is the obligation of the local transport authority relevant to each National Park area.

Local government arrangements across National Parks can often be complex. By way of example, the Peak District National Park covers:

- 4 Government Regions (North West; Yorkshire and the Humber; East Midlands; and West Midlands);
- 3 County Councils (Cheshire; Staffordshire and Derbyshire);
- 9 District, Borough, City and Metropolitan Councils; and
- 125 Parish Councils (Peak District National Park Management Plan, 2006).

In addition, a range of other government agencies such as DEFRA, the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (DCMS), the Department for Communities and Local Government (CLG), Natural England, the Forestry Commission, and English Heritage, are also engaged in the sector (ENPAA, 2008).

The National Parks are therefore part of a wider social, economic and environmental framework comprising many local and national government authorities (CNP, 2009b). The NPAs themselves are relatively small, in both budget and employee numbers, in comparison to many of the other government agencies in the sector. Partnership working between the NPAs and these other agencies in order to pursue and uphold National Park purposes is vital (ENPAA, 2008). The provisions of section 62 (2) of the Environment Act 1995 state that such relevant authorities must 'have a regard to' the purposes of the National Park when carrying out their work. Relevant authorities are identified in this case as a) any Minister of

the Crown, b) any public body, c) any statutory undertaker, or d) any person holding public office.

5.2.4.1 NPA board membership

As set out in the Environment Act (1996), each UK NPA has a board of 22–30 appointed members. It is these members who maintain overall responsibility for decision making and policy direction. NPA boards are composed in a particular way in order to ensure that they contain a mix of local and national expertise and representation of interest (CNP, 2009b). The New Forest NPA provides a comprehensive assessment of how boards are composed and members elected:

- Not less than half the NPA board members are representatives of local authorities with land within the National Park boundaries – appointees must be elected local authority councillors, and their role is to provide local knowledge and expertise to the board.

- A smaller number, usually six, board members are appointed directly by the Secretary of State for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. These are individuals who can bring wider skills, knowledge and experience relevant to the work of the Authority, and provide a national, as well as local viewpoint.

- Four members are to be selected by, and representative of, parish councils located within the National Park boundary. The aim being to ensure that truly local concerns of those living and working within each National Park are represented on the board.

The primary role for board members is to ensure that the NPA fulfils its statutory purposes to the full, and achieves this in a way which best reflects the special qualities of the area (Association of National Park Authorities, website). They are duty bound to ensure efficient and effective governance of the NPA, undertaken in the best interests of the National Park, and pursuing the aim of sustainable development by balancing and integrating the environmental, social and economic considerations.

5.3 THE PROBLEM STREAM

This section will examine transport issues in the context of UK National Parks from a historic perspective through to the present day. A brief overview of such information was provided in the introductory chapter, however a more comprehensive view is now taken. The section begins by looking at the evolution of transport issues over the last 65 years.

5.3.1 A historical perspective of transport challenges in UK National Parks

The history of the National Park movement is well illustrated by the publication of influential public policy literature over the last 65 years. Three landmark documents, now commonly referred to by the individuals that authored them, provide the framework by which to examine the historical perspectives of transport challenges in UK National Parks. This is because transport forms a key facet of each document, serving to illustrate its importance in the policy sector. These documents are as follows:

- The aforementioned 1945 Government White Paper *National Parks in England and Wales* by John Dower, now commonly referred to as the Dower Report;
- The 1974 *Report of the National Park Policies Review Committee* by David Sandford, now commonly referred to as the Sandford Report; and
- The 1991 *Report of the National Parks Review Panel* by Ron Edwards, now commonly referred to as the Edwards Report.

In 1945, the Government published the Dower Report, which advocated the creation of National Parks as they are known today. Concern as to the potential impacts of private car use within National Parks was explicitly raised in this document. Dower's concern related specifically to the generation of public demand for highways infrastructure improvements in the National Parks, regardless of the environmental impact that this may have had:

> 'Great damage, direct and indirect, to landscape beauty, to farming, to the peace and quiet of the country and to its enjoyment of visitors and residents, must follow – and has followed – from wholesale widenings, straightenings, and flattenings, and from the encouragement they give to ever-heavier and ever-faster traffic, is plain enough from examples in many parts of the country' (p. 24).

By 1974, and the first review of National Park purposes and policies (*The Report of the National Park Policies Review Committee*, the 'Sandford Report'*)*, serious concern was being raised about the negative impacts of vehicles within the Parks. There was also evidence that the type of infrastructure improvements rejected by Dower were actually being implemented within the National Parks:

> 'Damage has been done in just the ways he (Dower) foresaw, and more is threatened. Indeed, the work of road alteration and widening goes on daily. Money, manpower and organisation are deployed to make it easier for more traffic to move more rapidly. These criteria present one point of view, which admittedly has much popular support locally for reasons of employment as well

> as ease of movement by vehicle. But in National Parks there should be other criteria' (Sandford, 1974, p. 81).

On this basis, the report went on to recommend vehicle bans in the most sensitive areas of National Parks, and the introduction of innovative park and ride or park and walk schemes which limited access to public transport users or pedestrians.

The limitations of public transport in respect of allowing access to the National Parks amongst non-car owning members of society were also raised during this report. It was identified that many of the National Parks were not well served by public transport, to the extent that 'many parts are inaccessible by this means on day trips' (p. 79). The recommendation of the Sandford review panel were for NPAs to examine the scope for linking specialised forms of public transport (mini-buses and coaches) to areas outside the National Parks already well served by contemporary public transport services.

By 1991, a second review of the role of National Parks (the Edwards Report) identified that, due to policy inertia, traffic conditions in the National Parks had deteriorated since the publication of the Sandford Report.

> 'As a result of past inaction, the issues perceived by the Sandford Committee twenty years ago are still with us, and many of the problems are now more severe. Their proposed solutions are also still valid, although more radical and more imaginative initiatives are clearly needed in some areas' (1991, p. 52).

The Edwards Report recognised disappointing responses to a number of public transport initiatives undertaken in National Parks, but still firmly supported their use as a means by which to address traffic problems whilst also providing access for non-car users. The report recommended the creation of public transport plans, comprising explicit policies for public transport. It also promoted the use of better public transport service marketing for existing services, in an attempt to increase revenue by securing greater passenger numbers. The report also promoted National Parks as 'test beds for the revival of rural public transport' (p. 53).

5.3.2 The existing situation and forecast future traffic growth

Concern about the impacts of private car use in UK National Parks was first discussed in Chapter One. As previously noted, it is widely estimated that over 90% of all journeys made to National Parks are undertaken in a private car (Reeves, 2006. Lumsdon et al, 2006. ENPAA, 2008). A more comprehensive assessment of baseline traffic conditions in each of the National Parks is not available. Ad-hoc traffic surveys are undertaken in specific

locations or on specific roads within National Parks, but this does not allow for detailed comparisons of baseline conditions in each Park to be made.

The situation regarding the impacts of transport in National Parks has been building over the last 65 years. Forecasts of future transport growth suggest that issues will be further exacerbated over the coming years. The National Road Traffic Forecast (DfT, 2008a) predicts a 35% increase in total vehicle kilometres travelled in rural areas between 2003 – 2025. The foundations of these forecasts are based upon continued increases in car ownership, combined with increased disposable income which increases the attractiveness of non-essential (i.e. leisure) travel.

5.4 THE POLICY STREAM

Transport issues surrounding the UK National Parks have been established. This section will examine the transport planning and policy responses employed in National Parks to date as a response to them. In doing so, the complexity of transport planning processes in UK National Parks will be revealed, as will an imbalance between theoretical policy rhetoric and its practical application on the ground.

5.4.1 National Park transport planning and policy – the theory

Historic policy documents such as the Sandford Report (1974) and Edwards Report (1991) have been cited as advocating the use of integrated approaches to transport planning in UK National Parks. Furthermore, they were shown to favour increasing emphasis towards more 'radical' suggestions for controlling car use, and made 'a strong case for the adoption of imaginative, experimental, and all-encompassing measures' (Cullinane and Stokes, 1998, p. 274).

Throughout the mid-1990s, a range of academic studies concerning traffic management and transport planning in UK National Parks endorsed similar positions. Consider the following conclusions by way of illustration:

> 'A more positive change in the [transport] situation will require the simultaneous implementation of three strands of policy: a) the provision of high quality, reliable integrated networks of public transport, b) a well enforced system of car usage deterrents such as tight parking restrictions and maybe road pricing, implemented throughout the parks in order to minimize displacement effects and c) a national publicity campaign to change the car culture' (Cullinane, 1997, p. 277).

> 'It appears that projects based on 'carrots' alone may not be able to induce the behavioural changes necessary to result in success…and that 'sticks' may be essential to give that assurance' (Holding and Kreutner, 1998, p. 182).

Given the unique and sensitive nature of the National Parks, combined with the detrimental impacts of car use within them, it is perhaps unsurprising that there were such forceful calls for action. Such calls have recently been repeated by a range of stakeholders with a direct interest in the National Parks themselves:

> 'The growing emphasis by the Government on road pricing and 'smart' measures such as travel planning, should consider visitor travel and how these tools can be applied in the countryside as well as congested urban areas' (The National Trust, 2005, p. 4);
>
> 'further research is required to investigate various aspects of sustainable transport provision in National Parks…[including] an examination of the role of demand restraints' (Reeves , 2006, p. 32); and
>
> 'We look to the Department for Transport to commission research to examine the positive and negative effects of road user charging, and its feasibility for those National Parks where they feel it might be appropriate' (The English National Park Authorities Association, 2007, p. 5).

These calls coincided with renewed Governmental promotion of the National Parks as prime locations for environmental and sustainable innovation, which will be examined below.

5.4.1.1 National Parks as test-beds for innovation

A review of English National Park Authorities was undertaken by DEFRA in 2002. One of the primary outputs of this review was an acceptance that the National Parks should become exemplars of sustainable rural development (Thompson, 2008). This is evidenced most explicitly by the Countryside Commission (now Natural England), in the guidelines for the development of National Park Management Plans issued to NPAs in 2005:

> 'National Parks are special places. They are places where special approaches, policy and action should be promoted. Circumstances may occur in National Parks, which do not occur elsewhere, requiring unusual solutions…an important part of the test bed role is that successful policies and work can be passed on to the wider countryside…innovative research will often be needed to help build better evidence and National Park Authorities have the opportunity to

> demonstrate the very best of partnership in practice' (Countryside Commission, 2005, p. 19).

Whilst not making specific reference to transport, efforts to ameliorate its impact must be considered to fall within the terms of this description. Despite the raising of this agenda a significant gap remains between policy rhetoric and practical application. Transport planning to date has focused largely on the provision of incentives to make alternative modes to the car more attractive to the user (Guiver et al, 2008). Where attempted, proposals to introduce integrated transport schemes on a piecemeal basis have frequently failed, due largely to high profile public and political opposition (Lumsdon and Owen, 2004).

Table 2.3 in Chapter 2 outlined a range of transport planning and policy instruments that could theoretically be implemented in a National Park setting. The following section will seek to examine the issues which would appear to prohibit policy change and discourage the use of many such initiatives within the policy sector. This analysis will take place under the heading of the political stream (as opposed to continuing under the policy stream heading in this section) since the local mood, organised political forces and existing government arrangements emerge as significant constraints for policy development.

5.5 THE POLITICAL STREAM

In a review of academic research on withdrawn or abandoned leisure transport initiatives in rural areas, Dickinson and Dickinson (2006) identified a range of practical issues to emerge from the literature. Three are of particular relevance in this context:

- **Opposition to traffic restraint:** schemes proposing any form of vehicle restriction can be opposed at the local level, making their introduction publicly and politically unacceptable;

- **Initiatives can fail to meet conventional measures of success:** schemes are abandoned due to poor patronage or failure to meet pre-determined economic or social criteria; and

- **Planning and management practicalities:** initiatives can be difficult to enforce across dispersed areas (for example parking strategies); funding for initiatives can be limited and short-term in nature; and activities can be difficult to co-ordinate and rely on the participation of a wide range of stakeholders;

These headings will now be used to explore issues surrounding transport planning approaches in a National Park context.

5.5.1.1 Opposition to traffic restraint

There are numerous examples in the literature of traffic management schemes incorporating elements of vehicle restraint being abandoned, withdrawn, or 'watered down' largely due to public opposition at the local level. For example, Lumsdon and Owen (2004) provide an analysis of the Snowdonia Green Key Initiative, a pioneering strategy which proposed five key strands of policy initiatives:

- Creation of a zone of controlled parking with rural clearways on the main highways in an attempt to restrict linear roadside parking;

- Introduction of an integrated bus network to link with rail stations and walking and cycling initiatives in an attempt to encourage modal shift;

- Development of several park and ride and public transport 'gateways' to encourage interchange;

- Introduction of a 'positive parking' scheme to try and formalise and manage car parking more effectively; and

- Enhancement of promotional activity through a 'Snowdonia Pass' to include a long-stay parking fee and a bus ticket entitling visitors to unlimited travel.

The initiative was advanced primarily as a result of the environmental degradation and congestion issues arising in northern Snowdonia as a result of car dependence amongst visitors to the area. A second supporting foundation of the initiative was to encourage greater visitor spend in the area and promote new opportunities for business and tourism on the back of sustainable transport initiatives. As the strategy would have represented the most 'radical' approach to traffic management ever seen in the context of a UK National Park, a staged, long-term implementation process was proposed. However, following two public consultations which indicated a fundamental lack of support for the strategy, particularly from local user and business groups, the promoters of the scheme conceded that it should be reassessed. Consultants brought in for this purpose supported the retention of the scheme, but in a much watered down format, which excluded any restrictions on parking and the abandonment of plans for a park and ride scheme. According to Lumsdon and Owen (2004, p. 162), the new report advocated 'a collection of approaches favoured by a small group of lobbyists who combined forces to see the reversals of the [initial] proposals presented'.

The above appears to be a frequent barrier in the context of vehicle restraint schemes in National Parks. For example, Cullinane et al (1996) concluded that public opposition to

proposed traffic restraint schemes involving the use of higher parking charges to partially fund new public transport services in Borrowdale (Lake District) and Malham (Yorkshire Dales) was the primary factor in each of the schemes' abandonment. The major concern being the potential for the loss of tourist revenue incurred in the event of scheme implementation. Meanwhile public opposition to road closures planned as part of a wider integrated transport strategy to address traffic issues at a rural visitor attraction – Burrator Reservoir – in Dartmoor National Park led to the idea being shelved. More recently, an attempt to raise the idea of vehicle restraint in the context of road closures and car free zones as part of a wider transport strategy was undertaken by the New Forest National Park Authority in their draft National Park Management Plan (NFNPA, 2008). As will be examined in more detail in Chapters 7 and 8, the plans met with furious public and political opposition locally, and have since been revised to exclude any element of vehicle restraint.

In the context of the acceptability and impact of vehicle restraint for visitors to National Parks, Steiner and Bristow (2000) conducted a stated-preference survey on car-based visitors in the Yorkshire Dales. This explored both the mode and destination choice of a road pricing scheme, in combination with a park and ride alternative. The scheme was deemed acceptable by 68% of respondents, though a predicted fall in visitor numbers of between 10-20% was also identified. This outcome prompted the authors to speculate that this may have proved unacceptable to local businesses and others reliant on tourist income, a point uniquely demonstrated above.

Despite surmising that the imposition of road pricing in specific areas of the Lake District National Park may be an effective instrument for managing demand, a study by Eckton (2003), which examined the response of three stakeholder groups – visitors, residents and businesses – to its possible introduction, resulted in a completely opposite conclusion to that of Steiner and Bristow. Road pricing was deemed as an impracticable strategy due to the potential equity costs exceeding any road network efficiency gains, and the fact that 'the application of such a large scale, rational utopian policy within a spatially small, complex, practical environment does generate new and enhances existing problems' (p. 316). Examples of such problems included the aforementioned equity concerns, displacement of congestion to uncharged locations and areas less well equipped to accommodate high levels of vehicle traffic, and damage to local businesses within the charged zone.

In all of the papers cited above, consideration of road pricing was advocated as a result of congestion and environmental degradation caused in these locations due to their increasing popularity and excessively high levels of car use by visitors accessing UK National Parks.

Whilst the above literature accounts for the abandonment of schemes, it is also necessary to consider what might prevent restraint schemes from reaching the political agenda in the first place. Insight in this matter is provided by Holding and Kreutner (1998, p. 182) who note that 'planners making decisions about such matters as road closure and parking charges are part of the local democratic system and responsible to political masters, who wish to be re-elected'. Given that local opposition to restraint strategies has historically been identified as particularly important in their ultimate abandonment, then their ultimate conclusion can come as little surprise. 'Politicians are likely to take more notice of a local population which a) has a vote and b) is permanently present and able to exert pressure…a danger exists of pressure on one side being acknowledged and responded to, while equally strongly felt contrary pressure is ignored'.

5.5.1.2 Initiatives fail to meet conventional measures of success

Bus based public transport initiatives based on promoting more sustainable travel to, from and within National Parks are most at risk from withdrawal or non-implementation due to their failure to meet conventional measures of success. This assertion is supported by Natural England (2008b, p. 2). In a review of successful leisure travel public transport initiatives currently in operation, it is stated that:

> 'One clear lesson emerges that partly explains why some of these projects may have survived whilst others have not, this is the quality of their monitoring. Particularly in aspects such as the economic impact of the scheme indicated by visitor spend in local communities, as well as qualitative information from users to emphasise how the services are meeting their social inclusion targets. This is clearly critically important in the increasingly difficult funding regime faced by many rural transport schemes. Value for money has to be proved in terms of the social and economic benefit provided'.

In summarising public transport schemes employed in National Parks to date, Downward and Lumsdon (2004) asserted their success to be modest at best in terms of encouraging modal shift. That is not to denigrate their value in terms of other social or economic objectives, but provides a recognition of their shortcomings in terms of influencing transport demand. As the conclusions of Natural England (2008b, p. 3) testify:

> 'The existence of a scheme of excellent, fully integrated public transport to meet leisure, needs to be seen as an integral part of all visitor management strategies for a leisure destination. This may well need to include some element of traffic or demand management - the classic "stick" - against which the "carrot" of new imaginative, enjoyable, sustainable transport opportunities can be balanced'.

This assertion mirrors similar conclusions from historical studies of the role of public transport as alternatives to the private car in National Parks by Eaton and Holding (1996) and Holding and Kreutner (1998).

5.5.1.3 Planning and management practicalities

As has already been identified, the duty for transport planning does not lie with the NPAs themselves. Instead, the statutory responsibility for transport delivery is the obligation of the local transport authority relevant to each National Park area. Central and regional government also maintain a role in transport planning and policy decisions that have a bearing 'on the ground' in National Parks (CNP, 2009c). Local government and administrative arrangements surrounding National Park administration is complex.

The outcome of this complexity in terms of transport initiatives is that 'co-ordination can be complex, time consuming and slow' (Dickinson and Dickinson, 2006, p. 200). Consider for example the concept of parking schemes in the context of a National Park. A range of local government authorities (National Park Authorities, county, district and borough councils, Forestry Commission, The National Trust) may each be responsible for separate areas of car parking within a National Park. Subsequently, a range of parking operations and charges across a single National Park may be in place. This makes the co-ordination and development of a Park-wide parking strategy difficult, principally because there are so many organisations involved.

Such complications also extend into the planning of public transport services given the diverse range of operators and partnership authorities involved in their operation (Eaton and Holding, 1996). Furthermore, the nature of funding for rural transport provision is generally short term in nature. This makes it difficult for authorities to build up services and promote them given the short time scales involved (Natural England, 2008b).

5.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has identified long-standing concern about the impacts of private car use arising from leisure travel in UK National Parks. Against a strategic policy background which places National Parks as test-beds for rural sustainable development, and despite well-documented calls for the implementation of integrated packages of transport measures, transport policy in this sector is slow to change. A number of possible barriers to change have been identified, the importance of which will be examined and expanded upon in future chapters of this thesis. For now, a summary of key findings is provided in Table 5.2.

With regard to the problem stream, there would appear to be an awareness of the impact of private car use within the National Parks and a need to address the issue. In terms of road traffic growth, forecasts predict an increase in car travel in rural areas by 35%

between 2003 and 2025. Overall however, there is limited data as to the actual levels of car use in UK National Parks. Awareness of the limitation of existing levels of public transport provision serving destinations to/from and within the National Parks is also apparent. To date, transport planning and policy responses to these issues of traffic growth have been largely piecemeal, focusing particularly on the provision of incentives as opposed to disincentives. Public transport has an important role to play, and has been demonstrated to facilitate visitor spending in local economies. There is also an accessibility aspect to public transport provision, since it makes travel to, from and within National Parks possible for residents and visitors without access to a private car, thus satisfying a number of social, economic and environmental objectives. However, integrated approaches combining both incentives and disincentives have been difficult to progress.

Where integrated schemes have been proposed, they have often failed due primarily to local public and political unacceptability. Other issues surrounding the enforcement of transport initiatives, and their inability to meet conventional measures of success in terms of project evaluation, further complicate their development. Advocates of policy change cite the National Parks as possible exemplars of innovative and sustainable transport planning approaches. This is in line with their designation as the most highly protected areas in the UK, and wider calls for the National Parks to become beacons for sustainable development. In transport terms however, such policy rhetoric is complicated by the aforementioned complexity of the local government framework. Added to this is the influence of the incumbent population and business interests within National Parks, and the wider tourism lobby.

In the UK, no one organisation has single controlling ownership of the land within National Parks. The local government framework surrounding National Park administration and operation can be complex with a range of local and national government agencies operating within the National Parks. This can make it difficult when considering issues relating to transport. There are a number of competing interests between stakeholders for example, the need to address the issue of conservation and access, and the need to foster growth within the local economy.

Literature quoted in this chapter supports the assertion that sustainable and effective solutions to transport problems in UK National Parks are not near to being found. In an attempt to further explore this concept, and begin an assessment of the possibility for future change, the next chapter will present the findings from semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers at UK National Park Authorities.

Table 5.2 – Summary of key findings relevant to MS framework

MS framework Composition	Documentary Analysis: Relevant Findings
The Problem Stream	- Concern surrounding the impact of car use in National Parks pre-dates their actual inception; issue first raised in 1945 White Paper which led to their creation - Consecutive 'state of the parks' reports identified ever worsening traffic conditions through the late 20th century - Government forecasts a 35% increase in total vehicle kilometres travelled between 2003 - 2025; problems set to intensify - Historic and current documentation outlines relatively poor public transport provision to/from and within the National Parks
The Policy Stream	- Recognition within policy documents of the special qualities of the National Park and a policy framework which encourages them to become exemplars for sustainable development - Theoretical imbalance between the call for integrated packages of incentives and disincentives and their implementation on the ground - Transport planning and policy initiatives generally small-scale, piecemeal and incentive based - Attempts to break from the status quo – particularly with regard to the use of disincentives – suffer from significant public and political opposition
The Political Stream	- Complex local government framework complicates coherent policy development - Local politicians vulnerable to negative public opinion pertaining to transport initiatives - The success or otherwise of transport schemes – be they incentive or disincentive based – can be hard to quantify thereby affecting future continuation or implementation elsewhere

Chapter Six: National Park Authority Transport Officer Perspectives[3]

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents interview findings and analysis relating to the semi-structured interviews with UK NPA Transport Officers. The analysis is structured in terms of each of the three streams of the MS framework, namely the problem, policy and politics stream, and policy entrepreneurs. The chapter is composed as follows. Section 6.2 explores the problem stream, as perspectives on both strategic and transport specific issues facing the National Parks are examined. The policy stream is the focus of section 6.3, where current NPA approaches to transport policy and existing use of transport planning instruments are examined. Transport Officer attitudes to the use of specific transport planning strategies and instruments are also explored here. Section 6.4 looks in detail at the political stream, in an attempt to understand the influence of political administration and public opinion on transport policy development in the National Park transport planning sector. The role for policy entrepreneurs is examined in section 6.5. In drawing findings together, section 6.6 provides a conclusion to the chapter and sets out the next stage of research allied to this thesis.

It should be noted here that the breadth of the research at this stage largely precludes in-depth examination of the findings by anything other than the top-level structure of the MS framework. That is, whilst the three streams provide structure to the chapter, it is not always possible or helpful to apply components within each stream as a means by which to guide further analysis. A more thorough application of the MS framework is applied in the sub-case study chapters. MS framework related findings and insight from each of the research stages will be brought together in the discussion and conclusion chapters of this thesis.

In order to protect the anonymity of respondents at this stage of research, no quote attribution is used in this chapter, which continues with section 6.2, and its assessment of Transport Officer opinion with regard to the strategic and transport specific issues facing the UK National Parks.

[3] Findings from this stage of the research have been published in the International Journal of Sustainable Transportation (Kendal et al, 2010).

6.2 THE PROBLEM STREAM

6.2.1 Overview of key research findings

Prior to in-depth analysis, an overview of the key research findings with regard to the problem stream is presented below in Table 6.1. This is a tabulated review of the interview responses received to the two questions designed to inform the problem stream analysis and provides a simple guide to the issues which will be discussed in this section of the chapter. Prior to further examination of transport specific issues cited by Transport Officers, section 6.2.2 will provide an overview of the wider strategic challenges deemed to impact on NPAs ability to meet their statutory objectives.

Table 6.1 – Overview of key findings relative to the problem stream

CONTEXT	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE
The key issues which may impact on the NPAs abilities to meet their statutory objectives	Lack of funding from central Government: for the NPAs and partnership organisations	7
	Climate change: impacts on the physical landscape	4
	Changing population demographics and the loss of liveable communities within the National Park	4
	Pressure for new development within and around the National Park	3
The main issues facing the NPA with regard to transport at the present time	Inadequate public transport provision	11
	Instances of excess car use in specific locations at specific times of year	8
	The impacts of car use all year round	2
	Road traffic accidents involving animals	2

6.2.2 Outlined strategic challenges

Respondents were asked to identify the key issues which might impact on the NPAs ability to meet their statutory objectives. Four primary issues were identified, though only one – lack of funding for the NPAs and their partnership and delivery organisations – was cited by more than four of the respondents. The four issues were:

- Lack of funding from central government, for both the NPAs and their delivery partners (7 responses);

- The physical impacts of climate change on the National Park landscape (4 responses);
- Pressure for new housing, business and recreational development within and around the National Park (4 responses); and
- Changing population demographics and the loss of liveable communities within the National Park (3 responses).

Funding constraints for NPAs and their delivery partners

Funding constraints for NPAs and their delivery partners was the most frequently cited strategic concern amongst interview respondents, cited in seven of the twelve interviews undertaken.

> 'The finances available to the organisation are also going to be crucial. I should point out here that it's not just the finances to the NPA, but also those to the partner organisations as well who will help deliver our aims. We work strategically to the National Park plan, which is a plan for the whole area, not just us as an authority, but also any other agencies working in this area. It is about collective partnership working, so levels of resources available to us and partner organisations is crucial'.

> 'Just in terms of our Authority, resources are always an issue, so the levels of funding we have available, the number of staff we have'.

As will be discussed later, the strategic issues identified here surrounding funding and partnership working will also be shown to impact directly on the transport planning and policy processes in UK National Parks. Perhaps the clearest illustration of this finding is that of the twelve interviewees, only half were dedicated Transport Officers by title. The remaining six all incorporated the remit for transport into their day to day duties, alongside other roles including planning, economic development, visitor and tourism development, and access and recreation management.

The physical impacts of climate change

Four respondents identified the physical and landscape impacts of climate change as problematic in the National Park context.

> 'The impacts of climate change are not to be discounted. Hotter summers, warmer winters, and flooding all serve to impinge on the National Park, and affect the Authority's ability to meet its obligations with regard to environmental protection and enhancement'.

> 'The obvious one is climate change, which we are trying to alleviate, since this is leading to habitat loss. We are losing habitat which impinges on animals in the affected area so this is an overriding issue for the National Park. Also we are really appreciating how natural assets link up to the economy, particularly tourism and agriculture which make up a huge amount, directly or indirectly, to the economy here. We think about 80% of the economy would disappear if we didn't have tourism'.

Climate change concerns were deemed to have the potential to impact on the statutory environmental objective of NPAs, in addition to their supplementary objective to foster the local economy. Pertinent to the issue of climate change is its potential to act as a focusing event, or catalyst for change, within the National Park transport planning and policy sector. This is an issue which will be discussed at various points throughout the thesis.

Development pressure

Four respondents identified the impacts of development, be it housing, tourism, industrial or business, as possibly serving to undermine the special qualities of the National Parks.

> 'To my mind, the real threat is the pressure for development of various sorts. For example, as we look to alternative sources of energy, people may want to introduce wind turbines – that has an impact on the park. Similar with telephone masts. People want broadband, they want to access services without travelling, but the flip side is the development that is needed adds pressure, and as an Authority that is the challenge we face'.

> 'An expected increase in visitor numbers places greater demands on the National Park, particularly with regard to tourist infrastructure such as hotels; cabins; signage; car parking; public toilets; and lighting. This impacts on the built form of the National Park and may provide a negative visual impact'.

As outlined during the interviews, the demands for new development in whatever form it may be, presents the NPAs with a particular challenge in terms of the competing agendas of the stakeholder groups involved. In transport terms, the interviews provided a good example of this with regard to demands for new transport infrastructure and street/road furniture such as road markings and signage.

Changing population demographics and the loss of liveable communities

Finally, changing demographics of the incumbent populations within three National Parks were perceived to impact on the ability of NPAs to achieve their supplementary economic objective.

> 'The lack of affordable housing, combined with the rise of the popularity of second homes, lived in only for a few months of the year, does not provide the necessary footfall required to support services within local communities, thus hindering social and economic well being. Sustainability is reduced and liveable communities are lost'.

> 'We may face a problem here where young people and old people who don't have access to a car – wages here are below the national average – can't access public transport due to its limited availability. This encourages young people to move out and leave us with a demographic problem in the park in terms of an ageing population'.

Note the important role of transport here as clearly illustrated in the second comment. This acknowledges the importance of proficient public transport services not only for visitors to National Parks, but also incumbent residents within them. Such is the limited provision of public transport service provision in these areas that the minority without access to a private vehicle are at risk from social exclusion. One of the outcomes of such exclusion being that people migrate out of the National Parks which can be seen to aid the loss of liveable communities and contribute to an ageing population.

With strategic challenges outlined, section 6.2.3 will examine Transport Officer perspectives of the key transport challenges currently facing UK National Parks. As will be demonstrated, identified strategic challenges can be seen to directly or indirectly affect the transport planning and policy processes in UK National Parks.

6.2.3 Transport and the UK National Parks

Respondents were asked to identify the main issues surrounding transport in these locations. Two primary issues were identified:

- Inadequate public transport provision (11 responses);
- Instances of excessive car use at certain locations and at certain times of the year (8 responses).

In addition, two issues were cited by only two respondents:

- The impacts of car use on a year-round basis (2 responses); and
- Road traffic accidents involving animals (2 responses).

Inadequate public transport provision

Concerns surrounding levels of public transport provision both within and to/from National Parks was the most frequently cited response, raised in eleven out of the twelve interviews. Comments such as those below were typical:

> 'One of the biggest issues we have is in the provision of public transport. What we don't have are major conurbations within the National Park, and the nearest major conurbations are actually quite a distance outside the National Park, so there just isn't the day to day level of people needing public transport to get around, that in effect would subsidise or support a public transport system that would suit holidaymakers for example. The problem we have is that any public transport that we have in the park just will not self finance and in fact is very expensive to provide. Often the demand for it is very seasonal, so public transport wise we have a major issue there'.

> 'The really big thing in terms of public transport is that there isn't a lot of it about. It is very low in a number of rural areas …the services that are left are viewed as lifeline services, so to consider new and innovative services that may be earmarked for visitors, then you have to draw in money from budgets that aren't purely for public transport. You have to draw in money from other funds, be it economic development or somewhere else, in order to help the budgets'.

As evidenced above, specific issues relating to patronage, the levels of public transport service provision in the National Parks, and the funding of such services were frequent and repeated concerns in the majority of interviews undertaken. There was demonstrable consensus in the interviews therefore that this presents a serious and long-standing issue in the context of transport and the National Parks.

Periodic and site specific issues of excess car use

In eight of the interviews, respondents identified congestion, parking and environmental issues caused by excessive peak time car use within National Parks as problematic. In many instances however, interviewees downplayed the regularity of these events. Issues arising from car use were perceived largely to be periodic as opposed to endemic.

> 'There are a few sites, on a few days of the year – I wouldn't want to overstate it – where there are too many cars. This is detrimental to the landscape and the visitor experience, which if it gets worse could threaten the special qualities of the place, which are the very thing which we always go back to since they are what we are trying to protect and look after. There are a couple

> of areas where too many cars could become detrimental to that. This happens only in hotspots at certain times of the year – bank holidays, sunny summer weekends'.
>
> 'Our congestion issues are at specific places, at specific times of the year, rather than a major issue throughout the year. That doesn't mean we are complacent about it. I wouldn't want to overplay it though…we are not massively congested. We have issues in peak times during peak periods – summer weekends – and we do get pressure points in terms of traffic build up in certain locations. We don't have a massive congestion problem here'.

These responses are illustrative of the diversity of opinion with regard to car use and National Parks, whilst also reflective of the diversity of the transport challenge relative to each location. Whilst consensus emerged about public transport issues in the National Parks, no such consensus about the severity or otherwise of issues related to car use prevailed. This issue emerges again during the case-study chapters, and will be discussed further in those and proceeding chapters.

Car use a year-round issue

On two occasions during the interview process car use was identified as more than a periodic issue, related primarily to times of peak tourism demand.

> 'We have impacts of traffic on the lives of local people, so we have congestion, noise, air pollution, road safety issues, severance, and general barriers to access for pedestrians, cyclists and horse riders. In some of our village centres that carry high volumes of traffic, we don't have enough pedestrian crossings, traffic management and things like that. We have the volume of traffic on roads within the National Park. A mix of local traffic and commuters, leaving from the National Park or driving through the National Park, and visitor traffic'.
>
> 'Car use is one. Presents a huge strain on the environment, as well as incurring visual erosion of the park. Having to deal with it presents a problem, but it is about striking a balance'.

Respondents identifying car use as a year-round issue for the National Park identified a range of negative externalities to arise from it. Where previously the impacts of periodic instances of excess car use were limited to site-specific congestion issues and the visual impacts arising from it, respondents in this case extended it to include wider environmental, severance, and safety issues.

Road traffic accidents involving animals

Two respondents identified road traffic accidents involving animals as problematic in the context of the National Park.

> 'We have a massive problem with animal accidents. We have about 120 animal accidents every year involving stock animals alone. All those animals are owned by someone, so the loss of an animal impacts economically on them. There are also impacts on the driver involved in an accident in terms of damage to cars. There are about the same number of accidents again, involving deer and other wild animals'.

> '[There is] a very big issue relating to animal accidents on the moor. Our routes are all unfenced, and we would like to keep it that way, but there are emotional issues attached to this'.

On each of these two occasions, a desire to maintain some of the culture and heritage of the National Parks by avoiding park-wide fencing of roads was deemed to increase the frequency and severity of such accidents. This forms a particularly pertinent example with regard to the challenges facing the NPAs in terms of the competing demands of stakeholders. This is an issue which will be discussed at greater length in section 6.4.

Having identified strategic and transport issues deemed to face the National Parks, section 6.3 now explores Transport Officer perspectives of current and preferred future planning and policy responses to identified transport issues. The role of the wider strategic challenges in influencing possible responses are also discussed as necessary.

6.3 THE POLICY STREAM

6.3.1 Existing NPA transport planning approaches

Interviewees were asked to outline the transport planning approaches that the NPAs themselves are directly involved in within their respective National Parks. The results are summarised in Table 6.2 and examined further below.

Table 6.2 – Transport planning approaches currently employed by UK NPAs

CONTEXT	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE
Transport planning approaches currently employed by UK National Park Authorities	Partnership working with local transport authorities	12
	Public transport service marketing and information	12
	Public transport service subsidisation	7
	Walking and cycling initiatives	2
	Car parking charging strategies	1

6.3.1.1 Partnership working with local transport authorities

All respondents interviewed cited partnership working with their respective local transport authorities as an important part of the policy process. As identified in earlier chapters, NPAs themselves are not legislatively responsible for transport policy and planning development in their National Parks. As responses demonstrate, the best way that NPAs see fit to exert some influence in these processes is by developing strong relationships with partner organisations such as the local transport authority and public transport operators.

> 'Firstly [i.e. of most importance] is the relationship with partners. In the transport field we are very heavily dependant on other delivery agencies. We as a NPA don't tend to deliver transport ourselves, and especially with increasingly constrained budgets for NPAs, which is a big issue, we are evermore reliant on others. Those relationships and those mechanisms of working are crucial'.

> 'Partnership working is right up in there in terms of how we deliver. In terms of car parking and transport it is very much to the fore. We are the planning authority but we are not the road authority or transport authority, so we have to work with them and influence them. Things that affect them also affect us. It's just the policy environment that we operate in, and it's not something we always have total control of'.

Opinion as to the effectiveness of these relationships in achieving NPA transport policy objectives were mixed. A number of respondents asserted that they had positive working relationships with their partners.

> 'We are fortunate in the way things stand at the moment in that the whole of the National Park is covered by one highway authority, and we are quite unusual in that respect. We don't have to do a big co-ordination job with lots of other highway authorities…as things stand at the moment, we have a very profitable and productive relationship with (the) County Council'.

For others, the complexity of the local government framework, and the competing objectives of partner organisations, diluted the policy process and limited progress.

> 'We try and work in partnership, and try and influence the bus companies, and local authorities, but we have no statutory powers and our strength comes simply from negotiation'.

> 'The only way we can deliver anything is to work in partnership with others, and because we're not the highway authority it's very difficult. If we were the highway authority it would be a lot easier'.

Regardless of the success or otherwise of these relationships, responses indicate how far removed the NPAs themselves are from the planning and policy process. The relevance of this finding will be examined further in forthcoming chapters.

6.3.1.2 Public transport service marketing and information

All of the respondents identified NPA involvement in public transport service marketing and information provision. The level of involvement varies between National Parks. For example, one respondent reported that:

> 'Information is important, so we produced a National Park explorer handbook brochure. It's basically a list of all timetables and links to active travel, so walking and cycling routes, how to get to various locations for all different sorts of recreational uses, so information is important…these sort of initiatives are important to help people use public transport more'.

At the other end of the scale, it was reported that:

> 'At our National Park Visitors Centre, we try and push public transport, we have the timetables there, and we try and encourage public transport use. It is the local council's role to pay for the provision and marketing of public transport. We have adopted various roles to help them prepare it, but it is fundamentally out of our control really'.

The rationale for such widespread NPA involvement in this aspect of transport planning was summarised very well during one of the research interviews:

> 'In terms of the marketing of transport, that is an area which is easier for us to get involved in than actually directly paying for services. Every year we do the transport timetable. There's nothing new in it, it's pulling together all the different timetables and services of the operators who cover the park, but putting it together in one co-ordinated document, from which you can add in other important bits of information about days out, or encourage people to use public transport to access the countryside'.

Respondents largely demonstrated significant goodwill to public transport service marketing and information. Indeed, as one respondent stated, 'there are lots of ideas, but it's just having the time and resources for the staff to implement them'.

6.3.1.3 Public transport service subsidisation

Seven respondents identified that their respective NPAs committed funding to help subsidise public transport services. Levels of funding vary dramatically between participating NPAs.

Three respondents asserted that public transport service subsidisation was their primary priority and area for spending. For example, one respondent reported that his NPA committed £300,000 to the subsidy of a seasonal bus service within a National Park. In another interview, it was stated that 'our spending on transport is around £100,000, which goes on the subsidisation of the Heather Hopper, the Explorer Handbook and a few other bits and pieces'.

Of the remaining respondents who cited public transport service subsidisation as an aspect of NPA transport planning and policy, contributions were identified as being more modest. Indeed, how the NPAs prioritise the use of their transport funding, and the rationale used to make these decisions will be examined later in section 6.4.

6.3.1.4 Additional transport planning approaches employed by NPAs

Aside from those outlined above, only small-scale walking, cycling and car-parking initiatives were raised on two occasions or less by respondents as initiatives directly pursued by the NPAs. Walking and cycling initiatives consist mainly of the improvement of the design and signage of these facilities in order to increase their usage. The sole car-parking initiative cited involved the introduction of a £2 non-transferable charge at all of the NPA operated car parks within a National Park. The rationale being to try and

discourage short car trips between NPA car parks and contain vehicles in a single location upon entering the park.

With current NPA directed transport planning approaches identified, respondents were asked to outline the rationale behind the pursuit of these measures. Responses are outlined below in section 6.3.2.

6.3.2 Rationale for policy development

Interview respondents were asked to outline their rationale for pursuing the measures currently in place within their respective National Parks. Three specific, yet interlinked, objectives emerged, namely:

- A reduction of car use / achievement of modal shift;
- An increase in public transport accessibility; and
- Projecting a 'green' image.

The desire to secure a reduction in car use, or achieve modal shift, was the most frequently cited objective for current transport policies with the National Parks. The comments below are illustrative of the responses received:

> 'Measures are intended to reduce car numbers in and around the National Park, and encourage a modal shift from private to public transport. This may also accrue a safety benefit in terms of accident reduction within and around the National Park'.

> 'We want to encourage as many people as possible to get out of the car and access Dartmoor by cycle or bus. This is not just about the National Park, it's about the wider issue of sustainable development and sustainable travel, and healthy lifestyles'.

The second stated objective for transport policy and planning approaches in the National Parks related to securing an increase in public transport accessibility. There was recognition amongst Transport Officers that existing levels of public transport accessibility were not high enough, and contravened the 'access and enjoyment' objective of the NPAs.

> 'What we would want is to ensure that there is a core bus service in the National Park to allow access to the core parts of the park along the main road, that is our priority. The provision of core services to allow enjoyment of the National Park. It's also about the whole transport agenda as well, making sure there are access links to the nearby conurbations, so people can get out

> to the National Park by sustainable means. Our focus lies on visitor traffic, as does our funding. In terms of our statutory purpose we have to do that, but we try to make sure that wherever possible it meets community needs as well. Our primary function for public transport is to provide access to the National Park that is sustainable, and the role for public transport in that is quite significant'.

The last of the three objectives identified related to a wish to be seen to be 'green', and therefore engaging with sustainability and environmental concepts.

> 'We want to project the image of being a green park. People get annoyed if they recycle at home, then see bed and breakfasts putting waste into one big black bag. I think there is a real wish from people coming here that we are as green as we can be…it's not just good press but it actually makes a real impact'.

With the objectives of National Park transport planning and policy identified, respondents were asked to identify the effectiveness of current approaches in addressing them. This is examined below.

6.3.3 Effectiveness of existing policy measures in achieving stated objectives

Interview participants were asked to outline the extent to which existing policy and planning approaches could be seen to contribute to the above objectives. Much of this discussion was framed in the context of the role that public transport – be it through service improvements, or marketing and information provision – might contribute in this regard.

There was acknowledgement that a number of existing public transport schemes – such as the North Yorkshire 'Moorsbus' service, and Northumberland's 'Hadrian's Wall' bus – were excellent initiatives, contributing to each of the three objectives outlined above. It would also seem likely that any new or expanded public transport service would help to improve accessibility. However, consensus amongst respondents was that these measures alone would not entirely satisfy any of the outline objectives of transport policy stated above.

> 'I think it is very much a question of trying to make small gains. You are not going to make really big gains overnight – you just have to keep chipping away at it. It's one of those things that everybody is willing, but it is just so difficult to change people's behaviour. It's like pieces of a jigsaw – you have to have something there that is giving people an option to start with, and then you can start to say why not try this or that?'

> 'I just can't see that public transport is going to improve to the degree that it is an acceptable alternative to the car, and it would be seen as not making the National Park accessible to the people who really do want to enjoy it, and for who in many cases the only realistic travel option is the car'.

Responses would therefore indicate that previously identified transport issues are unlikely to be addressed should only existing policies and planning instruments continue to be pursued. Accordingly, interview participants were asked to discuss the concept of National Parks as locations for innovative and experimental transport initiatives. Responses are outlined below.

6.3.4 Experimental traffic management and transport planning approaches in National Park settings

As demonstrated in Chapter Five, a range of policy and academic literature supports National Parks as suitable settings for new or experimental transport planning approaches. Interviewees were asked if they supported or opposed this concept. As shown in Table 6.3 below, in all but one case, respondents embraced the concept of National Parks as locations in which to trial and experiment with innovative transport planning measures.

Table 6.3 – Support for experimental transport planning approaches in UK National Parks

CONTEXT	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE
Is there a role for more experimental transport planning initiatives in National Park settings?	Yes	11
	No	1

This strong support can be seen to be based on two key facets, which link directly with earlier identified objectives for transport in National Parks. First, from an environmental perspective was a desire to reduce the impact of transport, and in doing so, protect the special qualities of the National Parks:

> 'Certainly in terms of the prerogative that the National Park area is the highest designated land in the country, and if that's not a reason to try and be innovative in dealing with traffic pressures, then what else is really?'

> 'I think we do have a role, and we do have that potential. I don't see any reason why we shouldn't be pioneers in this. Essentially the main purposes of National Parks encompasses sustainability, so we should be demonstrating that we are as sustainable as we can be.'

Second, from an organisational perspective, to a) demonstrate compliance with Government legislation on the role of National Park Authorities and b) demonstrate to their delivery partners the NPA's commitment to addressing prevalent transport issues.

> 'I think we should be trying them out, and we should be leading the way in sustainable development or sustainable travel. Again, if you look at Government guidance 1296 it talks about us being a role model for sustainable development. I think we do see ourselves like that and the general feeling is we should be leading on this'.

> 'It goes back to the idea of National Parks being the centre of things, rather than on the periphery, so by all means let's use them as a demonstration area or best practice area…I think National Parks should be leading the way and demonstrating on some of these projects'.

Theoretically therefore, respondents supported the concept of innovation in the National Park environment. The practical barriers which exist and therefore reduce the potential for innovation are discussed in detail in section 6.4. Section 6.3.5 examines respondents' preferred future transport planning approaches in the National Park setting, in order to identify the extent of the ambition for policy change amongst Transport Officers.

6.3.5 Favoured future transport planning approaches

Questioning was undertaken to determine the transport planning instruments and strategies that policy change may incorporate. Results, in terms of frequency of response during the interview process, are shown in Table 6.4.

The responses shown in Table 6.4 reveal emphasis for continued focus on the provision of incentives as a means by which to reduce car use, increase public transport accessibility and encourage more sustainable travel. Amongst the favoured approaches, public transport service improvements were the most frequently cited response, followed by improvements to public transport services marketing. This is despite earlier perceptions amongst respondents that, whilst a positive occurrence, public transport service improvements alone will not significantly address the transport issues arising in the National Parks.

With regard to the possible use of disincentive measures, three respondents favoured speed limit reductions, whilst route management strategies, increasing car parking charges, reducing car parking, vehicle bans, trials of new road surface and road pricing each gained just one response.

Table 6.4 – Transport Officers' favoured future transport planning approaches

	Transport Planning Approach	Frequency of Response
Incentives	Public transport service improvements/integration	9
	Improved public transport service marketing	4
	Introduction of community/demand responsive transport schemes	3
	Development of park and ride services	3
	Public transport travel grants for under represented social groups	1
	Personalised travel planning	1
	Free bus travel for children	1
	Expansion of cycle hire facilities and services	1
Disincentives	Speed limit reductions	3
	Road pricing	1
	Route management strategies	1
	Higher parking charges	1
	Vehicle ban (in small area of National Park)	1
	Car parking reduction	1
	Trial of new road surfaces	1

Responses would seem to demonstrate limited transport planning horizons with regard to the potential for policy change amongst this group of protagonists. Certainly the favoured approaches bear little resemblance to the kind of transport planning approaches deemed suitable and necessary for National Parks in the previous chapter. Whether these results are reflective of the pragmatic mindset of those so deeply involved in the policy sector is difficult to assess. Certainly, little support was raised for the possible introduction of disincentive measures as part of any innovative new transport planning approach. What discussion there was around disincentive measures focussed on the difficulties of their implementation, regardless of Transport Officer support or opposition.

In light of responses outlined above, interview participants were asked to outline the barriers that stop them from pursuing their preferred transport planning approaches. Analysis relating to the answers received to this question fit more succinctly within the third stream of Kingdon's MS framework, namely the political stream. This will be addressed in section 6.4.

6.4 THE POLITICAL STREAM

This section will examine how events in the political stream can be seen to affect transport planning and policy development with respect to UK National Parks. In section 6.3.5, Transport Officers were asked to outline their preferred future approaches for transport in the National Parks. They were then asked to outline the barriers that hinder the development of such initiatives. Analysis of the answers to this question will be presented here. It was stated in the introduction to this chapter that the MS framework would only be used to provide a top-level guide by which to structure this analysis. However, research findings allied to this aspect of the analysis align well with the structural components of the political stream, which will be used here.

The section begins with an assessment of the influence of aspects of the local mood on the development of transport policy for the National Parks.

6.4.1 The local mood

The influence of the local mood, in terms of both public and business attitudes to certain transport planning instruments, was identified as influential with regard to policy development. Respondents spoke at length about the practical and political implications that public attitudes have with regards to transport policy development. Comments such as the two below were typical.

> 'We have very clearly defined purposes and duty, and I see those as all pervading in terms of the actions of the NPA. In transport specifically, the delivering agencies are more politically involved, so those public perceptions and desires will inevitably have some influence whether we like it or not, and you can't ignore that'.

> 'The park sees itself as a place to try out ideas, but in all of these things there are a whole load of competing agendas…we have good links with the business community, but it has to be seen as being beneficial to them. You can't just do a traffic management scheme, you have to work with the communities and the businesses…there's certainly no room for heavy handed responses here'.

The complexity of the planning process, and the responsibility of transport delivery by members of a democratically elected local authority, appear to be of significant influence in determining 'what gets done'. In the context of the potential use for disincentive measures, this assertion is reinforced by comments received with regard to perceptions of public attitudes to car use:

> 'It is very difficult to educate people with regard to their travel habits. Public attitudinal factors present a massive hurdle to the NPA. Travel behaviour change in the National Park is very difficult to achieve, since there are few alternatives to private car travel and little incentive for people to seek alternative transport modes'.

> 'Society, for most of the last century has been becoming ever more dependant on the private car, and it's fair to say that people tend to be personally affronted that that might be taken away, at least without efforts to provide alternatives. What can be as flexible as the private car?'

Discussions around this subject made it clear then that public attitudes are a particularly important aspect in the policy sector. Perceptions were that such attitudes were largely negative towards any attempts to restrict or reduce car use within National Parks, serving as a major barrier to change. Comment surrounding local government arrangements also supported these assertions, as examined below.

6.4.2 Local government arrangements

6.4.2.1 Competing objectives of partner organisations

As reflected in earlier findings, transport planning and policy development for the National Parks is dependent on partnership working. Transport Officers identified the relationships between the NPAs and other delivery agencies, principally local highways and transport authorities, and public transport operators as particularly crucial in this regard. However, there was considerable recognition as to the influence that the competing agendas of key delivery partners play in regard to what planning instruments and policies can actually be delivered.

> 'Whilst all stakeholders have the National Parks' best interest at heart, there can be many conflicts of interest between decision makers as to the most suitable course of action to take on issues such as transport. Whilst the National Park is managed by the National Park Authority, there are a number of other authorities who seek to inform policy development. It can sometimes be difficult to achieve consensus on certain matters, which can inhibit implementation of certain plans or policies'.

> 'Our role as we see it is taking forward the transport agenda jointly with the County Council, but acknowledging that they have most of the statutory powers associated with it…inevitably their priorities are going to be different on occasion to ours. The National Park agenda may not have

> the same significance as we would like it to have because they have their own priorities across the county. That's the same for all National Parks I would imagine. We are there to push them in the right direction where it's possible to do so'.

A number of examples were cited during the interview process of how such competing agendas served to inhibit what can be achieved in the context of the National Parks. One such aspect is in regard to local authority funding of public transport services. As outlined in Chapter Five, one of the NPAs' statutory objectives is that of promoting access and enjoyment to the National Parks. As earlier findings demonstrate, concern was raised by Transport Officers as to perceptions of limited public transport accessibility to the National Parks in terms of visitors. The promotion of public transport based leisure travel is therefore high on their list of transport priorities. However, public transport funding priorities of the local transport authorities reflects a different hierarchy of needs, where accessibility needs in terms of access to education, employment and essential public services dominate. What is one of the top priorities for transport with respect to the NPA therefore, is near the bottom of the priority list for the local transport authority, who are the lead delivery agency on public transport subsidisation.

> 'We have 16,000 residents and 1.4 million visitors, with 80% of visitors coming by car. The other 20% is made up of coach travel, buses and trains. The interesting thing is that the councils have a low remit in terms of providing transport for visitors. They have a hierarchy which they work to. First of all they want to get people to work, then they try to ensure they are meeting people's medical and social needs, third or fourth on that list are visitors, so if cuts are to be made to bus services, then they don't want to make cuts to services for people who vote for them, so at the end of the day they are going to cut the services that are seen as visitor services, even though the potential is that there are more people who may use them'.

The competing agendas of partner agencies also bears synergy with the second aspect of local government arrangements, namely the limited local authority funding for transport initiatives in National Parks. This aspect is examined below.

6.4.2.2 Limited local authority funding for transport initiatives in National Parks

Respondents were aware of the funding pressures that local authorities themselves are under. As such, there was recognition of the fact that funding in general is tight, and that this influences the engagement of local authorities with respect to transport in UK National Parks. Such discussions were largely undertaken in the context of public transport provision

and the cost of subsidising services. Interview participants were on the whole sympathetic to their partnering transport authorities in this regard.

That said, issues regarding the aforementioned competing agendas of partnership organisations, and their influence on National Park transport planning were also often repeated:

> 'As the NPA is not a highway authority, it is heavily dependant on Local Authority funding for transport schemes. The NPA is a 'poor relation' when it comes to funding allocations from Local Authorities, since more heavily populated areas and larger schemes seem to take precedence over the Park itself'.

It is clear then that there are a number of external elements relevant to the policy sector which can be seen to inhibit change opportunities. With these in mind, respondents also raised a number of internal issues relevant to the NPAs, their funding and the prioritisation or otherwise of transport on their agendas.

6.4.2.3 National Park Authority funding priorities and board membership composition

In addition to the above factors, the majority of respondents spoke at length about a perceived lack of central Government funding for the NPAs as a whole. In order that finances are used most effectively, the NPAs are required to prioritise key areas of spending. That is, identify where money can be spent in order to maximise adherence to the Parks' two statutory objectives. Half of the respondents considered transport not to be a priority area for their respective National Parks, with transport funding suffering as a result.

> 'Well, it's interesting since traffic and transport is a relatively low priority within the NPA's work plan. A few years ago we went through a reprioritisation, and as a conclusion of that, it was very much decided by members, that the remit for transport should be decreased, and it is now a priority three area'.

> 'When I arrived eight years ago there was great support for transport, local people were saying it was an issue. The NPA said it was committed to putting resources into this area. I arrived, and the budget went down! It seems that in terms of wave patterns, the time that a decision is made to appoint an officer to focus on transport, that is when you're at the top of the wave, and another issue appears on the agenda…if you'd asked me at the time of my

> appointment, it was a high priority. Now, other things have become a big issue, and the focus is on something else'.

The composition and selection process of NPA board membership was outlined in Chapter Five (section 5.2.4.1). It is board members who develop strategic policy and divert funds internally within the organisation. As such, a number of respondents linked the perceived lack of interest in transport funding directly to the composition of NPA board membership. The assertion being that those without direct or indirect interest in transport may not consider it to be a priority area, or may favour policy areas closer to their own personal interests.

> 'Our authority is made up of 22 members, many of which are also local members of district councils or county councils that cover the park. Unsurprisingly they can sometimes have different agendas or wear different hats, so it presents an interesting make up of our board and authority, and it can sometimes be an opportunity and sometimes be a threat'.

> 'A huge number of our visitors are repeat visitors, so if you can communicate things to them on one visit, they may use it the next time. One of the important things is information being really upfront and high profile, like in visitor newsletters. Regrettably, the space allocated to what goes into the visitor newspaper is largely down to decisions made by a senior management team, who decide content on what is seen to be politically important. The politics of the park and the members, and their influence on the senior management team is very significant in dictating the park's priorities'.

In addition to external elements of the local governance arrangements then, internal policy making within the NPAs was also asserted to influence the transport agenda. As a result of both elements, and when asked about how such barriers could be overcome, respondents asserted that central Government should take a more direct involvement in National Park transport planning. Responses will be considered in section 6.5 below, which seeks to account for the role of policy entrepreneurs and entrepreneurialism in the policy process.

6.5 POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

Little discourse emerged with regard to the role of policy entrepreneurs at the local level in the National Park context. Discussion that was undertaken was framed largely (but not exclusively) in the context of public transport initiatives, and underwritten by an assumption that entrepreneurialism in this regard meant cost and an unaffordable risk of failure:

> 'We tend – perhaps because we are local government - not to be risk takers. So anything really radical that could be fantastic and very innovative, I guess we may think 'well this just might not take off' so unless it had a lot of private investment or alternative funding then we tend not to go for radical solutions'.

> 'The NPA needs to be very selective about which transport planning initiatives it seeks to pursue, since we can't afford for them not to work'.

> 'With a bit more money then there is a lot that we could investigate and possibly achieve. We currently have four traffic management areas that overall seem to work quite well, and it would be nice to investigate other areas to see if we could put things in, and try and mitigate the impact of transport whilst encouraging people to be there. We don't always have the time and the money to do this'.

As such, the popular response of respondents was to call for more central Government involvement in National Park transport planning, particularly in terms of the funding and delivery of new transport initiatives.

6.5.1.1 Central Government facilitating entrepreneurialism

The majority of respondents had earlier identified a sole preference for the pursuit of new incentive measures. Frequent reference was made to recent work undertaken by the Council for National Parks (CNP) and the English National Park Authorities Association (ANPA), who had lobbied government for a new ring-fenced sustainable transport fund of £1m to be split between the National Parks. This was unsuccessful and drew criticism from a number of respondents.

> 'I see the way forward on this, as set out in the CNP report…it would give us around £100,000 to put into recreational bus services. The National Parks could do this in partnership with others, the highway authorities and bus users, to actually achieve something. If this money was not ring fenced, it would end up somewhere else. In DfT terms that amount of money is not significant, but what a difference it would make to what we can do in terms of people's access to the countryside and how it can be prioritised. I think it has to come down through the National Park channel, and we'd be able to start getting things done and work with partners'.

When asked about possible reasons for the rejection of such a bid, a general sense of apathy from both central Government and the general public to the National Parks was asserted:

> 'I guess the real problem is that it is neither particularly controversial, nor is it a vote winner. If doubling each National Park's budget was to get you votes, we'd have had it years ago. The nation as a whole perhaps doesn't appreciate how much it costs to do the work that we do. I think as a Park we are appreciated, but I don't think there's a lot of understanding of what we do, how we do it, and how much it costs to do it'.

> 'I think that National Parks have been quite successful at achieving what they want to on quite limited budgets, and to some extent that may have led to a feeling that the National Parks are doing alright, so why chuck loads of money at them when it could be given to the Royal Opera House or something'.

Whilst advocating more central Government involvement in the policy sector, interview participants were largely pessimistic of such an event actually happening. Additional benefits of more central Government involvement were also asserted to be the deflection of the influence of local public and business attitudes on policy development.

6.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented interview findings and analysis relating to semi-structured interviews with Transport Officers at twelve UK National Park Authorities. The interviews were undertaken in order to provide further contextual background to the policy sector under study. Key findings are summarised below and in Table 6.5 overleaf.

With regard to the problem stream, four major strategic issues were deemed to present NPAs with the most significant challenges with regard to achieving their statutory objectives. These were funding for the NPAs and their delivery partners, climate change, pressure for new development within the National Parks, and changing population demographics affecting economic vitality. With regards to transport specific issues, consensus emerged as to the inadequacy of public transport networks across the National Parks. Excessive car use also emerged as problematic, though this was largely considered to be seasonal and location specific, as opposed to an endemic issue.

In the policy stream, respondents revealed a heavy reliance on their respective local transport authorities for the delivery of transport initiatives. Such partnership working takes on a largely educational/lobbying role, with direct intervention by the NPAs themselves limited. Public transport service information and marketing does however lend itself to NPA involvement, as in fewer cases does public transport subsidisation. No existing commitment to the use of disincentives as part of a wider strategic approach was identified.

Existing transport planning approaches were cited as seeking to satisfy one or more of the following objectives: reducing car use/increasing modal shift, increasing public transport accessibility, and projecting a 'green' image. Consensus amongst respondents was that existing approaches met with limited success in terms of achieving these objectives. As such, the overwhelming majority supported the notion of National Parks as suitable locations to implement innovative or experimental transport planning initiatives. However, when asked to describe preferred initiatives in this regard, continued use of incentives such as public transport improvements were favoured. Little appetite for the use of disincentives was revealed.

The complexity of the policy sector, particularly with regard to the competing objectives of partner organisations, was identified as constraining policy development. Also problematic in this regard is the level of general funding for NPAs and their partners, and the failure to assign transport as a priority area of spending for strategic organisations. Politics and the local mood were also seen to play a role here. The assertion being that popular transport schemes are unlikely to represent vote winners for local politicians, though unpopular or controversial schemes have the ability to lose votes.

To encourage entrepreneurialism and innovation with particular regard to public transport initiatives, respondents felt that central Government needed to provide both funding and impetus. This was seen to help overcome financial constraints and risk aversion currently inhibiting policy development in this context.

With key issues in the policy sector now identified, the next four chapters will examine the policy process at the local level in more details. It begins with Chapter Seven and a documentary analysis of literature relating to transport planning and the New Forest National Park.

Table 6.5 - Summary of key findings relevant to MS framework

MS Framework	Areas for research	Summary of key findings
THE PROBLEM STREAM	- strategic challenges faced by NPAs in pursuit of statutory objectives - transport specific issues in UK National Parks	- four strategic challenges identified: lack of funding for NPAs and partner organisations; climate change; changing demographics of incumbent populations and development pressure - consensus on primary transport challenge: the inadequacy of public transport services within National Parks - car use second extant issue – majority outlined issues to be periodic and limited to certain locations at certain times of the year
THE POLICY STREAM	- existing transport planning and policy approaches employed in National Parks - consensus/divergence on transport policy objectives - success of current transport planning approaches in meeting transport objectives - perspectives on concept of National Parks as locations for experimental/innovative transport schemes - favoured future transport planning approaches in National Park settings	- transport planning in UK National Parks continues to favour the use of incentives over disincentives - NPAs themselves are largely limited to a lobbying/advisory role, working in partnership with local transport authorities to deliver transport initiatives - Public transport services marketing and information provision most widely utilised transport initiative; subsidisation of public transport services pursued by smaller number of NPAs – financial commitments vary according to priorities of NPA members - National Park transport policies aligned to three key objectives – reducing car use/increasing modal shift; increasing accessibility to public transport services; and projecting a 'green' image of the National Parks - consensus of limited effectiveness in meeting objectives should existing policy and planning approaches continue as the status quo - widespread theoretical support for the use of National Parks as centre for transport innovation - Transport Officers' favoured future transport planning approaches were all public transport based; no appetite for the use of disincentives as part of wider transport strategy
THE POLITICAL STREAM	- the role, if any, of the local mood on policy development - the role, if any, of organised political forces in the policy sector - the impact, if any, of existing local government arrangements on the policy process	- competing objectives of National Park Authorities, local transport authorities and other local government organisations deemed to limit what can be achieved in the transport policy sector - Local transport authorities seen to direct funding to urban centres within their jurisdiction, leaving National Parks as the 'poor relation' - Transport often afforded a low priority by NPAs themselves – board members direct policy and funding priorities, often to the detriment of transport policy funding and development - Politicised nature of local government constraints in pursuing policy measures deemed unpopular/controversial with the general public
POLICY ENTREPRENEURS	- the role and influence, if any, of policy entrepreneurs in the sector	- no entrepreneurs identified - perception of risk averse culture at local level, therefore central Government involvement favoured to provide finance and impetus for public transport projects (no appetite for integration of incentives and disincentives.)

Chapter Seven: The New Forest National Park – An Overview

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses documentary analysis to provide a contextual overview of the first sub-case study area, the New Forest National Park. Key geographical, demographic and historical information is presented in section 7.2. Section 7.3 provides an overview of the literature which forms the basis for the rest of the chapter. Key transport policy documents and quantitative data arising from visitor and resident surveys are used to conduct a preliminary analysis of the policy sector. The MS framework provides the structure to this analysis. Therefore, section 7.4 considers evidence in light of the problem stream. The policy stream is discussed in section 7.5, whilst 7.6 examines data in light of the political stream. The chapter is summarised in section 7.7.

7.2 THE NEW FOREST NATIONAL PARK

This section provides an introduction to the New Forest in terms of its geographical, transport, historical and political dimensions. Also provided is a description of the route to National Park designation for the New Forest.

7.2.1 Geography

The New Forest National Park covers an area of 220 square miles and is located within the county of Hampshire on the central south coast of England. It is the second smallest National Park in the UK, and the most densely populated. Immediately adjacent to the National Park, and in stark contrast to it, are the built up and expanding urban areas of Southampton and Portsmouth to the east, and Bournemouth, Christchurch and Poole to the west.

7.2.2 Transport infrastructure

The road network in the New Forest spans the whole range of road classifications, from motorway to single track lanes. Running east-west through the National Park, the A31 links Bournemouth and south-west England with Southampton and London via the M27 motorway. The road severs the park in two, and carries up to 77,000 vehicles daily (NFNPA Draft Management Plan, 2008). The A337 runs south from the M27 to the coastal towns of the New Forest district, and carries up to 13,000 vehicles daily through the centre of the National Park (NFNPA Draft Management Plan, 2008). The A35 from Christchurch to Southampton meets the A337 at Lyndhurst in the heart of the National Park, leading to frequent congestion in this location. Hampshire's second Local Transport Plan (LTP2) reports of congestion in many New Forest village centres during the summer months when visitor numbers are at their peak (Hampshire County Council, 2006).

The New Forest National Park is relatively well served by rail, and is home to four stopping stations. The busiest of these is Brockenhurst, located on the London – Bournemouth line, with more than 130 stopping trains per day. Rail services offer direct access to Bournemouth, Southampton and London Waterloo. Hampshire's LTP2 reports that bus service coverage is sparse and in decline. This is deemed to reflect the area's predominantly rural nature with many residents located away from accessible bus and rail services. As a consequence, car ownership amongst the local population is high (Hampshire County Council, 2006).

7.2.3 Local governance

The New Forest forms one of a number of districts within Hampshire, which, with the exception of the unitary authorities of Southampton and Portsmouth, has a two-tier system of local governance, comprising of county and district councils. The headquarters of Hampshire County Council are located in Winchester, north of the National Park, whilst the New Forest District Council offices are in Lyndhurst, within the National Park boundary. The New Forest National Park Authority also forms part of the local government framework in Hampshire. They are responsible for a range of functions allied to their objectives of conservation and enhancement, and the promotion of understanding and enjoyment of the National Park. In addition, they are also the local planning authority for the part of the New Forest covered by the National Park.

7.2.4 Statutory transport responsibilities in the New Forest National Park

Hampshire County Council are the highways and transport authority for the New Forest District, which includes the National Park. As Hampshire has a two-tier local government system, different transport functions are undertaken by different local authorities. The main transport responsibilities of each tier of local government in Hampshire are shown in Table 7.1.

Of particular significance from Table 7.1 is the breadth of transport responsibilities of the County Council in contrast to the NPA. In transport terms, the NPA's duties extend only to development control, marketing and possible subsidisation of leisure and tourism orientated public transport services, and the management of off-street parking facilities. The vast majority of transport planning and policy responsibility is therefore maintained by the highways and transport authority, in this case, Hampshire County Council.

Table 7.1 – Transport related functions of local government in the New Forest (Source: Draft New Forest National Park Management Plan, 2008)

Function	County Council	District Council	NPA
Highway Authority	✓		
Transport Planning	✓		
Passenger Transport Subsidies	✓		
Community Transport	✓	✓	
On Street Car Parking	✓		
Rights of Way	✓		
Education	✓		
Social Services	✓		
Economic Development	✓	✓	
Development Control		✓	✓
Leisure and Tourism		✓	✓
Taxi Licensing		✓	
Concessionary Transport Fares		✓	
Off Street Car Parking		✓	✓

7.2.5 History

The entire character of the New Forest is shaped by the history of natural and human activity. It is therefore necessary to briefly examine key periods in the history of the New Forest, as historical events and legislation still influence the administration, practices and operation of the Forest today.

In 1079, William the Conqueror commanded that the New Forest should become his exclusive hunting preserve. At this time, strict Forest Laws were introduced in order to protect the animals of the hunt and safeguard their natural environment. Officers were appointed by the Crown to ensure that the Forest Laws were obeyed, and Forest Courts established to oversee its administration. Amongst the appointed officials were the New Forest Verderers, who acted as magistrates and coroners at this time (Small, 1987). The implementation of Forest Law was made at the expense of New Forest incumbents, who were permitted to continue their farming only if they adhered to new restrictions imposed by the Crown. One such constraint was that farmers were forbidden to enclose their land, in order to prevent fencing interfering with the free run of deer and boar. As a concession to Forest dwellers, the Crown decreed that their domestic animals were allowed to graze by common right, and browse as they pleased throughout the Forest.

Over the centuries, as royal hunting rights became less important the Forest Laws and the role of the Verderers that administered them died out. However, in 1877 the passing of the New Forest Act saw the re-establishment of the historical Court of Verderers in a new guise. Where previously they oversaw the administration of the New Forest on behalf of the Crown, the 1877 Act empowered them as a conservation body with powers to manage the pastoral interest of the Forest, and crucially, control development (Drummond, 1987). This is a role which continues into the twenty first century.

7.2.5.1 Historical influence today

The importance of nature conservation and the need to protect the unique heritage of the Forest is being increasingly recognised and embraced by different organisations involved in the management and working of the Forest. This is important to note since there are a number of unique traditions and administrative practices still in use today which influence the public policy process in the New Forest. It is necessary for the reader to be aware of these.

Management of Crown Lands: the role of the Forestry Commission

Management of the New Forest has been in the hands of the Crown since its adoption by William the Conqueror. In the 19th century, control was passed to the Government who managed it first through the Office of Woods. In 1924, responsibility for land management was passed to the Forestry Commission, in whose hands it has remained ever since. With the exception of privately owned land, the Forestry Commission administers and has overall responsibility for land management within the New Forest perambulation. Their role in the context of the New Forest is therefore one of particular importance (New Forest National Park Authority, 2005). The head of the Forestry Commission in the New Forest is the Deputy Surveyor who was interviewed as part of this thesis.

The Verderers of the New Forest

As noted, the Court of Verderers was re-established through the passing of the 1877 New Forest Act. Ten New Forest Verderers are in post today. The Verderers maintain an important and influential presence in the New Forest. They are responsible for ensuring that the traditional life, beauty and unique natural history of the New Forest is not spoilt. Central to this role is their power to prohibit any major development which they deem to be detrimental to the New Forest. This includes any significant transport infrastructure projects such as road building. A New Forest Verderer was interviewed as part of this thesis.

7.2.6 Designation of National Park Status

The New Forest was not one of the National Parks immediately designated following the passing of the 1949 National Park and Access to the Countryside Act. This was due largely to

the fact that the Forest was seen to be already adequately cared for, as a result of the management of Crown Lands by the Forestry Commission, and the powers awarded to the Verderers under the terms of the various New Forest acts (DEFRA, 2005b).

However, in 1998, citing increasing development pressure, and heavy and increasing recreational use, the Countryside Commission (later the Countryside Agency, and now Natural England) reported that more permanent protection measures for the New Forest should be considered. They stated the need for 'better administrative arrangements and that, whilst the Forest was of National Park quality and could be so designated, the arrangements under the 1949 and 1995 [Environment] Acts were not ideal; its special needs would be better served by tailor-made legislation' (Countryside Commission, 1998).

Note here that the Countryside Commission did not consider the creation of a National Park Authority (which under the terms of the 1995 Environment Act statutorily follows the designation of a National Park) as the best management option for the New Forest. Instead, they supported the designation of the New Forest as equivalent to a National Park, but with a tailor-made authority with powers, membership and purposes specific to the Forest.

This approach was favoured on the grounds that legislation would be more slim line and could be built on existing accepted arrangements, thereby better reflecting the special local circumstances of the New Forest. Such special local circumstances, as outlined by the Countryside Agency in 2002 (p. 7) and described in section 7.2.4 above, included:

- the statutory responsibilities of the New Forest Verderers and the Forestry Commission under the New Forest Acts;
- the importance of commoning, vital in shaping and maintaining the characteristic landscape and ecology of the New Forest, and a key element of the cultural heritage and economy of the area;
- the large area of land designated for its nature conservation value; and
- the large area of Crown Land, which is vested in the Minister of Agriculture and managed on his/her behalf by the Forestry Commission.

Designation of the New Forest as a National Park was the Countryside Commission's second, but not preferred, option. Concerns of the Countryside Agency about the designation of National Park status were set out in their 1999 report entitled 'Designation of the New Forest as a National Park' and read as follows:

- designation would overlap with existing legislative arrangements for the Forest but would not repeal the New Forest Acts nor remove or amend the existing statutory

arrangements or bodies. This overlap could lead to duplication of responsibilities, e.g. in recreation management, or even operational conflicts;

- local authorities would have a majority representation on the Authority, with the Forestry Commissioners and the Verderers not formally represented;
- planning powers would transfer from the local authorities to the Authority;
- there would be likely local opposition to the concept/name of a National Park, viewed as imposing a top down and standard solution on a unique place;
- there would be no explicit primary purpose to maintain the unique grazing regime and its associated culture and heritage;
- the administration and the designation process would be costly.

Despite the Countryside Commission's preference for the creation of a bespoke National Park Authority, the UK Government stated that they would not bring forward special legislation that would have granted equivalent National Park status to the New Forest. That is, they were not prepared to accept the concept of a tailor-made administrative authority. Instead, the Government asked the Countryside Commission to consider designation of the New Forest as a National Park under the 1949 National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act.

Following a public enquiry, the final confirmation of the New Forest's National Park status was made on the 1st of March 2005. The New Forest National Park Authority was established with limited powers on 1st April 2005, before taking up its full statutory functions on 1st April 2006.

7.2.6.1 Response to National Park Designation

The local response to the successful designation of National Park status for the New Forest was mixed. Opposition on the whole was not centred on the designation of National Park status as such, but was allied to the statutory creation of the New Forest National Park Authority which arose as a result. Politically, the move was opposed by both Hampshire County Council and the New Forest District Council. In addition, the two New Forest MPs (Conservative) made public their opposition to National Park designation, as did the New Forest Verderers and local business and tourism groups. The move to designation was supported primarily by environmental and conservation groups such as Natural England, the RSPB, and Friends of the Earth.

7.2.7 Strategic challenges facing the New Forest National Park

The draft New Forest National Park Management Plan (2008) outlines five key challenges which the NPA would like to see addressed. These are:

- Climate change – addressing the impacts of climate change by implementing practical mechanisms which will help adaptation to it. Examples include increasing defence of protected habitats and distinctive landscapes of the park and restricting development in areas of high flood risk.

- Support for land management – provide a range of support mechanisms to those involved in land management which is sustainable and productive, in order to ensure long time viability of farming, commoning and land management.

- Effective management of the growing impacts of traffic – addressing the impacts of car domination in honeypot villages and reducing noise and visual impacts of traffic in the most sensitive areas of the park.

- Conservation of the unique and rural nature of the National Park – protecting the different elements that combine to form the rural distinctiveness of the National Park i.e. local landscape and archaeological features, building design, settlement patterns and boundary features.

- Minimising the impact of external development pressures – protecting the park from threats caused by expanding populations in the vicinity of the park, principally arising from forecast increases in the housing stock.

Having presented an overview of relevant contextual data, the next section provides an overview of the literature used to inform this documentary analysis.

7.3 INFORMATION SOURCES FOR THE DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

The documentary analysis will be structured in terms of the three streams of the MS framework – problem, policies and politics. The aim is to provide a contextual baseline of information that will aid in the evaluation of the potential for policy change in the policy sector.

The documentary analysis draws largely from the following sources:

- Hampshire's second Local Transport Plan 2006 – 2011 (LTP2) and the New Forest Transport Strategy contained within it;
- Draft New Forest National Park Management Plan (2008);
- The 2004/2005 New Forest visitor survey undertaken by the Forestry Commission;
- The 2007 'Future Matters' consultation undertaken jointly by the New Forest National Park Authority and the New Forest District Council.

Hampshire's LTP2 is the current 'active' document directing long term policy for the area. The LTP2 focuses mainly on transport planning between the period 2006-2011, but was developed against the background of a longer term vision derived from the regional plans of south-east and south-west England. Contained within Hampshire's LTP2 is a specific transport strategy for the New Forest National Park area.

Whilst not the transport or highway authority for the New Forest National Park, the New Forest NPA's draft National Park Management Plan gave significant attention to transport related issues. Key elements of the plan will be cited as appropriate.

As a precursor to the development of the Local Development Framework (LDF) and the draft National Park Management Plan, the New Forest National Park Authority and New Forest District Council consulted residents and businesses on a number of key subject areas, including transport. This project was named the 'Future Matters' consultation and took place in 2007. A total of 146 organisations and 442 residents were involved in the consultation process (New Forest National Park Authority, 2007). Headline transport findings will be discussed where appropriate.

The last comprehensive visitor study in the New Forest was undertaken over the course of 2004/2005 (Forestry Commission, 2006). Study methods included 3838 face to face visitor interviews at locations across the New Forest, site observation surveys, and 2164 telephone interviews with local residents. Travel and transport characteristics formed a central tenet of the study, headline results of which are also reported as appropriate.

Sections 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 will now present analysis in light of the three streams of the MS framework.

7.4 THE PROBLEM STREAM

7.4.1 Problem awareness at the institutional level

Kingdon (1984) asserts that for policy to change, there must be recognition that a particular problem exists. Both the LTP2 and Draft National Park Management Plan document in great detail the transport challenges facing the New Forest National Park. In both cases, the impacts of car use combined with a lack of adequate public transport services, were identified as areas of primary concern. Car use impacts were deemed to manifest themselves in terms of congestion in village centres and by undermining the special qualities of the National Park. Table 7.2 shows the primary transport challenges identified in the LTP2.

Table 7.2 - New Forest Area Transport Strategy: identified problems
(Source: Hampshire Local Transport Plan 2006 – 2011)

Issue	Context
1) Volume of visitor traffic	Volume of visitor traffic undermines unique environment of New Forest during periods of peak tourism demand. Particularly acute in honeypot locations.
2) Localised village congestion	Lyndhurst village suffers from congestion at signalised junction of A35 and A337. The village is a designated Air Quality Management Area as a result.
3) Development pressure	Substantial new housing developments planned for the south-east and south-west regions close to the National Park. Additional visitor traffic inevitable.
4) Poor access to local services	Existing public transport services do not allow for adequate access to essential local services for those without access to a private car.
5) Animal casualties	New Forest livestock particularly vulnerable to road traffic accidents due to prevalence for unfenced roads in the New Forest.
6) HGV impacts	HGVs using unsuitable roads in the New Forest in an attempt to save time or money by avoiding more suitable routes which may be circuitous.
7) Community severance	The A326 in the south of the New Forest provides a particular barrier to access for pedestrians, cyclists and the mobility impaired.
8) Regional airport growth	Planned expansion of Bournemouth Airport may lead to traffic growth, with through-traffic in the New Forest increasing as a result.

These findings were replicated almost ad verbatim in the draft National Park Management Plan. This would indicate therefore that both local authorities maintain a well-informed and accurate assessment of the transport challenges which face the National Park both now and in the future. Such strong consensus was not demonstrated by residents or visitors, as will be examined below.

7.4.2 Problem awareness amongst New Forest residents and visitors

During the 2004/2005 New Forest visitor survey, interview participants were asked of any underlying factors that had served to spoil their enjoyment of the New Forest on the occasion of their visit. In total, 4% of respondents reported that bad weather had detracted from their visit, whilst 3% considered litter to have undermined their trip. Only 2% of respondents (90 from a total of 3837) reported that traffic congestion had detracted from their enjoyment of the visit.

In addition to the site interviews, 2164 telephone interviews with local residents were also undertaken. In slight contrast, the telephone interviews yielded 11% of respondents citing

traffic congestion as problematic. This was the most frequent issue identified, followed by litter (8%), overcrowding (7%) and bad weather (5%). A lack of car parking was identified as an issue by (2%) of respondents. Whilst these results show slightly heightened perceptions of traffic problems, the figure of 11% does not seem hugely significant. Again, perceptions of traffic problems amongst residents can be adjudged to be low.

As part of the 2007 Future Matters consultation, residents and businesses were presented with a range of future transport challenges to face the New Forest National Park. They were then asked to comment on the importance of each. As noted in Table 7.3 below, 96% of organisations and 91% of residents who took part in the consultation stated that challenges arising from forecast future housing and development growth were important or very important to them. Whilst similar percentages of organisations (95%) deemed the promotion of alternatives to private car use as being important or very important, a smaller percentage of residents (81%) felt this to be the case.

Table 7.3 – The importance of future transport challenges
(Source: New Forest National Park Authority, 2007)

Issue	% of Organisations	% of Individuals
	who said issue was 'very important' or 'important'	
Meeting the challenge of future growth	96%	91%
Promoting sustainable methods of transport - alternatives to the private car	95%	81%
Reducing road traffic accidents involving animals	80%	83%
Improving access to services and town centres through public transport improvements	67%	67%

With the findings relating to the problem stream now presented, the next section will consider data relevant to the policy stream.

7.5 THE POLICY STREAM

7.5.1 Policy preferences at the institutional level

The policy aspirations outlined in Hampshire's LTP2 differ markedly from those of the NPA in their draft National Park Management Plan. The NPA aspire to bold traffic and demand management proposals, alongside considerable public transport investment and improvements. There is no reference to such policies in the Hampshire LTP2 submission. As the document states, the outline transport strategy is one based on education and

information, not demand management or vehicle restraint. Hampshire County Council's response to the transport proposals in the draft National Park Management Plan was not positive.

Environmental protection, visitor management and traffic impact reduction are central to the transport vision of Hampshire County Council. As stated in the document itself, the strategy 'primarily focuses on measures to manage traffic routeing, affecting both standard traffic and HGVs. This will be achieved through the implementation of weight limits where necessary and practical, and through signing strategies to influence the route taken, particularly by visitors, towards Lyndhurst and south of the New Forest…The emerging long-term strategy aims to protect the special environmental qualities of the New Forest area by addressing issues of sign clutter and reducing the number of animal collisions' (Hampshire County Council, 2006, p. 393).

Whilst it is not the intention here to provide an in-depth assessment of the LTP2 document, some consideration must be given to the policies it proposes in order to meet the transport vision. Policy aspirations are modest, with no commitment to any element of vehicle restraint, despite the acknowledgement of problems allied to traffic volumes and car use. Transport planning horizons with regard to public transport initiatives are also underwhelming. The LTP2 commits to supporting the New Forest Open Top bus tour as it moves from a two-hourly to an hourly service. Hampshire County Council are also funding the purchase of two new vehicles for the operation, but commitment to leisure based public transport initiatives ends there. There is little in the document to suggest that protagonists' visions for a new wave of transport planning approaches for the National Parks are being realised in the New Forest.

By contrast, the draft National Park Management Plan contains an outline vision for transport planning in the National Park, alongside key objectives and preferred policy options. This is demonstrated in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 – Draft New Forest National Park Management Plan: Transport Vision, Objectives and Policies
(Source: New Forest National Park Authority, 2008)

The Long Term Vision: *To reduce the impacts of traffic on the special qualities of the National Park and provide a range of real and sustainable transport alternatives*	
Theme	**Policy aspirations**
Improve the quality of life in villages by reducing traffic and giving greater priority to pedestrian, cyclist and community use; and develop a safe and integrated network of public and community transport	Reduce traffic domination in village centres → *pedestrian and cycling improvements* → *better car park management* → *speed limit reductions* → *traffic management* Develop an integrated public and non-car transport system for visitors and local people → *better linkage between villages, tourism destinations, and accommodation providers*
Create a distinctive and different experience when travelling within the National Park which clearly indicates its special and protected status	Innovative approaches to traffic management in the National Park → *speed limit reductions* → *road narrowing* → *boundary signs* → *changes in road classification*
Reduce the impacts of road traffic on the tranquility and environmental quality of the National Park through traffic and demand management, road design and landscaping	Demand management → *road user pricing* Traffic management → *road closures* → *car-free zones* → *car parking space reallocation* → *weight and width restrictions*
Reduce the number of animal accidents on unfenced Forest Roads	Education and enforcement → *awareness raising information campaigns* → *improved warning signs* → *better enforcement of speed limits*
Influence regional and sub-regional transport policies and development proposals with transport implications to minimise impacts, and, where possible, achieve benefits for the National Park	Development of closer working relationships with local and regional authorities Forge a clear and accepted role for the NPA in the national and regional planning context

Whilst there is significant synergy between the NPA's objectives for transport, and those outlined by Hampshire County Council, there is a striking difference in the policy aspirations of the two organisations. The NPA propose the consideration of a bold approach to traffic management to possibly incorporate road user pricing, road closures, car free zones, car park management and highway amendments. As outlined below, the plan was not well received by the local public.

7.5.2 Policy preferences in the public sphere

The draft New Forest National Park Management plan states that 'the contentious nature and cost of tackling road traffic issues has resulted in little major action over the past 10 years. Far-reaching solutions are now needed at the local level if traffic issues are to be tackled seriously and the vision of a National Park which is not car-dominated is to be achieved' (NFNPA draft National Park Management Plan, 2008, p. 85). The vehicle restraint elements of this statement have led to considerable public and political fallout, with an overwhelmingly negative response to elements of these proposals. The public consultation period for the draft plan was extended due to public demand, and a number of public meetings held by the NPA in order to further clarify their position.

Respondents in the 2007 Future Measures consultation were consulted as to their preferred choice of transport planning to be employed in the New Forest. Public transport improvements were identified as the favoured transport planning approach amongst both organisations and individuals. Other popular transport planning approaches included co-ordination of car, cycle and public transport routes and services, and lorry routing restrictions within the Forest.

At the opposite end of the transport planning spectrum, road closures and road pricing were shown to be the two least favoured instruments amongst both groups. Road capacity increases in terms of the A31 also received less than 50% support from both groups. The 'do nothing' approach was supported by less than one in five organisations, and exactly one in four respondents. Findings are presented in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 – Attitudes towards use of a variety of transport planning measures in the New Forest National Park

(Source: New Forest National Park Authority, 2007)

Transport Planning Approach	% of Organisations supporting following transport planning measures	% of Individuals supporting following transport planning measures
Public transport improvements	91%	82%
Better co-ordination of car, cycle and public transport routes and services	84%	75%
Lorry routing restrictions	78%	81%
Discourage use of high polluting vehicles through financial disincentives	72%	65%
Car free visitor initiatives	72%	65%
Speed limit reductions	63%	51%
Promote car sharing	55%	45%
Increase the capacity of the A31 in order to take pressure off other roads	36%	41%
Selective road closures	29%	23%
Road pricing	20%	22%
Do nothing	17%	25%

The results above show significant majority support for incentive based transport planning instruments. No such support is prevalent for the use of traffic restraint measures. This is in contrast to the New Forest NPA's policy aspirations, but in line with those presented by Hampshire County Council in their LTP2 submission. In addition, Hampshire County Council's LTP2 reports on a small New Forest residents' travel survey, Transpol, which was undertaken in 2003. This outlined residents' top priorities for transport improvements:

- Road and pavement improvements;
- Measures to reduce the impact of HGV's; and
- Development of school and workplace travel plans.

Perceptions of residents' favoured transport planning approaches include no reference to public transport or accessibility improvements. Additionally, their preferred approaches cannot be seen to be seeking to manage demand for private car use, intuition therefore suggesting that it is not one of their primary concerns. Indeed, the preferred approach of road improvements, though undefined in any further way, may well reflect resident desire to facilitate network improvements for motorists.

With data relevant to the policy stream now presented, the following section will consider evidence to inform the political stream.

7.6 THE POLITICAL STREAM

The political streams extends the MS Framework into the public domain, and considers the extent to which public opinion and political arrangements influence policy development. The visitor and resident surveys previously discussed do nothing to reveal a perception of a 'mood for change' with regard to New Forest transport policy. The importance of public opinion in the policy process is further reinforced when considering the visitor profiles revealed during the 2004/2005 visitor survey. These are outlined below.

7.6.1 Public influence in the policy process

Table 7.6 shows the classification of visitor types interviewed during the visitor survey. A day visitor from home was defined as a resident of the National Park, or someone living within five miles of its boundary. Day visitors from elsewhere were people making a day trip from anywhere outside the New Forest, and staying visitors were those staying away from home for at least one night, whether in the New Forest or elsewhere.

Table 7.6 – Classification of New Forest visitor type
(Source: Forestry Commission, 2006)

Visitor Type	Total (%)
Day visitor from home	35
Day visitor from elsewhere	25
Staying visitors	40

Note here the significance of the day leisure market, with a combined 60% of visitors making a single day trip to the Forest. Also interesting to note is the significance of visitor trips from home (35%). That is, over a third of people interviewed, and therefore deemed visitors, were actually residents of the New Forest, or located very close to its boundary.

Of all the day visitors from elsewhere, over half (52%) of people had travelled to the New Forest from elsewhere in Hampshire. A further 29% were Dorset residents, while 7% came from home locations in Wiltshire. Therefore, only 12% of non-National Park resident day trippers had come from outside the boundaries of Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset. That is, the overwhelming majority of non-resident day trippers were located within easy reach of the New Forest National Park.

It is entirely possible then that local politicians may be vulnerable in the face of public opposition to certain policy proposals. Evidence presented in the previous section showed public attitudes to transport planning measures were reflected in the composition of the Hampshire LTP2. There was also a massive public outcry against the traffic restraint ideas floated in the draft New Forest National Park Management Plan.

Of further significance are the transport characteristics of those surveyed in 2004/2005. Table 7.7 shows the breakdown of transport mode used by each visitor type on their journey to the site of the interview.

Table 7.7 – Transport mode choice by survey respondent
(Source: Forestry Commission, 2006)

Visitor Type	Car (%)	Train (%)	Coach (%)	Bus (%)	Bike (%)	Other (%)
Day visitor from home	88	1	0	2	8	1
Day visitor from elsewhere	94	2	1	1	1	1
Staying visitors	95	2	1	1	0	1
AVERAGE	**92**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**

The results present a strong predilection for car use by all types of visitor, including New Forest residents. Public transport usage in terms of bus or rail was extremely low. To further understand the motivations of car users, each were asked whether they had considered using any alternative mode of transport by which to undertake their journey. These results are presented in Table 7.8 .

Table 7.8 – Car users' consideration of alternative transport modes
(Source: Forestry Commission, 2006)

	TOTAL (%)	Day visitor - home (%)	Day visitor - elsewhere (%)	Staying visitor - New Forest (%)	Staying visitor - elsewhere (%)
YES – considered alternative	9	*13*	*6*	*9*	*5*
NO – did not consider alternative	91	*87*	*94*	*90*	*94*
If YES, what alternative mode was considered? (%)					
Cycle		*48*	*30*	*33*	*26*
Walking		*34*	*7*	*18*	*15*
Train		*1*	*23*	*18*	*6*
Bus		*3*	*5*	*4*	*26*
Horse		*5*	*0*	*0*	*0*
Other		*1*	*11*	*2*	*0*

Table 7.8 demonstrates extremely strong attitudes towards the use of the private car amongst visitors (and residents) in the New Forest. The results suggest that even getting people to *think* about the use of alternative transport modes in the New Forest presents a serious challenge.

7.6.2 Institutional relationships

A further political element to consider is the unpopularity of National Park designation, and in particular the creation of the New Forest NPA in the first place. This was viewed as an over-heavy and bureaucratic solution, and was opposed by local authorities, the New Forest's two MPs, and tourism and business organisations. This may be seen to negatively affect the promotion of transport policy debate, particularly in light of the reaction to the release of the draft National Park Management Plan.

This completes the analysis of findings relevant to the political stream. Drawing all the relevant findings together, section 7.7 now provides a conclusion to this chapter.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This section has provided initial commentary and observation relating to the New Forest transport policy sector. The three streams of the MS framework have been used to structure the analysis. Table 7.9 overleaf summarises relevant findings and points of interest, which are examined further here.

The New Forest is a small National Park, though it maintains a relatively large population and has the highest population density of all the UK's National Parks as a result. Though the National Park itself is administered and managed by the National Park Authority, the county and district councils of Hampshire and the New Forest maintain significant interests also. History still influences and shapes many administrative arrangements, and groups such as the New Forest Verderers and Commoners maintain noteworthy roles in policy processes. The designation of National Park status, and subsequent creation of the New Forest National Park Authority was not well supported in the region.

Both the NPA and Hampshire County Council demonstrate synergy with regard to the acknowledgement of transport challenges in the New Forest. It is possible then to tentatively assert that problem recognition pertaining to key aspects of transport in the New Forest, at least at the local authority level, exists to the extent that decision makers feel something should be done about it. Synergy exists between Hampshire County Council and the New Forest National Park Authority on what the problems are. The public perception of transport problems does not seem as comprehensive. Only 2% of respondents to the 2004/2005 visitor survey felt vehicle traffic served to undermine their visit. No concern as to public transport provision was raised. Only 11% of residents surveyed at this time considered congestion to be problematic.

The policy stream primarily concerns the generation of policy proposals designed to address identified transport problems. The draft National Park Management Plan proposes a bold list of policy aspirations relating to instruments such as road pricing, road closures, car

parking management, car free zones, and public transport improvements. Meanwhile, resident surveys revealed overwhelming opposition to any transport planning measures aimed directly at vehicle restraint or access restrictions. Public transport improvements and driver education, information and marketing campaigns were the preferred policy options for this group. Public attitudes were perhaps reflected in the Hampshire LTP2, which despite acknowledging transport problems in line with the NPA, proposed a transport strategy based primarily on driver education and marketing campaigns, alongside modest public transport improvements. There is no commitment in the document to any element of vehicle restraint, or innovations in public transport service provision. Indeed, despite acknowledging tourist based traffic as the primary driver of transport issues, the LTP2 proposed very little action in terms of leisure based public transport provision.

It is possible to assert then that there is significant divergence between key members of the policy community on the best approach to transport planning and policy for the New Forest.

Findings in the political stream illustrate some of the political barriers facing change protagonists in the New Forest National Park transport planning field. There is a situation in which the majority of recreational visitors in the New Forest are local people, who display strong attitudes to car use and lack consideration of the use of other modes. With this in mind, the public and political fall out following the release of the draft National Park Management Plan is not unpredictable. Neither too the modest LTP2 submission from the County Council which follows much more closely with public opinion at large. Residents of the New Forest showed their disdain for the theoretical imposition of restraint measures, and it is certain that local politicians will have taken notice of this. This must surely have serious implications for future transport policy development in the New Forest.

These issues will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter, which documents findings of the New Forest research interviews undertaken as part of the case study method.

Table 7.9 – Preliminary findings of documentary analysis relevant to MS framework

MS framework Composition	Documentary Analysis: Relevant Findings
The Problem Stream	- Strategic transport documents demonstrate consensus on transport issues - Impacts of car use, poor public transport provision, and animal deaths primary issues - Issues to be exacerbated in the event of forecast future housing growth in the south-east and south-west regions - Less public concern about traffic congestion, but 'do nothing' transport planning approach rejected by residents and business - High levels of car use amongst visitors. Little consideration of use of alternative modes
The Policy Stream	- Hampshire County Council and New Forest National Park Authority division on preferred transport planning approaches - National Park Authority aspire to demand management, traffic management, and innovative public transport approaches; Hampshire County Council propose education, information and marketing campaigns. No element of vehicle restraint - Widespread public opposition to vehicle restraint measures. LTP2 submission more in line with public opinion
The Political Stream	- Transport policy proposals in draft New Forest National Park Management Plan publicly and politically opposed - Majority of recreational users in New Forest local based – significant influence at ballot box - Tourism particularly important to local economy - Concerns about existing administrative arrangements in New Forest. NPA publicly and politically unpopular

Chapter Eight: Transport and the New Forest National Park – Stakeholder Perspectives

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents interview findings and analysis relating to the New Forest National Park sub case study. It is structured as follows. Section 8.2 focuses on the problem stream, and documents how transport issues are viewed and defined by key stakeholders. In section 8.3, closer examination of the policy stream is undertaken. Section 8.4 provides an assessment of the political stream. Section 8.5 assesses what role, if any, exists for policy entrepreneurs in the context of the policy sector, and what effect this has in terms of the policy process. Finally, section 8.6 aims to summarise the existence or otherwise of policy windows through which transport policy change in the New Forest may ever be achieved.

The chapter now continues with the assessment of the problem stream in the context of transport and the New Forest National Park.

8.2 THE PROBLEM STREAM

For policy to change, people must first be convinced that a problem exists which needs to be addressed. Kingdon (1984) asserts that problems come to people's attention in one of three ways: focusing events, indicators or feedback. This section will examine how respondents come to view and define strategic and transport problems in the New Forest National Park, providing an initial insight into agenda setting processes. Table 8.1 summarises the components of the problem stream and outlines the research areas this section seeks to address.

Table 8.1 - Problem stream components

Problem Stream Composition	Areas for research
- Focusing events - Indicators - Feedback	- the outlined strategic and transport problems in the New Forest National Park - how problems are defined and the extent to which they align with Kingdon's three mechanisms for problem definition - if the way problems are defined is seen to have any influence on the elevation of one issue over another on the agenda

8.2.1 Overview of key research findings

Prior to in-depth analysis, an overview of the key research findings are presented in Table 8.2. This is a tabulated review of the interview responses received to the two questions designed to inform the problem stream analysis.

Table 8.2 – Overview of key findings relative to the problem stream

CONTEXT	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE	HOW MEASURED
The most important issues currently facing the New Forest National Park	Environmental impacts of recreational demand and population growth on the National Park	6	Feedback
	Threats to the economic vitality of the New Forest arising from National Park designation	4	Focusing event
	Maintaining the traditions and heritage of the New Forest National Park	4	Feedback
	Climate change	3	Focusing event
The primary issues with respect to transport in the context of the New Forest National Park	The public transport network is inadequate	10	Indicators
	Animal accidents involving New Forest livestock	8	Focusing event
	The externalities of car use		
	Noise pollution / loss of tranquillity	8	Feedback
	Traffic volumes on main roads	6	Feedback
	Congestion in Lyndhurst village	6	Focusing event
	Traffic speed	3	Feedback
	HGV usage	3	Feedback
	Visual impacts	2	Feedback

The table above provides a simple guide to the issues which will be discussed in this section of the chapter. Whilst transport and the potential for transport policy change forms the research interest of this thesis, it is necessary to document some of the wider issues against which this debate plays out. Transport is a single policy area amongst numerous others within the policy arena. Transport policy debates in the New Forest should therefore not be considered in isolation from wider strategic issues. The next section provides a brief

discussion of the cited strategic challenges in the New Forest, identifying implications for the transport policy debate where appropriate.

8.2.2 Outlined strategic challenges

Four strategic challenges were identified by interview respondents. These were:

- The environmental impacts of recreational demand and population growth on the New Forest National Park (6 responses);
- Threats to the economic vitality of the New Forest arising from National Park designation (4 responses);
- Maintaining the traditions and heritage of the New Forest National Park (4 responses); and
- Climate change (3 responses).

A brief discussion of each will be undertaken here in order to identify any influence that these events may be seen to bring to the transport debate.

Forecast increases in recreational demand and tourism growth

Six stakeholders, each with primarily environmental interests, outlined the biggest challenge to face the New Forest, currently and in the future, as the issues posed in terms of recreational pressure and increasing demand for the use of the National Park. This was outlined as being inextricably linked with forecast future population growth and housing development as set out in the south-east and south-west regional plans for the next twenty years. Simply, more people in the vicinity of the National Park means more pressure for recreation in the New Forest, at the cost of the local environment.

As will be outlined below, socio-economic stakeholders feared the stifling of this demand by the environmental agenda. Environmental stakeholders outlined the direct opposite. Simply, a fear that demand continues unabated and unmanaged, to the cost of the New Forest's unique nature and special qualities. One interviewee considered the result at some point in the future to represent 'death by a thousand cuts'. Further illustration was provided by three respondents, who each independently referred to the ultimate downgrading of the National Park to nothing more than a theme park, an area undistinguishable from hundreds of others throughout the country. Indeed, there was real concern amongst this group of respondents that ever increasing recreational demand has already begun to, and will continue to, undermine the National Park 'product'.

New Forest National Park designation

Four respondents – all of whom can reasonably be described as economically minded – cited the designation of the New Forest as a National Park as a strategic challenge to be addressed. This assertion was made on the basis that the conservation and environmental duties of the NPA serve to threaten tourism growth and undermine economic vitality. Specific concern was raised that the duties of the New Forest NPA do not align with those of other statutory authorities in the policy sector, therefore making collaboration between delivery agencies difficult.

Maintaining the traditions and heritage of the New Forest National Park

Four respondents outlined the need to maintain the traditions and heritage of the New Forest. Such examples include the role of commoning (the right for residents to turn out domestic animals and livestock onto the New Forest), and a desire to keep the New Forest as free from fencing as possible. It was acknowledged that it can be difficult to keep a place for such customs, but as an important part of New Forest history it was deemed important that they be preserved.

Climate change

Three respondents cited the impacts of climate change in the New Forest as an area of concern. That is, not the influence of the climate change agenda on policy, but the actual tangible impacts of global warming within the National Park. Illustrations provided include the flooding of coastal land and coastal erosion in the south of the Park, and greater instances of floods related to high intensity rainfall.

8.2.2.1 Identified conflict between economic and environmental interests

From the range of responses received, two competing themes can be seen to emerge. Each drew consensus from who we might reasonably expect to be related stakeholders, and can be defined clearly along environmental and economic lines:

- Environmental stakeholders identified recreational demand (fuelled by population growth in surrounding areas) as the biggest challenge for the New Forest National Park;

- To wider social and economic stakeholders the potentially negative impact of National Park designation on the economy and tourism emerged as the primary concern.

Economic concerns can be seen to be framed with retrospective happenings in the policy sector, namely National Park designation. In contrast, environmental concerns are based on a prospective element, namely the future impact of recreation and tourism on the

environmental vitality of the New Forest. Regardless of how cases are made and problems defined, at the political and organisational level, evidence immediately exists of a classic rivalry between economic, recreational and environmental interests, and the organisations and interest groups that safeguard them. In this case, the intensity of this rivalry seems to have been strengthened by opposition to National Park designation by key members of the policy community. As will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, each of these concerns will emerge as important in the context of more specific debate on transport.

From the interview responses outlined above, it is possible to tentatively label stakeholders in more illustrative terms. Of the ten respondents, there are six to whom 'the Forest comes first'. That is, people to whom protection and preservation of the New Forest's unique natural environment and historic traditions is their starting point on any transport or wider policy debate. Within this group, four respondents can be classified as decision stakeholders. They are people directly involved in the policy making process by virtue of attending local government meetings, drafting policy proposals, or being elected officials or representatives. Influence stakeholders, two of which are included in the 'Forest comes first' group, partake in a more indirect way in the policy process. Their role is in representing the interests of their members to decision stakeholders, forming an important role in the policy process. In other words, decision stakeholders are those involved directly with local government, whilst influence stakeholders are on the outside, but doing more than simply looking in.

On the other hand, the remaining four respondents can be labelled as 'people as equals'. Whilst recognising environmental concerns, these individuals hold the interests of people in the same, if not higher regard, as the needs of the natural environment. Two of this group can be classified as decision stakeholders, two as influence stakeholders. As will be illustrated throughout the chapter, classification of respondents in this way aids analysis and helps unpick the issues relevant to transport policy development in the New Forest.

The next section now considers specifically the transport challenges which respondents identified as areas of concern in the New Forest National Park.

8.2.3 Transport and the New Forest National Park

Interviewees were asked to outline the transport challenges which they perceived to face the New Forest National Park. A range of responses were received, which were:

- The public transport network is inadequate (10 responses);
- Animal accidents involving New Forest livestock (8 responses);
- *The externalities of car use*
  - Noise pollution/loss of tranquillity (8 responses);

- Traffic volumes on main roads within the New Forest (6 responses);
- Congestion in the village of Lyndhurst (6 responses)
- Speeding (3 responses);
- HGV impacts (3 responses); and
- Visual intrusion of vehicular traffic (2 responses).

In terms of the way that problems are defined, the responses outlined above can all be seen to fall into one of the three categories of problem definition – indicators, focusing events or feedback. A brief discussion of each response now follows. This will be supplemented by discussion on whether the way that problems are defined may be seen to affect the elevation of one or more agenda item over another.

INDICATORS

Respondents identified a range of transport problems theoretically identifiable through the use of indicators. Traditionally for example, many of the issues relating to car use such as traffic volumes and noise pollution are monitored through the use of transport data collection techniques, or modelled using computers. In the National Parks however such data monitoring is not possible, therefore issues concerning car use are not considered to be defined in this way. Thus, the only transport problem that is quantifiable primarily through the use of indicators is that of public transport.

A failing public transport network

The lack of an efficient and affordable public transport network was the problem most frequently cited by interview respondents. Such concerns were raised in every interview conducted. Debate around the public transport network centred around two elements, namely bus service provision and rail service provision.

The bus public transport network was deemed largely unsuitable for use by either local residents or visitors to the New Forest. Cited as problematic in every interview undertaken, it was varyingly described by terms such as 'minimal', 'skeleton', and 'limited'. For residents, it was not considered practical to allow for the travel requirements of everyday life in a rural area. Similarly, for visitors it was considered that the bus network did not allow sufficient access to the areas that they would most like to visit.

By contrast, there are four railway stations in the New Forest, with Brockenhurst served by over 120 stopping trains per day. This includes services direct to London Waterloo, Southampton and Bournemouth. Eight respondents acknowledged the excellent provision that this accounts for in the context of the rural area, each citing frustration that the rail network remains under utilised as a transport option for visitors. It was acknowledged however that without improved bus public transport links within the New Forest to provide

for rail users once they have arrived, the case for rail use to/from the New Forest is weakened.

Respondents were largely sympathetic to the financial and operating constraints perceived to be placed upon bus operators in the New Forest. The relatively short-term nature of bus service tenders was perceived to stifle the horizons of operators with regard to service investments and improvements. Simply, why invest in infrastructure, service or information improvements with long-term returns on investment when they are not guaranteed to remain in the market in the long term. Challenges surrounding the economic viability of bus service provision in low-density rural areas was a point also frequently raised.

FOCUSING EVENTS

In addition to indicators, problem awareness can also emerge as a result of the occurrence of focusing events. Two particular occurrences can be seen to serve as focusing events for transport problems in the New Forest. These are animal accidents, and congestion in the village of Lyndhurst.

Responses are summarised in Table 8.3. The table is split into two halves. The first shows the responses of decision stakeholders, the second shows the responses of influence stakeholders. Each numbered column represents an interview. A tick represents the fact that the issue was raised during the interview process. The absence of a tick indicates the issue was not raised. In addition, columns are shaded or un-shaded. Shaded columns indicate the respondent to be a 'people as equals' stakeholder. Un-shaded columns indicate the participant has been identified as a 'Forest comes first' policy community member. Reference to these groups will be made throughout the analysis as appropriate.

Table 8.3 – Transport and focusing events in the New Forest National Park

	Decision stakeholders					Influence stakeholders				
FOCUSING EVENTS:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Animal accidents			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Congestion in Lyndhurst (seasonal)			✓		✓		✓	✓		
Congestion in Lyndhurst (endemic)	✓					✓				

Road traffic and animal accidents

Ancient laws in the New Forest allow for the turning out of domestic animals and livestock onto the Forest. The New Forest ponies are perhaps the most iconic image of this practice, though sheep, pigs and cows are also allowed to roam across the Forest uninhibited. In order to preserve the history and culture of the New Forest, only two roads – the A31 and the A36 – are fenced, making the New Forest animals particularly vulnerable to road traffic accidents. As demonstrated in Table 8.3 above, animal accidents were identified as

problematic in eight of the ten interviews conducted, and prevalent amongst both our stakeholder groups.

In 1988, as a direct result of animal accidents, Hampshire County Council introduced a blanket 40mph speed limit on all unfenced New Forest roads. In doing so, they became the first local transport authority in the country to implement such a scheme. As evidenced in Figure 8.1 below, interview responses and the MS Framework provide a useful mechanism by which to examine this policy's route to implementation.

Figure 8.1 – Animal accidents in the New Forest and the Multiple Streams framework

Problem:
The New Forest pony and other free roaming livestock are an iconic image of the New Forest. However, as the majority of roads within the New Forest remain unfenced, they are extremely vulnerable to road traffic accidents. As far back as 1956, a register of recorded animal deaths allied to road traffic accidents was introduced in order to monitor trends. By the mid 1980's animal deaths had reached such a level that they had become publicly and politically unacceptable.

Policies:
Speed (not the number of vehicles) had been identified as the primary contributing factor in the road traffic accidents involving New Forest livestock. Prior to the introduction of the 40mph speed limit, a range of traffic management measures such as road narrowing, signage, and the use of speed chicanes had been implemented as a means by which to reduce vehicle speeds. Whilst initially successful in reducing animal accidents, driver complacency returned and the accident figures began to increase again. It was at this time that the decision to introduce a blanket 40mph speed limit on all unfenced roads was taken. This was first implemented in 1988.

Politics:
Such was the public sensitivity around the deaths of the New Forest animals, politicians were empowered to introduce what, at the time, was a radical policy measure. Political awareness of the public mood surrounding animal deaths allowed politicians more freedom in the search for a satisfactory and effective solution to the problem.

POLICY WINDOW:
The combination of the above factors led to the opening of a policy window which allowed for the introduction of the 40mph speed limit on unfenced roads in the New Forest.

Interview participants identified that in light of continuing public sensitivity around animal deaths, policy options may again have to be revisited. An interesting and underlying assertion was that animal deaths still grant local politicians significant 'room for manoeuvre' in terms of policy development. In terms of the MS framework, such an assertion, if true, would represent the continued opening of a policy window through which to implement change.

Lyndhurst congestion

The village of Lyndhurst was identified as a primary area of traffic congestion in the New Forest. The north-south A337 and east-west A35 meet at a signalised junction in the centre of the village, leading six of the ten interviewees to report instances of significant congestion in the village.

The New Forest Area Transport Strategy in Hampshire's LTP2 reports that air quality problems in the village arise due to operational problems at the junction. Such is the extent of this problem that Lyndhurst has recently been declared as an Air Quality Management Area (AQMA). Hampshire LTP2 also outlines that a working group is in operation, focusing specifically on how to improve the operation of the local road network around the village. An intelligent routeing strategy has since been delivered as a result, with further feasibility work for junction improvements underway. Furthermore, a long running policy debate continues in the New Forest with regard to the possible creation of a bypass for the village. This is a subject to which we will return in section 8.3.3.

FEEDBACK

The third mechanism by which issues can come to political attention is through feedback. That is, through formal and informal communication channels, political decision makers can get a 'feel' for issues otherwise unrepresented through indicators or focusing events. In this case, many of the issues surrounding the externalities of car use can be defined in this way. Table 8.4 below summarises these findings.

Table 8.4 - Transport problems identifiable through feedback in the New Forest National Park

	Decision stakeholders					Influence stakeholders				
FEEDBACK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Externalities of car use:										
Noise pollution			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Traffic volumes on main roads	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		
HGV impacts	✓			✓					✓	
Speeding			✓						✓	✓
Visual impacts			✓	✓						

The externalities of car use

Further transport concerns related directly to the externalities of private car use within the New Forest. Most frequently defined problems within this category were noise pollution and loss of tranquillity (eight respondents) and the volume of traffic on the main road network (six respondents). Both defined groups of stakeholders were active with regards to identifying this kind of problem. The 'Forest comes first' group all identified noise pollution and the loss of tranquillity as problematic, alongside both influence stakeholders from 'people as equals'. Similarly, four 'Forest first' decision stakeholders, and two 'people as equals' respondents cited the volume of traffic on the primary road network as problematic. Of less significant concern, and raised only by members of the 'Forest comes first' coalition, were instances of speeding and visual intrusion.

8.2.4 Shaping the agenda: focusing events as mechanisms for policy change?

The New Forest's two transport focusing events – animal accidents and congestion in Lyndhurst - have both resulted in significant policy attention being paid to them. The prevalence of animal accidents in particular has been shown to result in significant policy change, in terms of the reduction of speed limits on rural roads within the New Forest. Whilst less progress has been made on the problem of congestion in Lyndhurst, it has still received attention from policy makers and garnered wider public debate on the advantages and disadvantages of various transport planning measures. Both events were the subject of widespread discussion during the interview processes. They seem to provide a tangible element to what otherwise remains a largely un-measurable problem.

By contrast, it is noticeable from the range of transport issues presented earlier in Table 8.2 that few of them are actually quantifiable on anything but a micro-level. Perhaps the issue most frequently cited as problematic – public transport usage, service provision and accessibility – is the one most easy to quantify. Appraisals on public transport provision can be documented in terms of service frequency, capacity utilisation, revenue generation or subsidy requirement, assessments likely to be understood by politicians and the public alike. Public transport accessibility modelling also provides a tangible aspect to the 'problem'.

Whilst traffic volumes and noise pollution can be monitored, this is an expensive and resource intensive process. Furthermore, it is difficult to assign acceptable levels for these indicators such that data collected can be interpreted. That is, without information on what are acceptable or unacceptable volumes of road traffic or noise pollution, the usefulness of the data is limited. The reality remains that these identified problems, real as they might be, are subjective, and based purely on interpretation. As will be discussed in later analysis, and evidenced below, this can create inherent problems when trying to

attach policy solutions and engender political support for identified transport 'problems'. An example of such was raised during the interview process and is documented below.

Recent policy documents including Hampshire's LTP2 and the draft New Forest National Park Management Plan place the annual number of visitor trips at 13.5million. This figure was derived from the 2004/2005 visitor survey undertaken as part of a Forestry Commission funded research project. Three respondents – all from the 'people as equals' group – cited this figure as misleading and inaccurate. This assertion was made on the basis that the 2004/2005 visitor survey counted recreational trips within the New Forest made by residents of the National Park as visitor trips. Since the survey found 35% of all visitor trips were actually undertaken by New Forest residents, the figure of 13.5million visitor trips was deemed to be considerably exaggerated.

> 'These figures can be misleading. If we are trying to understand visitors, then the figures should be defined in that way'. As it is, the figures include all local people's movements coming into and around the New Forest'. (NF5)

This is a difficult problem to address, since the aesthetic or environmental impacts of a car trip within the New Forest is not lessened simply because the driver is a local resident. However, the use of figures in this way leaves protagonists open to the kind of criticism outlined above. It is perhaps indicative of the challenges facing incumbents in the policy sector who seek to frame available data in a way which is accessible to the public and which may then serve to promote informed debate on the matter at hand.

8.2.5 Summary of problem stream findings

A range of strategic and transport challenges facing the New Forest have been identified. In each case they can be seen to align with one or more of Kingdon's mechanisms for problem definition, namely focusing events and indicators.

Respondents identified a range of transport problems prevalent in the New Forest National Park. The most frequently cited issue related to the inadequacy of public transport provision within the locality. Respondents identified an element of inevitability about the status quo however. Simply, circumstances of rural life – low population density and dispersed demand – allied to existing deregulation of the bus and rail industry serve to make such an outcome unavoidable. Impacts of private car use in the New Forest were also frequently cited as problematic. Noise, loss of tranquillity and the volume of vehicles on the primary road network were the most frequently cited challenges. There is acknowledgement of many transport related problems across the policy community.

Perhaps the key point to emerge is the importance of focusing events in helping to elevate particular transport problems up the policy agenda. This finding is supported by respondent acknowledgement of the policy attention paid to two particular transport issues – animal accidents and congestion in the village of Lyndhurst – by members of the policy community. As such, debate seems to be invigorated by the presence of focusing events reinforcing such problems, and inhibited without it.

Having completed the problem stream analysis, section 8.3 below will now present an overview and analysis of the policy stream in the context of the New Forest National Park.

8.3 THE POLICY STREAM

The workings of the policy stream will be examined in this section. The components of the policy stream are summarised in Table 8.5. Each of these elements will provide the structure by which to analyse the policy stream in the context of the New Forest National Park.

Table 8.5 - Policy stream composition

Policy Stream Composition	Areas for research
The policy community	- the strength of relationships between policy makers - fragmentation/unity of the policy community - influence of the above on decision making
Policy objectives	- consensus/divergence on transport policy objectives
The policy 'primeval' soup	- how policy community members view policy proposals in terms of their feasibility, personal value acceptability, and public acceptability
Policy entrepreneurs	- evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector, and their influence on policy processes

8.3.1 The policy community

Policy communities are composed of specialists operating across one or more policy arenas. Specialists can be scattered across policy arenas, inside and outside of local government, either making decisions or attempting to influence them. Such groupings of specialists can be closed and tight-knit, whilst others may be more diverse and fragmented. Differentiation of the two is important since a unified policy community is likely to work together towards shared goals and objectives, whilst a fragmented one may find this much harder to achieve.

A fragmented policy community

In this case, data suggests the policy community to be particularly divided. Transcripts are rich with discourse stating directly or indirectly, that working relationships between key

members of the policy community, particularly the local government agencies, are strained. Consider the following illustrations:

> 'Hampshire County Council and the New Forest District Council are not good neighbours of the NPA…we have not found the NPA reasonable in any setting whatsoever'. (NF1)

> 'People working on highways and transport within the councils sometimes just don't get what we are all about'. (NF10)

> 'The way the whole highway authority works at a county level is what inhibits National Parks and rural areas, because they're only a small part of a county area. The county dominates and manipulates, and has its own interests'. (NF2)

Given the diverse range of interests and agendas amongst members of the policy community, this finding may not be particularly surprising. Indeed, there does seem to be an element of inevitability surrounding the status quo. Its importance however should not be overlooked. Fragmentation among policy communities can have a number of consequences. One such being that the left hand knows not what the right hand is doing, to the extent that the left hand might do something that directly affects the right hand without anyone realising what is happening. The release of the draft National Park Management Plan makes an excellent case in point. Discussion of the New Forest National Park Plan has already been made at length in previous chapters, and will not be repeated here. What is of importance however is when considering the reaction of other members of the policy community to its release. Specific mention of the plan was made in six of the ten interviews, including all four with 'people as equals' group members. On each of these occasions, surprise, followed by derision was made at the content of the document in terms of its more controversial transport policy proposals.

What this serves to reinforce is a distinct lack of co-operation and communication between two important member organisations in the transport policy community. Whether this has permanently damaged relations between the NPA and some members of the policy community is difficult to quantify. As has already been outlined, 'people as equals' group members are already wary of the impacts of the NPA's environmental and conservation duties in the New Forest, and this episode seems to have served to further reinforce such concerns.

This is not an implied criticism of the NPA however. It does not necessarily follow that policy proposals which contain an element of controversy should not be floated amongst community members. Indeed, it may be the case that the release of the draft National Park

Management Plan represented an attempt by the NPA to assess the political and public mood with regard to new transport ideas. Equally, it may have been part of a wider attempt to stimulate transport debate and break inertia in the policy sector. Regardless of the intention, the release of the plan has served to further divide an already fragmented and sensitive community. This has serious implications for the progression of the transport policy debate.

Transport planning pre-National Park designation

The above discussion places the NPA squarely front and centre in the transport policy debate. However, the organisation is a relatively new addition to the policy sector, having only assumed full powers in April 2006. It is useful then to briefly consider 'how things were' before National Park designation. Though specific reference to historic transport policy processes was limited – raised in only two interviews – both with 'Forest comes first' members, the discourse provided is particularly insightful. In one instance, an interviewee produced the 1989 New Forest Transport Strategy. Of it, he stated:

> 'If you flick through there, you'll see there's some really good things in it. It's even got things like road closures, an allusion to pricing, but not really calling it pricing. Lots of things that we today would think are pretty sound transport tools. The only thing that really got established was the 40mph speed limit. There was a whole load of other stuff which went with it, none of which has been enforced or developed…no one has made it happen because it is too complicated'. (NF2)

Similarly, in another interview discussion turned to the LTP process. Specific reference was made to the fact that both LTP's produced so far had each been very similar in content, yet had resulted in very little in the way of practical implementation of stated policy measures.

What both interviewees serve to illustrate are practical examples of policy inertia in the sector prior to National Park designation. The transport proposals in the draft National Park Management Plan are not 'new' ideas that no-one has heard of before. Indeed, many of the proposals, including the concept of road closures and road pricing, are merely replications of policy proposals in the most recent Hampshire LTP2. It would appear then that transport planning inertia was present long before the addition of the New Forest NPA to the policy community, a fact which testifies to the difficulty of securing transport planning consensus in this environment.

A disaggregated local highway authority

Four of six 'Forest comes first' respondents illustrated a number of concerns relating specifically to the disaggregation of the local highways authority from the National Park.

The New Forest forms only one small part of a much wider county area, for which Hampshire County Council is the designated transport authority. Respondents' perceptions were that this creates inherent complexities and complications as different areas compete for decreasing budgets and resources allied to their own interests.

Of further concern was a perception that County Council engineers and planners are not necessarily attuned to the special qualities of the National Park. A primary consequence of which was that heavily engineered solutions to identified transport problems – the Lyndhurst Bypass being an excellent case in point – are frequently the preferred policy options for the local authority. Such a one size fits all strategy was deemed completely unsuitable for such a sensitive rural area, and more invention and imaginative thinking was called for.

These findings also arose during the NPA Transport Officer interviews documented in Chapter Six and are clearly an issue of some relevance within the policy sector.

Despite the fragmentation of the policy community, when asked about the role of transport policy for the New Forest, general agreement on two strategic themes emerged. Namely, the impossibility of car use reduction, but the need for better management of car-borne visitors to the New Forest. The decision making processes supporting these assertions are examined below.

8.3.2 Transport policy objectives

Respondents were asked about their preferred policy objectives for transport in the New Forest. Two themes emerged. Firstly, the impossibility of achieving a reduction in car use in the New Forest. Secondly, the need for better management of car-borne visitors once they have arrived in the New Forest. Both findings will be documented in more detail here.

8.3.2.1 The impossibility of car use reduction in the New Forest National Park

As shown in Table 8.6, specific reference to the impossibility of car use reduction in the New Forest was cited in seven of the ten interviews undertaken. Opinions were formed on the basis of two central elements, namely perceptions of public attitudes to private car use, and the peripheral role of public transport within the New Forest. Respondents from both 'Forest comes first' and 'people as equals' groups shared similar opinions in this regard.

Table 8.6 – The impossibility of car use reduction in the New Forest National Park

	Decision stakeholders					Influence stakeholders				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Entrenched public attitudes to car use means it is impossible to reduce it		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓
The public network does not and cannot represent an alternative to car use		✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓

Public attitudes to car use

Public attitudes to car use were identified as a particular barrier for policies aiming to secure a reduction in car use. The following comments reflect stakeholder opinion in this regard.

> 'I regard the discouragement of car use as being complete bunkum in the context of the National Park. People regard their cars as a human right'. (NF9)

> 'Policies which look to promote other modes of transport are not seen as anti-car, they are perceived as anti-personal freedom. If you think people will sacrifice for this you must be joking…society has evolved around personal mobility and there's no way you're going to put the genie back in the bottle, absolutely not'. (NF6)

Historical transport planning approaches in the New Forest were perceived to continue to entrench public attitudes to car use, and strengthen opposition to any policies deemed anti-car. Respondents reported that during the mid twentieth century, when the car was beginning to emerge as an independent mode of transport to people whose travel had previously been limited to public transport, the New Forest was opened up in order to encourage car access. Transport planning approaches in this regard included the dualling of the A31 – the primary east-west route – which severs the New Forest, and the creation of ornamental driveways and car parks which to this day allow deep penetration into the Forest. The result of these approaches was determined to be that it has now become a perceived law or right for people to be able to drive to, and park in, the middle of the New Forest. This was deemed to influence travel patterns and car usage to the extent that people:

> '…forget the idea of adventure, they become umbilically attached to their car, do not move more than ten feet from it, and create little pollution hubs all over the place. They do that for ten minutes, or half an hour until they get bored, and then go to another one. Instead of parking their car all day as they would do in a town, in the Forest it comes in during the morning, stops, moves

> to another place, stops, moves to another place. It's actually on the road for a lot of the time during the stay which is a real problem'. (NF2)

There was also agreement that the role of public transport in reducing demand for private car use in the New Forest was limited. This concept is examined below.

A limited role for public transport as an instrument of modal shift

When asked about the future role of bus public transport in the context of the National Park, respondents from both our stakeholder groups were largely philosophical. Indeed, the overriding attitude was that even with heavy subsidisation of rural bus public transport – deemed very hard to justify economically – they could not envisage a time at which it would ever be able to successfully compete with the private car. In the event that additional funding for bus services was ever found, an air of scepticism about levels of patronage remained. The comments below provide an illustration.

> 'I think I would honestly say that there aren't really any major opportunities for modal shift. It's going to be marginal whatever we do…we can continue to work on improving modal shift to other forms of transport, but it's not going to happen in very great numbers. The vast majority of visitors are going to come in an independent vehicle'. (NF2)

> 'I personally see little additional role for public transport…I cannot see that we can ever offer public transport of an efficiency that would encourage people to get out of their cars'. (NF7)

As evidenced in Chapter Seven, the 2004/2005 visitor study revealed little enthusiasm amongst visitors to the New Forest for public transport use. That study also undertook a resident survey, the results of which again revealed little appetite for public transport use amongst New Forest inhabitants. Indeed, the survey revealed walking and cycling to be the preferred sustainable transport alternatives to car use for the small minority of residents who did actually consider the use of other modes. The research findings of the interview process revealed similar perceptions.

It must be stressed here that respondents were not actively discouraging the provision of public transport services in the New Forest. The case outlined was simply that even in the event of massive improvements to the public transport system, the private car would still remain the transport mode of choice for New Forest residents and visitors alike.

8.3.2.2 Identified common ground – the need for better visitor management

With the above outlined as the status quo, significant consensus was shared by respondents who believed the strategic objective for transport policy should be in the facilitation of better visitor management. Specific reference to this was raised in seven of the ten interviews undertaken, across a broad range of stakeholders. Table 8.7 below illustrates findings.

Table 8.7 – The need for better management of car-borne visitors to the New Forest

	Decision stakeholders						Influence stakeholders			
Better visitor management required:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
…in order to limit the environmental impacts of car use in the New Forest			✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
…in order to facilitate visitor spending in the New Forest						✓		✓		

The priority challenges facing the New Forest as outlined in section 8.2 were seen to be directly contrasting. As environmentally minded stakeholders feared the impact of tourism growth and recreational demand on the well-being of the Forest, so socio-economic interviewees worried about the stifling of the leisure and tourism industry as a result of National Park designation. To better manage where people go, and what they do, within the New Forest theoretically serves to mitigate both these concerns.

Respondents drawn principally from environmental and conservation backgrounds favoured the general principles of visitor management on the grounds that the only way to protect the New Forest against the impacts of private car use is through increased control of how and where people travel within it. Throughout the interviews, reference was made to car-borne visitors whose journeys involve large amounts of driving time, interspersed with short stops in rural locations deep in the heart of the Forest. One respondent christened this behaviour as 'grazing'. Aside from the environmental and aesthetic impacts of such journeys, these types of trip are also challenging in that they do not encourage visitor spending within the local economy. On this basis therefore, visitor management schemes were supported on the basis of their role in facilitating visitor spending. Consider the following statements, all of which reach the same conclusion, but for identifiably different reasons:

Environmental support

'I see transport as absolutely key to visitor control…the only way we can keep a variety of wilderness, remoteness and tranquillity to the Forest is to limit the places they [people] can get out of their cars, whilst absolutely ensuring the principle of free access on foot'. (NF7)

'I don't think it's possible to reduce (vehicle) numbers. What I would want to do is control what they do when they get here, and where they go'. (NF9)

Economic support

'We should channel them to our towns and villages where they can actually expend, because the greatest challenge from a visitor management point of view is that trees and ponies are free, and you can't spend money on them! So if we are going to get economic benefit from visitors, we need to channel them through places where they can spend money – towns and villages'. (NF2)

'There is great discussion about increasing car parking spaces in honeypot areas and reducing them in other more sensitive areas. It is managing visitors and directing them, and encouraging them to use certain areas of the Forest. To my way of looking at it, and talking to visitors as I do, I think that is a very sensible approach for the future'. (NF5)

The complicating factor remains that previous transport planning approaches allow deep penetration of the New Forest. As will be discussed below, and again in section 8.5, for protagonists to now seek to limit such access, no matter how well reasoned, is extremely problematic.

8.3.3 The policy 'primeval soup'

In section 8.3.2, an element of common ground between a divided policy community was found. Respondents identified the need for better management of car-borne visitors to the New Forest. Whilst respondents rejected the principle of reducing the number of vehicle trips to/from the New Forest, they appeared willing to accept, in theory at least, attempts to reduce or restrict vehicle movements in the New Forest once they arrive. Where difficulties begin to emerge is when considering the means by which the identified visitor management approach favoured by respondents could actually be implemented. If the overriding objective of the outlined approach was simply to secure a reduction in vehicle numbers in the most sensitive environmental, and most disparate economic, locations of the New Forest through increased visitor control, how might this be best achieved?

Kingdon (1984) asserts that policy ideas which satisfy criteria relating to technical feasibility, value acceptability (to members of the internal policy community) and public acceptability stand the greatest chance of survival and possibly implementation. This section presents an assessment of a range of transport planning instruments using these 'criteria for survival' as a benchmark.

Table 8.8 overleaf provides a pictorial representation of key findings. Column one presents a list of transport planning instruments which could theoretically be applied in the New Forest National Park. Respondents were asked whether they would support or oppose the use of each measure in the context of the National Park. Results are shown in columns two and three.

Further discussion surrounding the use of each instrument followed. As a result, it is possible to summarise the extent to which each instrument can be seen to satisfy each of Kingdon's criteria for survival. Regardless of respondent support or opposition for a policy measure, interviews were coded such that perceptions of 'barriers' to implementation in terms of the three criteria for survival could be highlighted. For example, with regard to the Lyndhurst bypass, one respondent opposed to it stated that 'we have recognitions and designations on our side. I think that is a significant feature of the New Forest. A huge percentage is designated and that makes it more and more likely that there will be no further road building because everywhere you go to build a road you come up against that'. This was coded as a barrier to implementation on the grounds of technical feasibility. Similarly, with road pricing, a statement was made that '[I] couldn't support anything that had a dis-beneficial effect upon the local economy'. This was coded as a barrier to implementation on the grounds of value acceptability. That is, a road pricing scheme would not meet that particular respondent's values, hence support for road pricing was not forthcoming.

Columns four, five and six therefore demonstrate the extent to which each policy instrument can be seen to satisfy each of Kingdon's criteria for survival. A 'traffic light' scheme is used in this regard. Green indicates an issue was raised by three respondents or less during the interview process. Amber indicates an issue was raised by between four and six respondents, whilst red indicates an issue was raised by seven or more respondents.

For example, in discussions surrounding road building and the proposed Lyndhurst bypass, technical feasibility came to the fore. In this case, environmental designations in place in the New Forest would seem to limit the potential for such a scheme being granted planning approval. This was an issue raised seven times or more during the ten interviews. That is, seven or more respondents considered road building to be a technically infeasible element of transport policy in the New Forest.

Table 8.8 - Policy instruments and the criteria for survival

	Respondents:		Criteria for survival		
TRANSPORT PLANNING INSTRUMENTS:	In favour	Against	Technical feasibility	Value acceptability	Public acceptability
Road building (Lyndhurst bypass)	4	6			
Public transport improvements	10	0			
Car parking space reallocation	8	2			
Car parking charges	5	5			
Road closures	6	4			
Road pricing	2	8			

Key	
	= issue raised in 0-3 interviews
	= issue raised in 4-6 interviews
	= issue raised in 7+ interviews

Policy instruments which can be seen to satisfy all three criteria for survival stand the best chance of implementation. In the table above, this scenario would be represented by the presence of an all green row. In this case, no such example is forthcoming. Each policy instrument discussed can be seen to fail (by virtue of negative discourse from seven or more respondents) at least one of three survival criteria. Further discussion surrounding each policy measure will be presented here.

Road building (Lyndhurst bypass)

As discussed in section 8.2, congestion in the village of Lyndhurst acts as a focusing event with regard to transport problems in the New Forest. A bypass has long been proposed by Hampshire County Council as a remedy to this problem, though as yet it has never made it past the design stage. All of the 'people as equals' stakeholders supported its development, whilst equally, all 'Forest comes first' stakeholders opposed it. Public acceptability was not raised as an issue with regard to the bypass. In terms of value acceptance, then it conformed to supporters' values, but did not meet the values of those opposing it. They felt that road building of any kind was inappropriate in an environmentally sensitive area such as the New Forest. Where there was consensus between respondents was in terms of the technical difficulties facing protagonists keen to see the bypass implemented. As a National Park, the New Forest is home to some of the most highly designated areas of land in the country. It is also subject to a number of European environmental designations. Such environmental protection was identified as providing an almost insurmountable barrier with regards to the prospect of the Lyndhurst bypass, or any other element of road building in the New Forest.

Public transport improvements

As a policy instrument, public transport improvements were shown to satisfy the survival criteria of public acceptability and value acceptability. However, problems emerged with regard to the technical feasibility of the policy instrument. The combination of a low population density and the deregulation of public transport services makes it extremely difficult for operators to return a profit on rural transport services. As such, subsidisation of many services by the local authority is required. For public transport to ever offer a realistic alternative to the private car, massive investment in services and infrastructure was identified as needing to occur. Reflecting discourse from the first research stage, the majority of respondents considered such an event to be completely unrealistic, and therefore, despite support for their use, the likelihood of implementation was perceived to be extremely low.

Car parking space reallocation

Respondents were largely supportive of policies seen to reallocate car parking away from the most sensitive environmental areas, and towards more well resourced towns and villages. Such a policy met the values of both economic and environmental stakeholders, in that in theory it serves to protect the natural environment whilst facilitating the local economy. Similarly, the policy was deemed technically feasible in terms of the ease of actually implementing such a change. It would not require massive investment to implement, and could be turned around in a reasonable amount of time.

However, difficulties of the policy emerge in consideration of its public acceptability. Here, the influence of local residents and an active local pressure group called the New Forest Dog Owners Group (discussed further in section 8.4.2) were identified as a major barrier to implementation. Such was the level of perceived public opposition to the policy, it was expected to be largely undeliverable. This was illustrated in the statements below, which summarise the public reaction to small scale (3 out of more than 100 available) car park closures undertaken by the Forestry Commission to protect winter ground-nesting birds.

> ‘One of the things that should be looked at is that we have well over a hundred Forestry Commission car parks in the Forest. They’ve got a selective closure program of car parks in the winter, but again people like NFDOG go berserk because they think it is a subtle way of stopping dog walking’. (NF8)

> ‘There are tiny little things that people outside the New Forest wouldn’t think were issues, but inside the New Forest are important. For example, if the Forestry Commission want to close two or three car parks in the winter for ground nesting birds, the dog lobbying body go absolutely mad. Press releases,

> councillor phone calls, they just make it very difficult and unpleasant for public funded bodies to do it. It's not nice'. (NF10)

Though there is already evidence of car park closures in operation in the New Forest, as noted, they are small scale in nature and fraught with public opposition. On this basis respondents questioned the deliverability of a more wide-ranging and significant approach to parking management.

Car parking charges

The concept of car parking charges was a popular instrument with 'Forest comes first' respondents, less so with the 'people as equals' group. The preferred approach from 'Forest comes first' group members was with regard to variable visitor charging strategies. That is, parking charges in the most environmentally sensitive areas of the forest which are greater than those in the 'gateway' towns and villages. Note here that this would exempt New Forest residents from charges, potentially minimising opposition to such a scheme from the local public or interest groups such as NFDOG.

The operation of parking facilities is in any case a disaggregated affair, with the Forestry Commission operating free car parks in over one hundred locations throughout the Forest. The New Forest District Council (NFDC) operates chargeable car parks within key towns and villages of the New Forest, but already differentiates charging between residents and visitors through the use of a 'parking clock' scheme. Residents are able to purchase a parking clock for £10 annually which, when displayed in NFDC car parks, does not incur additional charges for the vehicle. Visitors are not entitled to partake in the clock scheme, and must use ticket machines provided in each car park. It can be argued that they are already therefore paying a visitor 'tax', in which case the environment may exist by which to trial new parking strategies in order to achieve desired outcomes of a visitor management strategy.

Indeed, such a conclusion was reinforced by two respondents who noted that 'visitors expect to pay' for parking when bringing their car into the New Forest National Park. Whilst increased parking charges in sensitive locations may provide higher volumes of revenue, they may not necessarily be effective as a means by which to influence the distribution of vehicles in car parks across the New Forest if indeed visitors really do expect to pay for their parking.

Despite the generally positive position on parking policy adopted by respondents, concerns were raised about the unintended side-effects of any change to parking policy. The most serious of which was deemed to be verge parking, or 'the shunting effect', whereby displaced motorists or those unwilling to pay for parking simply leave their vehicle at the

side of the road. Whilst theoretically such behaviour could be mitigated against through the use of yellow lines or other parking enforcement initiatives, serious concern was raised about the suitability of the use of such approaches in the context of the rural environment; the danger being the 'creeping urbanisation' of what is supposed to be a natural and tranquil area. Furthermore, public acceptability concerns again came to the fore in terms of perceptions of opposition to any car park charging plans. Technical feasibility and public acceptability concerns were therefore not satisfied.

Road closures

The concept of road closures dramatically divided opinion amongst respondents. Earlier interview analysis yielded perceptions that the penetration of the New Forest is directly related to the availability of car access. Therefore the closure of roads allowing deep penetration into the heart of the New Forest was supported by our 'Forest comes first' stakeholders on the basis of vehicle impact reduction. Their values were therefore satisfied. On the flip side however, road closures were opposed by 'people as equals' respondents on the grounds of equity and fairness. Simply, it would be unfair to council and car tax payers to close roads that are legally used by motorists everyday, regardless of the reasons proposed for closures. In this case then, road closures did not satisfy the values of 'people as equals' stakeholders.

Furthermore, opposition to road closures by the general public was perceived to make them largely undeliverable in the New Forest. They were deemed to elicit considerable hostility and negative public reaction to the extent that they are unachievable. These assertions were supported by illustrative examples of prior attempts to achieve road closures in the New Forest, which were ultimately withdrawn or abandoned due to public unpopularity.

> 'They create absolute fury. We've had very few road closures in the forest, and even the tiniest one will get people really riled. That's the sort of attitude that is presented every time there is even the smallest proposal, people go mad about it. I don't see it as a possibility'. (NF9)

> 'When you start talking road closures in the New Forest you are really going to tread on so many feet because the roads across the New Forest are all to some extent commuter roads. With road closures you would flush people out who used the road ten times a day and who would be vociferous in their opposition to it'. (NF8)

The issues surrounding road closures were deemed to be so contentious since all the groups of New Forest car users – residents, businesses, visitors and commuters – have a vested interest in the continuing operation of all roads in the New Forest. Therefore, to select a

single or combination of roads for closure is not possible due to the number of people likely to be affected as a result. In the short term, the level of opposition encountered by protagonists who may seek to implement them was deemed simply too great to be overcome. One respondent felt that it would take a significant event such as a fatal car crash to begin to ease the passage of a road closure.

> 'It would take a terrible loss of life or event such as that to ease the passing of road closures. That would, or might, trigger some action, but until something like that happens the inertia is too great'. (NF9)

This would support the earlier assertions of section 8.2 that the policy debate is invigorated by the occurrence of a focusing event, and sterile without one.

Road pricing

As evidenced by Table 8.8, the concept of a localised road pricing scheme in the New Forest was rejected out of hand by all but two respondents. Value concerns centred around perceptions of economic and equitable dis-benefits that would arise in the event of its implementation. Economic concerns related directly to the impact that a pricing scheme would have on tourism. 'I can't think of an example in this country or any other where you have localised road pricing. A road pricing scheme applied here would be dis-beneficial. It would affect business, it would affect tourism and so on' (NF4). That is, to seek to charge motorists for the use of their car was seen to directly threaten visitor numbers, therefore harming the tourism industry on which the New Forest has become so reliant.

Conversely, whilst the economic concerns related largely to the visitor function, equity concerns surrounded the impact of a road pricing scheme on local residents. Whilst perceptions of the New Forest may be of a largely affluent area, respondents stressed that it is also home to an increasingly ageing population. In addition, the low-wage rural economy has lead to pockets of deprivation emerging throughout the Forest. The perception therefore was that to seek to burden these groups with further expense was wholly inappropriate and unacceptable. Road pricing did not therefore satisfy the majority of respondents' personal values.

Where support came for road pricing, it was in the guise of a visitor based scheme, in which local residents would be exempt. The two primary benefits it was expected to yield were outlined as reductions in the impact of vehicles within the New Forest, and the generation of new revenue for public transport initiatives. In contrast, respondents opposed to road pricing raised questions as to what it was actually intended to achieve. Further concerns related to how it would be incorporated within wider strategic objectives of environmental protection, accessibility, and local economic welfare. That is, the majority of respondents

simply did not consider road pricing as an appropriate transport planning tool for use in the New Forest.

Regardless of their support or opposition, respondents stressed the impossibility of delivering a local road pricing scheme in the New Forest National Park. Public unacceptability was the basis for this assertion. Strong evidence to support this claim already exists, by way of the public and political response to the release of the draft National Park Management Plan.

8.3.4 Summary of policy stream findings

The workings of the policy stream have been examined in this section. It has been identified that there are deep divisions between members of the internal policy community. Divisions are based broadly along environmental and economic lines, and appear to have been extenuated by the designation of the New Forest as a National Park, and the subsequent creation of the New Forest NPA.

Despite the fragmented policy community, a shared common objective for better visitor management has been identified. Respondents felt that this should be the primary objective of transport policy for the New Forest. There was felt to be little chance of reducing total car usage in the New Forest, due in part to public attitudes to car use, and the forecast limited role for public transport.

An assessment of the possible role that a range of transport planning instruments could possibly play in supporting such a strategy revealed that no single measure satisfied each of Kingdon's three 'criteria for policy survival'. Road building and public transport improvements were deemed technically infeasible, whilst more coercive restraint measures largely failed tests of value and public acceptability.

The next section will examine the role of the political stream in the policy process.

8.4 THE POLITICAL STREAM

Analysis now moves from the internal policy community into the larger political and public arena. The political stream runs independently from the problem and policies streams and, as will be demonstrated, can have a serious effect on agendas. As shown in Table 8.9 overleaf, the political stream is composed of three separate elements.

Table 8.9 - Political stream composition

Political Stream Composition	Areas for research
The local mood	- the extent that local mood is considered to influence the policy process
Organised political forces	- whether organised political forces are active in the policy sector and, if so, to what extent they affect the policy process
Local government arrangements	- the impact, if any, of existing local government arrangements on the policy process

This section will give consideration to the above elements of the political stream. Analysis begins with an examination of the local mood, and is presented below.

8.4.1 The local mood

Kingdon (1984) outlines the local mood as an important element of the policy process. If politicians or other members of the policy community believe that a large number of the population feel a certain way – either positively or negatively – about a certain policy problem or issue, it may affect the attention which it receives from policy makers.

In this case, discourse surrounding the local mood was dominated by the 'Forest comes first' group of respondents. A central tenet of the discussion, frequently revisited, concerned perceptions of the largely negative influence that public opinion has on transport policy development in the New Forest. This and other issues will be examined here.

Negative public opinion and a lack of transport policy advocacy

Public opinion is an important part of the policy process, and can have either positive or negative effects. Public opinion was a concept raised in each of the six interviews undertaken with the 'Forest comes first' group. On each occasion, they served only to reinforce perceptions of the negative public opinion effects in the New Forest Transport Policy sector. This chapter has already discussed respondent perceptions of attitudes to car use in the New Forest, and how this may limit what is practically deliverable in terms of transport policy instruments. Further interview responses served to illustrate that in most circumstances, public opinion acts as a constraint on transport policy and what can be done, as opposed to a prompt for action.

Practical transport issues pervade many areas of policy debate, making it difficult for sensible dialogue and resolution to occur. Even small, and intuitively less significant transport matters such as white and brown road signing policy for tourist attractions, were deemed to generate significant disagreement.

> 'Take brown and white signing policies for example. Most people say, 'it's outrageous, we can't have one of these white and brown signs because it clutters up this wonderful environment'. The only reason they're picking on white and brown signs is because it's much easier to pick on them than the other things which are demonstrably worse for the New Forest and the visual landscape. People display the same level of enthusiasm, but for a negative purpose. The big conflict with all policy is that – the negative enthusiasm versus the positive enthusiasm'. (NF2)

Respondents considered such disputes as disruptive to the progress of sensible, intellectual, transport debate. Three 'Forest comes first' respondents were of the opinion that members of the general public were unclear about the roles and responsibilities of the statutory delivery agencies within the New Forest. One of two consequences of this were seen to evolve, neither of which are particularly helpful in progressing the transport policy debate. First identified was public apathy and disengagement from the policy process. That is, an unwillingness to engage in transport policy debate and the inability to secure public involvement in policy dialogue. Of second concern was that public misunderstanding translates directly into mistrust of any attempts to promote new transport policy debate or present new proposals. Thereby transport policy debate already begins with division and apprehension amongst the local community at large, making sensible discourse difficult.

8.4.2 Organised political forces

Organised political forces form the second part of the political stream. Public interest and pressure groups each have their place within the policy process.

Discussion around the role of public interest groups in the New Forest was frequent, raised in eight of ten interviews. The two competing coalitions of stakeholders – 'Forest comes first' and 'people as equals' - identified two contrasting groups which they perceived to be influential in the policy process.

The dog walking lobby

Of six 'Forest comes first' respondents, four identified by name the New Forest Dog Owners Group (NFDOG) as a significant barrier to transport policy change. NFDOG is a pressure group setup to safeguard the interests of dog walkers and dog walking in the New Forest. The identification of a group of this nature as a significant component of transport policy debate may at first be surprising. However, local circumstances and interests combine to make them a powerful opponent to certain areas of policy change.

It has already been noted how historic transport planning approaches have been identified as reinforcing attitudes to car use, and strengthening opposition to policy change in the

New Forest. The availability of free car parking deep within the Forest has been frequently used to illustrate the case. One of the main beneficiaries of these car parks are local dog walkers. NFDOG therefore actively campaigns for the maintenance of the status quo, providing significant opposition to any attempts to restrict or reallocate car parking. Each of the four respondents who identified the group highlighted the public and political pressure that this organisation can exert in order to protect its interests. By way of illustration, one respondent stated that:

> 'There has been a big rumpus about the New Forest National Park Plan [which proposed the creation of dog-free car parks]. There's been 4000 circular letters printed by the dog walkers saying 'we don't do any harm, we must have free reign and do as we please', and against that what is an elected councillor to do? He knows that if he says it must stop then he will be out at the next election'. (NF9)

Here then is an excellent illustration of the complexity of the transport planning process in the New Forest National Park. Such is the range of influence of transport policy, and the extent of political and public interests and agendas, that to achieve anything but the most marginal of policy changes appears inherently difficult. Even when internal members of the policy community can be shown to demonstrate formal agreement on a specific policy, external members provide such opposition as to make it undeliverable.

NFDOG was therefore identified as a group whose interests are primarily negative. That is, seeking to block changes in transport policy that its members perceive as unfavourable. In terms of resources, it was considered to be well supported and organised, and able to exert significant local political influence by way of the number of its members. Indeed, in response to the dog-free car park proposals in the draft National Park Management Plan, a petition of over 1700 signatures was handed to the NFNPA, along with a twenty-one page consultation response document.

The environmental lobby

Just as NFDOG was cited for its negative blocking tactics, so were members of the environmental lobbies by 'people as equals' stakeholders. Though not citing specific groups by name, each of our four respondents cited frustration at the activities of environmental groups with regards to their preservation and conservation ideals. The on-going debate about a bypass for the village of Lyndhurst illustrates this point well. The Leader of Hampshire County Council is a long time supporter of plans for a bypass. He cited the environmental and conservation bodies, both formal and informal, as problematic to the policy process.

> 'Conservation is going to limit the natural way of life in the Forest, and its economic viability if the conservationalists make it so difficult, whether directly or indirectly, to access the New Forest. The weight of cars through tourism will start to reduce because I don't think people want to have to queue every day they're here visiting'. (NF1)

Interestingly, both of the environmental influence stakeholders cited the frequent rejection of the plans as a 'win' in the transport context. 'We've won the Lyndhurst bypass argument every time it has come up. It's irritating that it comes back every ten years and we have to put a lot of resources in to it'. Similarly, of the New Forest Association, one of the primary environmental influence groups, it was stated that:

> 'When we get something like the Lyndhurst bypass, and the New Forest Association can stir itself, then it will be a well argued and financed case, and there is a good chance it will be successful'. (NF9)

The strength of NFDOG was allied primarily to the number of its members, and the political influence that this can bring. The strength of the environmental lobby meanwhile comes largely from the variety of national and European environmental designations which protect the New Forest. It is these designations which serve to empower both formal and informal environmental groups, presenting a significant barrier to protagonists supporting road infrastructure or capacity improvements.

8.4.3 Local governance arrangements

This section will examine the influence of existing local governance arrangements on the political stream. A number of issues surrounding National Park designation have already been discussed at length in this chapter. As such, the debate will not be repeated here. National Park designation was not however the only important factor raised which related to local governance arrangements for the New Forest. 'Forest comes first' respondents were particularly active in outlining additional concerns, which we will discuss here.

Vulnerability of local authority councillors to adverse public opinion

Four 'Forest comes first' respondents noted the vulnerability of councillors within the local government sphere to public opinion. It is these local councillors, be they representing Hampshire County Council, the New Forest District Council, or the New Forest National Park Authority who maintain overall responsibility for decision making and policy direction of their respective public sector organisations. They are of course directly reliant on the votes of the general public to maintain their positions. There are then serious political implications for those individuals seen to be supporting transport policy measures which are controversial or unpopular with the general public at large. As a result, respondents cited a

lack of political will to engage in transport policy debates surrounding the use of more controversial transport planning instruments for fear of reprisal at the ballot box. This was seen to impede sensible and practical transport policy debate, and add to the inertia.

> 'Whilst the (local authority) officers may be very well aware of the problems, and the actions necessary to solve them, because the policies are determined by councillors they won't get done'. (NF9)

> 'Anybody who is dependant very heavily on the local electorate and can be got at very easily by them is going to baulk (at controversial policy proposals)'. (NF8)

As identified in section 8.4.1, respondents perceived the local public mood as one largely reluctant to embrace significant transport policy change. Similarly, in section 8.4.3, NFDOG were identified as active participants in the policy sector. This is a group whose activities show them to be well resourced and organised, and able to exert significant political influence by taking advantage of the political vulnerabilities of councillors outlined here.

Transport issues, it seems, come to represent a 'political hot potato'. One which, if councillors or decision-makers find themselves on the wrong side of, can present a fast-track to a shortened political life. As such, progress on transport policy change remains slow.

Local politicians take advantage of NPA unpopularity to boost local public support

Throughout the interview process, public and political opposition to the designation of National Park status for the New Forest, and the subsequent statutory creation of the NPA, was stressed. Amongst 'Forest comes first' respondents, there was concern that in seeking to engender the support of the local electorate, New Forest district and Hampshire county councillors were not being proactive in working with the NPA to embrace the challenges that it currently faces. As one respondent commented at length:

> 'I would have thought Hampshire County Council would have taken the opportunity to promote the National Park and proclaim what a wonderful county Hampshire is. You don't hear that because councillors have their electorate in the New Forest and there is a perception that people are not particularly fond of the National Park Authority. The MPs also take an opportunity to slag it off, and you're finding the same with the county and district councillors. If there was a brave policy entrepreneur who would say 'wow, isn't this great, we've got a National Park and here's how we're going

> to look after it for the greater glory of the county of Hampshire and the New Forest District as a whole' then perhaps we'd get somewhere'. (NF8)

Existing local government arrangements appear then to reduce the potential for significant transport policy change in the New Forest National Park. As local councillors rely on the support of the local electorate for re-election, they are unlikely to pursue policy measures deemed controversial or unpopular. Local politicians' positions on transport policy may not represent a vote winner, but in light of unpopular policy proposals, could certainly represent a vote loser. On this basis it is difficult to imagine any level of local political support for the use of measures likely to be opposed by car owning local residents.

8.4.4 Summary of political stream findings

Workings in the political stream can be seen to directly influence what is publicly and politically deliverable in terms of transport policy at the local level. With specific regard to transport, respondent perceptions of the local mood in the context of policy change was overwhelmingly negative. That is, public opinion serves to constrain decision makers from taking certain actions, as opposed to empowering them to be able to do something. Similarly, in discussion of pressure groups and campaigns, their actions were all perceived to relate directly to negative or blocking activity. For example, NFDOG favour the maintenance of the status quo in terms of the provision of extensive, free car parking throughout the New Forest, whilst environmental groups vehemently oppose any major transport infrastructure projects such as road building or capacity increases.

Transport policy delivery at the local level is reliant on the support of democratically elected councillors. Councillors require the support of the local electorate for re-election. Those supporting policy measures unpopular with the general public or local interest groups, particularly in this case NFDOG, may soon find themselves unseated, and therefore not wish to pursue controversial policy positions.

Section 8.5 will now examine the role of policy entrepreneurs in the New Forest, in an attempt to understand their influence in any change processes.

8.5 POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

Policy entrepreneurs are individuals, or groups of individuals, who advocate the implementation or use of a particular policy or range of policy measures. Their presence in the policy sector can often help in the elevation of preferred policy options to the top, or near the top, of the policy agenda. Table 8.10 illustrates areas for research in this regard.

Table 8.10 – Examining the influence of policy entrepreneurs in the New Forest National Park

MS framework composition element	Research questions
Policy entrepreneurs	- is there any evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector? - if so, what is their status within the policy community and are they influential in the policy process?

In the context of the New Forest, there would appear to be no such policy entrepreneur or entrepreneurs active in the transport policy field. Little positive thought on the emergence of transport policy entrepreneurs by which to at least progress transport policy debates was elicited. Notable by its absence during the interview process was any discourse relating to the presence of active or historic policy entrepreneurs in the transport planning field.

It was speculated earlier that, in light of the fragmentation of the policy community, the release of the draft New Forest National Park Management Plan represented an attempt by the NPA to raise the profile of the transport agenda and stimulate new debate. The public and political reaction to elements of this document was seen by one respondent to discourage future entrepreneurialism.

> 'One of the down sides of the bloodying of the National Park Authority, because that's what it has been over the draft plan…[is that] I don't really see a great deal of radicalism coming out of the NPA for a few years, and very understandably. Some people would say 'good, that's just what we want - job done'. (NF8)

In light of this reaction, it is questionable whether any individual, collection of individuals, or organisation would be willing in the future to demonstrate any level of support for controversial transport policy measures. As discussed earlier, existing political arrangements do not seem to encourage entrepreneurialism from politically vulnerable locally elected politicians.

A policy entrepreneur need not necessarily champion controversial policy measures of course. However, there was no discourse from any of the respondents in regard to the existence of any kind of policy entrepreneur in the New Forest transport planning sector. As was discussed earlier, the failure to implement many policies outlined in the New Forest Transport Strategy of 1989 was frequently used to illustrate inertia in the sector. As stated by one respondent:

> 'We have a whole load of potentially good policy in the highway strategy of 1989. Apart from obvious things, none of it has happened. It's good policy, but no one has made it happen because it's too complicated, and that continues to be a real burden.' (NF2)

Such a finding adds weight to the assertion that transport planning inertia in the New Forest will be difficult to break. With this in mind, section 8.6 now concludes this chapter.

8.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the individual workings of the problem, policy, and political streams, and the role for entrepreneurs. Table 8.11 overleaf summarises key findings relevant to the MS framework, which are discussed further below.

It would appear that transport problems in the New Forest are easily identifiable, and quite apparent to the respondents interviewed. However, it seems to take a focusing event – in this case, animal deaths or congestion in a key New Forest village – to promote an issue up the policy agenda. Protagonists wishing to use indicator or feedback based problem assessments are inhibited by a lack of available transport data, and the subjectivity of opinion on what is, and is not, problematic.

The policy stream is inhibited by deep divisions within the internal policy community. Policy debates begin with key stakeholders adopting markedly different positions on key issues, divided largely along economic and environmental lines. Decision making is inhibited as a result. However, some agreement on the role for transport policy in the New Forest – to better manage car borne visitors – has been documented. Where progress is difficult is in the agreement about which specific policy instruments may be best served to contribute to such a strategy. Technical feasibility, value acceptability, and public acceptability all play a role here, with instruments failing assessment on one or more of these variables.

The political stream would appear to be driven by public opinion. The local mood was seen to be resistant to transport policy change in terms of restraint measures, and indifferent to anything else. As such, organised political forces such as NFDOG emerge as particularly influential in limiting agendas of local politicians. Historical transport planning approaches were identified as serving to encourage car use, and interest groups remain keen to preserve amenities such as free and populous car parking provision. Such interest groups engage in 'blocking activity', not served to promote particular interests but to block proposals which they perceive to be against their stated interests. Furthermore, analysis did not reveal the presence of any policy entrepreneurs active within the transport sector. Whilst not essential to change, the presence of a policy entrepreneur would be helpful in overcoming certain barriers.

Table 8.11 - Summary of key findings relevant to MS framework

MS Framework	Areas for research	Summary of key findings
THE PROBLEM STREAM - indicators - focusing events - feedback	- the outlined strategic and transport problems in the New Forest National Park - how problems are defined and the extent to which they align with Kingdon's three mechanisms for problem definition - if the way problems are defined is seen to have any influence on the elevation of one issue over another on the agenda	- stakeholder awareness of a broad range of transport problems that are defined as 'indicators' or 'focusing events' - focusing events such as animal deaths and site specific congestion appear to encourage more emphasis in terms of policy action - it is hard to quantify problems such as car use and associated impacts through the use of indicators. This may inhibit the elevation of problems to the decision agenda
THE POLICY STREAM - the policy community - policy objectives - the policy primeval soup	- the strength of relationships between policy makers - fragmentation/unity of the policy community - consensus / divergence on transport policy objectives - how policy community members view policy proposals in terms of their feasibility, personal value acceptability, and public acceptability	- policy community is fragmented and relationships are poor - division occurs along economic and environmental lines - stakeholders would like to see better management of car borne visitors - policy instruments allied to above strategy fail on one or more of Kingdon's 'criteria for survival'
THE POLITICAL STREAM - the local mood - organised political forces - local governance arrangements	- the extent that local mood is considered to influence the policy process - whether organised political forces are active in the policy sector, and, if so, to what extent they affect the policy process - the impact, if any, of existing local government arrangements on the policy process	- perceptions of public mood largely negative: no appetite for change - interest groups such as NFDOG limit consideration of policy alternatives due to blocking activities; seek to preserve free and well located car parks - politicians vulnerable to unfavourable public opinion; do not engage in controversial transport policy dialogue
POLICY ENTREPRENEURS	- evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector, and their influence on policy processes	- no evidence of active policy entrepreneur in policy sector

Chapter Nine: The Yorkshire Dales National Park - An Overview

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses documentary analysis to provide a contextual overview of the second sub-case study area, the Yorkshire Dales National Park. Key geographical, demographic and historical information is presented in section 9.2. Section 9.3 provides an overview of the literature which forms the basis for the rest of chapter. Key transport policy documents and quantitative data arising from visitor and resident surveys are used to conduct a preliminary analysis of the policy sector. The MS framework provides the structure to this analysis. Therefore, section 9.4 considers evidence in light of the problem stream. The policy stream is discussed in section 9.5, whilst 9.6 examines data in light of the political stream. A conclusion is provided in section 9.7.

9.2 THE YORKSHIRE DALES NATIONAL PARK

This section provides an introduction to the Yorkshire Dales in terms of its geographical, transport, historical and political dimensions.

9.2.1 Geography

The Yorkshire Dales National Park covers an area of 680 square miles and is located within the county of North Yorkshire in the North of England. It is the fifth largest National Park by area in the UK, and the fourth least densely populated. The National Park is situated in close proximity to the densely populated areas of West Yorkshire, East Lancashire and Teeside.

9.2.2 Transport infrastructure

The road network in the Yorkshire Dales consists of minor A and B roads, and smaller C and unclassified roads. The primary road through the National Park is the east-west running A684 which links Kendal in the Lake District to the A19 in North Yorkshire. This road crosses the full width of the Yorkshire Dales, serving local centres including Sedbergh, Garsdale, Hawes, Bainbridge and Aysgarth. A number of motorways and trunk roads lead to the very edge of the National Park, where gateway towns such as Ilkley, Skipton, Settle and Kirkby Stephen lead into the dales of the National Park hinterland.

The Yorkshire Dales National Park is relatively well served by rail, and is home to four stopping stations on the Leeds – Carlisle line. Rail services offer direct access to both these cities, in addition to the smaller urban centres of Settle, Skipton, Keighley and Shipley. Bus service coverage is sparse in the northern part of the Dales, with better representation of services in the southern part of the National Park (North Yorkshire County Council, 2006a).

9.2.3 Local governance

The Yorkshire Dales are largely under the jurisdiction of North Yorkshire County Council. North Yorkshire itself has a two-tier system of local governance, comprising of county and district councils. The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority also forms part of the local government framework in North Yorkshire. They are responsible for a range of functions allied to their objectives of conservation and enhancement, and the promotion of understanding and enjoyment of the National Park. In addition, they are also the local planning authority for the parts of the Yorkshire Dales covered by the National Park.

9.2.4 Statutory transport responsibilities in the Yorkshire Dales National Park

North Yorkshire County Council has direct responsibility for transport planning within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. As noted, North Yorkshire itself has a two-tier system of local government. This means that certain local government functions are the responsibility of seven district councils, and other functions are the responsibility of the County Council. The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority also undertakes a number of specific functions which would otherwise be undertaken by district or county councils. The main transport related functions of each of the tiers of local government in North Yorkshire are set out overleaf in Table 9.1.

Direct transport planning responsibilities for the NPA are limited to their work surrounding development control, off street parking and transport related leisure and tourism initiatives. North Yorkshire County Council remains the highways authority and leads on transport planning and policy development across the county, including the Yorkshire Dales National Park area.

9.2.5 History and designation of National Park status

In 1954, the Yorkshire Dales became the eighth National Park in the UK to receive designation. Speakman (2001) asserts that the move to designation was subject to vigorous opposition by the now outdated North and West Riding County Councils, who feared the loss of their local autonomy if a National Park was created in their boundaries.

Table 9.1 – Transport related functions of local government in North Yorkshire (Source: North Yorkshire County Council, 2006a)

Function	County Council	District Council	NPA
Highway Authority	✓		
Transport Planning	✓		
Passenger Transport Subsidies	✓		
Community Transport	✓	✓	
On Street Car Parking	✓		
Rights of Way	✓		
Education	✓		
Social Services	✓		
Economic Development	✓	✓	
Development Control		✓	✓
Leisure and Tourism		✓	✓
Taxi Licensing		✓	
Concessionary Transport Fares		✓	
Off Street Car Parking		✓	✓

9.2.6 Strategic challenges facing the Yorkshire Dales National Park

The Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan (2006) identifies five key issues that are deemed problematic with regard to the achievement of the NPAs statutory objectives:

- Farming – the changing role of farming is problematic for local culture, communities and the economy. Changes to farming threaten the landscape character of the Dales.

- Economic changes – forecasts of long-term economic growth have implications in terms of increased demand for new developments and for natural resources such as aggregates. Each has the potential to impact negatively on the natural environment within the National Park.

- Increasing recreational demand and public mobility – expected increases in public leisure and recreational demand have implications, both positive and negative, for the National Park. Growth in private car use has environmental and societal implications.

- Housing – growth in demand for housing has increased house prices in the National Park to the extent that many residents are unable to afford them. This has implications for population demographics, and the vibrancy and economic viability of local communities.

- Climate change – the challenge of climate change is deemed to be two-fold. Firstly, to find ways in which the impacts of climate change on the natural environment and landscape can be minimised. Secondly, to find ways in which the National Park can contribute to tackling climate change by reducing environmental impacts at the local level.

Having now presented an overview of relevant data, the next section provides an overview of the literature used to inform this documentary analysis.

9.3 INFORMATION SOURCES FOR THE DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

As with the previous sub-case study, the documentary analysis will be structured in terms of the three streams of the MS framework – problem, policies and politics. The aim is to provide a contextual baseline of information that will aid in the evaluation of the potential for policy change in the policy sector.

The documentary analysis draws largely from the following sources:

- North Yorkshire's second Local Transport Plan (LTP2);
- The Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan; and
- The Yorkshire Dales NPA customer surveys of 2008 and 2002.

The North Yorkshire LTP2 is the current 'active' document directing long term policy for North Yorkshire, which includes the Yorkshire Dales National Park. Unlike in Hampshire County Council's LTP2, the North Yorkshire LTP2 does not contain a specific transport strategy for the Yorkshire Dales National Park. However, reference to the National Park and some of the particular transport issues it faces are made throughout the LTP2 document. The LTP2 document also contains an annex called 'Transport and Sustainable Tourism Guidelines', a strategy which was developed in partnership with other local government partners including the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority. This sets out partners' shared priorities and policies with regard to the development of sustainable tourism in the North Yorkshire area, including the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

As previously outlined, the Yorkshire Dales NPA is not the transport or highway authority for the National Park. However, transport issues do receive recognition in the National Park Management Plan and will be referred to as appropriate through the chapter.

The Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority undertook its latest customer survey exercise in 2008. The customer survey was a questionnaire-based exercise which sought to examine perspectives of a range of issues pertaining to the visitor experience of the Yorkshire Dales National Park. A total of 554 surveys were returned during the exercise. A similar exercise was undertaken in 2002. The results of these surveys will be considered in order to inform the MS framework analysis.

9.4 THE PROBLEM STREAM

9.4.1 Problem awareness at the institutional level

Both the LTP2 and the Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan identify two specific transport challenges – poor public transport provision, and excess car use in honeypot locations during periods of peak tourism demand – as areas of concern. Tables 9.2 and 9.3 show the levels of synergy between the two organisations in this regard.

Table 9.2 – North Yorkshire County Council LTP2: identified problems in the Yorkshire Dales National Park
(Source: North Yorkshire County Council, 2006b)

Issue	Context
1) Varying levels of public transport accessibility	Some areas of the National Park deemed to have suitable levels of public transport coverage. In others, there is little or no public transport service provision
2) Localised village congestion	Endemic congestion in honeypot locations throughout the National Park caused by levels of visitor traffic
3) Road safety	There are high accident and casualty rates on a number of key routes within the Yorkshire Dales National Park

Table 9.3 – Transport issues identified in the Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan
(Source: Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan, 2006)

Issue	Context
Low public transport accessibility and service provision	People (residents and potential visitors) without access to a private vehicle cannot enjoy the Yorkshire Dales in the same way that those with private car access can
Threats to the special qualities of the National Park through increased car use	Greater individual mobility through the use of private vehicles can lead to congestion, adverse landscape and ecological impacts, and increased air, light and noise pollution

The synergy between these two documents supports the conclusion that policy makers in the area do have a grasp of existing transport issues 'on the ground' in the National Park. These findings were doubtless informed by the results of the 2008 and 2002 visitor surveys. The surveys sought to examine the mode of transport used by visitors on their trip to the National Park. Results from 2008 and 2002 are presented in Table 9.4.

Table 9.4 – Visitor mode choice in the Yorkshire Dales National Park

Transport mode	2008 Customer Survey	2002 Customer Survey	Difference between 2008 and 2002
Car (%)	90	90	0
Train (%)	2	0	+2%
Bus (%)	3	3	0
Bike (%)	1	1	0
Other (%)	4	6	-2%

The results show a strong predilection for car use amongst visitors to the Yorkshire Dales National Park. In both 2008 and 2002, 90% of respondents surveyed had travelled to the Yorkshire Dales by car. Public transport mode split in 2008 was just 5%.

9.4.2 Problem awareness amongst Yorkshire Dales residents and visitors

Little comprehensive data exists through which to make an accurate analysis of the public mood in relation to transport and traffic issues in the Yorkshire Dales. That said, interview participants in the 2008 visitor survey were asked of any underlying factors that had served to spoil their enjoyment of the Yorkshire Dales on the occasion of their visit. The results are shown in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 – Factors serving to spoil visitor enjoyment of the Yorkshire Dales National Park

What spoilt your enjoyment?	2008 Customer Survey
Nothing	58%
Bad weather	16%
Cost of parking	5%
Traffic congestion	5%
Too many people	4%
Litter	3%
Other	9%

More than half of the respondents (58%) were satisfied with their visit to the National Park and stated that nothing had served to spoil their enjoyment. The weather was the most frequently identified negative factor, cited by 16% of respondents. In transport terms, the cost of parking (5% of respondents) and traffic congestion (5% of respondents) were the most frequently cited issues. This provides a brief snapshot that concern amongst visitors to the Yorkshire Dales regarding traffic congestion at the time was shown to be low.

However, the survey did reveal a decline in customer satisfaction with regard to public transport services and information when compared to the 2002 survey. Survey respondents who had used public transport were asked to rate their satisfaction of both the service and information provision on a scale of 1 to 6 (with 1 being very dissatisfied and 6 being very satisfied). Results are shown below in Table 9.6.

Table 9.6 – Customers' satisfaction with public transport services and information provision in the Yorkshire Dales National Park

	Satisfied or very satisfied 2008	Satisfied or very satisfied 2002	Difference between 2008 and 2002
Public transport service provision	55%	67%	-12%
Public transport information provision	53%	71%	-18%

Results in Table 9.6 show a 12% fall in satisfaction with regard to the level of public transport service provision to and within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. An even greater decrease is apparent with regard to perceptions of the quality of public transport information provided, with only 53% of public transport users satisfied or very satisfied in this regard. This represents a fall of 18% from the 2002 survey.

With information relating to the problem stream now presented, the following section will examine evidence in relation to the policy stream.

9.5 THE POLICY STREAM

The documentary analysis in the previous sub-case study examined the policy stream in the context of both the institutional and public spheres. In this case however, there is no data to help inform the public perspective of transport planning instruments/policies. This section therefore focuses solely on institutional policy preferences. Based on interview responses, an assessment of public perspectives is included as part of the next chapter.

9.5.1 Policy preferences at the institutional level

North Yorkshire County Council's aspirations with regard to sustainable tourism and transport policy are outlined in the aforementioned Sustainable Transport and Tourism Guidelines provided as an annex to the LTP2. These are shown in Table 9.7 overleaf.

As outlined in the sustainable tourism strategy itself 'many of the measures specifically aim to promote the use of sustainable and alternative modes of transport to the private car' (North Yorkshire County Council, 2006b, p. 4). Policy aspirations are modest, with no commitment to any element of vehicle restraint, despite the acknowledgement of problems allied to traffic volumes and car use. The strategy is reliant on the promotion and marketing of existing public transport services, and does not outline any proposals to increase public transport service provision. This is despite the earlier acknowledgement of the varying level of public transport service provision within the National Park. Commitment is made to improve walking and cycling infrastructure provision. Whilst commendable, it is unrealistic to consider that such initiatives will provide a suitable alternative to car use for more than a small number of people.

As with the policy proposals in the North Yorkshire LTP2, aspirations and preferred policy measures outlined in the Yorkshire Dales National Park Management Plan are largely incentive based. The NPA wishes to secure public transport service improvements on key routes throughout the Dales, such that key towns and settlements are accessible throughout the year. There is also support for improvements to public transport services in popular visitor locations during periods of peak tourism demand. The NPA also supports improvements to the quality and dissemination of public transport information for visitors and residents. Improvements to pedestrian and cycling facilities in key rural settlements are also aspired to. Aspirations for traffic management in village centres relates primarily to the implementation of traffic calming measures and improvements to pedestrian and cycling facilities in key rural settlements. There is no consideration for any kind of vehicle restraint measures within the policy document.

Evidence from both documents does little to suggest that a new wave of transport planning approaches for the National Parks is being realised in the Yorkshire Dales. However, given the synergy that exists between North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales NPA in terms of a) their recognition of transport issues, b) their support for public transport based policy measures and c) the lack of restraint based measures in their policy documents, it can be asserted that agreement between the two, theoretically at least, does exist on the best approach to transport planning and policy for the Yorkshire Dales.

The next section will now consider documentary evidence relating to the political stream.

Table 9.7 – The transport vision, themes and policy aspirations for tourism in the North Yorkshire LTP2 area

The Long Term Vision: *To actively encourage visitors and residents to use passenger transport and other green modes when visiting destinations from within and outside the county*	
Aspirations	**How achieved?**
Passenger transport services to benefit both visitors and residents with frequent and reliable services on both road and rail	▪ Encouraging dual use of public transport services ▪ Further developing community rail partnerships
Where possible, visitors and residents should have access to an integrated and co-ordinated transport network to enable safer, reliable and more efficient journeys to be made without the use of the private car	▪ Integrating bus, rail and community transport services more effectively ▪ Maintaining, upgrading, or creating local rights of way in order to: improve access to key services; facilitate and encourage sustainable tourism; and promote alternatives to the motor car for longer distance journeys
Investigate the potential to enhance journeys by public transport thus making it part of the visitor experience without the use of a private vehicle	▪ Promotion of public transport as part of a wider visitor experience
Manage traffic and the environmental impact associated with it in order to conserve and enhance the quality and character of visitor areas	▪ Co-ordination of on and off street parking management with National Park Authorities ▪ Improvements to key rural and pedestrian cycle routes to connect settlements
Wherever possible, ensure that all people have equal access to visitor destinations	▪ Better integration of bus and rail services ▪ Improve availability of public transport information
Improve partnerships with transport providers and tourism bodies to aid facilitate the effective promotion of passenger transport, cycling and walking	▪ Improve availability of public transport information for residents and visitors
Improve promotion of, and encouragement and support for, cycling, walking and equestrian tourism	▪ Improvements to rural cycling, walking and equestrian routes ▪ Maintaining, upgrading, or creating local rights of way

9.6 THE POLITICAL STREAM

A lack of succinct or related evidence makes coherent analysis of the political stream difficult at this juncture. Workings of the political stream are influenced by factors including the local mood, organised political forces and local government arrangements. Given the range of available data, it is not yet possible to explore the primary tenets of the stream.

It is possible however to construct a modest visitor profile. This is shown in Table 9.8.

Table 9.8 – Classification of Yorkshire Dales visitor type

Visitor Type	2008	2002	Difference between 2008 and 2002
Day visitor from home	6%	2%	+4%
Day visitor from elsewhere	47%	49%	-2%
Staying visitor	47%	49%	-2%

A day visitor from home was defined as a resident of the National Park. Day visitors from elsewhere were people making a day trip from anywhere outside the Yorkshire Dales, and staying visitors were those staying away from home for at least one night, whether in the Yorkshire Dales or elsewhere.

The survey demonstrates a very even split between the day leisure market (53%) and staying visitor leisure market (47%). In contrast to the New Forest case study, only 6% of people surveyed were residents within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. This is perhaps reflective of the lower population density, but provides an interesting contrast to the previous case study. That said, of all the non-resident day visitors, almost two-thirds (62%) of people had travelled to the Yorkshire Dales from elsewhere in Yorkshire and the Humber. A further 26% came from the north-west region, while 6% came from the north-east. Whilst regional designations are not comprehensively location specific, it can be noted that only 6% of non-National Park resident day trippers had come from outside the Yorkshire, Humberside, north-east and north-west regions. That is, the overwhelming majority of non-resident day trippers were located in relatively close proximity to the Yorkshire Dales.

9.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided initial commentary and observation relating to the Yorkshire Dales transport policy sector. The three streams of the MS framework have been used to structure the analysis. Table 9.9 overleaf summarises relevant findings and points of interest, which are discussed below.

With regard to the problem stream, both North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales NPA identify poor public transport provision and excess car use within the National Park as areas of concern. Results from the visitor surveys show a heavy reliance on car use for travel to the National Park. However, only a small level of concern with regard to traffic congestion (5% of respondents) was shown by visitors when questioned during 2008. The same number of people expressed concern with the cost of parking at this time. User satisfaction with both the quality of service and provision of information with regard to public transport declined significantly over the period 2002 – 2008.

The policy stream primarily concerns the generation of policy proposals designed to address identified transport problems. In response to the identified transport issues, both North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority have developed 'toolkits' of policy aspirations and proposals they wish to see pursued. In both cases, aspirations are modest, focusing primarily on public transport service and marketing improvements, and pedestrian and cycling infrastructure improvements. There is no mention within key policy documents of any support for the imposition of any element of vehicle restraint or disincentive transport measures.

Lack of documentary evidence made it impossible to provide an assessment on the political stream. However, in constructing a visitor profile it was possible to determine that a far smaller number of day visitors to the National Park are residents when compared to the New Forest case study. That said, of all the non-resident day trippers to the National Park, almost two thirds originated in the Yorkshire and Humber region.

These issues raised here will be explored in greater detail in the next chapter, which documents findings of the Yorkshire Dales research interviews undertaken as part of the case study method.

Table 9.9 – Preliminary findings of documentary analysis relevant to MS framework

MS Framework Composition	Documentary Analysis: Relevant Findings
The Problem Stream	- Strategic transport documents demonstrate consensus on transport issues - Impacts of car use and poor public transport provision outlined as primary issues - High levels of car use amongst visitors - Declining customer satisfaction with regard to public transport service quality and information provision - Little acknowledgement of congestion issues amongst visitors
The Policy Stream	- Synergy between North Yorkshire County Council and Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority with regard to preferred transport planning approaches - Both organisations support modest public transport service initiatives and the promotion of walking/cycling initiatives - No policy aspirations with regard to use of restraint or disincentive measures - Tourism outlined as particularly important to local economy; unwillingness to pursue measures which may threaten it
The Political Stream	- Seemingly good working relationship between County Council and Yorkshire Dales NPA - Majority of visitors to the Yorkshire Dales drawn from Yorkshire, Humberside, the North East and the North West

Chapter Ten: Transport and the Yorkshire Dales National Park – Stakeholder Perspectives

10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents interview findings and analysis relating to the Yorkshire Dales National Park sub case study. As with the previous case study, the MS framework gives the structure to this analysis by allowing the examination of data in the context of each individual stream – problem, policies, and politics.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 10.2 focuses on the problem stream, and aims to discover how transport issues are viewed and defined by key stakeholders. In section 10.3, closer examination of the policy stream is undertaken. Section 10.4 provides an assessment of the political stream, whilst section 10.5 assesses what role, if any, exists for policy entrepreneurs in the context of the policy sector. The chapter is concluded by section 10.6.

10.2 THE PROBLEM STREAM

This section will examine how respondents come to view and define strategic and transport problems in the Yorkshire Dales National Park. This approach provides an initial insight into agenda setting processes. Prior to in-depth analysis, an overview of the key research findings are presented overleaf in Table 10.1. This is a tabulated review of the interview responses received to the two questions designed to inform the problem stream analysis.
Table 10.1 provides a simple guide to the issues which will be discussed in this section of the chapter. As before, it is first necessary to document some of the broader issues deemed to affect the National Park. It is against this context that transport debates are played out. The next section provides a brief discussion of the cited strategic challenges in the Yorkshire Dales, identifying implications for the transport policy debate where appropriate.

10.2.1 Outlined strategic challenges

Three strategic challenges were identified by interview respondents. These were:

- Threats to the special qualities of the National Park (6 responses);
- Post foot and mouth diversification (5 responses); and
- Climate change (4 responses).

A brief discussion of each will be undertaken here in order to identify any influence that these events may be seen to bring to the transport debate.

Table 10.1 – Overview of key findings relative to the problem stream

CONTEXT	RESPONSE	FREQUENCY OF RESPONSE	MECHANISM
The most important issues currently facing the Yorkshire Dales National Park	Threats to the special qualities of the National Park	6	Indicators
	Post foot and mouth diversification	5	Focusing event
	Climate change	4	Focusing event
The primary issues with transport in the context of the Yorkshire Dales National Park	The public transport network is inadequate	9	Indicators
	Car use in honeypot locations at times of peak tourist demand	7	Focusing event
	Car use throughout the National Park all through the year	3	Feedback

Threats to the special qualities of the National Park

The most frequently cited issue related specifically to threats to the special qualities of the National Park. Of particular concern was the impacts of visitors on the environmental well-being of the Yorkshire Dales. Respondents identified the potential that continued growth in visitor numbers could have in terms of denigrating the local environment, and undermining the very qualities that people actually visit the Yorkshire Dales to experience.

Post foot and mouth diversification – a changing rural economy

The Yorkshire Dales was hard hit by the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in spring 2001. As farming and agriculture suffered, so too did the tourism industry, as the countryside was essentially closed. Visitor numbers to the National Park reduced, public access was restricted, and the local economy suffered. Five respondents identified the outbreak of disease as the focusing event by which the importance of tourism to the economic vitality of the Yorkshire Dales was illustrated.

Prior to the onset of the epidemic, these respondents identified an unwillingness by some parts of the Yorkshire Dales community to engage or embrace the tourism movement. Only when foot and mouth struck, and the tangible impacts of a fall in visitor numbers to the National Park was realised, did such attitudes begin to change.

> 'After foot and mouth disease, the Dales realised that without visitors it's on its knees. Generally speaking everyone realises that this is a landscape whose principal commodity is not sheep, but visitors. I think that might have been lacking before. Farmers could say that walkers are a nuisance, but I think now

> they must see that it provides income for the area, however it inconveniences them personally'. (YD7)

Foot and mouth disease was therefore identified as the catalyst for a diversification of the rural economy. One in which the role of tourism is identified as equally important as traditional industries of farming and agriculture. Where previously some local attitudes to tourism may have been negative, they would now appear to have softened, embracing change and encouraging diversification.

Of wider interest here is the potential for conflict between ideal transport policy outcomes, and the diversification of the Yorkshire Dales' rural economy. On the one hand is a desire to limit the impact of the private vehicle in a sensitive rural area. On the other is an approach to tourism, propelled by the impacts of foot and mouth, to encourage increasing numbers of visitors into the National Park.

Climate change

The impacts of climate change on the economic and environmental vitality of the Yorkshire Dales was raised as an issue of concern in four research interviews. The climate change concept forms a tenet of discussion which will be revisited in section 10.4.3.2 so will not be expanded upon further here.

10.2.1.1 Defining stakeholder agendas

In the previous case study, stakeholder roles were assigned to respondents on the basis of their answers to the initial interview questions. Classification of stakeholders in this case is made more complicated by the dual nature of some respondents' roles. For example, the three elected local politicians interviewed also serve as National Park Authority Board Members, as do two unelected officials interviewed. As such, stratification of respondents will be limited to definition by the nature of their roles in the policy process.

The three elected local politicians, and four unelected officials in local government roles, combine as decision stakeholders. That is, individuals directly involved in the decision making process. Three influence stakeholders, each with transport, environmental and accessibility interests respectively, combine to form non-formalised decision making representation. For the ease of analysis, no further labelling of these groups will be applied. Reference will be made to their input as appropriate.

The next section now considers specifically the transport challenges which respondents identified as areas of concern in the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

10.2.2 Transport and the Yorkshire Dales National Park

Interviewees were asked to outline the transport challenges which they perceived to face the Yorkshire Dales National Park. A range of responses were received, which were:

- The inadequacy of the public transport network (9 responses);
- The impacts of car use in honeypot locations at times of peak tourism demand (7 responses); and
- The impacts of car use at all times of the year throughout the National Park (3 responses).

As with the New Forest sub-case study, the responses outlined above can each be seen to fall into one of Kingdon's three problem definition categories. This is summarised in Table 10.2 overleaf.

The table is split into two halves. The first shows the responses of decision stakeholders, the second shows the responses of influence stakeholders. Each numbered column represents an interview. A tick represents the fact that the issue was raised during the interview process. The absence of a tick indicates the issue was not raised. In addition, columns numbered 1 - 7 are shaded or un-shaded. Shaded columns indicate the respondent to be an elected decision stakeholder. Un-shaded columns indicate the participant to be an unelected decision stakeholder. Reference to these groups will be made throughout the analysis as appropriate.

Table 10.2 – Transport issues identified by respondents in the Yorkshire Dales National Park

	Decision Stakeholders							Influence Stakeholders		
INDICATOR BASED PROBLEMS:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Inadequate public transport	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
FOCUSING EVENTS:										
Excess car use in honeypot locations during times of peak demand	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓
FEEDBACK BASED PROBLEMS										
Impacts of car use throughout the year in the National Park				✓	✓			✓		

A brief discussion of each response now follows. This will be supplemented by discussion on whether the way that problems are defined may be seen to affect the elevation of one or more agenda items over another.

INDICATORS

An inadequate public transport network

The most frequently cited transport problem in the Yorkshire Dales related to perceptions of the inadequacy of the public transport network. This was an issue raised in nine of the ten interviews undertaken. Public transport services were frequently described as 'inadequate', 'hit and miss' or 'not a network for the twenty-first century'.

Of particular concern to respondents – a point raised in eight interviews – was the social justice aspect of failings in the public transport network. National Park legislation places accessibility as one of the two founding principles of the National Park movement. Respondents stated that those without access to a private car do not have a chance to visit the Dales as a result of the inadequacy of the public transport network. This point was articulately summarised by one respondent:

> 'If we look at Leeds and Bradford, we are going to have areas where perhaps 30% or 40% of households are without access to a car, for economic reasons not lifestyle choice. National Parks in terms of history, were very much for the urban population. It is completely unjust in my view that passenger transport doesn't at least provide an opportunity for those people to get to the park. If that isn't there then National Parks are failing in their very vision and concept that they were designed to do. They start to become middle class playgrounds for the affluent minority and that is fundamentally not what we are about. That's why public transport is so important, as well as providing an alternative experience for those with a car to get out and about, but I think it's being argued on the wrong point mostly. It's much more about access for those without a car from the urban areas to actually come out.' (YD10)

Financing, organisation, delivery and implementation of improvements of public transport services within, to and from the Yorkshire Dales National Park formed a key facet of many interviews. Historic approaches to public transport funding were raised as problematic, and will be expanded on briefly here as a result.

Eight respondents, including all the elected local politicians, and three unelected decision makers, highlighted historical funding approaches for rural public transport provision as inadequate and ultimately self-defeating. It was reported that any new funding for public transport services was provided on a short-term basis (typically one to three years), and

then not maintained. Hence there are examples of public transport services being implemented, operated for a short period, and then disappearing. This was deemed self-defeating in that it serves only to reinforce already existing stereotypes of rural public transport, and ultimately discourages use. Perceptions were that long-term commitment to the funding of rural public transport is necessary in the event that barriers to its use can be overcome.

FOCUSING EVENTS

In addition to indicators, problem awareness can also emerge as a result of the occurrence of focusing events. One particular occurrence can be seen to serve as a focusing event for transport problems in the Yorkshire Dales. This is the localised and period instances of excess car use occurring in honeypot locations during periods of peak tourism demand.

Car use in honeypot locations during times of peak demand

Seven respondents identified instances of excess car use in honeypot areas during periods of peak tourism demand, citing such events as problematic. All three elected decision stakeholders, two unelected decision stakeholders and two influence stakeholders made this assertion. Consider the following comments by means of illustration.

> 'There are very few days in very few parts of the Park, where it causes a problem. You can mention all of the honeypots and all of the smaller towns, but if you avoided those areas and you avoided bank holidays then you would never think there was a traffic problem'. (YD3)

> 'On a summer's day, the honeypots are full. Other times you might be hard pressed to see a car'. (YD8)

> 'We've got very little identifiable congestion. On a really peak, sunny day, or Sunday, you will perhaps get it at Bolton Abbey, and on main roads from Ilkley, what people would call congestion. It's not every weekend and it's not all the time'. (YD10)

To these respondents therefore, car use in the National Park was only identified as being an issue of concern in specific locations and at rather infrequent times throughout the year.

FEEDBACK

Feedback is the third element of problem definition. As with the previous case study, general externalities relating to car use (excluding its use in honeypot locations at peak times of demand) are considered to be defined through this mechanism.

Impacts of car use throughout the year in the National Park

Three respondents – two unelected decision stakeholders, and one influence stakeholder - identified the impacts of car use in the National Park as being significant on a year-round basis. Citing air quality impacts, visual intrusion, and environmental damage, visitor-borne vehicle traffic was identified as undermining the special qualities of the National Park. In each case, frustration was documented at the inability or unwillingness of partner organisations – North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority – and the general public at large, to engage in informed and rational transport planning debates. These themes will be unpicked throughout the remainder of this chapter.

10.2.3 Summary of problem stream findings

A range of strategic and transport challenges facing the Yorkshire Dales have been identified. In each case they can be seen to align with Kingdon's mechanisms for problem definition, namely focusing events and indicators.

With specific regard to transport, there is acknowledgement of two primary issues across the policy community, namely public transport inadequacy, and the impacts of car use. However, whilst the deficiency of the public transport system can be considered a year-round event, the majority of respondents felt that impacts of car use arose only in specific locations and at specific times of year. Such sporadic instances of excess car use in honeypot locations – whilst identifiable and acknowledged – may not serve to propel the issue to the top of the decision making agenda. Whilst in the New Forest, congestion issues in one key village – Lyndhurst – were deemed to promote policy action, it is unclear if the same principle will apply in the Yorkshire Dales. As Kingdon (1984) asserts, a condition only becomes a problem when enough people are convinced that something should be done about it. The Yorkshire Dales are far less densely populated than the New Forest, yet significantly greater in size. Intuition suggests that the number of honeypot locations will therefore be greater, perhaps serving to dilute public or political desire for action.

Having completed the problem stream analysis, section 10.3 below will now present an overview and analysis of the policy stream in the context of the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

10.3 THE POLICY STREAM

The workings of the policy stream will be examined in this section. Relationships between members of the internal policy community will be explored in section 10.3.1. Secondly, evidence or otherwise of shared common ground for transport policy objectives will be considered in section 10.3.2. Section 10.3.3 presents an overview of respondents' attitudes to potential policy measures forming part of the policy 'soup'. Key findings are summarised in section 10.3.4.

10.3.1 The policy community

Much of the discourse surrounding the policy community is best described in the context of 'local government arrangements'. These are therefore examined in section 10.4.3. The following section will examine respondents' preferred policy objectives for transport, prior to an assessment of the instruments which could theoretically be applied to meet them.

10.3.2 Overarching policy approaches for the Yorkshire Dales National Park

Prior to the assessment of individual transport planning instruments that could potentially be introduced in the Yorkshire Dales National Park, respondents were asked about overarching policy objectives and direction. Responses were dominated by debate undertaken with regard to general public attitudes to the concept of car use and vehicle restraint.

Reflecting research findings from the NPA Transport Officer interviews and those in the New Forest, 'car culture' was again central to respondents' perceptions that public attitudes to car use serve to drastically prohibit transport planning instruments that can realistically be considered for use in a National Park. Six of ten respondents, drawn from across the stakeholder spectrum, spoke at length about general public attitudes and the role of the private vehicle in everyday life. Consider the following comments as means of illustration:

> 'Some people consider it a human right to drive their car along all these roads. People neglect to consider other road users as having this right…all of this I think goes back to the whole hearts and mind issue which I think goes back to the national transport debate in terms of people's relationships with their car'. (YD10)

> 'People are so attached to their cars and free car use that anything that interferes with it is perceived as a real attack on them'. (YD2)

> 'What it boils down to is that it must be made socially unacceptable to take a car into a National Park because it's so special. But people do think they've got a god given right to take their car, and they don't think that a National Park is that special. These two things have to change. It will be a while, a long time'. (YD4)

Against such a groundswell of public attitudes in favour of car use, general scepticism prevailed with regard to the progress that could realistically be made in terms of the use of vehicle restraint measures. This is perhaps reflected in the level of support that all respondents demonstrated for the role of public transport in National Park transport

planning, and the desire for it to be delivered by central as opposed to local government. Even one of the biggest advocates of the combined use of incentives and disincentives as an integrated transport planning approach identified the influence of public attitudes on his transport planning horizons.

> 'Traffic management is a hot potato, no-one wants to do it, it's unpopular, everyone's a motorist, motorists object, so they would rather not do it…there's a limit to what you can do. In my early days I was interested in more radical proposals, but as time goes by you realise you should better focus on the battles you can win. So incrementally you move towards that. The fact that we are a nation of car lovers makes it very, very difficult for policy makers to reverse that trend, which is why I think the gradual bit by bit approach may be the answer. Maybe what you need to do is keep it under the table a bit! But that's not easy'. (YD6)

Public attitudes to car use seemingly represent a significant obstacle for policy change advocates. They appear particularly significant in affecting even the consideration of certain transport policy proposals at a political or even pressure group level. For instance, the Yorkshire Dales Society is an independent charity whose objectives relate to the protection and conservation of the Dales. Transport is one of the society's campaign and action areas, but public attitudes can be seen to influence the strategic approaches which they take.

> 'In a way we've focussed strongly on the carrots, through improving public transport, because at least that way we can win friends and influence people'. (YD6)

This assertion would suggest that more radical transport campaigns could turn public and political opinion against what is currently a well respected organisation, and ultimately serve to reduce its influence in the political arena. In the wider context of transport planning and the National Parks, if as intimated, the credibility of a transport pressure group decreases in light of perceptions of the radical-ness of its policy proposals, then the probability of securing significant policy change would seem to reduce with it.

With this in mind, section 10.3.3 now presents an assessment of the suitability of individual transport planning instruments that could theoretically be used in the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

10.3.3 The policy 'primeval soup'

Kingdon (1984) asserts that policy ideas which satisfy criteria relating to technical feasibility, value acceptability (to members of the internal policy community) and public acceptability stand the greatest chance of survival and possibly implementation. This section presents an assessment of a range of transport planning instruments using these 'criteria for survival' as a benchmark.

Table 10.3 provides a pictorial representation of key findings. Column one presents a list of transport planning instruments which could theoretically be applied in the Yorkshire Dales National Park. Respondents were asked whether they would support or oppose the use of each measure in the context of the National Park. Results are shown in columns two or three. As with the previous sub-case study example, a 'traffic light' scheme is again used to demonstrate where the barriers lie with regard to each policy proposal. Green indicates an issue was raised by three respondents or less during the interview process. Amber indicates an issue was raised by between four and six respondents, whilst red indicates an issue was raised by seven or more respondents.

Table 10.3 - Policy instruments and the criteria for survival

	Respondents:		**Criteria for survival**		
TRANSPORT PLANNING INSTRUMENTS:	In favour	Against	Technical feasibility	Value acceptability	Public acceptability
Public transport improvements	10	0			
Car parking charges	5	5			
Road closures	4	6			
Road pricing	3	7			

Key	
	= issue raised in 0-3 interviews
	= issue raised in 4-6 interviews
	= issue raised in 7+ interviews

Policy instruments which can be seen to satisfy all three criteria for survival stand the best chance of implementation. In the table above, this scenario would be represented by the presence of an all green row. In this case, no such example is forthcoming. Each policy instrument discussed can be seen to fail (by virtue of negative discourse from seven or more respondents) at least one of three survival criteria. Further discussion surrounding each policy measure will be presented here.

Public transport improvements

Public transport improvements were the single most supported transport planning instrument by respondents. They can be seen to satisfy stakeholder values on the basis of two key themes, namely that public transport provides a real alternative to private car use, in addition to helping provide 'access for all' to the National Park.

> 'If you look at it logically, it's difficult isn't it? The more business you get, the more harm you're doing to the landscape. The more people who come here, the more harm they do, and the less chance there is of us achieving our first purpose. But if we could change the transport habits it would have an enormous impact'. (YD1)

The last sentence in the above quote largely summarises respondent attitudes in this regard. The crucial first step in helping to ameliorate identified transport challenges was in simply providing a real alternative to the private car. At the present time, this was seen to be the single biggest missing link in the transport policy chain.

Public transport improvements aligned with stakeholder values on the social justice aspects outlined in section 10.2.2. Simply, improved public transport would equal an improvement in accessibility to the National Parks, to the great benefit of those without access to a private car.

Where problems were seen to emerge was with regard to the technical feasibility of such a measure. There was all round awareness that the provision of a public transport network for a rural area such as the Yorkshire Dales would require significant financial investment and subsidisation. The role of central Government in supporting such an approach was frequently raised, with respondents stating that North Yorkshire County Council would be unable to provide the financial support necessary.

Interesting discussion took place regarding the effectiveness of public transport improvements as a stand alone policy measure in securing modal shift. To three respondents – two elected and one unelected decision stakeholder – demand for public transport was seen to derive solely from its supply. That is, provide services and people will use them. The caveat being that any new public transport services will take time to 'bed in', and to expect instant results would be misguided. However, the prevailing feeling amongst these three respondents was that with time, and education, public transport improvements alone would help to address the extant transport challenges described previously.

Four other respondents – one elected and three unelected decision stakeholders – commented specifically that whilst satisfying the social justice aspect, public transport improvements alone would not be sufficient in helping to address issues of car use. Attention now turns to assessment of coercive transport planning instruments.

Car parking charges

Half of the respondents interviewed stated specifically that visiting car users in the National Park should be morally obligated to pay for the use of their vehicle. The most practical means by which to realise this approach was identified as through the use of car parking charges, to the extent that 'if you park, you pay'.

> 'Nobody parts with their money gladly, but as long as there's a clear route between my paying and the money being spent on the National Park's landscape then it is ok. If I'm not prepared to do that then I don't think I have a proper understanding of the Park's qualities. I think that it is morally and environmentally a water tight argument'. (YD7)

As with the previous sub-case study, inherent practical difficulties exist with this approach. Whilst there are a number of council and NPA controlled car parks which levy charges for users, the sheer size of the Yorkshire Dales provides ample opportunity for vehicles to park without incurring a charge. Whilst broadly supported therefore, the use of car parking charges were identified as a complex instrument to use in such a dispersed rural environment. Despite this, one respondent offered the following comment:

> 'With car parking spaces I would ensure that the off-road spaces became paid for parking spaces. Hence wherever you park, you pay, and you can't park anywhere else. You create a rural freeway – which is perfectly possible under current legislation – so that there is no parking at all except in designated places in which you need a ticket, and if you don't have one then you get a big fine. That creates revenues, though you would need to enforce it, for the park. Only about a third of motorists pay for parking in the Park, everybody else just parks on the road which means a huge loss of income. This could otherwise be used for conservation purposes or to support public transport. I would welcome an increase in parking charges'. (YD6)

Despite such support from five respondents, it would appear that the practical difficulties associated with the implementation of parking charges may serve to rule out their future use. For example, the introduction and enforcement of a scheme such as the one highlighted above would require a significant amount of initial investment, and significant partnership working between members of the policy community. Of more significant

concern would be opposition to such a scheme from the local public and visitors themselves, in addition to business concerns.

Road closures

As demonstrated in Table 10.3, the concept of road closures divided respondent opinion. Four interviewees – two unelected decision stakeholders, and two influence stakeholders – supported their use, whilst the remaining six respondents rejected the concept. Regardless of support or opposition, road closures were largely deemed an undeliverable policy instrument due to low public acceptability, and related political opposition.

Road closures aligned with the personal values of supporters on the basis that they presented a means by which to limit car access in sensitive areas of the National Park. When discussing road closures, supportive respondents frequently affiliated them with a wider concept of car-free zones. As the name would suggest, these were described as areas within the National Park which would provide and maintain access for all non-motorised and public transport modes. Citing the 1984 Road Traffic Regulation Act, road closures were also considered to be technically feasible in the event that political will existed to pursue them. However, such opinion was not forthcoming, and related to perceptions of the unacceptability of road closures to the general public at large.

Opponents of road closures cited a range of factors in supporting their position. Concern for two respondents related to the technical feasibility of their use. In both instances, the structure of the local road network was not deemed susceptible to road closures. The premise being that there are no 'dead-end' roads in the Dales, and to seek closure of an 'active' road, no matter how small, was difficult if not impossible. In another instance, the management of road closures was cited as problematic, particularly in terms of their management and enforcement. As one respondent stated, 'we have difficulty in enforcing HGV weight restrictions, let alone a no-car zone. The police wouldn't be able to enforce it, as I'm sure they have other priorities'.

However, public attitudes were identified as the most significant constraint on the use of road closures in a National Park setting. Local public opposition to policy proposals extends into the political sphere, and it is here where they were deemed most significant.

> 'Some years ago we had a proposal to make quiet byways for cyclists and walkers on classified roads. We wanted to do one between Grassington and Kettlewell and all we wanted to do was put signs up saying please reduce your speed and respect cyclists and walkers, and that was dropped immediately. We didn't even want to close the road, but the issues multiply significantly when you start talking about that sort of thing'. (YD2)

> 'What politician is going to get up and say that they want to close roads? They're just not going to do that are they?' (YD1)

The above comments yield little optimism for protagonists of road closures that such a scenario will ever be realised. It would appear that a range of practical and principle factors serve to limit progress and rule out their use, either now or in the future.

Road pricing

Road pricing generated support from three respondents. On each occasion, the implementation of such a scheme was directly linked to the generation of revenue for use as part of new public transport projects. Road pricing was also linked specifically to the imposition of charges on visitors, not residents, and respondents felt there was scope for a scheme to operate flexibly, perhaps just in periods of peak demand such as summer weekends or bank holidays. However, public and political barriers were seen to limit the potential of its introduction.

> 'Road pricing I would personally welcome. I think politically it would be hugely difficult to implement, and I think the political fallout would be immense. If somewhere like Manchester kicks it out then what chance the Dales?' (YD6)

As evidenced by Table 10.3, the concept of a localised road pricing scheme was rejected by seven out of ten interview participants. Opposition to road pricing was based on three central assertions, namely its conflict with the principle of public access to the National Parks, the technical infeasibility of its delivery, and lack of public and political acceptability.

Two respondents identified the imposition of a road pricing scheme as being inconsistent with the wider objectives of promoting public access to the National Park. To seek to charge for car use via any kind of road pricing scheme was judged to limit travel horizons and reduce demand for access and use of the National Park. This was considered to be in explicit conflict with the principle of access for all in terms of the National Park agenda, and was rejected accordingly. Five opponents cited practical implementation and administration issues associated with road pricing as problematic, but in only one case was this reason used exclusively as a basis for rejection. Consider the following comments by means of illustration:

> 'What would you do? Have monitors at the boundary of the National Park? I would say it's not realistic. For instance, if you drive between here and Skipton you clip the National Park. How do you decide who to charge? It's a nightmare.

> You'd have to come up with a workable solution, and I can't think how it would be done'. (YD3)

> 'There are so many practical issues within anything like that. How you manage it, how you implement it. Are you going to put toll booths on every route into the Dales, or only key routes? Then that influences the dispersion of traffic to somewhere that is quiet at the moment. I don't think it would be workable because of the complexity of management and the difficulty in getting it set up'. (YD9)

Added to the practical concerns of road pricing were statements of its unacceptability to residents, businesses and visitors alike. As already noted, the imposition of a road pricing scheme was deemed to impact on the number of car-borne visitors to the National Park. Having already witnessed the impacts of a reduction in tourism from the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in 2001, the local mood was not expected to be conducive to the use of vehicle restraint measures such as road pricing.

> 'It's too unpopular from the point of view of people here whose incomes and livelihoods depend on visitors appearing at the door. It would also be too unpopular with visitors who want to have the freedom of going where they like, how they like, when they like. The crude blunt shovel approach of 'we'll stop the car's coming' isn't one that has a great deal of attraction'. (YD5)

Responses such as this highlight some of the difficulties facing protagonists of vehicle restraint, particularly road pricing. At no time did opponents link the possible use of road pricing with the revenue raising benefits that such an instrument could theoretically generate. This was despite frequent reference in earlier stages of interviews to a lack of ring-fenced, long term, funding for public transport initiatives. It would appear that the image of road pricing in the minds of local politicians and the local public remains overwhelmingly negative, and presents an almost insurmountable barrier.

10.3.4 Summary of policy stream findings

This section has examined the workings of the policy stream in the context of the Yorkshire Dales National Park.

A range of policy instruments that could combine to form a wider transport strategy for the Yorkshire Dales National Park were assessed by respondents. Whilst public transport improvements satisfied criteria relating to value acceptability and public acceptability, it failed on technical feasibility. That is, current circumstances do not provide an opportunity for significant improvements in public transport service provision to be achieved.

Instruments such as parking charges, road closures and road pricing failed tests of public acceptability and value acceptability. Findings were corroborated by evidence arising from the Yorkshire Dales Society, who choose to campaign for public transport improvements over any form of demand restraint. One of the principal reasons behind this approach being that 'it helps win friends and influence people'. It would seem that for the majority of those interviewed, there is no place for the use of disincentives at the present time.

Having now examined the policy stream, the next section will focus on the illumination of the political stream.

10.4 THE POLITICAL STREAM

Analysis now moves from the internal policy community into the larger political and public arena. This section will give consideration to each of the elements of the political stream, beginning with the local mood.

10.4.1 The local mood

As identified earlier, respondents cited the local mood as having a significant influence in public policy change/stability. Two particular facets were identified in this regard namely, perceptions of public immunity to the impacts of car use in the Yorkshire Dales National Park, and a lack of public urgency for public transport improvements. Each theme will now be examined in more detail here.

10.4.1.1 'Car culture' and public immunity to the impacts of car use

A theme raised by five respondents – one elected, two unelected and two influence stakeholders – related to perceptions of 'immunity' amongst visitors with regard to the impact of car use in rural areas. That is, little or no recognition amongst people of the damage and impacts caused by car use within the National Park. This was deemed to be compounded by the cultural shift towards car use seen over the course of the last 50 years. The result being an assertion that visitors to the Yorkshire Dales simply don't conceive of the use of any other mode of transport than driving. Subsequently they are almost immune to the impacts of car use in sensitive rural environments since the role of the car is central to so many people's everyday lives.

Further underpinning this concept were perceptions that a large number of visitors to the National Park do not understand quite how special it is, and rarely get to see it at any time other than periods of peak tourism demand.

> 'For the majority of visitors to the National Park who will go to the honeypots on busy days, I don't think congestion and vehicle numbers are an issue. I really don't. Because they come from places where there's traffic like that, so

> what they have is traffic levels they're used to, but in much nicer surroundings. They would need to experience the National Park as it normally is, to appreciate the difference. So it is negative, but do people think it's terrible? No I don't think they do'. (YD3)

On this basis, three respondents stated that the National Park Authority should take it upon themselves to inform and educate people as to the impacts of car use within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. With perceptions of an increasing environmental awareness amongst the general public, there was positive thought on future progress being made in the event that National Park Authorities 'shouted a bit louder' on issues surrounding car use. Such an approach was deemed helpful in the battle for hearts and minds, and in facilitating and encouraging proper and reasonable transport policy debate. Consider the following comments by way of illustration:

> 'One of the big problems with the NPA is that they've never really tried to educate their electorate. They've never really worked on getting people's hearts and minds in it. You'll never go into a National Park centre and be shown graphs of rising traffic levels or pollution, which you should. They should do it, and say that 'you have a choice. You can come by public transport or you can come in your own car'. (YD6)

> 'Now I haven't seen the figures of the Dales carbon footprint for visitors, but I think every National Park ought to publish the carbon footprint its visitors generate and say 'look, when you come and visit and enjoy nature, this is the damage you do every time you use your car…people need to understand when they come to a National Park it's a totally different area'. (YD4)

> 'I think we should be making people more aware of the impact that cars are having in the area. I think that's more of an applicable approach than something like road pricing…the key thing for me is making the people aware of the impact the car is having'. (YD9)

The kind of initiative described above could broadly be generalised as an approach to 'de-market' the use of the car in the National Park. Such a strategy could be based on the principles of public welfare i.e. focusing on the environmental and community impacts of the cost of making journeys by car in the National Park. However, if respondent perceptions are correct in that drivers do not consider their own travel consumption as problematic, the impact of such campaigns may be undermined. As such, for a campaign such as this to be effective, car users must be left with little doubt that they as individuals are responsible, not just the motoring fraternity as a collective. Such a campaign may be

strengthened by the alternate promotion of the use of more sustainable transport modes instead of the car. Where the difficulty in this approach lies of course is in the availability of the alternative modes in the National Park. As has already been identified, respondent perceptions of public transport provision were overwhelmingly negative, with little to suggest existing provision offers a suitable alternative to private car use.

The role of public attitudes with regard to public transport policy development was also raised during the interview process. This will be examined below.

10.4.1.2 Lack of public urgency for public transport improvements

In much the same way as 'car culture' was associated with an immunity to vehicle impacts, so it was perceived to result in a lack of public pressure for public transport improvements. Five respondents – one elected and three unelected decision stakeholders, and one influence stakeholder – cited a lack of public pressure for public transport improvements as influential with regard to the policy agenda.

Again, the basis for this assertion was largely founded in perceptions of public attitudes to car use. Simply, most people have access to a car, are happy using their car, and therefore pay little or no interest with regard to the provision or availability of public transport. Each of the following comments serve to reinforce this point:

> 'People have come to expect to use cars in the National Park. There probably isn't the pressure for public transport that perhaps there ought to be because people just assume that this is the way things work. I don't think there's enough pressure from the ground up. The majority of people have cars and there's not enough pressure on the politicians to deliver the improvements required'. (YD2)

> 'There's got to be more people making noise about it (public transport provision). I think it needs to come from the public in general. There needs to be more public focus on it. Everyone is sitting at home expecting someone else to do it'. (YD1)

Without a level public support for public transport improvements, it was thought to be unlikely to become a serious agenda item for local politicians. That is, other local issues to which the general public or pressure groups may attach themselves receive greater priority in terms of the attention they receive from decision makers. This in turn affects the likelihood of policy action, and the status quo remains. Respondents were not optimistic however that the required level of public support could ever be achieved, such were public attitudes to car use.

> 'It's not the result of a conspiracy, it's a measure of the intractability of the problem. Of how to supply what people currently get in their cars by means of public transport. The gap between what you can do in the car and what you can do on the bus is so huge'. (YD7)

It is difficult to foresee how problems such as this may be overcome. Education in the form of campaigns such as those suggested in section 10.4.1 may have a role, but it is unlikely that this alone may serve to promote local interest in the provision of public transport.

10.4.2 Organised political forces

With the exception of the Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company (a not for profit transport organisation to be discussed in section 10.5), no public pressure or interest groups were identified by respondents as being active within the transport policy process. This is perhaps reflective of the size of the Yorkshire Dales National Park, and the relatively small, dispersed nature of the population, business and industry within it. That is, by contrast to the New Forest National Park, which is a small, densely populated area home to a number of active interest groups, the Yorkshire Dales does not maintain the density of business or people necessary to constitute a formalised political force. That is not to say that there are no such groups within the Dales, but simply suggests that their influence does not frequently extend into the wider transport policy debate.

For example, both the Yorkshire Dales Public Transport User Group and the Yorkshire Dales Society campaign heavily at the local level for improvements to public transport services. Neither of these organisations were name checked by any respondents (except the Chairman of the YDS who was interviewed as part of this research) as being influential members of the policy community. Indeed, earlier discussion highlighted how perceptions of public attitudes to vehicle restraint shape this groups' advocacy approaches, choosing to focus on lobbying pertaining to public transport improvements as opposed to the use of disincentives.

This reinforces a conclusion that in the Yorkshire Dales it is the local mood (i.e. prevailing public attitudes) that is most influential in the transport policy process. It would appear that it serves as the cumulative 'voice' by which politicians and decision-makers may assess public mood and political opinion, and not organised political forces.

Section 10.4.3 will now examine what influence respondents considered local governance arrangements to have in the context of Yorkshire Dales National Park transport policy development.

10.4.3 Local governance arrangements

This section will explore what influence, if any, local government arrangements can be seen to have in the policy sector.

During the interview process, discussion focussed on the role of the two key organisations most relevant to the Yorkshire Dales National Park transport planning sector. These are North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority. Findings pertaining to each organisation are now discussed below.

10.4.3.1 The role of North Yorkshire County Council with regard to the transport policy sector

North Yorkshire County Council are the designated highways and transport authority for North Yorkshire, the Yorkshire Dales National Park and the North York Moors National Park. The transport policy agenda and related transport funding for all UK local authorities is largely driven by the Local Transport Plan (LTP) process. LTP development is based on the development of strategies to meet four shared governmental objectives of reduced congestion, improved access to public services, better road safety, and air quality improvements.

The North Yorkshire County Council area encompasses a range of urban centres, alongside more rural areas and the two National Parks. A number of respondents therefore questioned whether the policy direction of the LTP process directly aligns with the transport issues of the National Park. For example, instances of congestion in the Yorkshire Dales National Park were largely deemed to be infrequent and limited to very specific honeypot locations. Whilst it may therefore be problematic on occasion, it is hardly likely to be comparable to congestion issues encountered within the more urban areas of the County district. With Local Authorities accountable to central Government in terms of monitoring progress and demonstrating best value for money, in terms of congestion, it is perhaps inevitable that focus and funding is largely urban based. As one respondent stated:

> 'The LTP2 was a disaster. It was so urban based. North Yorkshire has a lot of urban centres and it all centred on the main conurbations'. (YD4)

Accessibility, and particularly funding and subsidisation of rural transport services provide another case in point. As again directed by central Government, County Council priorities for funding public transport provision lie with ensuring access to education, employment and essential public services for local people. Funding for recreational leisure travel is further down the hierarchy. However, as identified in section 10.2.2, respondents in the interviews cited a lack of public transport in providing for visitor travel and access to the National Park as the most pressing transport challenge for the Yorkshire Dales. As well as

allowing access for non-car owners, the provision of such services would also then provide a real alternative to car use for motorists. Here then is a problem in that the public transport needs of the National Park do not directly align with the public transport funding priorities of the local transport authority. As resources are limited, and demands for public transport subsidy likely to be numerous, then the local authority is unlikely to be in a position to deliver everything. Two comments neatly illustrate this point:

> 'The trouble with public transport funding is that perhaps people see it as someone else's responsibility. As the transport authority, the local council may question why they should be responsible for people visiting the National Park if visitors come from outside their area. They may say residents are their main priority and they are concerned with getting people to work and to school. You run the risk then of the NPA saying 'it's not our job either', and then you have a problem'. (YD10)

> 'The County Council is only interested in providing transport for local people. The National Park Authority, because of its brief, must only provide it for visitors, and only in as much as it provides for visitors must it benefit local people. So the park doesn't want to spend money, and the council doesn't spend the money'. (YD4)

North Yorkshire County Council was therefore criticised by four respondents – one elected and two unelected decision stakeholders, and one influence stakeholder – as not maintaining enough interest in public transport provision within, to, and from the National Park.

> 'My view would be that the council say 'we know we're the transport authority, but what's that got to do with protecting the National Park? I don't think the County Council, though I'll do an injustice to any of the officers you might speak to there, ever give consideration to the status, the fact, that two large National Parks are in their area. I don't think they do. They look at the county as a rural area with difficulties in public transport en-block'. (YD3)

Criticism such as that outlined above was rebutted on two instances, with one elected and one unelected stakeholder, each calling for more realism in terms of the level of public transport provision that can be achieved given the funding constraints facing the local authority.

10.4.3.2 The role of the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority with regard to the policy sector

Given some of the concerns outlined above, discussion was undertaken with regard to the role of the NPA in the transport policy process. There was concern amongst four respondents – three unelected stakeholders (including two members of the NPA board) and one influence stakeholder – that the NPA does not actively involve itself more in the transport policy process. Central to these concerns was the make-up of the YDNPA board. This was a finding also reflected in the New Forest case study, and during interviews with NPA Transport Officers.

As noted in previous chapters, NPA boards are largely composed of locally elected councillors, supplemented by national appointees by the Secretary of State for the Environment. In supporting assertions of a lack of involvement by the NPA in transport matters, two principal themes emerged:

- National Park Authority board members wish to stay clear of controversial policy positions on transport in order to protect their political status; and

- The statutory objectives of the NPA are not necessarily reflected in the personal positions of NPA board members.

Dealing with each assertion in turn, concern was raised that due to political sensitivities, locally elected NPA board members do not seek to promote or raise debate on controversial transport matters for fear of upsetting the local electorate. As one respondent stated:

> 'It would be possible to carry out a number of quite interesting and radical traffic experiments in the Yorkshire Dales, but there isn't the political will. Because of the way the park is constituted, there is a majority of local members. Local members are all terrified of the hugely powerful car lobby i.e. the middle-aged male mostly, who will fight to keep his alleged freedom. So there are big, big, political barriers'. (YD6)

For these respondents then, public attitudes, and their associated role in the local political system, were identified as stymieing political will amongst empowered policy makers.

A related point in discussions of the role of NPA board members was the extent to which they themselves align with the statutory objectives of the NPA. A supplementary duty of the NPA is to foster the social and economic welfare of communities within the National Park. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the public's role in electing them, three respondents

considered that when making policy decisions of relevance to the National Park, this duty featured above all else in the decision making process.

> 'People are appointed to the NPA to uphold the purposes of the National Park. A majority of members are appointed from local councils and most of them are local politicians, and they see that as their prime reason for being there. There are two National Park purposes and also a socio-economic duty. For quite a number of these local councillors, socio-economic duty, which is mostly subsidiary to the other two purposes, will move right to the top of the agenda. 'I'm here to look after my constituents', or 'I'm here to look after my farmers'. (YD2)

The insinuation of this and other related comments is that the composition of NPA board membership does not necessarily lend itself to the achievement of National Park purposes. Where this is relevant to transport is in the funding and policy decisions taken by board members which affect certain areas of transport policy. This was an issue first raised in the NPA Transport Officer interviews documented in Chapter Six, and it is interesting to note it raised again here.

This view however was not universally held. Whilst it was acknowledged that perhaps the NPA could do more, two NPA board members identified significant financial and legislative barriers which limit the influence of the NPA in the policy debate.

> 'We identified that there is an issue with transport, but it's funded elsewhere. What we'd like to do, and what we're empowered to do are at two different ends of the scale. The entire English National Park movement gets just about the same levels of funding that the National Theatre gets. Now compare the size of our stages! We get our money from DEFRA, and DEFRA are quite clear as to what the funding is for. That funding is for achieving our two statutory purposes. Maybe we could spend more on transport, but you've got to get best value. Us spending a pittance on providing limited services, what does it actually achieve in the grand scheme of things'? (YD1)

The 1991 Edward Report into the state of the National Parks identified that NPAs should be more imaginative in their approaches to traffic management. This report was identified by one respondent as having significant influence on transport protagonists who believed that YDNPA should be more proactive in dealing with transport issues. In reality however, the report was deemed to have significantly underestimated the legislatory powers which would be needed for NPAs to independently implement traffic management schemes. The

comment below illustrates this point, whilst also hinting at a level of support for earlier assertions that transport priorities are not top of NPA board members' agendas.

> 'Edwards' recommendations are all very well, but that hasn't fed through the local government hierarchy. These reports influence people who I would think expect the NPA to be doing more. The reality is that we've got limited funds, and the truth of it is that it doesn't particularly excite a lot of members of the authority'. (YD3)

There are contrasting opinions therefore about the power of the YDNPA board in directing and influencing transport policy within the National Park. On the one hand are people concerned that YDNPA are not doing enough, and that board members' self and political interests serve to limit transport planning horizons. On the flip side are those who consider that despite the acknowledgement of transport related problems, the YDNPA is not funded or legislatively empowered in such a way as to allow them to maintain more than a pressure-group style interest.

10.4.3.3 Local political stability

Kingdon (1984) cites changes in administrative and political power as a mechanism by which policy windows may emerge, as agendas and thinking often change at the same time. Four respondents – two unelected decision makers and two influence stakeholders – who could reasonably be labelled as change protagonists raised this issue during the interview process. Their combined assertions were that the Yorkshire Dales is, and always has been, a largely conservative area. There are many instances therefore of long-standing local politicians, whose values or agendas may not necessarily match those who wish to promote significant transport policy change in the area.

> 'Where you have a progressive county council you get somewhere. It's a hundred percent politics. It's populism and how certain things are perceived. They don't believe that public transport is popular, and most of our politicians are very populist. In urban areas people are used to being unpopular on certain issues and popular on others. They know you can't have both all the time. Here you have very paternal figures who have been here for fifteen or twenty years, and they're almost like father figures. It's definitely politics and you need a different kind of politician'. (YD4)

Such assertions do not serve to provide evidence of any political entrepreneurialism. Party political inference was also made, in that the Yorkshire Dales continues to remain a largely Conservative area, with conservative values therefore dominating local decision making. As such then, political moves towards policies which serve to modify an individual's behaviour,

or restrict or restrain their personal mobility, were thought to be particularly unlikely. Similarly, and as outlined in the comment above, additional concern remained that public transport provision was also unlikely to be atop local politicians agendas. Credence was added to this claim by perceptions of local people's antipathy towards public transport provision.

10.4.4 Summary of political stream findings

This section has provided an examination of findings relevant to the political stream. Results yield a number of notable discussion points. First, with regard to the local mood and its influence on policy development, respondents revealed perceptions of public immunity to the impacts of car use in the National Park. To increase awareness of the negative impacts, two respondents felt more should be done to highlight the disbenefits it causes in the hope of securing behaviour change.

Similar sentiment existed with regard to a perceived lack of urgency for public transport improvements. Simply, there is not enough demand from the public at large for improved public transport, therefore politicians are not empowered to try and achieve it. There was no identification of the role of organised political forces in the policy sector. It would appear that perceptions of the public mood act as the cumulative voice by which politicians gauge public opinion on transport issues.

For a minority of respondents, neither North Yorkshire County Council nor the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority were deemed to invest enough time, money or other resources in addressing transport issues identified in section 10.2. Legislative barriers in terms of policy direction from central Government, and institutional barriers in terms of the composition of NPA boards were both cited as significant contributors to the status quo. Respondents also identified long term local political stability in the Yorkshire Dales as restricting entrepreneurialism and inhibiting the potential for change.

Having now examined each of the three streams, section 10.5 seeks to examine the presence, or otherwise, of policy entrepreneurs within the sector.

10.5 POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

The concept of policy entrepreneurs has already been introduced in this thesis. Two elements of entrepreneurialism will be discussed in this section. First, the work of a policy entrepreneur at the local level and the extent of his influence in the policy sector. Second, a reinforcement of findings from the first research stage regarding the role for central Government in promoting entrepreneurialism within the National Parks.

10.5.1 Policy entrepreneurialism at the local level

Seven respondents directly identified the managing director of a groundbreaking public transport based initiative - the Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company (DBCIC) – as an active policy entrepreneur with regard to public transport policy (the person in question was interviewed as part of this sub-case study). Two elected decision stakeholders, three unelected decision stakeholders and two influence stakeholders each cited him for his excellent work in promoting public transport within the Yorkshire Dales, suggesting knowledge of his work pervades deeply into the policy sector.

The DBCIC is a social enterprise company which aims to support and expand public transport services in the Yorkshire Dales. It represents a new and innovative approach to public transport delivery in rural areas, and is examined in detail in Figure 10.1 overleaf.

The DBCIC was praised by the seven respondents who identified it as emerging as a result of pioneering work by an active policy entrepreneur. However, the simple fact that it has taken the sheer will and determination of a group of passionate volunteers to get such a project off the ground was used by respondents to highlight some of the problems with rural transport provision as discussed throughout this chapter. There was also recognition that whilst the work being undertaken was admirable, the public transport network in the Yorkshire Dales remains woefully inadequate.

The above example aside, no further recognition of active policy entrepreneurs within the Yorkshire Dales National Park transport planning sector was made. Indeed, as will be examined in the following sections, respondents looked to central Government for entrepreneurialism and impetus in the policy sector.

10.5.2 Policy entrepreneurialism at the national level

10.5.2.1 A role for central government in public transport delivery

Respondent support for public transport service improvements to, from, and within, the Yorkshire Dales National Park has already been established. Existing arrangements with regards to public transport funding and operation were deemed to provide significant implementation barriers. Seven respondents each stated that central Government intervention was therefore required in the policy sector. Simply, without the financial assistance that central Government input could provide, respondents did not feel a proficient public transport network could ever be developed.

Figure 10.1 – Synopsis of the Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company (Source: personal correspondence with Managing Director of DBCIC)

BACKGROUND:
In July 2006, a key public transport link between Ilkley and Skipton, two towns at the edge of the National Park, was cut on evenings and Sundays. A letter writing and public pressure campaign by the Yorkshire Dales Society (YDS) and Yorkshire Dales Public Transport Users Group (YDPTUG) was undertaken, but failed to overturn the decision to reduce services.

Therefore, in February 2007, the two bodies combined to set up the Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company (DBCIC), a social enterprise initiative, which is now technically owned by the YDS. The DBCIC is 'asset locked', which means that any profits it generates can only be used to pursue its agreed objectives or benefit its parent charity. DBCIC has a total of seven directors – three from the YDS, two from the YDPTUG, and two independent experts in rural transport and tourism. All positions are unpaid and manned exclusively by volunteers.

ACHIEVEMENTS:
Using funds secured from the Yorkshire Dales National Park Sustainable Transport Fund, the lost service between Ilkely and Skipton was restored and re-branded as Cravenlink. This service was also revised to include stops at the popular visitor attraction of Bolton Abbey within the Yorkshire Dales National Park. A limited Sunday service between Bradford and the honeypot village of Malham was also created, the village previously having no Sunday public transport service. Alongside the service improvements, a marketing and advertising campaign called 'Sharing the Dales' was also implemented.

In 2008 the Yorkshire Dales public transport network was threatened with further reductions in service. Following campaigning by DBCIC, North Yorkshire County Council (NYCC) provided £13,000 for the company to operate services in Wharfedale and Wensleydale. The West Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive (WYPTE) also provided £7000 in financial support of the Cravenlink, and the YDNPA contributed an additional £15,000. A further £2000 in funding was donated by local interest and business groups. As a result DBCIC were now able to support a network of services throughout the Yorkshire Dales, including some integrating with train arrivals at Ribblehead and Buckden.

Further funding of £6000 from NYCC and £7000 from Nidderdale Sustainable Development Fund allowed DBCIC to implement and market public transport services from Leeds, Harrogate and Otley to Upper Nidderdale, Fountains Abbey, Pateley Bridge, Leyburn and Richmond. Further community transport schemes followed, including the creation of a minibus service linking stations on the Settle-Carlisle railway line with a nature reserve within the National Park.

In 2008, Cravenlink and Wharfedale routes demonstrated passenger growth rates of 40%, and an estimated 14,000 passenger journeys were undertaken on the network now operated by DBCIC. In 2009, DBCIC took over the management and promotion of most Sunday and

Bank Holiday leisure bus services into and throughout the Yorkshire Dales. Financial commitments of over £75,000 were secured from key organisations, allowing for four new services to be implemented between a range of destinations including Leeds, Hawes, Richmond, Malham, and Swaledale. A link up between DBCIC and the WYPTE has also facilitated the use of integrated and through ticketing on DBCIC services for West Yorkshire Metro Card holders. DBCIC has also recently linked up with the Yorkshire Dales and Harrogate Tourism Partnership in order to promote sustainable travel opportunities to tourism destinations, and work with visitor attractions on the wider green travel agenda.

THE FUTURE:
DBCIC is about demonstrating that public transport is not marginal to sustainable tourism and recreation, but central to it. It was created as a means by which to 'overcome some of the institutional failures and lack of imagination all too prevalent in current rural leisure transport provision to and within protected landscapes in the UK'.

The community interest company model has been demonstrated as a mechanism by which to share and realise green travel objectives with stakeholders in sustainable tourism, including local authorities and the YDNPA. It has been an instrument used to acquire funding, and serves as an excellent method of developing and delivering joint projects. However, it remains a voluntary operation, reliant on the will and effort of a team of dedicated volunteers, and funding streams continue to be short-term and subject to cuts.

Whilst acknowledging the excellent work undertaken by DBCIC, it was frequently stated that such enterprises were working largely in the margins. What is needed was identified as a step-change in Government policy in regard to public transport provision in National Parks. The window of opportunity for such change was identified by two respondents as the climate change agenda.

> 'We accept, nobody could question it in my mind at all, that there is a need for better public transport. But it's got to take a real shift in Government thinking. I've got every sympathy for the authority responsible for public transport, because they simply haven't got the money to provide it. It extends into so many areas, not least climate change. It's an example of how really serious the Government is, or isn't, about climate change. It's that serious'. (YD1)

> 'What would help in my mind is an injection of funds – quite humble really. What it really boils down to is someone saying 'in the next three years these changes must happen', and that someone to my mind can only be national Government. I've got great hope for climate change there. Climate change I hope will force the issue.' (YD4)

In addition, to providing crucial funding, central Government participation was also identified as being able to provide impetus for all organisations and operators involved in transport planning in the field. As one respondent illustrated, if the Government began setting targets for the implementation of various transport planning initiatives such as integrated ticketing, then mutual shared interest between operators and authorities may see that it is achieved. Without such target setting or interest, then the status quo continues and inertia prevails.

Despite the identification of climate change as a possible policy window, respondents were largely pessimistic as to the actual likelihood of such Government action. This was linked to an underlying perception that National Parks are undervalued by the Government. This point was illustrated by frequent reference to the budgets that NPAs are awarded (around £5million each per annum), and by anecdotal evidence of elected stakeholders in their dealings with central Government. This supports earlier assertions arising during the interviews with NPA Transport Officers.

> 'There's a massive need for it (public transport) but we can't seem to make central Government sit up and acknowledge it. I've been to see some really high powered people and you can tell they're just not interested in it…go to an MP and he won't be interested in rural transport. Politicians will talk glibly about inner city development and transport infrastructure improvements, but they've got no interest in rural initiatives'. (YD1)

It would appear then that local decision makers with an interest in public transport are stymied in their attempts to promote the agenda to a wider audience. It is unclear how this situation may realistically be overcome. Despite acknowledging it as a pre-requisite, there was little optimism for future Governmental involvement in the policy sector. How then to secure such engagement remains to be seen.

10.5.2.2 Centralised decision making for traffic restraint schemes

As identified, respondents were divided on the role of traffic restraint schemes for the Yorkshire Dales. Regardless of support or opposition, political will and public opposition to such approaches were thought to limit the probability of scheme implementation. As such, proponents of such measures again identified a role for central Government with regard to their use. Centralised decision making was perceived to be the only way by which political and public barriers could be overcome. As one respondent stated:

> 'National Government has to give a lead and say 'right, we are interested in you doing pilot schemes'. Why not say that in the Lake District you look at speed limits, in North Yorkshire you have pilot bus schemes, and in the

> Yorkshire Dales you close roads and experiment with traffic management, and see how it goes for three years. Unless you get Government support, you will get public outcries and the lobbies will be very strong. If people see it works and it improves the general experience of visitors and locals, then I'm convinced you could do it'. (YD4)

Central to the above assertion is the concept that, if implemented, traffic restraint schemes have the potential to deliver significant improvements to the visitor experience. How to 'sell' this concept to the wider public is a difficult proposition for protagonists of their use.

10.5.3 Summary

This section has focussed on the role of policy entrepreneurs and entrepreneurialism in the policy sector. Respondents identified entrepreneurial activity at the local level in the form of the Chairman of the DBCIC. Whilst recognising his good work, the fact that this best-practice organisation remains voluntarily run and subject to financial constraints serves to question the influence that entrepreneurialism at the local level can extend. Indeed, for change protagonists – supportive of either public transport improvements, vehicle restraint measures or both – central Government was deemed the only organisation capable of supporting change, be it financially or in terms of the barriers that currently see inertia rule. There was little optimism however that such events would actually occur.

With the presentation of findings now complete, section 10.6 concludes this chapter.

10.6 CONCLUSION

Having now examined the individual workings of the problem, policy and politics streams, it is possible to offer some conclusions as to the existence or otherwise of policy windows in the sector. Table 10.4 (page 220) summarises the components of the MS framework, the areas researched during this chapter, and the findings on which the following conclusions are made.

It has been identified that there is strong consensus on the inadequacy of the public transport network within the National Park. The impacts of car use, and the frequency by which issues occur, drew less synergy. For the majority of respondents, car use was a seasonal issue limited to specific honeypot locations within the National Park. That is, a periodic issue in contrast to the ever present issue of poor public transport accessibility.

There was no consensus on attitudes to the use of disincentive measures within the National Park. Regardless of respondent support or opposition, they too were deemed undeliverable at the local level without buy-in from central Government. Public and

political opposition to such measures again emerged as the primary barriers to implementation.

That said, there was theoretical agreement for the implementation of new public transport initiatives. However, consensus existed that such schemes could only be delivered with the help of central Government involvement. A range of circumstances work against their delivery at local Government level. This is despite the efforts of the Dales and Bowland CIC, who have managed to support a number of bus services through a pioneering public transport project. Whilst the problem and the policy stream may then join here, events in the political stream mean that it cannot be coupled with the other two.

As with the previous case study, perception of the public mood was seen to be important in the political stream. Assertions of public immunity to the impacts of car use, and a lack of public support for bus service improvements were seen to restrict the elevation of transport on local politicians' agendas. Despite advocacy groups in the form of the Yorkshire Dales Public Transport Users Group and the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority operating in the sector, these organisations were not cited as being influential in the policy process.

Relationships between the members of the internal policy community appear stronger than in the previous case study, though legislative and institutional barriers would appear to limit what can be achieved. The statutory obligations of North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales NPA are quite different, affecting their responses to policy development. Some discourse suggested however that the composition of the Yorkshire Dales NPA members' board means that key statutory duties are necessarily reflected in policy outputs, further limiting the potential for change. This was seen to be aided by local long term political stability, which can be seen to restrict entrepreneurialism and discourage change.

Whilst there is evidence of entrepreneurial activity at the local level with regard to public transport, respondents identified a role for central Government with regard to entrepreneurialism and the policy sector. How likely such involvement is to actually occur is hard to gauge, though respondents were not hopeful. All of the above is also to be considered in light of the wider strategic challenges identified as facing the Yorkshire Dales. The most salient point here relates to the identification of the changing rural economy, and an increased focus on tourism in the years since foot and mouth disease. The outbreak was identified as the turning point for many residents with regards to their acceptance of the role of tourism in the vitality of the local economy. Thus, any policies which may appear to have the possibility of negatively impacting the local economy, or favouring transport modes other than the private car, are unlikely to be well received.

Table 10.4 – Summary of key findings relevant to MS framework

MS Framework	Areas for research	Summary of key findings
THE PROBLEM STREAM - indicators - focusing events - feedback	- the outlined strategic and transport problems in the Yorkshire Dales National Park - how problems are defined and the extent to which they align with Kingdon's three mechanisms for problem definition - if the way problems are defined is seen to have any influence on the elevation of one issue over another on the agenda	- threats to the special qualities of the National Park; post foot and mouth diversification and climate change identified as strategic issues - consensus on inadequacy of public transport network, less so the impacts of car use - public transport = a year round issue, car use = a seasonal issue; public transport therefore major concern for respondents
THE POLICY STREAM - the policy community - policy objectives - the policy primeval soup	- the strength of relationships between policy makers - fragmentation/unity of the policy community - consensus / divergence on transport policy objectives - how policy community members view policy proposals in terms of their feasibility, personal value acceptability, and public acceptability	- good working relationship between partnership organisations; divergence of statutory objectives negatively impacts on what can be achieved - consensus that 'car culture' limits what can be achieved in terms of car use reduction; focus therefore on improving accessibility to National Park for non-car owners and providing wider choice of transport mode - wholesale agreement on role for public transport initiatives; no consensus on use of disincentive measures
THE POLITICAL STREAM - the local mood - organised political forces - local governance arrangements	- the extent that local mood is considered to influence the policy process - whether organised political forces are active in the policy sector, and, if so, to what extent they affect the policy process - the impact, if any, of existing local government arrangements on the policy process	- perceptions of public mood largely negative: no appetite for change - no identification of organised political forces; advocacy groups struggle to get voices heard - concerns about the competing agendas of partner organisations – transport not always top of the list - composition of NPA board membership deemed to inhibit promotion of the transport agenda by this organisation - many local politicians are established political figures – unlikely to favour radical transport policies;
POLICY ENTREPRENEURS	- evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector, and their influence on policy processes	- innovative and enterprising Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company established through work of a policy entrepreneur - no other policy entrepreneurs identified; respondents identify a role for central government in prompting transport debate

Chapter Eleven: Policy Advocacy and the Future of Transport Planning in UK National Parks - Expert Perspectives

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter documents findings from the final stage of research, namely in-depth interviews with transport experts at the national level. The chapter is split into two distinct parts. In section 11.2, expert perspectives on current approaches to transport planning and policy development in the policy sector are documented. Section 11.3 meanwhile takes a forward facing approach, looking at how to influence future agenda-setting within the sector. A conclusion to the chapter is presented in section 11.4.

11.2 TRANSPORT PLANNING AND UK NATIONAL PARKS: CURRENT PERSPECTIVES

This section provides an overview of expert perceptions on the policy sector as it stands. This is necessary in order to identify areas of synergy or divergence with the findings of earlier research stages. It begins with an overview of the problem stream.

11.2.1 The problem stream

As was the case with the previous research stages, interview participants were first asked to outline their perceptions of transport problems in UK National Parks. In line with earlier findings, issues surrounding excessive car use and limitations to public transport provision were the most frequently cited.

11.2.1.1 The impacts of car use

Excessive car use, and particularly the environmental dis-benefits it yields in the National Parks, was the primary concern amongst interviewees. Much more noticeable at this stage of the research was the reinforcement of the link between the impacts of car use and its impingement on the conservation objective of all the NPAs.

> ‘National Parks are drowning under a tsunami of car based tourist access. They have shifted their general approach from peaceful enjoyment and tranquillity into how to service car based access in a rather craven way which is unhelpful to the environment. National Parks are understandably trying to relate their activities to considerations around the economy, tourism and local businesses, the media and popular opinion, so it becomes quite difficult for a National Park to do anything pro-active, interventionist and to reduce car based traffic. The

> big problems are all related to the fact that there's a psychological attitude or a policy predisposition in favour of car based access'. (E7)

Perceptions of the psychology of car use and dependency, combined with the permeation of the 'car is king' mantra into public policy making, were factors central to many aspects of the interviews. They will be discussed as appropriate in future sections of this chapter.

11.2.1.2 Public transport provision

Concern regarding public transport arose in two distinct dimensions, namely that: a) in the majority of National Parks public transport provision is largely inadequate and b) in the instances where public transport service provision exists, publicity and marketing does not serve to encourage best use of it by visitors to the National Park.

> 'On the one hand then we've got the visitor pressure and the number of people coming by car and [on the other] you've got reduced funding for alternative provision. Visitor pressure and car use is increasing, but the ability for you to provide any other options are decreasing. I've definitely seen this get worse over a period of time'. (E6)

> I think some good things are being done in this regard, but we're still a bit clumsy in how we are doing it. I think that gets down to linguistics and semantics and I'm sure you can imagine the sort of thing I'm referring to. 'Save the planet, leave your car at home and come to the National Park day' that sort of thing. Just don't bother getting out of bed for them really. I think we could be a lot more sophisticated in how we present things'. (E5)

Whilst the first of these assertions bears synergy with earlier research findings, the second is a little surprising given the level of NPA involvement in public transport services marketing and information provision identified in Chapter Six. Interviewee perspectives on how the status quo might be improved in terms of public transport service provision and marketing is discussed in section 11.3.

11.2.1.3 A sector lacking all encompassing focusing events

Kingdon (1984) identifies that one of the primary ways that problems move up public or political agendas are through focusing events or crises. At the local level, the New Forest case study provided an interesting illustration of this. It showed how public sensitivity around the deaths of New Forest ponies in road traffic accidents empowered policy-makers there to introduce a 40mph blanket speed limit across the whole National Park.

Whilst there is a large element of unpredictability about the occurrence and form of such focusing events, respondents largely discounted what is theoretically the most obvious one – climate change – from playing a role in future policy change:

> 'The thing with a lot of major changes is that they happen when there's a crisis or something becomes very popular or well known. I haven't a clue what that might be for National Parks. Five or ten years ago I might have said climate change, and something will happen and that change will come about. It seems less likely to me now that any direct natural situation will affect anything. I think the argument that short-term changes to mitigate problems, such as reducing car use, aren't going to come about because of the idea that in ten years all cars might be non-polluting, which means those sort of policy changes aren't perceived as necessary'. (E4)

> 'There are people who are effectively playing down climate change. Not in the sense that they are climate change deniers but in the sense of 'don't worry, we've got time, we can adapt'…so you've got people playing down climate change, not in a knee-jerk denial way, but by deflecting the issue somewhere else'. (E6)

The climate change agenda was raised by respondents in the Yorkshire Dales case study as a possible means by which to secure funding from central Government for sustainable transport initiatives in sensitive environmental locations such as National Parks. Climate change has been identified as a strategic challenge throughout this thesis, and one that can affect all National Parks. It is therefore interesting to note here that respondents at the national level did not feel this to be the case. The relevance of this finding will be examined further during the discussion chapter.

11.2.2 The policy stream

Respondents were asked if they were satisfied with existing attempts at transport planning and policy development in the sector. Whilst acknowledging the complexities that exist within the policy sector, generally negative responses to this question were received.

> 'I don't think transport issues are being addressed, no. I think people know they need addressing. I think most people that know that are also frustrated that they're not being addressed in a satisfactory way'. (E5)

> 'I'm sympathetic to the people who are responsible for dealing with these things because they really are between a rock and a hard place. They've got to deal with the county council, the tourism people, local business, the media.

> They're really pushed from pillar to post. Having said that, what they are doing is by a long way not enough. It's not even enough to hold the line'. (E7)

That is not to say that respondents found nothing to be positive about. For example, the good work undertaken by a number of NPAs and their delivery partners in supporting visitor bus services was recognised. However, this was tempered with an acknowledgement of the often limited nature of these projects with regard to the 'bigger picture'. 'Some of the NPAs do, as I'm sure you know, have some very good 'flagship' sustainable transport schemes and initiatives. But they are all relatively small scale and seasonal and I fear they will suffer as NPAs make decisions about what to cut or drop with the impending spending review settlement'.

As such then, there was significant desire and awareness of the need to change. In light of all the earlier research findings however, the difficulty is in being able to identify a) what policy change would actually represent and b) how change would ever actually come to occur. These issues are examined in section 11.3. Events in the political stream are now examined.

11.2.3 The political stream and policy entrepreneurs

The political stream and the role of policy entrepreneurs are considered together here since interview responses revealed them to be closely linked. The concept of policy entrepreneurs was one discussed at length during a number of the interviews. General agreement was that the policy sector contained numerous individuals who were either a) active and practicing policy entrepreneurs or b) inactive but could theoretically emerge as policy entrepreneurs. However, two barriers were considered to stifle the work of policy entrepreneurs in the sector, therefore limiting what can be achieved. These were: institutional barriers in the local government structure, and the fear of public or political recrimination for pursuing 'alternative' transport approaches.

11.2.3.1 Institutional barriers affecting the work of policy entrepreneurs

Citing a number of successful, if small scale, public transport projects across the National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs), respondents identified the individuals behind them to be policy entrepreneurs. The work of the Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company (DBCIC) and its management team in the Yorkshire Dales (as discussed in Chapter Ten) was an often cited example. However, institutional barriers were deemed to exist which restricted the impact of these policy entrepreneurs and prevented the expansion of the public transport agenda in the policy sector.

> 'The trouble is that the people that have got to grips with them (public transport schemes) are not in the right positions. They are brilliant people, but

> they are people who have been given a specific project to do, or are in charge of a particular partnership. They are not in a position where they can control significant budgets or significant policy strands. They are usually project officers or partnership officers, people that are actually quite low down on a local authority pay-scale…they haven't got the ear of the portfolio holder in charge of the local transport plan for example. So, some people have got to grips with it, but they are people who are fairly marginalised within a local authority structure…The people that have all the knowledge aren't really the ones in authority and are never going to get to be in the places of authority unless they sing the right tune'. (E6)

Of further concern was the fact that during the current economic climate, increasing pressure on transport budgets at all levels of local and central Government will serve to reduce the likelihood for entrepreneurship since people in the sector are actually losing their jobs.

> 'We're getting rid of people from local authorities and transport consultancies who've got all the experience we need. A few years down the line when people are thinking about putting money into walking, cycling and public transport in National Parks, it's going to take a while to get people who can do this up to speed because we're shedding a lot of the key people right now'. (E6)

11.2.3.2 Fear of political or public fallout restricting the emergence of policy entrepreneurs

Moving from 'actual' to 'potential' policy entrepreneurs, respondents identified an unwillingness to engage in more radical or innovative policy promotion through fear of public or political reprisal. This assertion mirrors findings at the local level, where similar discourse emerged.

> 'I think there's a fear of imagination or implementing imaginative solutions. A lot of people say that we have to be innovative and be visionary and we have to have radical approaches, but actually once people realise what that means they shy away rapidly'. (E5)

> 'The barriers are really this nervousness in people's heads. If the chief executive of a National Park said 'we're going to do it, we're going to close a minor road and blast it with publicity, make a deal with several dozen pubs, cafes, hotels, and say we want you to come and really enjoy the National Park in a traffic free environment for one weekend in summer 2011', then what's

> the problem? That could be done, but they won't do it. They know it's a good idea, but they won't do it and they're frightened of bad publicity'. (E7)

Given the public and political fallout from previous attempts to introduce radical/innovative policies in the National Parks discussed during this thesis (the New Forest and Snowdonia to name just two), it is surely unsurprising that this should be the case. With this in mind the next section focuses on what might be done with regard to setting the agenda for change in the policy sector, and empowering the practitioners who wish to see this occur.

11.3 TRANSPORT PLANNING AND UK NATIONALS PARKS: THE FUTURE

This section examines expert perspectives on how the transport planning and policy agenda for the National Parks might be progressed in future. The MS framework again provides the structural framework through which to conduct this analysis, beginning with the problem stream.

11.3.1 The problem stream

This section will examine how respondents considered the workings of the problem stream could be influenced as part of a new agenda setting process for the policy sector. Two key points were identified in this regard, namely the need to:

- Challenge the status quo concerning car use and local rural economies; and
- 'Re-focus' problems by combining vested interests and sharing common ground.

11.3.1.1 The visibility of the car: challenging the status quo

One of the key issues to emerge during the interviews related to the visibility of cars as an indicator of economic activity at destinations within National Parks, the underlying principle being that this served to entrench the view that car borne visitors to the National Parks were the most lucrative in terms of their individual contribution to the economy. Cumulatively of course, this is true. However, respondents were quick to cite a range of academic studies undertaken (eg Cope et al 2003, Guiver and Lumsdon, 2006) which demonstrate that average spend per visitor is greater for public transport users, walkers and cyclists than it is for car borne users. 'There are a number of studies that suggest that cyclists and walkers are the biggest spenders in rural economies. However, the perception that it is the people with cars that bring money in is a very strong one'.

Particularly relevant findings of the studies referenced above are that people who travel by bus or bicycle tend to spend in local shops and services at their travel destination as opposed to their point of origin, whereas car users are often the other way round. One respondent described the car as being like 'a big basket on four wheels' in which visitors

can bring with them all the items they need for a day out. It is much more difficult for walkers, cyclists or public transport users to do this, hence more money is then spent in the local economy.

Moving forward then, it was identified that change protagonists must be much more vocal and assertive in trying to promote this message and challenging 'the car is king' mindset amongst the local population and politicians:

> 'It's got to come down to officers being willing to stick their head above the parapet and say 'look, we know this is what you think, but here's the evidence to the contrary'. Obviously officers aren't keen to do that sort of thing too much. There is a reticence on the part of officers to articulate other points of view to members because members set the policy. Therefore members set the policy so officers don't feel they can go against that policy. New ideas therefore don't tend to make the jump from what the officers find out at conferences/meetings etc, to the members, unless you start getting more progressive members in of course. So there's an assumption that the car must be best. And that's reinforced as far as the members are concerned by what they hear from the business community and which equally tends to assume that car borne visitors are more lucrative which isn't necessarily the case'. (E6)

This approach was deemed particularly influential in the battle for 'hearts and minds', particularly in the public domain where local support for new initiatives was largely considered to be a pre-cursor for successful implementation.

> 'It's not just the case of having the right data and presenting it. It's getting people to see it for themselves, shop keepers and such like and people running tourist attractions. I think it's the visibility of the car for people who are trying to make money in a National Park is the thing that makes them think there's a lot of people here'. (E4)

Perhaps the most effective way to try and demonstrate the benefits to local people, businesses and politicians of sustainable travel initiatives in National Parks would be if such schemes actually made it to implementation stage. Factors considered to be significant in this regard are more closely attributed to the political stream, and will be considered in the appropriate section (11.3.3).

Bravery, commitment and a willingness to challenge the status quo in an attempt to promote alternate ways of thinking were therefore highlighted as important aspects of the

change agenda. Second to this was the necessity to re-focus consideration of 'the problem' which policy makers may seek to address.

11.3.1.2 Re-focusing 'the problem': combining vested interests

Research findings in this and previous chapters suggest that of the social, environmental and economic policy drivers in the sector, it is the economic objectives which dominate the process. A number of respondents reflected on the fact that this fits quite neatly within the National Park agenda, since one of the core economic drivers in these localities is the quality of the landscape itself. As such, they reported the need to ensure that transport issues, and the policy attention they receive, are not viewed in isolation, removed from other policy spheres. The identified goal of respondents here then being to try and set up conditions by which extant transport issues may be considered in a more balanced way by members of the policy community.

One interviewee used car parking as a means by which to illustrate this point.

> 'Let's take it down to something dead basic like car parking. There is a congestion problem because people are trying to look for car parking so it clogs up the roads. Therefore, for the economic value of that place "we should extend all the car parking and widen the roads". Now, if visitors are going there because they want a day out in a National Park, if we have lots of big wide roads and huge car parks then the very places that people go to see are going to be damaged by that. So we need to make the point that cars don't visit National Parks, the people inside them do. The cars don't want a nice day out, the people within them do. So when they get out of their car, if they have to walk across acres on concrete and can't get across the road due to screaming traffic then clearly the value of the landscape is less and they are less likely to come back'. (E5)

As the above quote illustrates then, respondents felt it necessary to note that one of the core economic drivers within the National Park is the quality of the landscape. Therefore, the economic value of that landscape must be continually highlighted during future policy debates. One particular way to reinforce this view, which drew consensus from all respondents' related to objective setting for transport policy and associated initiatives within the sector.

> 'I think the combination of saying "we're celebrating what makes these places wonderful and beautiful and special", and at the same time saying that this is an economic strategy – it is not a sustainability strategy or one based upon 'we

> hate the car' – to increase your turnover and income and make the rural economy much more buoyant and dynamic than it currently is'. (E7)

Objectives and policy goals are issues which fit neatly within the workings of the policy stream and will be discussed further in the section below.

11.3.2 The policy stream

In this section discourse surrounding future workings in the policy stream are examined. Three key aspects are discussed, namely:

- Objectives for transport in National Parks;
- Public transport as a preferred policy tool; and
- Promoting the car-free agenda.

11.3.2.1 Objectives for transport in National Parks

Two different approaches to objective setting emerged in the interviews. In line with earlier findings, most expert interviews enforced the point that transport should not be considered in isolation from other issues or objectives in the wider sense of the National Parks, and transport objectives should reflect this fact.

> 'Objectives for transport should not be different to the objectives of the vision for the National Parks. That is a high quality visitor experience; vibrant communities; prosperous economy; and spectacular landscapes. The objectives and the vision of a good transport system should help to deliver those four things and not be different to the broad objectives of the National Park because a transport system should be allowing those other things to happen'. (E5)

This approach builds upon earlier points raised that work must be undertaken to try and combine the vested interests of all the stakeholders within the policy sector. It reflects a desire for continual reinforcement of the role that transport can play in helping to address or satisfy wider social, environmental or economic objectives in the National Parks.

Other respondents meanwhile outlined a role for more specific targets in relation to the transport function. Consider for example the comment of one respondent, who discussed the role of targets pertaining specifically to car use:

> 'For the Lake District National Park for example I would want to double the number of visitors and halve the number of cars. That's stealing an idea from Germany called Factor Four. That's a four-fold increase in what I would call

> eco-efficiency. We could have double the number of visitors with half the number of cars if we set our mind to it. We've got to have that clarity of ambition and vision, and there's no clarity or ambition at the moment. People are running around saying 'we can't do this', and 'we can't do that'. (E7)

This approach to objective setting was argued on the basis that it provides absolute clarity to all those involved in the policy sector with regard to the aspirations of practitioners. This was seen to be helpful therefore in focusing minds and providing the initial emphasis for change.

Respondents were then asked to outline their vision for transport planning and policy in the National Parks. Two distinct, yet directly related, aspects emerged namely: public transport service provision and information improvements, and the promotion of a 'car free' agenda.

11.3.2.2 The role of public transport

For the majority of respondents, preferred 'policy change' in the National Park transport planning and policy sector would begin by securing improvements to the quality and frequency of public transport services available within these locales.

> 'It's got to start with providing some options for people. As far as destinations are concerned in rural areas, the amount you can do on the stick side is limited. My focus would tend to be more on the carrot side. I'm not saying you can't do anything on the stick side, but compared with urban areas the carrot has got to be more important than the stick for National Parks and so on. Which means providing alternative ways of getting about'. (E6)

> 'My view is that public transport in rural areas should be far better than it is at the moment. Getting funding for that is difficult, but I have argued that it is worthwhile doing it. We spend money on education and health, and we should also be spending money on public transport and then encouraging people to use it'. (E4)

The difficulties associated with developing and sustaining comprehensive and successful rural public transport services at the local leve have already been documented at length during this thesis. Whilst acknowledging these complications, respondents felt that, in combination with earlier attempts to challenge the 'car is king' mantra, more could be done at the local level in an attempt to implement change:

> 'I think we can do a lot more at the local level than we now do. My general view is that if you put up a convincing argument for improving public transport, say for example from the Lake District National Park jointly with Cumbria County Council, you can actually negotiate with the bus operators, and push things in a much more progressive way than they are now. This can be undertaken entirely from the local level and entirely without reference to central Government. (E7)

Examples from elsewhere in the policy sector were used to reinforce this point. This concept will be discussed further in section 11.3.3. Note here also the perceived importance of policy entrepreneurs in securing the change described:

> 'I was very impressed with what York City Council did a few years ago in partnership with Stagecoach. Stagecoach supplied new buses and the council put a lot of money into bus priority, real time information, Park and Ride, and really made improvements at the local level without central Government intervention. So partnerships, even though it's a bit of an overused terminology, can actually produce good results. But it just so happened in York that there were some innovators and entrepreneurs, people willing to cut through the rubbish and do things. I suspect that is not generally the case elsewhere. York is not a National Park but the principle is the same'. (E7)

In further promoting public transport as the number one agenda item, respondents acknowledged the practical difficulties that exist with regard to traffic restraint in rural areas such as National Parks. This mirrors earlier findings where the limitations of traffic restraint were discussed. A point of particular salience concerned the potential side-effects of pricing or parking policies introduced as stand-alone measures at a single destination within a National Park, or at a single National Park itself:

> 'The trouble with road pricing or other restraint methods in the countryside is that people tend to go or park somewhere else. If, for example you were in the Lake District and a charge was proposed that wasn't proposed in the Peak District, then the Peak District would be getting more visitors and more car pressure. There's all sort of issues that don't make restraint as simple an option as they can be in urban areas. Traffic restraint works where people are travelling to somewhere and the options for going elsewhere are limited…the more choice the people have about where they can go, the greater their propensity for doing so if some negative factor arises. This means to do something about transport in rural areas, in terms of the stick, the stick has got to be much more on a strategic level such as a distance based national

> road pricing scheme rather than a specific congestion charge in a certain area'. (E6)

Despite such acknowledgements, respondents did identify the need for promotion of the car free agenda for National Parks.

11.3.2.3 Promoting the car free agenda

In line with earlier stated concerns about car use in the National Parks, respondents spoke at length about the need to promote the car free agenda amongst policy makers and the general public.

> 'We've all got to try and understand that when we say 'what shall we do about traffic in the National Park?', it's really asking 'how do we change attitudes, mindsets and ideologies?'. How do we convince everyone that lives and works and runs a business in the National Parks that there are enormous advantages associated with getting rid of half the traffic?' (E7)

For clarity then, the 'car free' agenda can probably best be considered as a changing mindset amongst members of the policy sector. One in which: policy decisions are taken or not taken – intentionally or otherwise – with the concept of car and car access primarily at the fore; the concepts of sustainable travel are embedded in the work and objectives of all key stakeholders; and information provision and communication is undertaken in a way which is accessible and meaningful. This could operate on a number of levels. For instance, the quote above concerns the 'saleability' of the sustainability agenda. New approaches to branding, advertising and the general promotion of car free leisure could all be considered here.

> 'I think things like integrated travel cards, and packages and itineraries and things like that are possible. We're not asking people to abandon their cars. We're just presenting days out in ways where a car becomes irrelevant. And it's relatively cheap and therefore it fits with the times, and it's shown in other places that it's going to be pretty effective. So I think that that's an accelerating and much more live issue in terms of other people doing stuff'. (E5)

Similarly, whilst the complexities of traffic restraint have been discussed through this and earlier chapters, schemes such as road closures and other forms of access control were seen to form part of this agenda. The role for policy entrepreneurs (discussed at further length in section 11.3.3) in securing change in this regard emerged here.

> 'The only reason that these things [road closures and access control] would be considered would be if there were people high up prepared to take the risk. So there has to be the constant balance between forging partnerships and building confidence amongst sceptics or people who might traditionally disagree about things, and reconciling that against the question of to what extent to take risks, part of which is annoying the very people that you've been forging partnerships with. It's forever a constant balance, and if you're talking about barriers I think part of it is 'do I, in my role for example, have enough time to talk to the grown ups that make these big decisions about the pros and cons of taking the risk?' And do they know about opportunities of when to take that risk?'. (E5)

The following section will examine respondent perspectives on the influence of the political stream and policy entrepreneurs with regard to future agenda setting in the sector.

11.3.3 The political stream and policy entrepreneurs

Two particular aspects of note with this regard emerged during the interviews, both of which relate to the concept of empowering policy entrepreneurs through changing public attitudes. These were:

- The role of feedback and policy transference; and
- Changing policy images: presenting a vision of how things could be.

11.3.3.1 Policy transfer and learning

In Chapter Three (section 3.3), the importance of 'policy transfer' (or policy learning) in the development and implementation of new transport planning instruments in the transport sector was discussed. Park and Ride and Travel Planning were both identified as instruments that had evolved into mainstream policy after beginning in niche parts of the sector. Interviewees in this sector therefore were frustrated at the lack of stand-out sustainable transport initiatives in any of the National Parks as they believed this inhibited policy progression. The belief being that the successful implementation of just one or two high-profile initiatives throughout the National Park system would make it easier for those who followed.

> 'We've got to task ourselves with making sure that we can point at things and say 'look, it works in National Parks'. So for instance, road closures. We still joke amongst National Park members that we've only got one little valley experimentation in the Peak District. We still can't point to 'car free days in Langdale and say it's brilliant because business increases as a result of it'.

> 'In the Lake District they could have four car free weekends a year. That would set a very high standard, in terms of people being able to see what it feels like and smells like and looks like to be car free. They'd see that people would spend more money in the cafes and the pubs and the restaurants. They'd have lots of cyclists who tend to drink a lot…everybody would then say 'what a fantastic idea' and it would multiply and be copied. Once someone has, I suppose, taken the risk and been pilloried in the local press or something, then we'll be able to say 'look, this was quite successful'. (E7)

As the quote above summarises, and has already been discussed in this and previous chapters, any attempt at traffic restraint will likely be met with significant public and political opposition. Whilst disappointed that the National Parks had not yet been able to implement car free initiatives, examples in other areas of the wider transport policy arena prompted some grounds for optimism about the ultimate transferability of schemes to these locales:

> 'Have you heard of Skyride in London? They're sponsoring an event where a lot of the major roads in London get closed to cars and opened up to cyclists. Two years ago we couldn't point to that, but now we can and can say that road closures are not about restricting access but are for providing opportunities for other ways of using those streets in a very positive way. We still can't point to anything in a National Park where we can say 'look, this works here' because there hasn't been the nerve to do anything like that. In five years time if we're not in that position I think we should go out and shoot ourselves basically. It's happening, it's going to happen but I don't know where first'. (E5)

Respondents therefore placed significant emphasis on the role of policy feedback in helping to shift the agenda. Evidence of the successful implementation of sustainable transport initiatives was therefore deemed to empower or embolden local politicians and policy entrepreneurs to pursue such schemes in their own locales.

> 'We need to link it back to the question 'are we good at presenting a vision of what places could be like?' No! Therefore how can we expect the public to engage with us? It's very easy to say yes, we have to follow the public at all time. The other end of that spectrum is the attitude that says 'to hell with the public we're going to tell them how it's going to be'. I think we just need to be a lot more aware of where we sit in that spectrum when we talk about things to do with transport. We need to know what the public views are, and we need to engage the public, but we also have a duty to make sure the public are well enough informed about how things could be'. (E5)

Also building upon this concept was the perceived importance of the role of practitioners in helping to further convey positive policy images in an attempt to influence the local mood.

11.3.3.2 Changing policy images: a vision of how things could be

When describing how a sustainable transport system within a National Park should theoretically function, a number of respondents made immediate reference to what were perceived as international examples of best practice in sustainable transport. Whilst not National Parks, the transport functions in the alpine regions of Switzerland, and the Rhine-Ruhr part of Germany were frequently cited as such. These areas typically consist of fully integrated public transport systems combined with a range of ticketing, marketing and information initiatives. Car bans in the most sensitive areas of these regions are not uncommon. Whilst accepting that a transport system such as this was a long way from being reality in the context of UK National Parks, assertions were made that they should serve as inspirational images of what could be achieved:

> 'It comes back to the idea that people don't know how things could be. I don't think people like me have the opportunity to tell people how things could be. I don't think we offer people a good enough vision of how a sustainable transport system might work'. (E5)

This tactic would signal a move away from a 'problem-led' change approach to a 'policy-led' change approach. That is, instead of focusing on the situation as it currently stands, painting the picture of what the transport function **could** be like was cited as an effective way of shaping the agenda. The hope being that expansion of the agenda may help accelerate the change process in both the political and public domain.

> 'It's marketing, publicity, advertising - all of those things. It's doing what the car industry spends billions on in terms of buy this car and every road will be empty! We're rubbish when it comes to advertising alternatives to the car. We show people queuing up at a bus stop! I think we've got to go beyond that. What do people want to do? They want an easy life of health, wealth and happiness. We're rubbish at explaining how an integrated transport system could help with these things. That's one of the barriers because we don't know how to do it…so much of it is communication. We say it's down to policy or regulation or money, but it's down to communication to be honest'. (E4)

This completes both the political stream assessment and this section of the chapter, which is now concluded below.

11.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter has documented findings from the final stage of research allied to this thesis, namely in-depth interviews with transport experts at the national level. Key findings are summarised below and in Table 11.1 (page 238).

In line with earlier research findings, excessive car use combined with limited public transport provision in the National Park emerged as the area of most concern. Furthermore, the notion of climate change serving to act as a focusing event through which to achieve change was largely dismissed.

Respondents were generally unhappy with how identified transport concerns are currently being approached within the policy sector, supporting the need for change in these approaches. Policy entrepreneurs were discussed in the context of being active or inactive. Active entrepreneurs were deemed to be those currently contributing to small-scale or site-specific public transport based initiatives within the National Parks. Whilst commendable, their work was deemed to be inhibited by institutional arrangements. Inactive policy entrepreneurs were those people who respondents considered to hold positions of power and recognise the need for change, but were unwilling to pursue an agenda due to fear of public or political opposition.

The nature of possible policy change was seen largely through improvements to public transport services, and the information and marketing thereof. That said, there was respondent support for the use of site-specific road closures and access restrictions as part of a wider move towards the promotion of car free leisure.

Initiatives concerning both these approaches were considered easier to progress in the event that just one or two schemes were to come to fruition in the National Parks. Great significance in this regard was placed on the concept of feedback/policy transference. That is, the momentum deemed to accrue from one high-profile and successful sustainable transport initiative in locale would empower local decision makers and policy entrepreneurs in others. Such events were considered to be helpful in changing pre-existing conceptions of certain policy instruments (such as public transport and access restrictions), therefore changing policy images amongst the public and politicians for the better.

Interview respondents were asked for their perspectives with regard to future agenda setting in the policy sector. In the context of the problem stream, respondents identified a desire for practitioners in the field to be more authoritative when challenging perceived wisdom about the economic impact of car borne visitors relative to other transport modes. This was part of a wider desire to 're-focus' transport issues in an attempt to combine the vested interests of all those in the policy sector. That is, to begin to find and exploit shared

common ground between members of the policy community who may otherwise be resistant to change.

Objective setting was also seen to be influential in the above approach, namely in helping to reinforce the fact that transport can be central to, and not in conflict with, wider social, economic and environmental aspirations. That said, a smaller number of respondents considered the production of quantified targets with regard to car use reduction would help to provide a level of ambition and clarity currently deemed lacking.

The results of each of the three research stages have now been presented. The following chapter brings together these findings, and discusses them in the context of the literature, theoretical framework, and study aim, objectives and research propositions.

Table 11.1 – Summary of key findings relevant to MS framework

MS Framework	Areas for research	Summary of key findings
THE PROBLEM STREAM	- perspectives on transport challenges in UK National Parks: do they align with earlier stated challenges at the local level? - how to promote or encourage problem awareness amongst participants in the policy sector	- Two key challenges identified: reliance on private car for travel to and within the National Parks; and lack of suitable alternative public transport provision - Findings mirror those of earlier research stages, though greater emphasis placed on the impacts of car use within the National Parks than previously - Policy sector deemed to lack a focusing event to help encourage policy change - Practitioners must challenge the status quo in terms of the acceptance of car use and relative lack of attention paid to other transport modes during policy making and planning
THE POLICY STREAM	- satisfaction with existing transport planning and policy approaches employed in National Parks - awareness or otherwise of the need to change - favoured future transport planning and policy approaches in National Park settings - how to deliver favoured future transport planning and policy approaches in light of identified barriers	- respondents generally unhappy with existing planning and policy approaches and supportive of the concept of policy change - preferred future approaches largely incentive based and reliant on improvements to public transport alternatives within the National Parks - smaller number of respondents also supportive of vehicular access closures to help manage visitor traffic and encourage use of more sustainable transport modes - initiatives above combine to help form part of a new approach to the promotion of the car free agenda - objectives for transport need to reflect wider strategic objectives for the National Parks, helping to identify shared common ground and combine vested interests
THE POLITICAL STREAM AND POLICY ENTREPRENEURS	- presence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector, and factors affecting their influence - possible role of policy entrepreneurs in seeking to achieve change - how to change the image of policy to influence local mood and political opinion	- policy entrepreneurs exist within the sector and are either active or inactive; active policy entrepreneurs undertake good work in the public transport field but are constrained by institutional arrangements; inactive policy entrepreneurs do not engage with agenda setting due to fear of public or political unpopularity - policy entrepreneurs and local politicians generally would be empowered in the event that one or two sustainable transport initiatives reached implementation stage within the sector – policy transfer/feedback seen as particularly powerful - thoughtful and clever marketing and advertising combined with public transport service changes would help to change policy image and encourage change

Chapter Twelve: Policy Change and Leisure Transport in UK National Parks - A Discussion

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous seven chapters (numbers 5 - 11) have explored the UK National Park transport planning and policy sector in detail at both the national and local level. This chapter now draws together the findings from the study and discusses them in light of the existing evidence base on leisure transport and UK National Parks, and the theoretical framework which guided the research. The chapter will be structured as follows.

Section 12.2 explores the links which exist between research propositions and the guiding theoretical framework the thesis employed. Synergy between the two is established, thereby allowing the discussion to be brought together in the context of both the literature and the theory at the same time.

Four component parts of the MS framework (the problem stream, the policy stream, the political stream, and – in chapters 6, 8, 10 and 11 - policy entrepreneurs) have been used to structure the previous research chapters. With the link between the literature and theory established, this approach is continued here. As such, section 12.3 discusses findings with regard to the problem stream, whilst in section 12.4 the implications of findings with regard to the policy stream are considered. Section 12.5 consists of discussion surrounding findings relevant to the political stream and section 12.6 considers the role of policy entrepreneurs.

The fifth and final element of the MS framework relates to the concept of policy windows. These are times at which varying combinations of events involving some or all of the three streams and policy entrepreneurs combine to form an opportunity for policy change. In light of earlier discussion, section 12.7 will provide a perspective on the appearance of policy windows and the potential for policy change with respect to leisure transport and UK National Parks. Finally, section 12.8 revisits the research propositions in light of the discussion.

12.2 THE RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THEIR SYNERGY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DISCUSSION CHAPTER

Nine research propositions were derived from the literature examined in chapters two and three. The research propositions help to focus the research and underpin the wider study aim and objectives. Consideration of each was undertaken when constructing the research

design. A further influence on the research design was the theoretical framework which underpinned this thesis, namely the MS framework. In addition to the research propositions, component parts of the MS framework yielded specific areas of the policy sector to be studied in an attempt to understand the possibilities for change.

Both the research propositions and the research requirements of the MS framework are shown in Figure 12.1 overleaf. From this, it is possible to note that significant synergy exists between the two aspects of the research. Simply, there is considerable overlap between the data needed to address the research propositions and that required to complete an MS framework analysis.

This is helpful with regards to this chapter since it allows discussion to be undertaken in the context of the research proportions (and the wider literature from which they were derived) and the theoretical framework at the same time. That is, discussion which is seen to address the research propositions are also helpful in informing the framework analysis and vice versa.

Findings to be discussed in sections 12.3 – 12.6 will be drawn from each of the three distinct research stages undertaken. In each of these sections, key findings will be summarised in a table before being expanded on. Findings from the three research stages will be presented together in each table, but out of sequence from the order of data collection. Findings derived from the national level (research stages 1 and 3) will be in the top half of each table and findings from the local level (research stage 2) will be shown in the bottom half. This allows findings from the national level to be compared and contrasted with those from the local level.

Figure 12.1 - Overlap between research propositions and research requirements of the MS framework

Research Propositions		MS Framework Research Requirements
Proposition 1 Conflict between the two founding purposes of National Parks - conservation and enhancement versus understanding and enjoyment - restricts transport policy development in these settings ---------- Proposition 2 National Park administration, operation and usage varies between countries, therefore lessons from international schemes and policy development cannot be easily transferred ---------- Proposition 3 The complex nature of leisure travel in rural settings serves to discourage its elevation on local or national transport policy agendas ---------- Proposition 4 Transport in National Parks is not a policy area which attracts public or political attention ---------- Proposition 5 It is difficult for practitioners to link innovative transport policies or schemes with wider social and economic objectives in National Park settings ---------- Proposition 6 Political arrangements at local and national levels serve to restrict the potential for new transport policy development in National Park settings ---------- Proposition 7 How transport problems are defined by politicians and the general public influences the attention which the issue receives on the political agenda ---------- Proposition 8 The presence of a policy entrepreneur within the local or national UK National Park transport planning sector would aid the potential for significant policy change ---------- Proposition 9 There is currently no open policy window through which to secure significant transport policy change in the context of UK National Parks		The Problem Stream Composition and areas of research: ▪ Focusing events; Indicators; Feedback - what are stakeholder perceptions of transport problems across UK National Parks? - how are problems defined, and does the way they are defined have influence on the elevation of one issue over another on the policy agenda? ---------- The Policy Stream Composition and areas of research: ▪ The policy community; Policy objectives; The policy 'primeval' soup - what are the strengths of relationships between members of the policy community? - are policy communities fragmented or united? - do policy community members demonstrate consensus/divergence on transport policy objectives? - how do policy community members view policy proposals in terms of their feasibility, personal value acceptability and public acceptability? ---------- The Political Stream Composition and areas of research: ▪ The local mood; Organised political forces/pressure groups; Governmental arrangements - to what extent can the local mood be seen to influence the policy process? - are there organised political forces within the policy sector, and if so, to what extent do they affect the policy process? - what is the impact, if any, of existing governmental arrangements on the policy process? ---------- Policy Entrepreneurs Areas of research: - is there any evidence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector? - if so, what is their status within the policy community and are they influential in the policy process? ---------- Policy Windows - In light of the above, is there any evidence of the coupling of the three streams - with or without the work of policy entrepreneurs - such that a policy window for change exists in the sector?

12.3 THE PROBLEM STREAM: KEY FINDINGS AND RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

According to Kingdon (1984), for a policy to change people must be convinced that there is a problem which needs addressing. The review of policy change in the UK transport sector (summarised in section 3.3 and appended to this thesis) supported this assertion. In any given policy sector however, the list of possible 'problems' to which policy solutions could be applied is likely to be vast. As a result, the MS framework suggests that the means by which conditions come to be defined as 'problems' are an important part of agenda setting and the starting point of the opportunity for change.

Accordingly, this section will now examine the 'problems' within the policy sector as identified during the research and consider how their definition affects their elevation/suppression on the policy agenda. Key findings are summarised in Table 12.1 overleaf and expanded below.

12.3.1 Strategic challenges faced in UK National Parks

The literature identified that internationally, most National Parks operate to a dual mandate of conservation and enhancement of the natural environment on the one hand, and the promotion of access and enjoyment on the other. The same is true of National Parks in the UK, though their administration differs greatly to most other countries. As a number of authors (Vaske et al, 2000. Eagles and McCool, 2002. Boyd and Butler, 2009) assert, tension frequently exists between these two purposes since any use of a National Park by humans has negative influences on the natural environment. Recreational use of National Parks for leisure and tourism purposes was identified in the literature as perhaps the most significant source of such conflict (Sowman and Pearce, 2000).

Findings from this study reinforce that these assertions are true in the context of UK National Parks. Challenges relating to the impacts of recreation and tourism (and ancillary activities on which it relies such as transport) were cited as significant in both the national and local documentary literature reviewed. With regard to primary research, the most notable evidence to support this claim emerged from the two sub-case studies undertaken at the local level. In both cases interview respondents identified the environmental impacts of growing recreational demand as the most significant challenge facing their respective National Parks. The paradox being that in both cases a close second to these concerns related to the fragility of local rural economies and the need to support local business and tourism.

Table 12.1 - Summary of study findings relevant to the problem stream

THE PROBLEM STREAM			Stakeholder perceptions of the strategic challenges facing UK National Parks	Stakeholder perceptions of transport problems in UK National Parks
The National Perspective	Stage 1 - Documentary Analysis and Transport Officer Interviews	Docs	▪ Climate change ▪ Agriculture and farming ▪ Affordable housing ▪ Renewable energy ▪ Transport ▪ Sustainable tourism	▪ Longstanding concern as to impacts of car use in National Parks (1945 - present) ▪ Forecast 35% growth in vehicle kilometres travelled in countryside 2003 - 2025 ▪ Awareness of limitations to existing public transport service provision
		Interviews	1. Lack of funding for NPAs and delivery partners 2. Climate change - physical impacts on the landscape 3. Changing demographics of incumbent populations 4. Development pressure	1. The inadequacy of public transport service provision 2. Impacts of car use in honeypot locations at times of peak tourism demand
	Stage 3 - Expert Perspectives	Interviews	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*	1. The impacts of car use within National Parks 2. The inadequacy of public transport service provision
The Local Perspective	Stage 2 - New Forest Case Study	Docs	▪ Climate change ▪ Land management ▪ Transport ▪ Conservation of special characteristics of National Park ▪ Development pressure	**At organisational/institutional level:** Volume of visitor traffic; Congestion in village centres; Development pressure; Poor accessibility arising from existing levels of public transport; Animal accidents involving New Forest livestock **At public level:** New Forest resident/visitor surveys demonstrated less concern about each of the above
		Interviews	1. Environmental impact of recreational demand and population growth 2. Threat to economic vitality of New Forest from National Park designation 3. Maintaining traditions and cultural heritage 4. Climate change	1. The inadequacy of public transport provision 2. Animal accidents 3. Congestion in Lyndhurst village; noise pollution; traffic volumes 4. Traffic speed and HGV usage
	Stage 2 - Yorkshire Dales Case Study	Docs	▪ Farming ▪ Economic development ▪ Increasing demand for leisure and recreation ▪ Housing ▪ Climate change	**At organisational/institutional level:** The inadequacy of public transport provision; Localised village congestion due to visitor traffic; Road safety **At public level:** Declining user satisfaction with PT services; Little demonstrable concern as to impacts of car use / congestion in the Yorkshire Dales
		Interviews	1. Threats to the special qualities of the National Park due to increasing recreational demand 2. The changing rural economy - managing the diversification of the economy post foot and mouth disease 3. Impacts of climate change on environmental and economic vitality	1. The inadequacy of public transport service provision 2. Impacts of car use in honeypot locations at times of peak tourism demand

Such findings are evidence of the seemingly intractable nature of National Park administration, management and planning when trying to balance conservation and enhancement with access and enjoyment. Further credence is given to this position when considering the role of transport as part of these wider strategic challenges.

12.3.2 Transport challenges and UK National Parks

The role of the private car in facilitating travel to, from and within National Parks, and the environmental impacts that this creates has been documented extensively both domestically (Reeves, 2006. Lumsdon et al, 2006) and internationally (Turnbull, 2003. White, 2007 for example). In addition, the relative scarcity of public transport in many rural areas such as National Parks has been identified as increasing the dependency on car use for travel in such locations (Guiver et al, 2008). Of the two separate (but interrelated) issues however, the documentary analysis undertaken during research stages one and two suggested that it is the challenges of car use which provide greatest concern to policy makers.

Of the four separate rounds of interviews undertaken, the scarcity of public transport emerged as the number one transport issue on three occasions. Only the interviews with the transport planning practitioners yielded greater concern about the impacts of car use than existing levels of public transport. Indeed, whilst there was clearly significant awareness of the impacts of car use in the National Park, it was largely considered to be a periodic and site-specific issue. That is, it was frequently seen as problematic only at certain honeypot locations and at times of peak tourist demand. By contrast, scarcity of public transport is by and large a year round issue, noticeable regardless of time or location.

Regardless, the findings support the literature in confirming that these two issues are seen as the most problematic by key stakeholders within the policy sector. However, the most significant example of policy change identified during the research process was not driven by either of these two. Indeed it was a focusing event – the deaths of New Forest livestock (particularly the iconic ponies) – which resulted in what at the time was a radical policy of a blanket 40mph speed limit across all unfenced roads within the National Park. Thus, consideration needs to be given to the influence of problem definition on the promotion of issues up the decision agenda within the policy sector.

12.3.3 Problem definition and agenda setting

Sustainable leisure transport initiatives and policies should be developed on the basis of sound evidence. Data provides the foundation for policy development, as well as providing a benchmark from which to track progress and identify what works and what does not. With regard to the MS framework, Kingdon (1984, p. 93) describes, 'the countable problem

sometimes acquires a power of its own that is unmatched by problems that are less countable'.

In National Parks, data collection for evidence or monitoring with regard to issues surrounding car use or public transport has been shown to be problematic. There is no consistency or frequency in methods of data collection, making it extremely difficult to collate and present an accurate and quantifiable picture of existing conditions relating to transport. This is particularly true in the context of data collection pertaining to car use, but also with regard to public transport accessibility (CNP, 2009d). Documentary evidence in Chapter Five (Natural England, 2008b) also identified that a key issue in the lack of support for public transport initiatives in rural areas was the poor quality of monitoring. Particular attention was given to the inability of practitioners to convey the economic value of schemes by measures such as visitor spend, and their role in upholding social exclusion objectives.

Stakeholders interviewed during the research identified the inadequacy of public transport and largely periodic instances of car use as problematic. However, of the (limited) resident and visitor survey data analysed in the sub-case studies, there was little to suggest that the public felt car use or traffic congestion in the National Parks to be particularly problematic. Indeed, at the local level, particularly in the Yorkshire Dales National Park, concern was raised as to the 'immunity' of visitors to the impacts of their car use (this concept will be discussed in more detail in section 12.5.1). Similarly, a perception of general apathy towards existing levels of public transport by the general public emerged.

Simply, without quantifiable evidence to suggest otherwise, perhaps these issues simply do not catch the public imagination in the way that a more visible (and quantifiable) event such as the animal accidents in the New Forest do.

With regard to car use for example, perceptions are anecdotal and subject to personal interpretation. What one person views as 'too many cars' may be different entirely from someone else's perspective, thus the problem is hard to define. By contrast, in US National Parks, where a range of integrated transport planning strategies are in place (as identified in Chapter 2), the 'framing' of the transport problem is far easier. There are limited entrances to US National Parks and a finite number of available parking spaces hence data is simpler to collect. It is therefore possible to 'quantify' the issues in a way not possible in the context of UK National Parks. Other issues are also important in differentiating transport policy progress between the UK and US (the lack of incumbent populations and businesses within US National Parks for example). However, acceptance and conveyance of the transport problems (identified as increasing congestion and associated environmental

impacts) through the use of quantifiable indicators must be considered when accounting for change.

Currently 'feedback' mechanisms used in problem definition with regard to car use do not seem helpful in promoting the issue up the policy agenda. Similarly, 'indicators' used to convey issues surrounding public transport provision and accessibility seem unable to promote policy action. The status quo is unhelpful with regard to the potential for policy change. Furthermore, these issues lack 'focusing events' to help promote them up the decision agenda. At the local level in the Yorkshire Dales, a number of respondents cited climate change as a possible focusing event through which to implement change. However, experts at the national level did not consider this to be the case, discounting climate change as a probable focusing event. Thus, the challenge for practitioners to adequately frame and define transport 'problems' in National Parks seems set to continue.

12.4 THE POLICY STREAM: KEY FINDINGS AND RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

The policy stream is composed of three elements, namely:

- The policy community;
- Policy objectives; and
- The policy 'primeval' soup.

Relationships between members of the policy community, the objectives they seek to pursue, and members' assessment of available policy instruments are all important with regard to policy change. Key findings are summarised in Table 12.2 and discussed overleaf.

12.4.1 The policy community

The National Park transport planning sector has been shown to be extremely complex, influenced directly and indirectly by the actions of a variety of stakeholders. At the strategic level, findings at all research stages pointed to the value and necessity of partnership working in delivering favoured transport planning and policy initiatives. Largely positive relationships between delivery agencies were reported (with the exception of the New Forest). There was recognition however that within policy debates, there is difficulty in directly aligning partner interests, objectives and engagement with the needs of the National Park and the statutory objectives of the NPA. That is, whilst the representatives of the National Parks are included in policy making and process, the outcomes of policy are not always a) beneficial to, or b) inclusive of NPA purposes or objectives.

In transport terms, this problem was seen to be extenuated by the Local Transport Plan (LTP) development and delivery process. The last round of Local Transport Plans were developed around four key objectives of reduced congestion, improved access to public

Table 12.2 - Summary of study findings relevant to the policy stream

THE POLICY STREAM			Strengths of relationships between members of the policy community	Consensus/divergence on objectives for transport policy	Policy community members' assessment of transport planning and policy proposals
The National Perspective	Stage 1 - Documentary Analysis and Transport Officer Interviews	Docs	▪ Recognition within policy documents of the special qualities of the National Park, and a policy framework in which all partners are required to give due consideration to specific needs of National Parks	▪ Theoretical imbalance between calls for integrated transport planning approaches and delivery on the ground	▪ History of failed integrated transport planning approaches due to public and political opposition
		Interviews	▪ NPAs are limited largely to a lobbying / advisory role with regard to policy development ▪ largely positive relationships, but agendas other than that of the NPAs tend to dominate	1.Reduce car use / increase modal shift 2. Increase accessibility to public transport 3. Convey a 'green' image	▪ Widespread theoretical support for concept of National Parks as centres for transport innovation ▪ Favoured future transport planning approaches all incentive based
	Stage 3 - Expert Perspectives	Interviews	▪ National Park advocates struggle to get voices heard through competing rhetoric of partner organisations and strategic delivery agencies	▪ Belief that objectives for sustainable transport objectives can align with wider environmental, economic and social objectives ▪ More needs to be done to challenge perceived wisdom re: economic contributions of bus and car borne National Park users	▪ Favoured future transport planning approaches largely incentive based ▪ Smaller number supportive of vehicular access restrictions and road closures to support visitor management approaches ▪ More needs to be done to support 'car free agenda'
The Local Perspective	Stage 2 - New Forest Case Study	Docs	▪ Division between key stakeholders on preferred transport planning approaches for National Park	▪ Clear conflict along traditional environmental and economic lines on role for transport in New Forest	▪ Hampshire County Council transport planning horizons limited to information and education campaigns ▪ New Forest NPA aspire to demand management and innovative public transport
		Interviews	▪ Fragmented policy community	▪ Consensus on need for better management of car borne visitors ▪ Reductions in car use considered unrealistic	▪ Policy instruments all fail one or more criteria for survival
	Stage 2 - Yorkshire Dales Case Study	Docs	▪ Synergy between NYCC and YDNPA with regard to preferred transport planning approaches	▪ Recognition of importance of tourism to local rural economy - unwillingness to pursue measures deemed to threaten this?	▪ Organisations support public transport improvements and walking / cycling initiatives ▪ No aspirations with regard to use of disincentives
		Interviews	▪ Good working relationships between NYCC and YDNPA though divergence of statutory objectives can limit progress	▪ Widespread consensus that 'car culture' limits the potential for car use reduction ▪ Focus instead on improving accessibility for non-car owners and providing wider transport choice for those with access to private car	▪ Wholesale agreement on role for incentives / public transport initiatives - no such consensus on role for restraint measures

services, better road safety and air quality improvements. There was acknowledgement of the presence of each of these issues within National Parks. However, there was belief that these problems were seen as less significant in a rural than urban context. As a result, in developing their LTPs local transport authorities were seen to largely neglect consideration of the National Parks, with more attention focused on urban as opposed to rural transport planning initiatives.

Data monitoring may again play a part here. Sustainable transport initiatives within National Parks have the potential to contribute significantly – in the rural context – to each of the four Government priority areas. However, as discussed, transport data monitoring is difficult in the National Parks, making it harder to successfully evaluate success of other initiatives. This is less of a problem in urban settings and may therefore also be significant in directing policy attention away from National Parks.

12.4.2 Policy objectives

Discussion of policy objectives at the national level focussed on strategic aspects such as modal shift away from the private car and increasing levels of public transport accessibility to the National Parks. Objective setting was considered especially important by experts during research stage 3. The competing interests and agendas of those in the policy sector have already been discussed. Experts felt that the sustainable transport objectives could and should be aligned with wider stakeholder objectives in order that 'common ground' could be identified and shared. Transport objectives should therefore be seen as complementary to, not in competition with, wider strategic objectives.

Demonstrable in both sub-case studies however was the simple belief that it is not possible to significantly change how people travel *to* the National Parks. Respondents instead favoured visitor management approaches and strategies that focused on behaviour change with regard to transport mode choice when travelling *within* National Parks. This perhaps reflects recognition of the fact that at the local level it is easier to influence how people travel when they arrive at a specific destination than it is to influence how they get there in the first place (barriers such as proximity between origin and destination and the dispersed nature of rural leisure trips are hard to change at the local level). That is not to suggest that respondents at the local level were not supportive of objectives to reduce the propensity for car travel to National Parks, simply that they did not consider them as realistic.

Thus, there is some element of disparity between transport policy aspirations between stakeholders at the national and local level. However, aspirations are not based on conflicts of interest, but simply differing perceptions of what can and cannot be achieved.

12.4.3 The policy 'primeval' soup – stakeholder assessment of transport planning instruments for possible use in National Park settings

An imbalance was revealed in the literature between the theoretical call for integrated transport strategies comprising of incentives and disincentives, and their implementation on the ground in UK National Parks. By reviewing a range of instruments in the context of their technical feasibility, value acceptability and public acceptability, insight into barriers for future use has been garnered.

12.4.3.1 Incentives and National Park transport planning – the role of public transport

Strong support for the role of public transport in the National Park transport planning sector was demonstrated by respondents in each of the three research stages. NPA Transport Officers were unanimous in their support for public transport, since increased provision can be seen to satisfy objectives relating to accessibility and the provision of alternative transport modes (objectives for transport which they highlighted as important). Strong support from experts for the role of public transport was also built on these foundations. At the local level too, initiatives surrounding public transport were seen to satisfy both value and public acceptability.

The primary barrier regarding further development of public transport provision in a National Park setting was identified as technical feasibility. That is, the cost of maintaining and operating public transport services in sparsely populated rural areas. Examples quoted in the literature (Natural England, 2008b. Lumsdon, 2006) highlight the difficulties associated with this problem. Even if this problem can be solved, respondents themselves questioned the effectiveness of the use of public transport as a stand alone policy measure in achieving earlier stated objectives. Public transport has been demonstrated to facilitate visitor spending in local economies, and plays an important role in improving accessibility to rural areas (Guiver et al, 2007). However, there is little evidence to suggest that its use as a stand alone policy measure is significant in achieving a modal shift away from private car use (Holding and Kreutner, 1998; Cullinane and Cullinane, 1999).

If the primary focus for transport in National Parks in the short term is with reference to influencing travel behaviour and mode choice upon arrival, then public transport surely has a role to play. Its popularity as a policy measure also supports its use within National Park settings should solutions to the funding issues be found. Further evidence supporting the role of public transport is the issue of accessibility. That is, the current status of public transport means that people without access to private cars are not always able to travel to National Parks. This was seen to contradict the very purposes of the National Parks themselves, and emerged as a possible mechanism by which to facilitate change.

12.4.3.2 Disincentives and National Park transport planning – the complexities of their use in National Park settings

Three possible disincentive measures which attracted most discourse were parking initiatives (charges or relocation), road closures (temporary or permanent), and road pricing. Each of these could theoretically form part of an integrated transport strategy in a UK National Park.

Whilst consensus was demonstrated with regard to the support for the role of public transport in National Park transport planning, no such evidence emerged with regard to the role of disincentives. Though not asked to comment directly on each instrument, NPA Transport Officers failed to volunteer any disincentive measures when asked to outline their preferred future transport planning approaches for UK National Parks. Support for disincentives at the local level were mixed, with division among respondents based primarily along conflicting lines of the environment and the economy. There was no consensus amongst experts as to the role of disincentives, with some in favour and others against.

Even when stakeholders identified consensus support for a policy, such as car parking space reallocation in the New Forest, practical implementation barriers (largely relating to public acceptability) were seen to make them undeliverable. Attitudinal surveys (Ison and Wall, 2002, 2003) have consistently demonstrated strongest support for transport policies which do not directly restrict car use, but instead provide alternatives or supplements to car use. This would appear true in the context of National Parks also.

Factors counting against the possible implementation in National Parks can be summarised as being on grounds of either principle (value acceptability) or practice (public acceptability or technical feasibility). Table 12.3 overleaf summarises findings in this regard, drawing evidence from each stage of research as appropriate.

Seemingly then there are a myriad of circumstance that combine to limit the potential for disincentive use in National Park settings. Firstly are the principled aspects. One of the aims of the National Park is to promote access and enjoyment. As emerged during the interview process, any attempt to directly restrain or limit car use is likely to be seen as an access restriction to individuals themselves. This is particularly true given the currently limited public transport provision in place in National Parks. The status quo currently allows car access to many of the most remote and sensitive destinations in National Parks, and to seek to take that away is extremely problematic.

Table 12.3 – Implementation issues surrounding use of restraint measures in National Parks

Policy measure:	Opposition in principle	Practical implementation difficulties
Car parking space reallocation	No opposition – respondents in favour as aligned well with concept of visitor management (New Forest)	Public unacceptability – strong lobby group in favour of maintaining status quo make policy undeliverable (New Forest)
Car parking charges	Limited opposition – generally acceptable to most respondents, though some keen to differentiate charging strategies according to resident/visitor status (Yorkshire Dales / New Forest)	Technical feasibility – near enough impossible to introduce and then enforce an area wide charging strategy. There will always be areas where parking is free within a National Park so effectiveness diluted. Fear that traffic will simply be displaced as a result. Hard to bring together all agencies with responsibility for parking and develop an encompassing scheme (Yorkshire Dales / New Forest)
Road closures / access restrictions	Divided opposition – some respondents supportive as would help limit vehicular access to most environmentally sensitive areas of park. Opponents cited aspects of equity/fairness as point of principle in opposition (Yorkshire Dales / New Forest)	Public unacceptability – largely seen as undeliverable due to expected public and political opposition. Too many people/businesses have vested interest in continued operation of roads and maintenance of full access to National Parks. To be seen to be restricting access is considered to be against the principle of National Parks in the first place (Yorkshire Dales / New Forest)
Road pricing	Significant opposition – charging for access to National Park is unfair and inequitable, and contrary to aims of the National Park (Transport Officers/Yorkshire Dales/New Forest)	Public unacceptability – traffic is not severe enough and complementary alternatives are not in place Technical feasibility – technically undeliverable; do not want to 'urbanise' National Park through technology required to implement road pricing (Transport Officers/Yorkshire Dales/New Forest)

Secondly, are the practical aspects. National Parks are large, areas and it would be near enough impossible to implement an area wide parking scheme for instance that allowed for the introduction of the 'if you park you pay' principle. The choice of destination is such that if not introduced on an area wide basis, the imposition of a charge would simply lead to the relocation of vehicles to uncharged areas. Theoretically, if one National Park did

ever implement restraint measures, it may be possible that visitors are displaced to another National Park, hence the problem is diverted as opposed to being solved.

Recognition of such issues is perhaps one of the reasons why public transport receives such strong support for use. Simply, it would represent a first step in the move towards more sustainable travel in and to National Parks by providing real choice with regard to transport mode. Until such choice emerges, it is hard for proponents to make a case for the use of disincentives. That said, the following section will now examine a range of potentially innovative measures that could theoretically form part of a transport planning strategy for a UK National Park.

12.4.3.3 Innovation in the context of National Park transport planning

A taxonomy of transport planning measures theoretically available for use in National Park settings was presented in Table 2.3 (Chapter 2, page 21). Stakeholder attitudes towards the concept of the use of a number of these instruments, primarily public transport improvements, road closures/access restrictions, car parking strategies and road pricing were tested throughout the thesis and documented as appropriate. However, this thesis has focused primarily on policy analysis at a strategic level. As such, discussion surrounding the feasibility of use of generic transport planning instruments has taken precedence over more micro-level consideration of what transport strategies incorporating any of these instruments may look like 'on the ground'. In light of discussion so far, this section will now briefly consider some of the possible innovations that schemes incorporating a range of incentives or disincentives in National Park settings may seek to include. The suggestions outlined here are by no means exhaustive, but are intended simply to serve as an indicator of additional approaches that may be explored. Consideration of what represents innovation is particularly salient given the UK policy framework which champions the National Parks to become exemplars and innovators in the attempt to secure sustainable rural development.

In a seminal text on the factors which drive the spread and implementation of new ideas within society, Rogers (1995, p.35) stated that an innovation is '*an idea, practice or objective that is perceived new by an individual or other unit of adoption*'. Meanwhile, in the context of innovation in the transport sector, Langmhyr (1999, p. 259) notes that '*very often, innovations are made up by combining well-known elements in a slightly new way*'. Both these quotes indicate that new or different applications of previously existing concepts represent innovation in itself. Therefore, in seeking to identify potential transport policy innovations for the National Parks, a brief review of schemes in separate, yet related, policy sectors will be undertaken. This approach is particularly prudent given the prevalence of the role of policy learning in promoting change in the transport sector as raised at various point throughout this thesis.

Based on the review of a range of empirical studies undertaken in Germany, Gronau and Kagermeier (2007) identified a number of factors required for successful leisure and tourism public transport provision. One of the key aspects to emerge from this study was the potentially positive role that new approaches to public transport service marketing can play in boosting patronage and increasing consumer awareness of the availability of services. An area of particular success was deemed to be engagement/co-ordination of public transport marketing activities with individuals or institutions currently involved in the provision of other services in the leisure/tourism industry (i.e. visitor attractions, accommodation providers). As the authors state, 'one should not underestimate their function as multipliers and disseminators of information with regards to the public transport service…one concrete example for a symbiotic co-operation between leisure facilities and transport organisations is the creation of a combined ticket, which includes the entrance fee for one or more leisure facility, combined with the public transport ticket. If commercialised in an effective way, this kind of product provides additional advantages for the potential customer and can help to increase the number of bus users as well as the number of visitors at the facilities' (p. 132).

Collaboration of the type described above between tourism providers and public transport operators has been undertaken in the German alpine region of Salzkammergut (Holding, 2001). In an attempt to increase the number of leisure based journeys made by public transport in this area, two key initiatives were developed. First was the publication of a professionally designed and comprehensive guide to regional transport in the area, containing all relevant public transport information and advice on walking and cycling. Second was the development of a visitor pass which was available for sale at numerous accommodation centres in the area, and which entitled the purchaser to discounts on public transport and money off admission prices at local visitor attractions.

Public transport branding campaigns have also been shown to be effective in encouraging behaviour change with regard to transport mode choice in a number of historic cities in the UK. For example, Jones and Sloman (2003) cite the simplification and re-branding of the city of Cambridge's Park and Ride bus network as an excellent case in point. The route network was simplified, pocket guides and timetables were produced and widely distributed, and a high profile and well advertised branding campaign undertaken which saw all Park and Ride buses painted distinctive colours in order to be easily identifiable to potential users. The authors reported a 25% increase in patronage in the four months following these changes.

Aforementioned issues surrounding data collection make the true impact of these initiatives hard to quantify. However, the fact that in these examples policy makers were able to design, deliver and implement transport schemes which included buy-in from key service

providers in the leisure and tourism market reflects a level of progress beyond that seen in the case study examples of this thesis. In assessing schemes of the nature described here then, it must be considered that the potential barriers to implementation are much lower than public transport improvement schemes based for example on increased service provision, where financial implications make them largely undeliverable. In terms of the availability of possible 'quick wins' for transport practitioners in the UK leisure transport market, there would seem to be scope for investigating the possible implementation of these type of initiatives in National Park settings.

In the context of the car-free leisure agenda and the rise in popularity of these initiatives, Badiozamani (2003) notes that the first recorded car-free days took place throughout Switzerland in early 1974. As with the origins of travel planning discussed in Appendix 1 (section 1.5.1.2), the implementation of these initiatives was not initially driven by any social or environmental objectives to discourage car use. Rather they were introduced as a response to the worsening oil crisis taking place during this period. Since then, as with travel planning, car-free events have become increasingly common place both domestically and internationally, though largely limited to an urban context. Alongside the temporary, short term, tangible benefits yielded by car-free events such as congestion reduction and improvements to local air and noise quality, they can also act as a catalyst for public and political debate on sustainable transport issues. As Badiozamani (2003, p. 302) reflects on annual car-free events in Bogota:

> 'car-free days can serve as fora for discussion of transport and urban planning policy and even provide for a shift in city planning. Well planned events with strong participation from both government and community will necessarily involve public education and discussion. Because of its scale, local media offer extensive coverage before, during and after the event in Bogotá. Yet, coverage is not limited to the car-free day itself. The city takes the opportunity to discuss its plans for the further development of the transport system, and citizens express their views on the subject in editorials, talk shows and on public bulletin boards. As the streets are cleared of its cars for a day, citizens are allowed to take a breath, and reflect on what they imagine their city to be in 20, 50, or 75 years and compare that vision with the current reality. A dialogue is sparked that engages citizen groups and stakeholders in the sustainability of the transport system and how it can be improved to meet the needs of all people'.

This conclusion mirrors discourse from a number of the expert interviewees cited in Chapter 11 and discussed further in section 12.6.2.1 of this chapter. Simply, a belief that if the initial barriers to the implementation of any perceived 'anti-car' scheme can be overcome and a scheme is actually implemented, then future barriers are removed and

diluted and incremental policy change can occur as public understanding of the economic, social, and environmental benefits of these initiatives increases. Thus, attempts at the promotion and implementation of a car-free day within a National Park, be it with regard to a particular village/trip attracting location, or wider geographic area would surely be helpful in promoting policy progression.

Of course, the size, scale and scope (and therefore the initial impact) of these potential innovations are relatively small, and perhaps do not accurately reflect the kind of ideas for sustainable transport initiatives that Dower (1945), Sandford (1974) and Edwards (1991) had in mind in their respective 'State of the Park' reports. Such are the significant barriers to implementation – be they financial, political, institutional or attitudinal - of any major policy proposal or strategy for transport in National Parks that it is perhaps in smaller, piecemeal, incremental schemes where future attention should be diverted. Building support from the ground up, encouraging stakeholder participation, and raising public awareness would all seem to be important factors in transport policy progression for the National Parks, and schemes of the nature described perhaps offer the best chance of achieving this.

The following section will discuss in more detail some of the practical aspects of policy development through discussion of the political stream.

12.5 THE POLITICAL STREAM: KEY FINDINGS AND RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

The political stream is composed of three aspects, namely:

- The local mood;
- Organised political forces; and
- Local government arrangements.

This section will now discuss the influence of each element with regard to policy change/stability in the sector. Key findings are summarised overleaf in Table 12.4.

12.5.1 The local mood

The research yielded no evidence of a 'public mood for policy change' with regards to transport in National Parks. The greatest level of discourse and the most illustrative findings in relation to this concept emerged at the local level. As part of both the sub-case studies, respondent perceptions were that of public apathy to issues surrounding both car use and public transport provision. Such assertions were supported in kind in both locations (though to a lesser extent in the Yorkshire Dales) from existing documentary evidence regarding public attitudes to these issues.

This aspect of work aligns closely with discussion on problem awareness, and its role as a motivating influence for change. A better term in this case may be problem acceptance. In the context of car use, this is an area of work examined by Dickinson and Robbins (2008) who report the findings of a study into stakeholder problem awareness relating to tourism transport in Purbeck, Dorset. The authors note that 'while the findings [of the study] are specific to Purbeck, much of what has been found can be transferred to other rural destinations in the UK such as National Parks'. A number of their findings appear to reinforce findings of this study, and vice versa. For instance, in-depth interviews with residents in the locale revealed that whilst these individuals identified tourism traffic as problematic, it was adjudged to be concentrated in key locations and relatively short-lived (related to times of peak tourism demand).

Crucially, the authors summarised resident perspectives of the transport problem to be 'something you could put up with for the privilege of living in the area' (p. 1114). Residents were also found to implement coping strategies such as the reorganisation of daily life (changing travel times and destinations) to protect themselves from the worst of the impacts. Furthermore, a visitor questionnaire survey (n=776) revealed visitors to be even more accepting of transport issues. That is, whilst identifying instances of congestion, it was not adjudged to be problematic. 'The survey demonstrated that car-based visitors, on the whole, accepted the problems they encountered, they were expected in a holiday destination, and turned out to be less severe than expected' (p. 1117).

Such findings are reflected in the testimonies of interviewees allied to this thesis. In the context of policy change within the sector, the perceived 'lack of interest' in transport issues can be seen to have two primary implications, neither of them positive. Firstly, transport as a policy issue may not be promoted up local or national policy agendas, or may be overtaken by issues in other policy sectors which can be seen to generate a more formalised 'sense of feeling'. Secondly, a lack of advocacy for change makes it easier for those with interests in maintaining the status quo (particularly in the context of opposition to restrictions on car use) to promote their own agendas.

These points seem particularly salient when viewed in the context of changes in social media and communication technology in the 25 years since the development of the MS framework. Technological advances (particularly the internet) and the rise of social media ranging from online newspapers and blogs to discussion forums, Facebook and Twitter has made freedom of information, spread of knowledge and diffusion of opinion far easier, raising the question of 'how local can the local mood be considered to be anymore?'.

Table 12.4 - Summary of study findings relevant to the political stream

THE POLITICS STREAM			The influence of local mood in the policy sector	The influence of organised political forces in the policy sector	The influence of local government arrangements in the policy sector
The National Perspective	Stage 1 - Documentary Analysis and Transport Officer Interviews	Docs	▪ Attempts at integrated strategies involving incentives and disincentives during 1990's abandoned due largely to public opposition ▪ Local politicians vulnerable to negative public opinion relating to transport planning and policy development - a political 'hot potato'	-Issue not raised during interviews -	▪ Complex local government framework exists within the policy sector ▪ Planning and management practicalities arise in regard to policy development and implementation
		Interviews	▪ The politicised nature of local government precludes local politicians' pursuit of policy measures deemed unpopular/controversial	- Issue not raised during interviews -	▪ National Parks not given same level of policy attention by local transport authorities as urban centres within the same jurisdiction ▪ Transport not always afforded a high priority by NPAs - this is influenced by composition of NPA board membership
	Stage 3 - Expert Perspectives	Interviews	▪ Public opposition to restraint inhibits policy development with regard to disincentive measures	- Issue not raised during interviews -	▪ Transport practitioners supportive of policy change do not hold such positions of power as to allow this to happen ▪ Local government officers unwilling/unable to challenge the status quo: car use prevails
The Local Perspective	Stage 2 - New Forest Case Study	Docs	▪ The majority of recreational users of the New Forest are locally based - therefore they have the potential to exert significant influence at the ballot box	▪ Significant opposition to transport elements of the draft New Forest National Park Management Plan - protests, petitions and media campaigns organised ▪ Draft plan since re-written and all reference to vehicle restraint removed	▪ Concern at the designation of the New Forest as a National Park - the New Forest NPA a publicly and politically unpopular administrative body
		Interviews	▪ Public mood deemed very influential in transport policy sector ▪ Perceptions of public mood largely negative - no appetite for change and no 'bottom up' support	▪ NFDOG a powerful interest group at the local level - engages in 'blocking' activities to preserve the status quo ▪ Politicians do not engage in controversial transport policy dialogue as a result	▪ Local politicians take advantage of NPA unpopularity by denigrating their transport policy and planning proposals - not helpful with regard to wider policy agendas
	Stage 2 - Yorkshire Dales Case Study	Docs	▪ Majority of recreational users of the Yorkshire Dales are not incumbents of it - less potential to exert influence at the ballot box	▪ Yorkshire Dales Public Transport User Group are an advocacy group campaigning for affordable and accessible public transport	▪ Seemingly positive relationship between Yorkshire Dales NPA and North Yorkshire County Council
		Interviews	▪ General public considered 'immune' to the impacts of car use in rural areas - therefore unlikely to engage with attempts to reduce it ▪ Similarly, general public considered 'apathetic' with regards to public transport - no pressure placed on politicians to try and secure improvements	▪ No identification of organised political forces - low densities of population and businesses appear to preclude them ▪ Yorkshire Dales Public Transport User Group not cited during interview process - evidence of a lack of influence within the sector	▪ Many local politicians viewed as established political figures with a narrow policy focus - therefore unlikely to pursue a transport agenda ▪ Respondents favoured the involvement of central government as a means by which to prompt transport debate

Whilst the academic research in this thesis cannot comprehensively address this question, events in the New Forest immediately after the release of the draft New Forest National Park Management Plan can provide an insight. Consideration of a number of issues makes this possible. For instance, a group opposed to both the transport proposals and proposed changes to recreational horse keeping policy was formed, naming themselves 'Forest Uprising'. This group primarily organised and administered itself on the internet, setting up their own website (http://www.forestuprising.org.uk/) which was used to help organise letter writing campaigns, co-ordinate attendance at NPA-led public meetings, and generally build an advocacy coalition against the proposed policies as set out in the draft plan. This was supplemented by members' own Twitter and Facebook campaigns, which helped to spread public knowledge of their side of the story to an audience much wider than that of the local community only. An example of the success with which they managed their campaign was evidenced by the fact that both BBC Breakfast (the BBC's flagship morning news programme) and BBC's Countryfile (a programme about rural affairs in the UK) ran comprehensive features about events in the New Forest to large national (and possibly international) TV audiences. These features included interviews with members of the Forest Uprising group. Coverage was also undertaken in the local and national written media, all of which subsequently became available online through the internet. The Forest Uprising Group also successfully organised a petition and march to the New Forest National Park Authorities' headquarters, all of which generated significant local and national media interest, coverage of which is available through many outlets on the internet.

Clearly then this is evidence of a primarily local issue involving principally local people moving outside the sphere of purely local influence, adding even greater weight and pressure to local decision makers. Although not quantifiable, it is reasonable to suggest that the lobbying described above played a very significant role in the ultimate decision to re-write and water down all the controversial policy aspects relating to transport and recreational horse keeping in the plan.

Whilst the expansion of the 'local mood' into a wider sphere of influence described may well have negatively influenced the potential for policy change in the sector, it would be wrong to suggest this can only ever act as an inhibitor of change. That is, the potential for increasing information provision and putting forward a particular point of view to a wider audience with regard to a certain aspect of policy is not limited only to 'blocking' groups. By intuition, advocates of policy change also have the same opportunities to exploit the rise in social media and information provision in an attempt to increase problem awareness, shape political and public opinion, increase lobbying activities and generally raise awareness about issues which are of concern to them. As will be discussed in the next two sections, advocate participation in these kind of activities is likely to be crucial given the barriers to change which organised political forces and local government arrangements

would seem to present in the policy sector. Further consideration of the issues discussed in this section will therefore also be explored in the following two sections as appropriate.

12.5.2 Organised political forces

Striking evidence of the impact of pressure group campaigns on policy development at the local level emerged during the New Forest case study. Here, a strong campaign group which might ordinarily be considered to have no lobbying interest in transport matters – the New Forest Dog Owners Group (NFDOG) – emerged as a powerful force in the policy process.

The 'opening up' of the New Forest to cars during the 1970's ensured that many small car parks exist deep within the most sensitive areas of the New Forest. Any attempt to limit the use of these car parks – be it theoretical as part of transport proposals, or actual as a means to protect ground nesting birds – is met with well organised and vociferous opposition from members of NFDOG. This is because of the popularity of these car parks amongst dog walkers within and adjacent to the New Forest. Thus the complexity of transport planning is illustrated. National Parks attract users who undertake a wide range of recreational activities, and who are often associated with well established local or national interest groups. When threats to the status quo with regard to the execution of their activities is threatened, they can be quickly mobilised to mount opposition and engage in blocking activities. Further testimony as to the impact of such opposition groups with regard to the policy change agenda is demonstrated in the context of Snowdonia National Park by Lumsdon and Owen (2004).

In the New Forest, 'success' of interest group participation in the policy process was judged on the ability to stop proposals unfavourable to specific interest groups, as opposed to seeing new policies implemented or new agendas raised. This is true with regard to both NFDOG and the New Forest's strong environmental lobbyists, who seek to resist large scale infrastructure or development projects for fear of environmental degradation.

In terms of the policy process then, it would seem that both the local mood, and the actions of interest groups, serve not to promote or identify a particular problem which they wish to be addressed. Instead, they are more influential in the policy stream. That is, their presence affects the consideration of policy proposals attached to a specific problem, and impacts on what can be achieved.

Lacking in the interviews at either the local or national level was recognition of any advocacy groups supportive of any kind of policy change. That is, promoting new agenda items or advocating certain proposals. That is not to suggest of course that they don't exist. At the national level, campaign groups such as The Campaign for National Parks and The Campaign for Better Transport lobby frequently for changes to the status quo.

Similarly, at the local level in the Yorkshire Dales, the Yorkshire Dales Public Transport Users Group and the Yorkshire Dales Society are strong advocates and lobbyists for public transport improvements.

The challenge for advocacy groups promoting change then is to get their voices heard. Difficulty in achieving this may be down to a lack of critical mass with regard to people advocating change (which would support earlier findings relating to perceptions of apathy amongst the general public and policy makers at large), or the strength of others in downplaying their arguments. Regardless of which, it is problematic for change proponents since it appears apparent that – at the local level at least - 'blocking' groups, those promoting the maintenance of the status quo, yield the most significant political influence.

This finding supports the conclusion of Dickinson and Dickinson (2006, p.203) that in the context of tourism transport 'the representation that car restrictions are not viable can be particularly entrenched in the minds of powerful sectors of the community. Such groups are able to protect and perpetuate this representation through social interaction and powerful appearances at public meetings. To challenge this representation planners need to confront those who present the underlying source of this representation and awareness needs to be raised of successful initiatives elsewhere'. This is a point reinforced by the transport practitioners interviewed for the final stage of research, who argued strongly in favour of the need to challenge the status quo. This theme will be further expanded upon later in section 12.6, where the role of policy entrepreneurs and entrepreneurialism in facilitating change is considered in more detail. For now, the next section will consider policy change in the context of local government arrangements.

12.5.3 Local government arrangements

Two key aspects relating to the role of local government arrangements with regard to policy change emerged. The first aspect relates to the competing agendas of delivery agencies within the sector, and the influence that this has on policy development. The implications of this situation were discussed in section 12.4.1. The second aspect relates to the role that NPAs themselves play in promoting policy debate within the sector.

The role of NPA board members is to ensure that the organisation fulfils its statutory objectives and is run in a balanced and accountable way. As identified by both the range of strategic challenges and the funding limitations facing the NPA, priority areas for work and funding must be identified. Emerging strongly during research stage one, and reinforced during research stage two, was the idea that in many cases, transport was not one of the high priority policy areas for members. (There are of course exceptions. The North York Moors NPA direct a lot of funding to their Moorsbus initiative, and the Cairngorms NPA provide significant funding for their Heather Hopper service).

This is significant for a number of reasons. Given the competing agendas of delivery agencies, the loudest 'voice' for policy advocacy in the sector is likely to be the NPA. If however the NPA does not consider transport a priority, then the case for change is even further diluted. By way of example, of the 12 NPA interviewees in the first research stage, only 6 were dedicated Transport Officers. The remainder incorporated the transport remit into wider day to day duties including economic, planning and access roles. By intuition, the dual nature of such roles will limit the exposure of Transport Officers within the policy sector, reducing the chance for lobbying/advocacy activities at public meetings, conferences, etc or engagement with key stakeholders at other events. If the assertion that the National Parks are subject to a low policy profile is true, then failure for NPA officials to engage fully and comprehensively in the transport policy sector further reduces the potential for change and the development of consensus on the 'need for action'. Simply, if the NPAs themselves are not able to articulate an agenda for change, then it doesn't appear that anybody else within the policy sector will.

With this in mind, and with the political stream assessment now complete, the following section will consider the role of policy entrepreneurs and entrepreneurialism in promoting change within the policy sector.

12.6 POLICY ENTREPRENEURS: KEY FINDINGS AND RELEVANCE TO THE STUDY

The policy change literature (Kingdon, 1984) posits that key individuals within a policy sector – policy entrepreneurs – can be particularly influential in helping to shape change. The transport policy change review summarised in section 3.3 supported this assertion. It found that in the case of many notable examples of policy change – the introduction of road pricing in London (Nash, 2007) and Durham (Ieromonachou et al, 2006) being pertinent cases in point – strong policy entrepreneurs, able to deflect criticism and construct sound reasoning for chosen courses of action, were particularly influential.

The most significant discourse pertaining to policy entrepreneurs emerged during the second and third research stages, namely the sub-case studies at the local level and interviews with experts at the national level. Key findings are summarised in Table 12.5 overleaf. Discussion surrounding the presence and influence of policy entrepreneurs centred on two distinct aspects of policy development, namely:

- Policy entrepreneurs and the public transport agenda; and
- Policy entrepreneurs and vehicular access restrictions.

12.6.1 Policy entrepreneurs and the public transport agenda

In the context of the public transport agenda, transport planning practitioners at the national level identified policy entrepreneurs as the driving force behind a number of rural

based public transport initiatives. On the basis of single, stand alone initiatives, this suggests individuals convey a significant level of influence. However, this was largely identified as the limit of their power in the policy sector. Simply, whilst effective working in a small or niche area of a local policy community, entrepreneurs were adjudged unable to spread influence too much further beyond this. Financial constraints play a part here, though institutional arrangements and a lack of political will or engagement were also deemed to stifle the effect of such entrepreneurialism.

The one 'live' example by which to examine this assertion emerged in the Yorkshire Dales case study. In this instance, almost unanimous recognition emerged amongst respondents of a practising policy entrepreneur within the sector. The individual in question was behind the development of a ground-breaking and innovative Community Interest Company which has taken over the operation of a number of public transport services from more well-known operators within the National Park.

If judged simply by the number of times he was name checked during the Yorkshire Dales interviews, it is clear that his influence and that of his company is being felt within that particular policy community. Indeed, his organisation has been responsible for securing a variety of (limited) funding from key stakeholders such as North Yorkshire County Council and the Yorkshire Dales NPA with which to support and expand services.

Despite these efforts however, the CIC remains largely on the periphery of the policy sector, reliant on the work and goodwill of volunteers in order to maintain its operation. Funding grants received remain small, often only awarded at short notice therefore making forward planning difficult. In short, the operating environment remains extremely difficult. High profile public or political support for the public transport services the CIC support is lacking, and it remains difficult to get voices heard. Therefore, whilst entrepreneurial action individually and collectively has been critical in helping to support public transport service provision in the Yorkshire Dales, influence politically – in terms of the encouragement of key stakeholders to take a more vested interested in the initiative - has been more limited. This kind of experience would seem to reinforce the sentiment that entrepreneurialism alone, whilst valuable for the benefits it yields at the local level, is not as effective at promoting change in this sector as other areas of the transport field.

The wider literature would also seem to support this. Consider for example the sombre note of the following statement, taken from a comprehensive review of twenty of the UK's most successful public transport based sustainable leisure travel initiatives in predominantly rural areas:

Table 12.5 – Summary of study findings relevant to policy entrepreneurs

POLICY ENTREPRENEURS			Is their evidence of policy entrepreneurs at work within the policy sector?	If so, what is their influence within the policy community and on policy processes?
The National Perspective	Stage 1 - Documentary Analysis and Transport Officer Interviews	Docs	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*
		Interviews	▪ No entrepreneurs or entrepreneurial activity identified ▪ Central Government involvement favoured to provide finance and impetus for public transport improvements and integration of incentives and disincentives	Not applicable in light of earlier research findings
	Stage 3 - Expert Perspectives	Interviews	▪ Identification of two types of policy entrepreneur in the sector - either active or inactive ▪ Active policy entrepreneurs currently working on small-scale and site specific public transport projects in National Parks ▪ Inactive policy entrepreneurs those who recognise the need for change with regard to vehicular access restrictions but unwilling/unable to pursue this agenda	▪ Active public transport policy entrepreneurs constrained by institutional arrangements – influences on policy development minimised as a result ▪ Inactive policy entrepreneurs do not engage in promotion of new initiatives due to fear of public and/or political unpopularity ▪ All entrepreneurs – active or inactive – perceived to be empowered in the event that a high profile sustainable transport initiative reached the implementation stage within the policy sector
The Local Perspective	Stage 2 - New Forest Case Study	Docs	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*
		Interviews	▪ No evidence of the presence of policy entrepreneurs within the sector ▪ Public and political reaction to release of draft New Forest National Park management plan seen to discourage future entrepreneurialism ▪ Policy proposals similar to those contained in draft management plan have been raised a number of times previously - sector lacking people willing to drive them through	Not applicable in light of earlier research findings
	Stage 2 - Yorkshire Dales Case Study	Docs	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*	*- Issue not examined at this stage -*
		Interviews	▪ The Dales and Bowland Community Interest Company has been established as a direct result of policy entrepreneurialism in the sector ▪ Central government involvement favoured to provide finance and impetus for public transport improvements	▪ The company has taken over responsibility for operating a number of public transport routes in the Yorkshire Dales, gradually increasing service provision ▪ They have been successful in securing funding from a range of stakeholders and providing a model for how public transport can operate in rural areas ▪ Despite this it remains reliant on the work of volunteers and is vulnerable to budget cuts and the withdrawal of funding at short notice

> 'Many of the successful schemes outlined in this report have to be seen as fortunate or determined survivors, in some cases defying an increasingly harsh economic environment. This is despite the widespread acceptance of the impacts of global warming and the need to reduce heavy car dependency for leisure activity. Financial cutbacks and lack of political commitment undermine the ability of local authorities and transport operators to develop viable alternatives to the private car in order to ensure access to the countryside for all the community, not just the more affluent and mobile' (Natural England, 2008b, p. 2).

The influence, if any, of policy entrepreneurs with regard to these initiatives was not examined during the report. That is, it is not clear what role policy entrepreneurs at the local level have played in the survival of these schemes. What is apparent however is that such schemes continue to exist at the margins within policy sectors, facing what appears to be a continuous uphill battle. Thus, further evidence exists of the difficulties facing entrepreneurs and practitioners in promoting the agenda for public transport based leisure travel initiatives in rural transport policy sectors.

12.6.2 Policy entrepreneurs and disincentive transport planning approaches

The second facet of discourse concerning the role of policy entrepreneurs in the sector related to the *potential* influence they could play with regard to the promotion of disincentive transport planning approaches in National Park settings. It was during the expert interviews that most discussion of this nature took place. Whilst not entirely clear, one possible reason that this may be the case is that it is these interview participants who have the greatest and most consistent exposure to the decision making processes within the policy sector. Indeed, when outlining support for the implementation of vehicular access restrictions such as road closures, a common theme to emerge was that senior decision makers in key organisations often privately supported such concepts, but were unwilling to pursue them publicly. 'It needs somebody to pick up and run with the idea and say 'we can do it'. They are not coming forward though, even though I know they share the vision for this approach'.

Kingdon (1984, p. 179) notes that policy entrepreneurs can be found in many locations within a policy sector: 'no single formal position or even informal place in the political system has a monopoly on them'. In the discussion in section 12.6.1, one of the principal issues to emerge was that entrepreneurs in the field of public transport were unable to exert significant influence due to positions either low-down or outside the decision making hierarchy. In discussing policy entrepreneurs in the context of disincentives, such individuals were deemed likely to be either a) a senior level policy-maker within a public organisation such as a National Park Authority or local authority, or b) a well known,

charismatic, public figure with a background in adventure or the outdoors willing to support a 'car free' day or similar initiative. (Some notable figures are currently involved in areas of National Park advocacy. For example, Ben Fogle – a well known adventurer and broadcaster is president of the Campaign for National Parks).

Of course, undeniable evidence as to the unpopularity of any attempt to restrict vehicular access in the policy sector exists (Cullinane, 1996. Lumsdon and Owen, 2004). The response to the release of the draft National Park management plan in the New Forest represents another excellent case in point. Indeed, there was recognition during the expert interviews that in the event that a policy entrepreneur was 'brave' enough to go public with plans for vehicular restraint, they were likely to be 'pilloried' as a result. On this basis then, it should come as no surprise that there is a reticence on behalf of public or political figures to pursue this agenda.

An interesting element of the discussion surrounding policy entrepreneurs involved the concept of policy learning. This is a concept to which the MS framework does not ordinarily extend, but is worthy of consideration here.

12.6.2.1 Policy learning and the empowerment of entrepreneurs

In outlining some explanatory shortcomings of an MS framework analysis examining environmental policy change, Brunner (2008, p. 506) notes that the theory 'lacks a distinctive consideration of learning processes. It does not pay sufficient attention to the way previous policies affect current debates and, ultimately, instrument choice'.

Respondents placed significant value on the possibility that the implementation of any kind of restraint scheme – wholesale road closures, vehicular access restrictions to a certain locale – and on any level – a day, a weekend, or a number of times a year – in one National Park would yield extension of the policy approach to others. Even if only introduced on a trial basis, the simple fact that progress would have been made by one National Park was considered to embolden others. Though not directly related, policy learning in other transport sectors has been seen to help bring about change, so value in this line of thought exists.

For example, the transport policy change review summarised in Chapter 3 (section 3.3) and included as Appendix 1, showed how policy learning was influential in the expansion of Park and Ride from niche use in historic cities (principally Oxford, Shrewsbury and Bath) into mainstream transport policy (Parkhurst, 2004). Similarly, Goodwin (1999) noted that city centre pedestrianisation schemes became more acceptable in the UK following their implementation in Europe.

The incremental approach can also play a part here. As outlined in the literature, of the integrated schemes involving access restrictions and complementary public transport improvements in National Parks in the USA (Turnbull, 2003) and Germany (Holding and Kreutner, 1998), all started as trial or demonstration projects before being formalised into full time schemes. In the UK, it is hard to even reach this stage, though responses identify the value that would exist in achieving this.

This then is the classic catch-22 situation. Potential policy entrepreneurs were theorised to be able to provide significant impetus with regard to the implementation of schemes designed to promote the car free agenda. Furthermore, the successful introduction of an initiative such as a 'car free' day or road closure in one National Park was surmised to ease the implementation of similar schemes in other National Parks. Yet where the theory runs into practical difficulty is in the reticence of would-be policy entrepreneurs to push this agenda for the reasons discussed above.

The phrase 'there are no prizes for coming first' takes on a contradictory meaning here. At the national level, practitioners felt that the ultimate prize for a brave policy entrepreneur would be the imposition of an innovative new policy approach which could act as a model and exemplar elsewhere within the policy sector. At the local level however, evidence suggests fallout from previous failed attempts to implement car free initiatives serves such a strong warning as to inhibit and restrict entrepreneurialism. Thus, the status quo is further reinforced.

12.6.3 Government as entrepreneur

Given the perceived shortcoming in the role of policy entrepreneurs, findings at both the local and national level show significant stakeholder support for the concept of 'Government as entrepreneur'. The majority of the discourse in this regard related to Governmental involvement with regard to public transport service provision. The primary motivation for this related to the significance that the cost barrier has with regard to public transport policy change. Simply, no amount of entrepreneurialism at the local level can overcome the cost aspect of providing and maintaining leisure based public transport services. Indeed, one of the primary contributory factors to the failure of public transport based rural leisure travel initiatives identified in Chapter 2 was their failure to meet conventional benchmarks of success. Consistent long term support from Government was perceived to negate many of these issues, thereby providing a strong foundation on which to build services.

Whilst the above represents the theory, in practice respondents were less optimistic about this happening. The Department for Transport recently rejected a joint funding bid submitted by the English National Parks Authorities Association and the Campaign for

National Parks for a sustainable rural transport fund accessible by NPAs. Research revealed perceptions amongst practitioners at both the local and national level that the National Parks were perhaps undervalued by central Government, assertions founded on the basis of the relatively modest amount of funding each NPA receives. Such a finding supports the conclusions of Thompson (2010, p. 2), who in a review of the role of NPAs in wider policy processes found that under the last Government 'National Park issues had a markedly low policy profile in central government with the result that they were poorly integrated into wider agendas on reform of rural land use and rural development policy'. A change in Government has since occurred, though this brings with it new challenges in the form of likely funding cuts to NPA budgets arising from the UK deficit reduction strategy, and a new ideological perspective. As an expert in the final stage of research asserted:

> 'At the national level there continues to be great reluctance to recognise National Parks as something needing specific investment/ special treatment. And with the commitment of the new Government to 'localism'/ hands-off decentralisation, it seems extremely unlikely that DfT will be willing to issue any form of new guidance from the centre to make Local Transport Authorities pay proper regard to National Park transport needs'.

A smaller number of respondents from across the three research stages supported the concept of Government as entrepreneur with regards to a move towards integrated transport strategies for the National Parks. Practical barriers at the local and national level are significant, and only Government intervention was seen as being able to overcome them. Practical examples from the USA provide an excellent illustration of the power of Government as entrepreneur. In 1999 the federal Government passed the National Park Appropriations Act which authorises the National Parks Service to levy an additional (on top of the entrance fee) charge to all visitors. This charge must be hypothecated for use with regard to the provision and development of sustainable transport initiatives, and has been a significant contributing factor to the development of public transport services in UK National Parks. Similarly, Turnbull (2003) reports on collaboration between the US Departments of Transport and the Interior in providing the initial impetus for two trial integrated transport schemes, subsequently converted to full time schemes. Thus, evidence of the power of Government as entrepreneurs exists in a parallel sector in the US, though the research yielded little evidence for the opportunity of the development of a complementary approach in the UK.

Having now completed the discussion relating to the problem, policy and politics streams, and the role of policy entrepreneurialism, it is possible to offer some conclusions as to the existence or otherwise of policy windows in the sector.

12.7 POLICY WINDOWS, LEISURE TRANSPORT AND UK NATIONAL PARKS

Kingdon (1984, p. 194) notes that 'the separate streams of problems, policies and politics come together at certain critical times. Solutions become joined to problems, and both of them are joined to favourable political forces'. It is at the time of the coupling of these streams, often with the influence of a policy entrepreneur, that a policy window opens and the possibility for policy change occurs.

Taking each stream at a time, there is clear and identifiable problem awareness amongst key stakeholders at both the national and local level with regard to transport issues in UK National Parks. Mirroring the literature, two key issues – the scarcity of public transport and dependency on the private car for travel to, from and within National Parks – emerged as the issues of principal concern. It is not entirely apparent that such awareness exists in the public domain. Or perhaps more accurately, if awareness does exist the extent to which it is perceived as 'problematic' is a matter of some debate. This is problematic in terms of policy change processes.

With regard to the policy stream, there are a range of available instruments which could theoretically be implemented as a means by which to ameliorate identified issues. Primary instruments considered in this case related to public transport service improvements, car parking charges and car parking space reallocation, road closures/access restrictions, and road pricing. Whilst the role for public transport improvements as policy change was strongly supported by respondents at all research stages, it was seen to fail the important test of technical feasibility. Simply, cost issues surrounding the start up and provision of leisure based public transport services were deemed such that public transport operators and local transport authorities would be unwilling to support them. Even with evidence of policy entrepreneurialism in the sector – individuals delivering innovative projects on a small scale at the local level – this barrier is a significant obstacle to overcome.

The use of any disincentives in National Park settings did not seem to be given serious consideration by the majority of respondents on the basis of deficiencies with regard to public acceptability and value acceptability. Furthermore, an underlying assertion that emerged throughout the study was the dominance of economic agendas amongst the most powerful members of the policy community. Thus, any instruments which at the outset might *appear* to pose a threat to local economic vitality (regardless of whether or not this would actually be the case) are immediately disregarded for use.

Furthermore, in the political stream, there was no evidence of a 'mood for change' with respect to transport, be that through the use of incentives or disincentives. Again this can be linked back to assertions of apathy with regard to transport issues. Lack of public demand for policy change manifests itself in a lack of political interest in pursuing a change

agenda, hence the status quo remains and a policy window remains closed. Change advocates with respect to public transport struggle to get their voices heard, whilst no public advocacy for vehicle restraint emerged. This strengthens the position of groups wishing to maintain the status quo, further inhibiting political will and entrepreneurialism.

It can only be concluded then that at present no policy window for change is currently open with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks. The potential for change with regard to public transport service improvements does exist, but the streams remain uncoupled due to the cost issue which pervades the debate. Significant financial support from central Government would help to join the streams and create a window for change. No such possibilities can be seen to exist with regard to the possible use of disincentive measures as part of wider strategic approaches. Their potential for use in National Park settings appears as far away as ever. Obstacles in regard to the problem stream (lack of quantifiable data with regard to car use and associated impacts), policy stream (high profile public unacceptability and conflict with National Park purposes), political stream (no agenda for change, strong opposition to use by established lobbying groups, and unwillingness of politicians to engage with debates surrounding their use) and policy entrepreneurialism (inhibited due to fear of public and political fallout arising from support or advocacy of use) all combine to make the opening of a policy window with regard to their use extremely unlikely. For change to ever occur in this regard, responses suggest central Government support is needed to help overcome these barriers, schemes should be implemented on a trial basis, and positive marketing and communication approaches at the local level would need to be pursued.

12.8 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS IN LIGHT OF THE DISCUSSION

Nine research propositions were derived from the literature examined in Chapters 2 and 3. Having now completed the discussion, they will be revisited and addressed.

Proposition 1

Conflict between the two founding purposes of National Parks – conservation and enhancement versus understanding and enjoyment – restricts transport policy development in these settings.

The research has demonstrated that to seek to take away, regardless of the reason, something that people have always for taken granted – in this case free and full vehicular access to National Parks – is extremely problematic. As such, the merits of initiatives which seek to achieve this, primarily road closures/access restrictions, car parking space relocation or road pricing were largely dismissed as undeliverable in National Park settings. Little advocacy for these initiatives was forthcoming. Would-be policy entrepreneurs were

seen to direct their efforts elsewhere, due largely to perceptions of the futility in pursuing such approaches. Thus, policy development in this regard was severely restricted.

Proposition 2

National Park administration, operation and usage varies between countries, therefore lessons from international schemes and policy development cannot be easily transferred.

Many National Parks internationally (particularly those in the USA which lead the way on transport policy and planning development) are Government owned and run, and free from human habitation. Charging for visitor access is also common, and there are very few access points by which to enter. By contrast, UK National Parks are 'living landscapes', home to more than 300,000 people and many local businesses. Much of the land is also privately owned, with free vehicular access at many points. Thus, the make up of policy sectors is very different. Barriers present with regard to transport policy development in the UK (namely public and political acceptability to the use of certain transport planning instruments at the local level, and the technical feasibility of introducing schemes such as parking charges or road closures) are not as significant in other contexts.

That said, good practice in the form of Government collaboration and support for new transport initiatives, the introduction of integrated transport strategies on a trial basis (then formalised into full time initiatives) and the implementation of a transparent revenue hypothecation scheme whereby an additional entrance charge supports public transport services, provide excellent examples of policy development. Whilst not directly transferable perhaps, there is still much to learn from the implementation processes of such schemes.

Proposition 3

The complex nature of leisure travel in rural settings serves to discourage its elevation on local or national transport policy agendas.

Leisure travel is at the bottom of funding hierarchies for public transport service subsidisation, with preference instead being given to initiatives designed to promote access to employment, education and essential public services. Furthermore, there was a perceived lack of engagement from local authorities whose jurisdiction encompasses a National Park, with most policy direction aimed at urban areas where transport issues may be adjudged to be more pressing. This was seen to be reinforced by central Government transport priorities which underpinned the last round of Local Transport Plan development, namely congestion, air quality improvements, access to public services and road safety. These were all identified as issues with respect to National Parks, but problem awareness

of these issues was seen as greater in urban areas, hence this was where the policy focus was directed.

Proposition 4

Transport in National Parks is not a policy area which attracts public or political attention.

The research has revealed perceptions of apathy amongst the general public with regard to transport issues in UK National Parks. The findings of Dickinson and Robbins (2008) support this assertion. Furthermore, a lack of public and political advocacy with regard to transport policy change was identified as a constraint in the context of policy progression.

Proposition 5

It is difficult for practitioners to link innovative transport policies or schemes with wider social and economic objectives in National Park settings.

A lack of public and political advocacy for public transport improvements was related to lack of awareness of the social, economic and environmental benefits that such initiatives can yield. Similarly, instruments seeking to restrict car use are likely to be viewed as threatening the local economy since to reduce car use is viewed as directly reducing visitor numbers (regardless or not if this is actually the case). This is problematic for scheme development and practitioners who support the use of disincentives.

Proposition 6

Political arrangements at local and national levels serve to restrict the potential for new transport policy development in National Park settings.

At the local level, policy development with regard to disincentive transport planning approaches is constrained politically due to the ferocity of public opposition which accompanies such instruments. The issue can be viewed as a 'political hot potato', one in which support for unpopular policy instruments may lead to reprisal at the ballot box. A lack of advocacy for public transport improvements was also identified as important in the failure of this issue to climb local policy agendas.

At the national level, perceptions emerged of the unwillingness and failure of Government to engage in policy debates regarding transport and the National Parks. The concept of 'Government as entrepreneur' was seen as the most likely way to break the policy stability currently in place in the sector, and frustration at perceived lack of engagement was obvious.

Proposition 7

How transport problems are defined by politicians and the general public influences the attention which the issue receives on the political agenda.

There is clear problem awareness (car use and limited public transport provision) amongst key stakeholders in the policy sector. This is not so apparent in the public domain. Whilst problem awareness may not be completely lacking, the issue may be one of problem acceptance. Simply, these issues are not seen as significant to the extent that 'something should be done about them'.

One of the factors behind the status quo, particularly with regard to problem recognition and car use, is the inability to accurately quantify the problem. Problem definition with regard to car use is defined largely by 'feedback', namely qualitative assertions as to the existing problem. Similarly with public transport, whilst problems may be easier to quantify, the benefits that it yields (increased visitor spend in the locale, value for money relative to social and economic objectives) are often not well communicated or understood.

The focusing event has been shown as effective in promoting policy change, as evidenced by the 40mph speed limit introduction on unfenced roads in the New Forest. The deaths of New Forest livestock in road traffic accidents was deemed unacceptable to the general public, thus allowing change – in the form of a new policy – to occur. Whilst hard to predict, the research did not yield any findings with regard to the emergence of a focussing event with regard to car use or public transport that may help to push these issues up the decision agenda.

Proposition 8

The presence of a policy entrepreneur within the local or national UK National Park transport planning sector would aid the potential for significant policy change.

Policy entrepreneurs have been identified as being active in the policy sector with regard to the promotion and development of public transport services. Whilst the work they undertake is important, their influence in promoting change (i.e. through fostering political support for their work or creating advocacy coalition groups) is limited. Theoretical support as to the value of policy entrepreneurs in helping to achieve change in the context of the use of disincentives was identified. Practically however, potential entrepreneurs are stymied by the barriers which exist to their use and therefore appear unwilling to engage in such policy debates.

Proposition 9

There is currently no open policy window through which to secure significant transport policy change with respect to leisure transport in the context of UK National Parks.

With respect to the use of disincentive transport planning measures, there is no policy window open and very little potential for this to change. A solution to the issue of funding for leisure based transport in UK National Parks would see a policy window open, since this is the most comprehensive barrier currently preventing change.

Chapter Thirteen: Conclusions and Recommendations

13.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws together the research by outlining its significance and providing indications of its implications on the future direction of both policy and research. The chapter is structured as follows. Section 13.2 briefly summarises the findings of the research in the context of the study aim and objectives. Section 13.3 addresses the final research objective of recommendations to policy makers and practitioners based on the findings of the study, whilst section 13.4 outlines the contributions to knowledge made by the research. Finally, in section 13.5 the limitations of this study are outlined as well as the related opportunities for further research.

13.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This section will consider the findings of the research in the context of the study aim and objectives. The aim of the study was to 'investigate the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks'. After outlining each objective in turn, it will look at how the findings have fulfilled this research aim. The study objectives were:

1. *To identify issues and policies relating to the leisure based use of National Parks, with particular regard to transport*

A literature review in Chapter 2 was undertaken which began by introducing the concept of transport demand for the purpose of leisure. The literature revealed the strong correlation that exists between leisure travel and the propensity for car use. Due to a range of practical issues involving leisure travel it was identified that historically it has not had the same level of policy focus as other derivations of transport demand. However, concern as to the impact of leisure based car use at the destination level was shown to be increasing, with National Parks highlighted as being particularly susceptible to this problem.

National Parks internationally were identified as operating to a dual mandate of environmental protection and the promotion of public access. Conflict between the two purposes was shown to frequently arise, primarily as a result of demand for leisure based use of these resources. The literature reinforced concern with regard to the impacts of car use for leisure travel in these locations. A range of issues – congestion, environmental degradation, air and noise pollution – arising as a result of the status quo was identified. Policy and planning responses to these issues were then examined. National Parks internationally (primarily in the USA and Germany) were shown to have implemented

bolder and more imaginative transport planning approaches, often combining the use of incentives and disincentives, than UK National Parks.

2. *To examine the views of National Park Transport Officers on the current and likely future development of leisure transport and related policies in UK National Parks*

This objective was satisfied through the execution of in-depth interviews with Transport Officers at 12 of the 15 UK NPAs. The interviews (in combination with earlier documentary analysis) revealed that current transport planning approaches in UK National Parks are relatively modest, with policy development stymied by existing political arrangements. Whilst supportive of the concept of National Parks as 'centres for transport innovation', future preferences for policy development favoured the continued use of incentives (primarily improvements to public transport services and information provision) as opposed to any form of vehicle restraint.

3. *To analyse perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies amongst relevant communities of interest at a local level*

Two sub-case studies, comprising documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with key stakeholders at the local level in the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Parks were undertaken to satisfy objective three. At this time the true complexities of the policy sector were revealed. Issues concerning the inadequacy of public transport provision and the impacts of excessive car use (though largely perceived as seasonal and limited to honeypot areas) were identified as problematic. The difficulties – in terms of transport planning instruments' technical feasibility, public acceptability, or value acceptability - faced by practitioners and policy makers in developing strategies by which to address identified issues were shown. Whilst agreement on the need for policy change with respect to transport was forthcoming, consensus on the deliverability and acceptability of transport planning instruments which would comprise change was not.

4. *To analyse current perceptions of UK National Park transport issues and policies nationally, and explore possible future avenues for policy change*

Objective 4 was satisfied by undertaking in-depth interviews with National Park transport planning experts at the national level. As previously, concern surrounding levels of public transport provision and the propensity for car use with regard to leisure travel and National Parks emerged. Frustration as to the lack of progress with regard to policy change in the sector was shown, though this was tempered by acknowledgement of the difficulties facing change protagonists in the sector. Validation of the key barriers to policy change emerging from earlier research stages – primarily public opposition to any form of vehicle restraint,

an unwillingness for decision makers or politicians to fully engage in transport policy debate, and the scarcity of funding for leisure based public transport services – emerged during this research stage.

Further issues regarding change were also identified, particularly with regard to the lack of opportunity for 'policy learning' within the sector. That is, the lack of a single, high-profile initiative involving any aspect of vehicle restraint in a UK National Park, which would empower decision makers in other locales to consider implementation. As will be examined further in section 13.3, findings from this research stage also contributed to the development of recommendations and advice for those seeking to achieve change in the policy sector.

5. *To develop recommendations and advice to policy makers and practitioners who maintain aspirations for transport policy change within UK National Parks*

Satisfaction of this research objective is examined in section 13.3.

13.2.1 Achievement of the research aim

The objectives above were developed and satisfied in order to achieve the aim of the research, namely to investigate the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks. The research has confirmed that policy change in the sector is slow, and immediate opportunities for change in the short term are limited.

Policy change can be considered in two aspects with respect to leisure transport in National Parks. First, increasing and improving public transport service provision as an instrument by which to encourage more sustainable travel, increase accessibility and encourage modal shift in the context of travel to and within National Parks. An approach theoretically supported by the vast majority of interviewees at both the local and national level, change is inhibited primarily by the issue of the cost of providing such services. This is compounded by apparent public and political apathy with regard to leisure transport provision, and a funding hierarchy which places leisure travel towards the bottom of the 'to do' list. Whilst policy entrepreneurs are active in the field, their influence with regard to overcoming these barriers is limited. Thus change is inhibited.

The second aspect of change relates to the possible implementation of disincentive measures designed either to a) make car use less attractive to the user and encourage the use of more sustainable transport modes or b) restrict vehicular access to the most sensitive parts of National Parks. No consensus exists amongst stakeholders at either the national or local levels with regard to the possible use of such approaches in a National Park setting. Regardless of stakeholder support or opposition for such an approach, there

exists a number of extremely significant barriers – relating both to the principle of coercive measures, and practical issues surrounding their implementation – that combine to make the likelihood of their use in the short term unlikely at the very least. Awareness of these barriers by members of the policy community also affects the willingness of individuals or organisations to advocate their use. Thus barriers are reinforced and public and political attention is directed elsewhere.

In an attempt to help reduce or mitigate identified barriers, the research has allowed for the development of recommendations and advice for those in the policy sector who wish to secure policy change. These are presented in section 13.3.

13.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND ADVICE TO CHANGE PROTAGONISTS

This section will outline the recommendations and advice to change protagonists in the policy sector. It will be split into two parts, namely overcoming barriers to change with regard to public transport provision and overcoming barriers to change with regard to disincentive measures. Force field diagrams will help illustrate the basis for the suggestions made.

13.3.1 Overcoming barriers to policy change with respect to public transport provision in UK National Parks

The force field diagram shown overleaf as Figure 13.1 illustrates the primary barriers to policy change that have been established with regard to public transport provision in UK National Parks. Policy recommendations summarised in the figure have been derived on the basis that they can be seen to in some way counter/address the identified barriers to change. They are discussed further here.

- **Awareness raising of the role of public transport initiatives in satisfying economic, social and environmental objectives**

Public apathy towards public transport schemes has been identified as serving to inhibit change. Thus, if it is possible for change protagonists to help inform the general public as to the role of public transport in satisfying economic, social and environmental objectives, then this might go some way to helping build advocacy for change. Profile raising could take place by celebrating existing successes of public transport initiatives across the policy sector. Promotions and pricing strategies designed to entice otherwise unlikely public transport users in order that people can see the benefits of public transport for themselves may also be influential.

Figure 13.1 – Force field diagram showing forces for change and stability with regard to public transport policy change

Element of MS framework	Restraining Forces Inhibiting Change	Possible Forces for Change
Problem Stream	- Poor understanding of role of public transport in satisfying economic, environmental and social objectives (Weak change influence)	- Awareness raising - Improved monitoring and evaluation of public transport schemes
Policy Stream	- Cost of subsiding public transport services (Strong change influence)	- Increase/reassess lobbying efforts to central Government for leisure based public transport fund
Political Stream	- No advocacy for change amongst public and politicians (Weak change influence)	- Sell the vision: changing perceptions of public transport
Policy Entrepreneurs	- Limited influence in promoting change (Weak change influence)	- Policy entrepreneurs in the field should improve networking and communication with each other in an attempt to form stronger advocacy coalition groups: strength may increase with numbers

- **Improved public transport scheme monitoring and evaluation**

Further quantification of evidence relating to the success of existing public transport schemes in National Park or rural settings would help with efforts regarding awareness raising as described above. It would also help strengthen the existing evidence base with regard to the role of public transport in National Park settings, thereby empowering change protagonists and allowing them to counter any negativity that may emerge with regard to support for public transport initiatives.

- **Revisit central Government funding proposal for public transport initiatives in National Parks**

Respondents spoke of their disappointment at the rejection of a combined ENPAA/CNP funding bid for the creation of a National Park sustainable transport fund. Since the cost of supporting public transport services emerged as by far the most significant change barrier, it is essential that lobbying efforts are redoubled and strengthened. Attempts should be made to develop a stronger advocacy coalition group, combining interests at the local and national level.

- **Changing perceptions of public transport use in National Park settings**

Public transport still undoubtedly suffers from an image problem. In some cases these perceptions are fair, in other cases less so. New approaches to communication and marketing of public transport services may be effective in encouraging use of these services.

- **Renewed advocacy: combined strength of policy entrepreneurs**

The political influence of policy entrepreneurs acting alone/working on individual initiatives in the sector was considered to be limited. Political influence may therefore be improved if entrepreneurs combine to form stronger advocacy coalition groups. Working collectively as opposed to independently may increase networking opportunities and sharing of good practice, as well as possibly increasing their influence within the policy sector.

13.3.2 Overcoming barriers to policy change with respect to the use of disincentives in UK National Parks

The following recommendations are directed towards change protagonists who wish to pursue a change agenda incorporating the use of disincentives. The force field diagram presented as Figure 13.2 shows the principal barriers to change in the policy sector and outlines how they might be mitigated. The following recommendations are proposed:

- **Improvements to traffic data collection and monitoring**

Improvements to traffic data collection and monitoring in National Park settings would be hugely beneficial to transport practitioners in that it would allow a clear and undisputable assessment of traffic conditions on the ground. However, a consistent and comprehensive approach to data collection across all National Parks would be hugely expensive and rely on a level of inter-agency collaboration not evidenced during this research. It is perhaps more realistic to try and quantify traffic volumes and the type of transport demand associated with it (leisure, journeys to work, etc) at honeypot locations at times of peak tourism demand.

Compilation of an evidence base would also aid in the evaluation of projects/strategies designed to discourage car use should they ever come to be implemented. However, the primary benefit of improved data collection would be its helpfulness in quantifying what has previously remained largely unquantifiable, namely the problem of car use.

- **Challenging negative perceptions relating to the use of disincentives**

It has been clear throughout this thesis that disincentive measures such as road closures/access restrictions have a severe public image problem. Opposition is largely based on the fear that their introduction will harm the local economy and displace traffic

Figure 13.2 – Force field diagram showing forces for change and stability with regard to use of disincentives

Element of MS framework	Restraining Forces Inhibiting Change	Possible Forces for Change
Problem Stream	- Problems relating to car use in National Parks are hard to accurately define (Strong change influence)	- Improvement in traffic data collection and monitoring
Policy Stream / Politics Stream	- Instruments fail tests of technical feasibility and public acceptability (Strong change influence) - Strong public mood against use of disincentive measures (Moderate change influence) - Powerful public interest groups at the local level lobby against change (Strong influence)	- Challenge negative perception/status quo in the media and at public meetings, policy debates etc
Policy Entrepreneurs	- No entrepreneurial activity, primarily due to fear of public/political reprisal (Moderate influence)	- Compile a comprehensive evidence base as to the economic, environmental and social impacts yielded by efforts to reduce car use and encourage alternative modes: statistics paint a different picture to received wisdom?

to locations not employing such initiatives. Proponents of these measures advocated however that far from damaging local economies, such measures would benefit them by virtue of the increased visitor spend that accrues from non-car borne visitors. Thus change protagonists should seek to reinforce these wherever possible, and especially on occasions where negative views are aired. Of course this is easier said than done and would require a significant element of bravery on the behalf of individuals or coalitions. Failure to address criticism however may serve to reinforce the received wisdom that can currently be seen to be inhibiting change.

- **Policy learning: developing an evidence base**

Building on the previous recommendation, practitioners should attempt to compile as much information and evidence as possible with regard to the success of coercive policy measures

in supporting wider social, economic and environmental objectives. Change proponents identified the value that comes from 'policy learning', so should seek to prepare themselves with as much data and evidence as possible in regard to disincentive use. Crucially, and in line with the above, change protagonists must be willing to publicise and champion what they have learnt when engaged in policy debates. This recommendation also points towards the need for improved networking, communication and information sharing amongst entrepreneurs and practitioners with regard to identified best practice.

13.4 CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE

This section will describe the contributions to knowledge that have been made by this thesis.

13.4.1 Additions to subject knowledge

Despite the frequent assertion of the *need* for policy change with respect to leisure transport in National Park settings, no strategic overview or analysis of the policy sector with respect to the potential for change existed. Literature examined in the first, second and fifth chapters identified that academic research in this respect focussed primarily on the examination of successes or failures of specific planning approaches within a specific National Park. Whilst insightful, these approaches do not provide insight into the wider mechanics of the policy sector.

This thesis has attempted to address this research gap by constructing a theoretically informed study that seeks to account for and examine policy change processes at the strategic (national) and tactical (local) levels within the policy sector. This has been achieved through the execution of in-depth interviews with key stakeholders across the policy sector, in combination with supplementary and supporting documentary analysis. Findings have served to both reinforce and extend knowledge of the barriers to policy change, and subsequently helped to develop a range of recommendations to help mitigate or overcome these barriers.

Previously undocumented perspectives of the policy sector have been attained through the interviews with Transport Officers at UK NPAs. Interviews were crucial in helping to understand the mechanisms of the policy sector, whilst perhaps the most significant findings they gleaned were the lack of support amongst this key group for the use of disincentives.

Interview findings from the sub case studies provided the most accurate identification of the suitability of the MS framework in accounting for policy change/stability. With regard to policy change, the route to implementation of the 40 mph speed limit on unfenced roads in the New Forest was perfectly illustrated by the MS framework analysis. With regard to

policy stability, amongst many other key findings, the sub case studies revealed the strength of local interest groups in 'blocking' change proposals (New Forest - NFDOG) and the weakness of them in advocating change even when supported by policy entrepreneurs (Yorkshire Dales). Thus events in the political stream were seen as particularly significant.

The final research stage concerning interviews with transport experts took a largely prospective element. Here an interesting contrast emerged with regard to earlier research findings concerning the role of policy entrepreneurs. Whilst their influence with regard to the promotion of the public transport agenda was considered limited, considerable credence was given to the potential that entrepreneurs could play with regard to the implementation of disincentive measures. However, these assertions were theoretical, since entrepreneurs were identified as being uninterested in this aspect of policy development due to fear of political and public recriminations.

13.4.2 Theoretical and methodological contributions

The use of the MS framework in this thesis represents a contribution to knowledge since the theory has now been extended into another policy sector. The perceived utility of the framework was important in its initial section, and it has been shown to accurately identify important processes and mechanisms which can be seen to account for policy stability/change within the policy sector. That said, the research has identified what would seem to be an important aspect of the policy change process – the concept of 'policy learning' – that is not covered by the MS framework. Thus, a possible extension to the theory has been determined.

Methodologically, this study was based on a comprehensive case study of how transport policy is developed and applied in National Parks in the UK. This approach was innovative in that it allowed the combination of national and local policy influences to be explored in a systematic way. In addition, the thesis draws on a range of documentary evidence relating to transport policy in National Parks and a unique body of primary evidence comprising of in-depth qualitative interviews with key stakeholders in the sector.

13.4.3 Publications

Research findings have been disseminated in the following publications and presentations:

- Kendal, J., Enoch, M.P., and Ison, S.G., (2011). Transport and UK National Parks: Issues and Policies. Paper for 90th Annual Meeting of the Transportation Research Board, Washington D.C, USA, 23 – 27 January.

- Kendal, J.J., Ison, S.G., and Enoch, M.P., (2011). UK National Parks: A Role for Road Pricing?, International Journal of Sustainable Transportation, **5 (1)**, pp. 25-42.

- Kendal, J., Enoch, M.P., and Ison, S.G., (2010). Policy Change in Transport: Lessons from the UK. World Conference of Transport Research Society, Green Transport Conference, 3rd International Forum, Shanghai, China, 11-13 September.

13.5 LIMITATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study has provided insights into the process of policy change with respect to leisure transport in UK National Parks. During the research, natural compromises have had to be made on the breadth and depth of the study. This section will highlight how the constraints of the study provide opportunities for further research in the field.

13.5.1.1 Development of testable research hypotheses

Stakeholder perspectives and policy positions during the research interviews were frequently underpinned by unsubstantiated (and sometimes contradictory) statements from which hypotheses could be derived and subsequently tested. For example:

- If not addressed, the impacts of car use in National Parks will eventually serve to discourage visitation to them;
- Residents and visitors to National Parks are apathetic to issues surrounding car use or public transport provision;
- To reduce the number of vehicles travelling to or within National Parks equates directly with a reduction in visitor numbers and harm to the local economy;
- Car-borne visitors to National Parks expect to pay for car parking;
- The imposition of car parking charges across a National Park as a whole would lead to the displacement of visitors to an uncharged location elsewhere;
- Car users in National Parks do not consider the use of alternative modes of transport for travel to or within a destination area;
- Public transport improvements alone would be unsuccessful in reducing car use in National Park settings.

Quantifiable answers to these hypotheses would be helpful with regard to informing policy debates and encouraging evidence based policy development.

13.5.1.2 Widening the scope – increasing the number of sub-case studies

Research findings with regard to the sub-case studies in the New Forest and Yorkshire Dales National Parks were fairly consistent with regard to their research findings. Support for public transport improvements exists but policy development is inhibited by cost, whilst regardless of support or opposition for disincentive measures, barriers concerning public acceptability and technical feasibility preclude their implementation.

It would be interesting therefore to understand if there is consistency with regard to these findings across other National Parks of the UK. It is possible that an assessment of each could be made with a view to identifying if any National Park is closer to achieving policy change than the others. In the event that such a situation was revealed, further analysis could then be undertaken to document events that have served to reduce/overcome potential barriers, and the possibility for replication in other locales.

13.5.1.3 Widening the scope – exploring different contexts

National Parks are not the only environment in which the reliance on car use for the execution of leisure activities is problematic. It would therefore be interesting to identify and explore parallel situations to National Parks where significant change has been implemented or is identified as being needed. This could take the form of a more in-depth assessment with respect to policy change and transport in National Parks internationally, or within other policy sectors. Examples could include transport planning and policy development in historic cities, or at UNESCO world heritage sites, or indeed any sensitive environmental locations which generate significant demand for visitation. Issues arising from leisure based transport demand could then be compared and contrasted, followed by an assessment of the transferability of policy solutions from one sector to another.

13.5.1.4 Re-focusing the scope

The study research and findings are based on the application of a single exploratory framework of policy change (the MS framework). As identified in Chapter 3, a range of other frameworks exist which seek to account for policy stability/change within a particular policy sector. It would therefore be particularly interesting to compare and contrast the research findings of this study with those of another which replicated the research but used a different exploratory framework. Furthermore, it would be interesting to note the results of a policy change study in this sector which combined elements of more than one framework, thereby allowing a ‘multi-lenses’ exploratory analysis to be executed.

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Appendix One: Policy Change in the Transport Sector

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Considerable concern exists about the impacts of private car use in National Parks, both domestically and internationally. From a UK perspective, evidence suggests that progress towards policy change in the National Park transport planning sector can be slow. However, transport challenges around car use are far from unique to these specific areas. To this end, this paper will present an overview of literature pertaining to notable examples of policy change within the field of transport. Drawing lessons from both the development of over-arching transport policies and the implementation of specific transport planning measures as instruments of policy across a geographical range of transport sectors, it attempts to document the motivations and factors which can be seen to bring about transport policy change.

The paper is structured as follows. Section 1.2 outlines the scope, nature and scale of the literature review. Section 1.3 examines recent examples of policy change at the national level, whilst section 1.4 documents examples of policy change in the context of an area wide basis. Section 1.5 examines change surrounding transport policy at site specific locations. Key findings are summarised in section 1.6.

1.2 THE SCOPE, NATURE AND SCALE OF THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Transport represents a diverse policy arena, composed of numerous sectors and sub-sectors. It is necessary then to outline the scope, nature and scale of the literature reviewed, relative to the topic of research. This thesis is embedded in the wider context of UK surface transport policy (as opposed to aviation or maritime policy for example), where the field of policy and planning for the social, economic and environmental impacts of private car use dominates much of the policy discourse (Docherty and Shaw, 2008).

1.2.1 Transport policy, and the instruments of its delivery

It is necessary here to briefly differentiate between transport policy at the strategic level, and the individual or packages of measures/instruments that are used to deliver it. Both elements are of interest in this review and in the wider thesis, and they will be considered here.

At the strategic level, a policy is 'a statement by a government of what it intends to do or not do' (Tuominen and Himanen, 2007, p.39) usually underpinned by a series of themes (sustainability, accessibility, and safety are common themes in transport) and objectives. Studies of policy formulation at the strategic level tend to focus on a range of internal and

external factors which can be seen to be important within decision making processes (Dudley and Richardson, 2000).

Meanwhile, the implementation of individual/packages of instruments represents the delivery stage of transport policy (Button and Hensher, 2005). They are the means by which the objectives of transport policy are to be achieved (May, 1997). Table A.1 below presents a taxonomy of such instruments, which are classified by the terms incentives, disincentives, or other. Incentives are those instruments which attempt to make competing modes of transport more attractive to car users. Conversely, measures seeking to make car use less attractive to the user are disincentives (Ison and Rye, 2003). In addition, a number of other instruments which cannot be classified through these terms exist.

Table A.1 – The instruments of sustainable transport policy
(Source: O'Flaherty, 1997 – amended)

	Measure	Description
Incentives	Enhanced public transport provision	Improved frequency, reliability, coverage, service quality, infrastructure, priority measures, fare structures
	Park and ride schemes	Bus/rail based transport options on the edge of towns and cities/areas of high demand
	Public transport publicity/campaigns	Improved marketing; improved timetabling
	Cycling / pedestrian improvements	Cycle hire; cycle routes; cycleway and footpath improvements
Disincentives	Road pricing	Charging for use of roads, or for access to certain areas
	Road closures	Prohibiting access for motor vehicles
	Rationing – quantity	Access to areas prohibited once a certain level of vehicle numbers reached
	Parking control	Limiting provision, charging
	Traffic management	A range of measures to control/limit car use in certain locations/settings
	Road space reallocation	Reducing road capacity for cars whilst increasing capacity for pedestrians/bikes/public transport
Other	Travel planning/smarter choices	Strategies for influencing travel behaviour and encouraging more sustainable travel
	Integrated land use and planning	Design of new housing/retail/leisure developments to minimise transport demand

Due to the complexities underpinning the demand for private car use, most strategy approaches favour the implementation of integrated or packages of policy measures, which are usually based on the following principles (Vigar, 2002):

- Expanding and improving public transport networks to encourage modal shift from private transport;
- Improving provision for pedestrians, cyclists and improvements/encouragement of environmentally friendly forms of transport;
- Using both traditional and innovative traffic management measures such as traffic calming, traffic restraint and pedestrianisation schemes to control speed and increase reliability, as opposed to designing for maximum vehicular capacity; and
- Integrating the use of transport planning, land-use planning and development control to reduce car dependency and eliminate unnecessary travel.

The study of change in the context of both transport policy formulation, and its implementation in terms of the use of instruments described above and in Table A.1, will both be considered in this review. In this regard then, the term 'policy change' is to be used interchangeably to account for both the formulation of transport policy at the strategic level, and its implementation 'on the ground' in the form of the use of instruments in Table A.1.

1.2.2 The delivery of transport policy and associated instruments

Strategic transport policy and the instruments of which it is composed can be developed and delivered across a range of different dimensions. For example, transport policy formulation in the UK can be explored in the context of a geographical classification, which Headicar (2009) breaks down into:

- EU transport policy making – intra-national policy and planning;
- National transport policy making – white papers and associated planning guidance;
- Regional transport policy making – regional transport strategies; and
- Local transport policy making – local transport plans.

On a similar basis, instruments of transport policy, whether applied individually or as a wider strategy, can also be classified geographically in terms of the scope of their implementation (Banister, 2005). Table A.2 provides an illustration. Note, the contextual list and examples in the second and third columns are by no means exhaustive.

Table A.2 – Geographical dimensions of transport policy delivery (Source: Banister, 2005)

Scope of instrument use	Context	Practical examples
National	Nationwide policy coverage	Free bus travel for over 60s; Speed limits; Fuel duty
Area-wide (Regional/Local)	Urban, Intra-Urban, Urban-Rural, Rural	London/Durham road pricing; Park and ride schemes; Light rail; Pedestrianisation; Parking strategies; Demand Responsive Transport; Community Transport.
	Urban – historic city, central business district, shopping district Rural – commuter countryside, rural tourist areas, 'deep' rural areas	
Site specific	Business parks; Out of town retail/leisure parks; Airports; Honeypots; Universities; Other significant trip generating locations	Travel plans; Parking management; Car share schemes;

As such, the geographical classifications of transport policy formulation and delivery will be used to structure this paper. Contextualising it in this way is helpful, since it allows the division of the policy arena into smaller sub-sectors for analysis. Analysis will therefore focus on policy change at the following levels:

- National;
- Area wide; and
- Site specific.

1.2.3 Summary

The aim of this paper is to examine how and why policy changes in the transport sector. To meet this aim, transport policy change at a national government level, and at particular localities will now be examined. It will be split into three component parts, based on the varying scope of transport policy and planning delivery outlined in this section. Analysis begins with an assessment of recent changes in transport policy at the national level.

1.3 POLICY CHANGE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Numerous authors (Headicar, 2009; Glaister et al, 2006; Docherty and Shaw, 2003) have attempted to document, examine and explain the circumstances behind the most notable examples of surface transport policy change at the national level since the end of World War II. It is outside the remit and scope of this review to attempt to provide a fully documented and explanatory synopsis of national policy change through this period.

Instead, this section will select two of the most notable national transport policy events of more recent years:

- The emergence of transport's new realism in the 1990s; and
- The subsequent restoration of old policy paradigms in the new millennium.

The selection of these two examples is prudent since it covers transport policy change and development over the last twenty years, setting the contextual background for what is to come. Examination of the processes that led to change will be documented here. The ultimate intention of this section being to begin to understand and explain the factors supporting policy change in these instances.

Section 1.3.1 therefore provides an examination of events which culminated in the 1990s with the abandonment of predict and provide policy approach, and the emergence – in theory at least – of transport's new realism as a framework for policy formulation.

1.3.1 Towards transport's new realism

The dominant UK transport policy ideology for most of the second half of the twentieth century was one constructed on the premise of 'predict and provide' (Goodwin, 1999). That is, forecast future demand for travel by various modes was extrapolated, with subsequent attempts made to match the supply of infrastructure to the potential demand (Owens, 1995).

Goodwin (1999) pinpointed 1989 as the highpoint of predict and provide, and also its final hour. At this time the Department of Transport (1989) released new road traffic forecasts which suggested that vehicle traffic would increase by between 82% and 134% for the period 1988 – 2025. The initial policy response to these figures by the incumbent Conservative Government at the time was to publish a new White Paper entitled Roads for Prosperity (DoT, 1989). This document proposed a substantial increase in road building in order to cater for expected demand and alleviate congestion on the road network. Providing additional road capacity was still seen as the primary solution to transport problems. However, events in both the public and political sector in the years preceding and immediately following the release in the White Paper led in the longer term to a more considered response to the road traffic forecasts.

As such, road building schemes in the 1990s were scaled down, and by 1998 a new Labour Government had released their own transport White Paper entitled A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone (DETR, 1998). This was a significant moment, since it largely abandoned the principle of predict and provide, favouring instead transport's New Realism.

Whilst intuition alone suggests that many inter-related factors combine to bring about policy change of such a significant nature, within the literature, three primary change agents emerge. These are:

- The growth of the environmental movement and its influence on policy;
- The development of a comprehensive research base for policy making; and
- Political events at the domestic and European level.

These three factors are examined in closer detail here.

The growth of the environmental movement and its influence on policy

Towards the end of the 1980's and through the early 1990's, environmental concerns began to permeate transport policy debates. Of particular concern were the rising CO_2 emissions from the transport sector as the knowledge of its environmental impacts were raised (Potter, 1997). A burgeoning environmental movement had emerged in the 1960s and 1970, though a number of events in the 1980s and 1990s served to reawaken public feeling (Vigar, 2002). First, the Brundtland Commission (WCED, 1987) introduced the term 'sustainable development', placing it front and centre in the political and public psyche. Second, the 1992 Climate Convention in Rio de Janeiro, and subsequent conferences at Kyoto, Buenos Aires and The Hague reinforced emerging issues relating to environmental degradation and climate change caused by human behaviour. At the same time domestically, wider public opinion was influenced by high-profile campaigns which emerged to try and prevent construction of some of the most controversial road building schemes of the day, including those at Solsbury Hill (Bath), Twyford Down (Winchester) and the Newbury Bypass (Headicar, 2009).

Evolving public attitudes to the environment domestically were demonstrated when the Green Party secured a 15% share of the vote in the 1989 elections for the European Parliament. This prompted all the major political parties to review their policies in an attempt to portray a greener image (Glaister et al, 2006). For the incumbent Conservative Government, this can first be identified in the release of the 1990 Environment White Paper entitled This Common Inheritance (DoE, 1990), which hinted at a change in Government thinking on transport policy. This was followed by the release of a Department of Transport Report entitled Transport and the Environment (DoT, 1991), which acknowledged growth in environmental concerns and stated that 'we must accept that preserving the environment has a cost and be prepared to bear it' (p.3). Further policy transport policy commitments emerged in the 1994 White Paper on Sustainable Development (DoE, 1994), to the extent that 'by the mid-1990's it seemed as though convergence was taking place around a new and quite distinctive set of transport and planning policies…which given time would translate into a very different era of planning practice' (Headicar, 2009, p.115).

A comprehensive research base for policy making

Changing attitudes were helped by a raft of scientific and academic research reports which emerged in the early to mid 1990's which helped embellish beliefs and support policy re-orientation (Goodwin, 1999). The aforementioned 1991 report entitled Transport: The New Realism (Goodwin et al, 1991) first raised a number of key principles on which it was asserted that there was wide academic and professional consensus (see Figure A.1).

Figure A.1 – Principles of New Realism
(Source: Goodwin et al, 1991)

- There is an intolerable imbalance between expected trends in mobility and the capacity of the transport system;
- The main problem is the growth in reliance on car use, which no longer succeeds in realising its own objectives;
- It is not possible to provide sufficient capacity to meet unrestrained demands for movement;
- It is necessary to devise systems of managing demand which are economically efficient, provide attractive possibilities for travel for both car owners and non-car owners; and
- Policies to accomplish this are technically feasible, providing they are properly harmonised…expansion of road infrastructure will not be the core of transport policy.

The principles of new realism were reinforced by the 18th Environmental Pollution Report published by the Royal Commission, which demonstrated the un-sustainability of current trends in the transport sector (RCEP, 1994). This document also advocated a wide range of policies intended to reduce the environmental impact of transport, and proposed strict targets for limiting CO_2 emissions. The RCEP report was followed almost immediately by the publication of evidence by the Standing Advisory Committee on Trunk Road Assessment (SACTRA, 1994), which suggested that new roads built to remedy congestion may actually themselves be responsible for generating additional demand for car use.

This was a particularly significant event since the evidence contradicted DoT policy that new road schemes should be assessed on the presumption that they do not add to total traffic (Headicar, 2009. Whitelegg, 1997). Following this report, Government policy changed to in future assess the significance of traffic generation arising from every proposed road scheme. The SACTRA report therefore provided conclusive evidence of induced transport demand through infrastructure provision, challenging the underlying discourse of 'predict and provide'. This lead Vigar (2002, p. 87) to conclude that 'while an environmental rhetoric was used as a justification for policy shift, it appears that the

technical argumentation put forward by SACTRA provided the scientific evidence that was vital'.

Thus, at the same time as public attitudes were changing, so was the evidence base on which policy was made. Furthermore, the UK government was beginning to see positive feedback from progressive transport policies implemented by European countries further down the line than they. For example, large scale city centre pedestrianisation in Germany, heavy investment in public transport in many European countries, Dutch traffic calming, and tentative experiments with road pricing and tolling in Scandinavia (Goodwin, 1999). Such factors therefore supported the move towards transport policy re-orientation.

Political events at the domestic and international level

The third strand in the change process can be seen to be political events at the domestic and international level. In addition to the aforementioned increase in the Green Party vote to 15% at the 1989 European Parliament elections, other political events combined to provide momentum towards transport policy change.

In 1989, Michael Portillo, the then Transport Minister chaired an annual conference of European Transport Ministers at which they received a number of expert reports on the extent of transport's contribution to environmental pollution. The projected future growth of emissions from the transport sector, driven in part by increases in car ownership and usage were also reinforced. Thus, problems of car use were reframed and extended from purely congestion concerns to wider environmental impacts (Goodwin, 1999). At the following year's conference a resolution was adopted which differed markedly from previous multi-state transport policy statements and asserted that:

- Traffic management be used to further environmental objectives in transport policy, both in relation to demand management and encouraging modal shift;
- That effective and acceptable means of reducing the use of the private car in urban areas need to be applied; and
- That assessments of infrastructure investment proposals should include traffic and environmental evaluations of the alternatives including extending railway or other public transport infrastructure and that of not building infrastructure.

In 1992, at the UN 'Earth Summit' Conference in Rio de Janeiro, the Government signed the Climate Change Convention which targeted reduced greenhouse gas emissions to 1990 levels. Given the contribution of the transport sector, and private car use in particular, to greenhouse gas emissions, domestic transport policy again came to the fore (Headicar, 2009). In combination with the growing environmental movement amongst the public, and the increasing recognition of the futility of road building as a sustainable transport solution,

such political events contributed significantly to the reframing of transport policy towards a demand management approach (Vigar, 2002).

1.3.2 Transport policy in the new millennium – a return to old paradigms?

Following their election to power in 1997, the new Labour Government released a series of key policy documents which signalled a new approach to transport policy orientation. The 1998 White Paper 'A New Deal for Transport: Better for Everyone' (DETR, 1998) and its delivery document 'Transport 2010: The 10 Year Plan' (DETR, 2000) provided a 'clear sense of direction…[and] comprehensive plans for delivery' (Glaister et al, 2006, p. 33). The 1998 White Paper put travel demand management in place as the key rhetorical aim of transport policy, fundamentally endorsing the failure of predict and provide as a framework for policy development' (Vigar, 2002).

Such optimism did not last, and Glaister et al (2006, p. 33) asserted that 'the ten year plan turned out to be the high water mark of New Labour's commitment to an integrated and sustainable transport policy'. Subsequent White Papers released in 2004 (The Future of Transport, DfT) and 2007 (Towards a Sustainable Transport System, DfT) have seen a move away from the integrated approach and back towards the restoration of supply-sided transport policies, if not through new road building then through capacity enhancement by widening and extending existing infrastructure (Docherty and Shaw, 2008).

The remainder of this section is devoted then to exploring the most influential factors in the retrenchment of transport's new realism and subsequent policy change. From the literature, the following change agents emerge as particularly significant and will be examined in greater detail:

- The power of the unforeseen event – the fuel tax protests and the Hatfield rail crash;
- Institutional changes at the national level; and
- The public mood, congestion growth and the strength of the motoring lobby.

The section begins with an assessment of the impact of two significant events – the fuel tax protests and the Hatfield rail crash - on the policy discourse.

The power of the unforeseen event – the fuel tax protests and the Hatfield rail crash

The Fuel Duty Escalator (FDE) was established in 1992, in part at least to limit the growth of vehicle emissions through pricing. An annual increase in fuel duty, initially set at 3%, was raised to 5% in 1995, and 6% by the new Government in 1996. However, the combined effect of the FDE and rising world oil prices saw the fuel price index increase by 23% between January 1998 and July 2000 (Begg and Gray, 2004b). Further increases in crude oil

prices in Autumn 2000 culminated in the fuel price protests, whereby commercial vehicle drivers and others blockaded oil refineries and halted distribution of road fuels to the extent that many essential services were compromised (Glaister, 2002).

Such was the political significance of the fuel protests, the response of the Government was to abandon the fuel duty escalator. Its rejection served to contribute to increases in traffic volume, congestion and associated externalities, and served to question governmental commitment to sustainable transport policies (Glaister et al, 2006). In addition, it doubtless served to concentrate 'the minds of ministers on the dangers of overlooking the interests of private vehicle users' (Parkhurst and Dudley, 2008, p. 54). Indeed, Begg and Gray (2004b, p. 70) cite the fuel tax protests as 'a critical turning point for transport policy. Surprised by the strength of feeling over a transport issue, the Government realised that, not only had it to deliver (and be seen to deliver) on transport, it had to do so without further alienating a powerful motoring lobby'.

Almost immediately following the fuel protests, another event, the Hatfield rail crash, the third fatal train accident in three years, brought the spotlight onto Government public transport policy in addition to its road policy (Headicar, 2009). The cause of the Hatfield crash was a broken rail, linked to poor maintenance by Railtrack, who responded by imposing speed restrictions across much of the rail network for fear of a repeat incident (Wolmar, 2001). This led to severe delays and cancellations, casting doubt on the ability of the Government to deliver the public transport system improvements it had earlier promised (Glaister et al, 2006). It also had serious effects for rail investment, as much of the money allocated for improvements in the Ten Year Plan had to be diverted for the purpose of simply maintaining and renewing the existing railway (Headicar, 2009).

As such, these combined events, occurring as they did at the relatively early stages of the move towards new realism, caused immediate problems for the Government in their new course of policy action. The motoring lobby was invigorated and strengthened by the fuel price protests, and public scepticism at the Government's ability to transform public transport services was increasing. As Glaister et al (2006, p. 255) asserted, these events served to illustrate that Government 'policy of getting people out of their cars and on to public transport was seen to be failing both as a political project, and in practical terms'.

Institutional changes at the national level

The events described above served to influence institutional changes at the national level that also impacted on policy change. This assertion will be examined here.

Upon election in 1997, Labour created the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR) under the control of Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott. This reflected

the new joined-up approach to transport planning advocated in the 1998 White Paper, which recognised the inter-dependency between transport and the environment, planning, and economic development (Begg and Gray, 2004a).

However, following the fuel protests and the concerns over the safety of the railway network, Glaister et al (2006) considered the department to have become increasingly perceived as anti-car and incompetent in its handling of public transport. In response, the DETR was broken up following the Government's re-election in 2001. Environment was separated from transport, and a new department, that of Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR) was formed. This unpinning of transport from the environment was taken by many to reflect the diminution of the environmental agenda from forthcoming transport policy decisions (Headicar, 2009).

The DTLR itself lasted only one year, until the planning function was removed and transport reverted to its existing stand alone status as the Department for Transport (DfT). Thus, institutional arrangements had come full circle to those which had met the incoming Government in 1997. Glaister (2006, p. 248) concluded that the dismantling of the DETR and the reintroduction of a stand alone DfT ensured that 'the direction of transport policy, unfettered by other considerations, transferred to a Secretary of State who was content to respond to pressures from the business community and public opinion for the construction of more roads'. The conclusion of Begg and Gray (2004a, p. 68) regarding the reason behind this institutional reformation is particularly pertinent: 'the institutional restructuring probably mirrored a shifting political perspective; a sustainable transport policy was – to a degree – expendable in the face of other, potentially more damaging, political pressures'. The pressures to which they refer were from a changing public mood and increasingly powerful motoring lobby. Their influence is examined in the following section.

The public mood and the motoring lobby

Whilst public concern surrounding the environmental impact of transport was demonstrated to have played a role in policy progression towards new realism, so too can public opinion be seen to have influenced retrenchment from it. The fuel price protests described previously provide good evidence of this.

The 1998 New Deal for Transport advanced two particular problems which the government would seek to address, those of congestion and pollution. Begg and Gray (2004b) assert that whilst UK and EU legislation had stemmed the rise of vehicle emissions, car ownership, use and congestion continued to increase. The political reality then was a situation in which the public demanded action – in the form of road infrastructure investment – at the expense of environmental concerns.

This all coincided with a period of sustained economic growth, which further fuelled car use, which increased pressure on the Government to act (Headicar, 2009). This point was borne out in opinion polls which highlighted public dissatisfaction with the Government in regard to a perceived lack of capital spending on transport during their first term (Begg and Gray, 2004b). Indeed, at the time of the fuel tax protests, the Government fell behind the Conservatives in the opinion polls for the first time since their election. Chastened by this experience, it could be said then that 'the realities of the practical dimension of policy-making had made themselves felt, [and] the political dimension had turned against an aggressively environmental policy stance' (Glaister et al, 2006, p. 255).

1.3.3 Summary

The aim of this section was to identify a number of the most important factors in UK transport policy change throughout the 1990s and 2000s. This was necessary in order to help contextualise the subject for research in this thesis, and provide a greater understanding of the processes resulting in policy change. Table A.3 provides a summary and initial classification of key findings to date.

Table A.3 - Factors prevalent in national transport policy change in the 1990s and 2000s

Factor influential in change	Outcome	Stage of National Policy Development
Growth of environmental movement and concern	Increasing problem awareness – politically and publicly	Away from predict and provide, and towards new realism
Evidence – expansion of research base discredited previous policy approaches	Extension of policy toolkit, stakeholder buy-in to new approaches to policy	
Political events at national and international level	Political parties re-assess transport policies in line with public mood	
The unforeseen event – fuel protests and Hatfield rail crash	Public concern with regard to new policy approaches strengthened	Away from new realism and towards pragmatic multi-modalism
Institutional changes	Reorganisation weakens holistic decision making and dilutes push for sustainable transport policies	
Changing public mood	Public mood turns against Government due to disillusionment	

With these findings in mind, section 1.4 will now explore the process of policy change on an area-wide basis through the examination of the implementation of wider transport strategies and/or individual instruments.

1.4 AREA-WIDE TRANSPORT POLICY CHANGE

Having examined instances of policy change at the national level, section 1.4 will now examine the concept through the implementation of transport strategies/instruments at an area-wide level. An examination of instruments/strategies introduced in the following localities are considered:

- Urban centres;
- Historic cities.

Section 1.4.1 begins with an examination of the factors which have both allowed and precluded notable instances of policy change in the context of urban centres.

1.4.1 Transport planning in urban centres

Urban areas offer unique opportunities for addressing issues around unsustainable transport. This is because short travelling distances and high volumes of people serve to make public transport, walking and cycling particularly viable alternatives to private car use (Banister, 2005). As such, a range of unique initiatives can be seen to have emerged at the local level in urban centres. This section will examine the development of a number of these initiatives in order to explain the motivations for change. It begins with an assessment of factors behind the success and failure of a number of urban road pricing schemes.

1.4.1.1 The emergence of the policy of last resort

In transport policy terms, road pricing has historically been cited as the classic idea whose time may never come (Borins, 1988). The economic principles underlying road pricing have been long established, and the theoretical benefits and costs expansively discussed (Pigou, 1920. Knight, 1924. Wardrop, 1952. Walters, 1961. Vickrey, 1969). It is true that practical examples of its application are few. Failed attempts to introduce schemes in locations as diverse as Hong Kong (Dawson, 1986. Borins, 1988. Hau, 1990), Edinburgh (Rye et al, 2005. Ryley, 2005. Gaunt et al, 2007), Cambridge (Ison, 1998. Ison and Rye, 2005) and Manchester serve to reinforce the difficulties faced by those who would seek to implement such a measure. However, a long-standing paper based scheme in Singapore (Wilson, 1988. Phang and Toh, 2004) - now converted to an electronic road pricing system - and more recently, the introduction of the London congestion charge (Santos, 2005), prove that road pricing can form part of a coherent transport policy. From analysis of both successful and failed attempts at introducing road pricing variants in urban centres, it is possible to identify a range of factors important in the development and implementation of such a radical policy measure.

Acceptance of the need for change

Jones (1998) noted that road pricing is often argued against on the grounds that existing road conditions are not bad enough to justify the introduction of something which, to many people, is viewed as such an extreme measure. In the minds of many people, less draconian measures, such as public transport improvements, will suffice. For road pricing to find favour amongst the general public therefore, it seems apparent that there must be a consensus that the level of congestion is severe enough to warrant its use (Johansson and Mattsson, 1995. Ison, 2004. Ison and Rye, 2005). This assertion is borne out in the case of the most high profile road pricing schemes in Singapore and London, where concerns with rising congestion levels were the primary motivator for their development. This played an important role en-route to implementation since there appeared to be a common agreement that the issue of congestion needed to be addressed (Jones, 2003).

A stable political platform

Practical examples of politicians working together to implement pricing measures have been demonstrated by the road tolling experience in Norway, where revenue generated is used to finance road building projects, and which has been in operation in three cities (Bergen, Oslo and Trondheim) for a number of years. Larsen and Ostmoe (2001) assert that whilst the Norwegian road tolling is not actually a direct model of road pricing, they still demonstrate some of the features associated with road pricing and would expect public attitudes towards the scheme to be similar. That the tolls were able to be implemented therefore, was testament to collaboration between the major political parties of Norway, who in view of previous under-funding of roads in these urban areas, agreed not to make a political issue of the incumbent Government's support for their introduction. On this basis, local politicians were empowered to take the unpopular decision of introducing road tolls without the support of a majority of public voters.

On a more local level, Ison and Rye (2003) note the importance for political stability in the road pricing implementation process, citing the abandonment of a number of road pricing schemes on the basis of local authority elections and the subsequent change in political complexions which may arise. In London however, a period of political stability was experienced over the lifetime of the congestion charging scheme. The former London Mayor Ken Livingstone was elected on a manifesto which contained proposals for the introduction of a congestion charge scheme, and implementation took place early enough in the Mayor's tenure to avoid political uncertainty about its future (Ison and Rye, 2003). A large degree of trust in local authorities by the electorate is also required, as demonstrated in Edinburgh, where regular public transport users, who stood to benefit from public transport improvements, failed to offer major support to the project. Gaunt et al (2007) assign this lack of support to a lack of trust in the City of Edinburgh City Council to deliver on the improvements promised.

A policy champion

With regard to the development and implementation of many new policy initiatives, the presence of a central figure is important to their acceptance (Ison, 2004). Road pricing literature identifies this to be particularly important in the implementation process. In describing the role of a policy champion, Ison and Rye (2003, pp. 230) note that 'the implementation of road user charging will involve a diverse range of stakeholders in a fragile alliance and as such a policy champion able to provide leadership and direction is all important'.

In Bergen for example, where an urban road tolling scheme was introduced in 1986 as a means of providing supplementary funding for a new masterplan for the city, the director of Bergen's branch of the Norwegian Public Roads Administration was an important catalyst. Support from both Norway's main political parties was gained in no small part due to his natural entrepreneurship and good links with key policy makers (Ieromonachou et al, 2006). Similarly, Ken Livingstone, the Mayor of London, was an essential catalyst for the introduction of the London congestion charge (Nash, 2007). The Mayor played an important role with regard to 'selling' the congestion charge to the people of London, and was successful in heading off criticism, which, if not dealt with by a figure of such political standing, may have provided a serious barrier to the scheme's implementation (Ison and Rye, 2005).

1.4.1.2 Trigger mechanisms and urban transport policies

The role of problem recognition has already emerged as central to policy change in many cases examined throughout this review. Sometimes such awareness has been seen to develop over a period of time, as with the evolving transport and environmental research base of the 1990s, and the creeping congestion problems in London and Singapore which empowered politicians to adopt and implement what are still considered radical transport policies. In other cases, it is an unforeseen event (such as the Hatfield Rail crash or the fuel protests) which may serve to influence policy. Sometimes however, unpredictable events seemingly unrelated to transport can also serve to bring about change in the sector. This assertion can be supported by consideration of change at the local level in urban areas.

Enoch et al (2004) define the introduction of a new transport policy on the back of an unrelated event as a 'Trojan Horse', and cite two classic examples as they build their analysis. Firstly, the imposition of the so called 'Ring of Steel' in the City of London in 1993. This involved the restriction of vehicular access to the central core of the city, in addition to the closure of 17 minor roads, the conversion of 13 others to one way traffic, and the alteration of signal controls at 23 junctions to give greater priority to public transport and pedestrians (Cairns et al, 1998). These changes were not introduced as part of new transport planning approaches for the City of London. Rather, they were introduced

almost overnight as a response to a terrorist bomb attack in Bishopsgate in London's financial district in 1993. As such, acceptability barriers amongst the public and politicians were overcome, since the actions were seen to be implemented as a direct response to an event beyond Government control.

Similarly, the bombing of Manchester City Centre in 1996 allowed politicians to think boldly about transport issues in the city (Enoch et al, 2004). The immediate aftermath of the bombing resulted in the closure of four previously heavily trafficked roads, yet there was little discernible impact on the function of the rest of the road network. As such, the road closures were made permanent, alongside the pedestrianisation of a number of minor surrounding roads, and limiting access on others.

It can be seen then that sometimes events outside of the transport policy arena can stimulate change in the policy or planning processes. In these cases, traditional barriers to change such as public acceptability, or funding, can be seen to be overtaken by the 'need for the change'.

Section 1.4.2 will examine processes relating to transport policy change in historic cities of the UK.

1.4.2 Transport planning in historic cities

The primary qualities which makes historic cities attractive places to live, work or visit are links to the past, a diversity of architectural periods or style, a sense of place, and a pedestrian scale which all combine to offer unique and distinctive character (Page, 2005). Very often however, the arrival of car-borne residents or visitors can have particularly detrimental impacts in these locations, where the built environment was developed for more traditional forms of transport prior to the evolution of the motor vehicle (Orbasli and Shaw, 2004).

The environmental, social, and economic impacts of traffic and congestion in historical centres are numerous. Emissions from vehicles impact on air quality, damage urban fabric and generally degrade the natural and built environment, whilst the presence of cars themselves may be unsightly (Orbasli and Shaw, 2004). Traffic problems can impact on the experience of visitors, potentially threatening the long term prosperity and viability of an area as a tourist destination (Page, 2005).

In an attempt to address some of these problems, there are many notable examples of innovative transport planning measures and strategies in place across historic cities throughout the UK. Two of these initiatives are to be examined here in order to understand how and why their design and implementation was possible.

This section begins by demonstrating how a now widely used transport planning approach – park and ride – was first pioneered in Oxford and other historic cities in the UK. It provides an interesting example of the role of feedback and policy learning with regard to policy change.

1.4.2.1 Park and Ride schemes in the UK – to Oxford and beyond

The first park and ride schemes in the UK were introduced across a range of urban settings such as Leeds, Nottingham, Leicester and Oxford in the late 1960's. However, only the project in the historical city of Oxford lasted beyond the 1970's (Meek et al, 2008).

Oxford is famous for its historic built environment, and world class university. It also supports a range of commercial, retail and leisure interests, and is considered a world class tourist destination (Parkhurst and Dudley, 2004). The city became something of a pioneer during the 1970s in transport policy terms, as policies widely rejected road building in favour of public transport promotion. This approach pre-dated the shift in national policy rhetoric away from road building and towards managing demand, but can be seen to be borne out of unique circumstances in the city (Parkhurst, 2004). These will be examined briefly here.

The power of political influence

In the period 1940-1965, many proposals for road construction within the city were blocked in the planning stage by opposition from a political elite which involved significant representation from Oxford University itself. The University during this period had built up significant political influence in policy-making circles, and did not consider the historic city centre to be a suitable location for new road building. As such, road building within the city centre was deemed a politically impossible policy option.

Political change brings policy change

Such was the continued opposition to road building, an impasse was reached which meant simply that alternative approaches were required. Buoyed by a change in political administration from Conservative to Labour in the early 1970s, the local authority implemented what was to become known as the Balanced Transport Policy, an approach which consisted of the following measures (Parkhurst and Dudley, 2004):

- A new park and ride service;
- Supporting bus priority measures and road space reallocation; and
- Increased city centre parking charges and restrictions.

The imposition of the Balanced Transport Policy was due in part to the Labour Party's opposition to road building in residential areas outside the city centre, which were

supported by the previous Conservative administration, but would have required the demolition of 174 homes belonging to mainly working class people. The election of the Labour administration on a promise to suspend the scheme gave them the required political mandate to implement what at the time were radical policy initiatives.

Feedback – transference and extension of policy

Building on the park and ride element of Oxford's transport strategy, the next wave of park and ride schemes in the early 1980s were all introduced in historic cities, notably Aberdeen, Cambridge and Chester (TAS partnership, 2007). Other capacity constrained historical cities such as Shrewsbury and Bath (Parkhurst, 2004) also then invested in the development of park and ride services, before interest from other urban areas began to grow.

Fast forward to the present time, and park and ride in the UK is now a well-established instrument of transport planning in many urban contexts. There are now over 100 park and ride schemes in operation nationally (TAS Partnership, 2007). However, there can be little doubt that its early adoption in many historical cities in the UK paved the way for its introduction on a more wide-spread basis. Whilst it has been propelled up the policy agenda by more recent shifts in national transport policy, Meek et al (2010, p. 372) concluded that 'despite the appeal of park and ride being confined in its infancy to this [historic city] type of setting, these schemes provided key demonstration effects to other local authorities and indeed, the UK national government'.

1.4.2.2 Durham – the UK's first road pricing scheme

In October 2002, the first road pricing scheme in the UK was implemented in the historic city of Durham. In a comprehensive review of the policy process which lead to its ultimate implementation, Ieromonachou et al (2004) identify four primary factors supporting change. These factors bear synergy with many of the change agents already identified as important in the process of policy change within the transport sector:

Consensus on the need for action

The authors report that traffic problems around the area of the city where the scheme was introduced were well recognised by the local public. The area around and including Durham Cathedral and Castle is a UNESCO world heritage site, which provided additional incentive for schemes to restrict traffic in the locality.

Failure of other transport planning approaches to address problems

The scheme was proposed as an alternative to an outright vehicle ban, thus becoming the lesser of two evils. A range of traffic management options had been implemented prior to the imposition of the scheme, but had been demonstrably unsuccessful in addressing the

problem of excess car use. The imposition of the access charge could therefore be seen by the general public as an outcome of an evolutionary transport policy process.

Policy champions, strong leadership and a stable political platform

Democratically elected local authority councillors and officers at Durham County Council championed the scheme over a number of years, helping to pacify and overcome any local opposition arising to the scheme. Their ability to do this was aided by the fact that political control of the local authority remained the same over the period from inception to implementation.

Active involvement and empowerment of key stakeholders

Previous attempts to implement vehicle restrictions in Durham city centre had failed in both 1988 and 1994. Though a large number of factors can be used to explain these failures, lack of stakeholder consultation was a major contributory element. The 2002 scheme therefore sought to include and empower a wide range of stakeholders likely to be affected by the scheme's imposition. The network of partners was built up over a number of years, and combined with widespread public consultations and campaigning, was a significant factor in the scheme's success.

1.4.3 Summary

Factors accounting for policy change in urban and historic centres bear many resemblances to those identified at the national level, namely in the context of:

- Problem awareness and recognition – driven by acknowledgement of the worsening of an existing problem (e.g. congestion); the desire to protect a sensitive environmental or historic area; or the occurrence of a random event which may highlight a previously hidden or unconsidered problem; and

- Political institutions and events surrounding them – sometimes long time political stability can be seen to help change (as with the London and Durham road pricing schemes), whereas in other examples, it is the election of a new administration which can be seen to help facilitate change. Either way, the importance of political institutions in policy change is documented.

In addition, the role of a policy champion has emerged to a far greater extent in this section. That is, the presence of committed and influential figures, who, in the examples cited, were all politicians, willing to invest time and resources into the development and implementation of a particular policy measure. This we then add to the developing list of change agents influential in transport policy change.

Section 1.5 will now examine the development and implementation of one particular transport approach - travel plans – allied to site specific locations in order to further build on findings to date.

1.5 POLICY CHANGE AND SITE-SPECIFIC TRANSPORT PLANNING

This section will examine the emergence of the travel plan as a transport planning approach for use at the site or destination level. The evolution of the approach makes for an interesting example by which to complete this review, since 'they are a means of delivery and not a [transport planning] instrument in themselves' and are 'gradually shifting from being a predominantly niche product towards being an integrated, comprehensive yet still focused tool' (Enoch and Zhang, 2008, p. 233).

1.5.1 The emergence of the travel plan

Travel plans in the UK first emerged as a formalised policy initiative by central Government in the 1998 White Paper 'A new deal for transport: better for everyone'. Travel plans have since become a popular policy measure as they place emphasis on significant generators of car-based vehicle trips to encourage more sustainable travel to site specific destinations (Roby, 2010). However, travel plans existed long before their incorporation into mainstream transport policy.

1.5.1.1 Defining travel plans

Rye (2002, p. 288) describes a travel plan as providing 'a strategy for an organisation to reduce its transportation impacts and to influence the travel behaviour of its employees, suppliers, visitors and customers'. Travel plans can be composed of many individual measures, which can be classified into the following three categories (Meyer, 1999):

- Offering travellers one or more alternative transport modes or services that result in higher passenger occupancy per vehicle;
- Providing incentives/disincentives to reduce travel or encourage travel in off-peak periods; and
- Accomplishing the trip purpose through non-transport means (for example substituting work or shopping trips through the use of communications).

1.5.1.2 The changing use of the travel plan

Travel plans originally developed (simultaneously and independently) in the USA as a response to the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 by the companies 3M in St Paul, Minnesota and Conoco in Houston, Texas (Martz, 2006). Indeed, Ferguson (2000) notes that the early adoption of travel plans was frequently made voluntarily by organisations, often in response to the identification of particular transport problems at, or affecting, their site:

- Oil crisis – as above, travel plans adopted in response to the energy crises of the 1970s;
- Employee recruitment and retention – some organisations have identified that staff recruitment, retention and morale can be linked to problems with commuting. Travel plans are adopted accordingly; and
- Transport problems – travel plans introduced to help mitigate site specific problems with parking and congestion.

Here then we see the re-emergence of factors and their trigger mechanisms which have already been identified as being crucial to policy change in the transport sector earlier in the review. Namely, that problems in the form of either a shock, in this case the oil crises of the 1970's, or the cumulative deterioration of an existing situation, in this example pressure for finite resources (i.e. parking availability on a site specific basis) can invoke a change in policy approach.

Enoch and Zhang (2008) provide an assessment of the development of travel plans across three core dimensions – namely segment, scope and scale. These dimensions will be explored briefly here, as they provide an interesting example of some policy change processes.

Segment

In the early stages of their use, travel plans were specifically targeted at sites of large scale employment. The travel plan concept then extended to schools in response to congestion problems around the time of the 'school run'. After this, 'the segments where travel plans have begun to be applied has begun to grow more quickly, and hence leisure facilities, shopping centres, and more recently residential areas are now also served, while the idea of Quality Freight Partnerships – that focus on goods delivery and distribution issues – are also gaining currency with pilot schemes operational in Winchester and Bristol' (Enoch and Zhang, 2008, pp. 248-249).

This finding is important since it demonstrates once again the importance of what has already been described as feedback (it could also be described as policy learning) in policy change processes. That is, the identification and subsequent transference of a new and successful policy idea from one context to another. Feedback has already been identified as important in this review in terms of the evolution of Park and Ride use from historic cities in the first instance into more mainstream areas; with regard to the introduction of pedestrianisation schemes in UK cities having seen the idea used successfully in mainland Europe beforehand; and emerges once again here.

Scope

The adoption and uptake of travel plans has been demonstrated to have begun voluntarily by organisations in response to the identification of transport or environmental problems at their site. In the late 1990s, UK local authorities began to make the link between the introduction of travel plans and planning consent. By 2001, 156 of the UK's 388 local authorities required developers of new sites to set up a travel plan as a condition for the award of planning permission (DLTR, 2001). Initially pursued on an ad-hoc basis, the tightening of planning guidelines in 2005 now encourages all local authorities to develop standardised, transparent and area-based approaches to planning decisions (Enoch and Zhang, 2008). Where this approach is hindered is that it only applies to new or prospective developments, and cannot be applied retrospectively.

Scale

Enoch and Zhang (2008) identify a third and more recently emerging trend in the travel plan concept, namely that of scale. In particular they note the development of formalised travel plan groups. That is, the collective expansion of individual travel plan adopters into wider networks. This scenario allows for the pooling of resources which allows for greater investment, dedicated staff, and greater political influence. It also allows the extension of travel planning from a purely site specific basis to a more area-wide level. On this basis they conclude that a future policy direction for the tool would be the comprehensive coverage of all segments of the transport market (leisure travel, journeys to work or school, etc). This, they assert, would present the ultimate example of both policy change and growth, as it would be possible to plot the evolvement of a former niche tool, into a mainstream policy mechanism, then possibly into the primary means of transport delivery at an area-wide or regional level.

1.5.2 Summary

This section has sought to examine the policy change process which has seen the evolution of travel planning from a niche tool through to a mainstream instrument of transport policy.

In charting its origin, it was found that the travel planning method originated not as an idea of government, but as a private sector response to a problem caused by an external and unpredictable shock, namely the oil crisis of the 1970's. As evidenced by earlier findings of this literature review, the power of the unforeseen event emerges as a particularly motivating factor for policy change in the transport sector.

Whilst it is a move advocated by Enoch and Zhang (2008), policy change in terms of extension to other areas of travel demand such as leisure may be difficult due to the incompatibility of the rationale of travel plans in comparison to the core activities of the

leisure provider. This in turn can be seen to link with the conclusion of Rye (2002, p. 298), who in discussing barriers to travel plan implementation asserts that 'the travel plan literature and experience shows that the biggest barrier to the implementation of travel plans is the organisation's perception that there is no problem with transport or parking'. The concept of problem awareness has of course emerged throughout this review, and it is fitting to end on this note.

With the geographic review of transport policy change now completed, section 1.6 concludes the paper with a summary of the findings and their relevance to this study.

1.6 KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The literature review has identified and documented a range of factors which can be seen to have been influential in supporting policy change on a national, area-wide or site specific basis in the UK.

Whilst the circumstances surrounding each scenario differ, it is possible to broadly categorise the agents of change within three particular dimensions:

1) Public and political identification, acknowledgement and conveyance of a transport 'problem' which needs addressing

In the transport sector, as perhaps in others, policies are not changed without reason. The examples cited in this review determine that motivations for change are driven by an awareness of the need to change. Sometimes, as with the growing congestion problems in London and Singapore, recognition of the problem is a long time in gestation. Other times, critical events conspire to push a hitherto hidden or 'less important' policy item up the agenda and promote action. Similarly, as was the case in the national policy example, one pressing issue may emerge, such as environmental concerns, which then dominates the agenda for a time. However, concern around other issues, such as congestion, can be such that they overtake the incumbent issue, and they in turn become the primary focus of policy attention. Thus, the mood of the public and stakeholders can be seen to influence policy direction in transport. On the flip side, as illustrated with the examples of abandoned road pricing schemes, and low take-up of travel plans by organisations, lack of problem awareness can inhibit motivations for change and ensure stability.

2) The development of policy 'ideas' or solutions which can be seen to address identified problems and which satisfy/overcome traditional implementation barriers in the transport sector

The review has also highlighted how policy change can be influenced by the emergence of new ideas and policy approaches in related sectors. For example, the origins of travel planning come not from public sector decision-makers in transport, but from private sector

responses driven by the 1970s fuel crisis. It was only when acknowledging the sensible rationale behind this 'new' concept (site based mobility management) that the policy began to develop. In turn it then grew (and continues to grow) with regard to the scope and segment of its application. Similarly, historic cities were shown as the leaders in Park and Ride development in the 1970's, as, faced with unique problems revolving around the historic fibre of their cities, new policy approaches needed to be adopted. The success of these schemes in these areas was one of the primary motivating factors for their adoption in other localities.

3) Events in the political arena

Events in the political arena have also been demonstrated as influential in the context of policy change. Political factors leading to change can be broadly categorised as influenced on an 'institutional' or 'individual' basis, or a combination of the two.

Institutionally for example, the initial break up, then restoration of the DfT as a single Government Department emerged as an important factor in the move first towards new realism and ultimately retrenchment from it. In joining up related departments of transport, environment and planning, the Government brokered new communication channels and opened transport policy development up to hitherto marginalised influences. In then breaking the department up, such influence was lost and familiar paradigms restored. Similarly, periods of long term political control in Durham and London were identified as important in helping to deliver their flagship road pricing schemes. However, political events in Oxford, where a new administration was able to implement a raft of new transport measures, illustrate that a change in political administration can also account for change in the transport sector.

Individually, political policy champions, committed figures willing to invest significant time and energy to the development and implementation of their preferred policy, also emerged as having important roles in policy change processes. The role of policy champions seems particularly influential in the context of radical policy changes such as road pricing. The input of Ken Livingstone in regard to the London road pricing scheme makes an excellent case in point.

To summarise, these change agents can be seen to affect both policy change and policy stability. That is, when one or more of them combine there would appear to be a greater chance for policy change or implementation than when they are not there. In instances where change agents are not present, policy stability is likely to be maintained.

From the findings above, the following research propositions in relation to the thesis can be derived. These complement the three research propositions derived previously in Chapter Two:

- Proposition 4: Transport in National Parks is not a policy area which attracts public or political attention.

- Proposition 5: It is difficult for practitioners to link innovative transport policies or schemes with wider social and economic objectives in National Park settings.

- Proposition 6: Political arrangements at local and national levels serve to restrict the potential for new transport policy development in National Park settings.

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