UNDERSTANDING PARTNERSHIPS FOR PROTECTED AREA TOURISM
Learning from the literature

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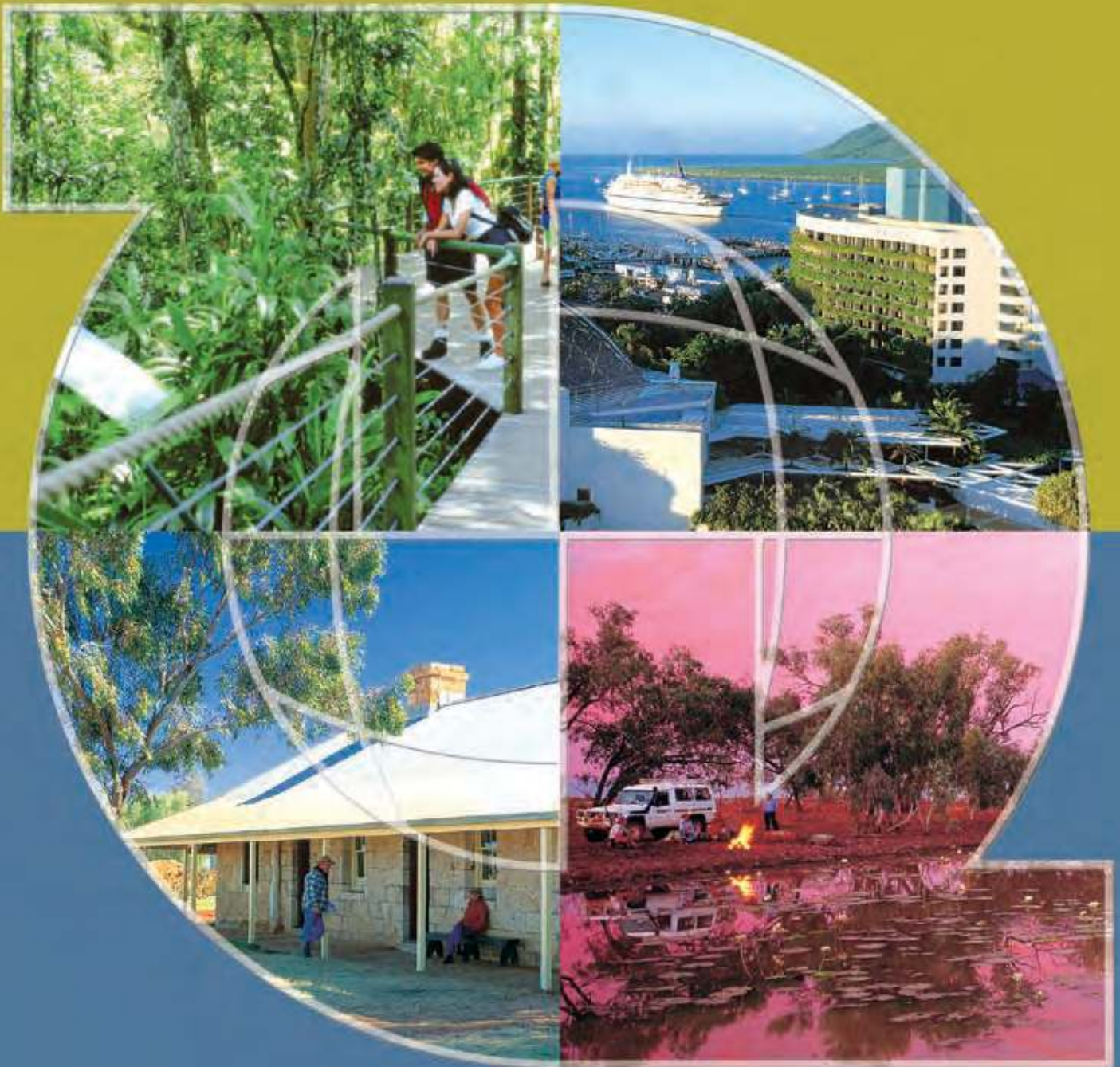
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ABSTRACT

As demand grows for tourism opportunities within Australian protected areas, partnerships are increasingly seen as the way forward in dealing with the variety of interests involved and ensuring that sustainability goals are pursued. Previous tourism partnership research has not made the most of opportunities to consult related literature from a broad range of disciplines and use associated theoretical developments as a basis for analysis. This technical report addresses this gap through a multi-disciplinary review of partnerships research to reconcile the often multifarious definitions of partnership and allied concepts, such as collaboration and cooperation, and the various meanings given to success, as well as to identify factors which might impact upon partnership success or failure. Eight theoretical perspectives are explored, covering social exchange theory, adoption and diffusion of innovation, environmental dispute resolution (EDR), social representation theory, network theory, stakeholder theory, social capital theory and the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework. Theoretical constructs offering the greatest potential for framing future research into successful tourism-protected area partnerships were social capital theory and EDR, with application of the IAD framework to cover any remaining gaps. This review suggests that it is important to consider as broad a range of factors as possible, not only those that are easy to measure. As such, factors such as administrative setting and the availability of resources, which are under-represented in the partnerships research, but intuitively seem to play a part in partnership success, should be considered. These findings provide a robust platform for further research that will be progressed as part of the broader study of which this review formed a foundational part.

Acknowledgements

SUMMARY

Objectives

This report had two main objectives:

- To review the literature to:
    - provide a clear working definition of partnership
    - explore a broad body of research dealing with 'successful' partnerships and the factors that contribute to this success
    - describe and critique a number of theoretical perspectives potentially contributing to an understanding of partnership success or failure.
- Use this literature review to recommend directions for future research and subsequent management.

Methodology

The approach taken to reviewing the literature involved consultation of a broad range of disciplines and research areas, including tourism, natural resource management, environmental science, conservation, protected areas, watershed management, general management, health, social services and engineering disciplines, and using a variety of databases.

Members of the research team (listed as authors) also provided suggestions regarding suitable theoretical frameworks, agreed upon at a team meeting, which were then explored for their contribution to an understanding of partnership success factors. Each team member provided a short list of recommended key readings across each theory, which was then used as a starting point for a broader search of the literature. Eight of the initial ten theories canvassed by the project team have been examined in this literature review.

Key Findings

- Previous research exploring successful protected area tourism partnerships has been limited in scope but provides a practical starting point for a more extensive study, especially when it is complemented by other research on successful partnerships from a range of disciplines.
- A number of key concepts required clarification, including a working definition of partnership, based on elements identified in the literature, a definition of protected areas, as a context for further study, and exploration of the diverse meanings of success, both process and outcome-based.
- Success factors identified in the literature can be categorised as partner-related, process-related or context-related, after Bingham (1986). Partner-related factors revolve around partner characteristics, while process-related factors are linked to the way that the partnership operates or is managed. Context-related factors include issues related to the background, or framework within which the partnership is located.
- A number of success factors which might be intuitively relevant in a partnership context, such as administrative setting or availability of resources, have not been explored in-depth in past studies, perhaps because they are difficult to measure or because the partners were not asked for their views on partnership success, allowing the more mundane factors to slip through the net. This supports the conduct of future research that takes into account partners' measures of success and factors behind success, based on the fact that they are intimately associated with the partnership and its workings. Attention to the administrative setting seems particularly important.
- Research in this area to date has been largely atheoretical. A number of theoretical constructs have therefore been examined for their ability to shed light on and assist with the analysis of the factors behind successful protected area tourism partnerships. Theories with the broadest explanatory power seem to be environmental dispute resolution (EDR) and social capital theory. The institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework may also assist with exploration of the small group of factors that are not covered by these two theories.
- While studies of partnerships such as watershed or general business partnerships may offer insights into success factors and the meaning of success, there are a number of special characteristics of protected area tourism partnerships that warrant particular examination through a discrete study, including the nature of land tenure, level of control over land use and the necessity of some partners' involvement, all of which relate to the power balance within a partnership.

Future Action

- Further research is essential to explore successful protected area tourism partnerships, which have only been the subject of limited research to date. This research, while taking into account previous research findings across a number of disciplines, should also be based on a strong theoretical foundation.
- One or two theoretical constructs could clearly be selected as a basis of a future study of protected area tourism partnerships. Social capital theory and EDR theory appearing the most useful, given they cover most of the success factors previously identified in the partnerships literature and have been applied in a broader partnerships context.
- The findings of this review provide a robust, logical platform for the development of research designs and methodologies to study sustainable protected area tourism partnerships.
- Taking these learning's forward, the broader project of which this review formed an integral first part will rely on these eight theoretical constructs, and especially social capital and EDR theory, to design, conduct and report on a study of partnerships in Australia between protected area managers, the tourism industry and others (e.g. local government).

Chapter 1

STUDY CONTEXT AND BACKGROUND ISSUES

Tourism to protected areas has experienced steady growth throughout the last decade across the globe (Buckley 2000a; Cole 2001; Worboys, Lockwood & De Lacy 2001; Newsome, Moore & Dowling 2002; Eagles 2002). These tourism opportunities have the potential to generate economic benefits (Eagles 2002) and are of great importance to a variety of stakeholders with a vested interest in protecting special places, including the tourism industry, conservation agencies and local communities. Providing tourism products in these areas requires a combined effort of these various stakeholders due to the complexity, uncertainty and potential for conflict (Reed 1999) and the fragility of the resource. The ability of these stakeholders to work together strongly influences the quality of the product, the satisfaction of visitors and the protection of the natural resource base on which the industry depends. Providing tourism experiences connected with protected areas is therefore inherently a *partnership*. The partnership concept is covered by many labels, including collaboration, networks and cooperative arrangements, but essentially refers to important institutional frameworks for managing a variety of situations and interests, which will be discussed in this Chapter. To make the best use of a partnership, it is important to understand its nature, including the dynamics, relationships and mechanisms for fostering success. In addition, given their application to tourist activity in protected natural areas, an examination of partnerships needs to encompass the contribution they can make to protected area management, appropriate tourism planning and policy, and local communities.

Partnerships are increasingly mooted as desirable in order to achieve government policy objectives and provide a sustainable tourism product (Huxham 1996a; Bahaire, & Elliott-White 1999; Buckley & Sommer 2001; Buckley, Witting & Guest 2001; DITR 2003; Eagles, McCool & Haynes 2002; Worboys 2005). This interest is in part based on efficiency grounds and emerges against a backdrop of government cutbacks (Bramwell & Lane 2000). As Himmelman (1996, pg. 24) observes:

> *'The continuing promotion of doing more with less has become an "ideology"; an idea on which a system of thinking and acting is based. It is closely related to the call for collaboration as a response to what are described as new, leaner "economic necessities", many of which result from political decisions and private sector policies reducing resources for human development and community revitalization'.*

From an economic point of view, partnerships can be a vehicle for tapping into additional resources, such as labour, funding or skills/expertise. 'Pooled knowledge and experience is seen as crucial to any credible and sustainable problem analysis' (Miller & Ahmad 2000, pg. 15). They can also help to maximise opportunities for innovation, via approaches 'that go beyond the boundaries and experience of any one of the partners' (pg. 15), thus leading to efficiency gains.

However, a view of partnerships which is gaining more currency is to see them as a way of dealing with power inequalities or imbalances, 'a more egalitarian alternative' (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 378), which gives stakeholders the opportunity to take part in decision making affecting their lives or involving things that concern or interest them, as well as potentially improving their capacity to manage resources or make decisions. Some commentators such as Himmelman see their advocacy in a more cynical light (1996, pg. 24).

> *'Taking their direction from elites, public (federal, state and local government) and private (foundation and corporation) gatekeepers now promote collaboration as the strategy of choice for helping communities and workers adjust to doing more with less … to ease the pain associated with decreasing benefits and resources for human and infrastructure needs, particularly where there are high concentrations of lower-income people'.*

Partnerships can be understood as a mode of contemporary governance. The business of government is increasingly being conducted through partnerships between the public and private sectors or between the public sector and groups in civil society. Partnerships are perceived as a better way to manage change and complexity (Rosenau 2000; Kooiman 2000), to cope with uncertainty (Stoker 1998), and to deal with collective action problems requiring coordination and cooperation among multiple actors and/or sectors (Davidson and Lockwood 2007). In a protected area context, Graham *et al*. (2003) characterised governance as the interactions among structures, processes and traditions that determine how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens or other stakeholders have their say. Protected area governance modes range from the exercise of government authority, through to a wide variety of partnership, co-management and informal arrangements involving multiple agencies, interest groups and individuals (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al*. 2006).

While partnerships may help coordination, reduce duplication, and improve understanding between actors (Greer 2001), some analysts question their representativeness and democratic credentials. Rhodes (1997) points to dangers such as excluding the public, creating privileged oligarchies and favouring established interests. Swyngedouw (2005) argues that the shift from 'government' to 'governance' combined with the neo-liberal economic rationality can disempower those groups promoting non-economic societal objectives. Their capacity to advanced problem-solving and generate efficient outcomes may be at the expense of core public values and the capacity of governments to govern (Peters & Pierre 2004). Absence of formal rules may obscure how power is exercised and mask the agenda of dominant interests. Inadequate accountability mechanisms have been recognized as a key dilemma (Stoker 1998). Geddes (2005) suggests that partnerships function to take up the gap left by contraction of the public sector—when central government responsibilities are shifted to other actors and levels of governing—and to manage the tensions and contradictions inherent in the neo-liberal agenda. They are similarly understood as filling the gap in provision of collective goods left by the deficiencies of regulation and market forces (Breckenridge 1999).

So notwithstanding their attractions, new governance modes such as partnerships must confront issues of legitimacy, inclusion, transparency, accountability, and effectiveness. Legitimate, equitable and accountable consideration of the diverse values and interests associated with protected areas is a core task for meeting the challenges of good governance. In liberal democratic systems, legitimacy may be conferred by democratic representation, by procedures that encompass aspects of democratic processes such as transparency and financial accountability, or earned through community acceptance (Newman *et al.* 2004; Bernstein 2005). The success or otherwise of partnerships requires capacities for ongoing reflection and negotiation, the production of long-term outcomes and strategic direction and productive conflict management. Successful partnerships have a basis in trust and mutual understanding among the parties, a shared sense of purpose and a sense of the equitable distribution and exercise of power (Breckenridge 1998; Curtis & Lockwood 2000; Southern 2002). Additionally, in the context of rapid social, economic and environmental change, when flexibility and adaptability are essential system capabilities for the required structural transformation, social learning opportunities are an indispensable component of partnerships' adaptive potential (Pahl-Wostl 2002).

The partnership approach is increasingly seen as a hallmark of a new paradigm for protected areas (Phillips 2003; Locke & Dearden 2005), which looks to bridge the separation between people and nature and encourage more inclusive governance, including involvement of the private sector and local communities. The factors behind this new way of thinking about protected area management, according to Phillips (2003, pg. 21) include greater emphases on human rights, 'especially the rights of indigenous peoples … in relation to the environment' and a growing understanding of the ecological importance of the surrounding landscape to these areas. Locke and Dearden (2005, pg. 8) however warn of the risks of this paradigm shift, arguing that it may concentrate on the human element 'and thereby move nature to the periphery'. They consider the purpose of 'real' protected areas as being essentially to protect and maintain wild biodiversity, and thus seek to distinguish them from 'sustainable development areas', which might be more suitable to embrace the new paradigm. This assumes a narrowly defined purpose for protected areas and only considers one of a number of sustainability indicators (see discussion on sustainability later in this Chapter). Political, social and environmental realities also seem to dictate that protected area managers take a wider view of their *raison d'être* and seek to reconcile a variety of interests and goals within the sustainability agenda.

Encouragement and promotion of partnerships can thus be seen in government policy initiatives through both the developed and developing world, including Central Asia (Brinkerhoff 2002c), Kenya (Mburu & Birner 2007) and India (Kumar & Vashisht 2005) and across a number of portfolios, including health and social services (Dowling, Powell & Glendinning 2004; Gannon-Leary, Baines & Wilson 2006), urban planning (Rowe 2006; Williams 2006) environmental protection and management (Curtis & Lockwood 2000) and tourism, the focus of this literature review (Selin 1999; Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Eagles 2000; Ritchie 2000; Bramwell & Lane 2000; DITR 2003; Buckley 2004; Plummer, Kulczycki & Stacey 2006).

Countries such as Australia would appear to have a lot to gain from this approach. It is blessed with an array of outstanding natural assets which attract visitors from all over the world (Worboys, Lockwood & De Lacy 2005). This has led to nature-based tourism being identified as one of the priority segments for Tourism Australia to address in its Australian Experience development strategy (Tourism Australia 2007). Most of Australia's nature-based tourism, ecotourism and adventure tourism activity occurs in protected areas such as national parks, conservation reserves, marine parks, and world heritage areas (Buckley & Sommer 2001). These areas are fragile and precious, requiring careful stewardship by a range of different parties. It is therefore important to understand the nature and impact of partnerships within these areas.

Objectives, Methods and Rationale

Given the great interest shown by researchers and practitioners more broadly in partnerships and specifically with regards to tourism and protected areas, this report provides a comprehensive, yet focused literature review of partnership research to date. It takes a novel, three-faceted approach. First, it explores the multiple and often overlapping use of terms such as partnership, collaboration, and cooperation, to provide a clear working definition of 'partnership'. This first part also briefly describes research undertaken on partnerships between protected area managers and the tourism industry. From this description, it is apparent that successful partnerships are of ongoing and growing significance to both protected area managers and the tourism industry.

Second, this literature review explores a broader body of research in order to describe 'successful' partnerships and the factors that contribute to this success. Examples include tourism and natural resource, environmental and watershed management literature. Additional material from protected area, conservation, social services and engineering research was also reviewed where it potentially provided valuable insights into partnerships between protected area managers and the tourism industry. Most of this research and that reviewed for the first part of this report relies on a case study methodology, with limited reliance on existing theoretical perspectives (e.g. network theory) to assist in case study design or analysis.

As such, the third part of this literature review describes and critiques a number of theoretical perspectives that potentially help to explain why partnerships may succeed or fail, and what indeed might constitute success. All of the perspectives examined hinge on understanding relationships between individuals and groups (e.g. social exchange theory, social capital). Several have enjoyed a specific and long history of application to environmental (protected area) management (e.g. institutional analysis and development, environmental dispute resolution). The perspectives chosen range from abstract sociological ones, such as social exchange and network theory, to much applied perspectives such as environmental dispute resolution, an amalgam of thinking from sociology, psychology, and political science.

The literature review concludes with a discussion of how these theoretical perspectives might further inform partnership research. This discussion is critical because this review is also part of a broader project investigating the features of successful partnerships for sustainable tourism in protected areas. The project is funded by the Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre and is supported by an Industry Reference Group. The broader project aims to examine a number of partnerships between protected area managers, the tourism industry and others, to provide recommendations for establishing, assisting and monitoring partnerships. As such, the conclusion to this report aims to provide suggestions reflecting how partnership research might be conducted in the future.

This broader project can be distinguished from other studies discussed in this literature review in that it aims to consider successful protected area tourism partnerships by reviewing and analysing diverse theoretical perspectives in order to:
- identify conceptual factors which can guide future research
- develop a conceptual/theoretical framework for analysing both successful and unsuccessful partnerships
- develop a set of criteria for successful partnership processes and outcomes
- assist with research designs and methodologies for future research projects.

A comprehensive and eclectic body of literature is covered, encompassing not just the tourism partnerships literature but work on partnerships in the environmental, health, business and social studies disciplines. Databases consulted include Google Scholar, Google search engine, Informit e-Library and the EBSCOhost research databases. Search criteria used the terms 'partnership', 'collaboration', 'cooperation', 'community participation' and 'network'. Ten theories were put forward and agreed by the team as offering potential for illuminating a study of partnerships. This list was later reduced to eight, given that several theories or frameworks were found to be of limited use in framing a broader study of partnerships (see Chapter 3) and have not been incorporated into this literature review. Each team member was asked to recommend key readings across each theory, based on their area of expertise and the advice of colleagues working in these areas, which was used as a starting point for a broader search of the literature. Search criteria involved the name of the particular theory or framework i.e. social exchange theory, social representation and allied concepts or theories, such as 'alternative dispute resolution' or 'ADR' for a search of literature pertaining to environmental dispute resolution.

What are Partnerships?

As a starting point, it is necessary to consider the nature of partnerships, including the variety of definitions (Miller & Ahmad 2000) and examine the explicit differences between terms such as *collaboration*, *cooperation* and *joint management*, which appear to have been used interchangeably in some of the literature (Hall 1999; Dowling, Powell & Glendinning 2004; Miller & Ahmad 2000; Selin 2004). For example, Bramwell and Lane (2000, pgs. 2-3) observe that 'collaboration is commonly used in the academic tourism literature', while 'in government and practitioner circles the term partnerships is particularly popular … As the partnership label is so widely used it is also used … to denote a collaborative arrangement'.

The term 'partnership' has been used flexibly, which 'creates problems in establishing whether or not an appropriate partnership, or one that embraces all legitimate stakeholders, is in place or knowing the nature of such a partnership' (Miller & Ahmad 2000, pg. 13). The current literature recognises three different perspectives of partnerships according to Brinkerhoff (2002a), namely (1) the *normative* perspective, which considers a partnership as an end in itself, and argues that 'partnerships should seek to maximize equity and inclusiveness' (pg. 20), (2) the *reactive* perspective which seeks to counter criticism of the normative perspective, and 'promote better public relations' for the partnership approach and (3) the *pragmatic analytical* perspective which considers partnerships as a 'means to reach other objectives', such as efficiency gains (Brinkerhoff 2002a). The definitions of partnerships and what they encompass may therefore vary accordingly, depending on the perspective adopted. Brinkerhoff (2002b, pg. 216) provides a definition of an ideal-type 'partnership' based primarily on the normative perspective:

> *'Partnership is a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labour based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Partnership encompasses mutual influence, with a careful balance between synergy and respective autonomy, which incorporates mutual respect, equal participation in decision making, mutual accountability and transparency'.*

Brinkerhoff (2002a) argues that providing 'ideal-type' definitions of a partnership may not help us understand how they can be operationalised. She advocates the examination of two dimensions described as 'salient for defining partnership' (pg. 22)—mutuality (mutual dependence) and organizational identity (that which is distinctive and enduring in a particular organization). This definition highlights the need to recognise the interrelationship of the partners and the role organizational identity plays in acting as 'an impetus for initiating a partnership strategy' (pg. 26). It also avoids any reference to partnership structure. Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 378) note the *variations of formality* within the concept of a partnership, observing that they:

> *'... can be highly formal processes commissioned by government agencies, but they are frequently informal organizations without bylaws, minutes, or officers'. They do however observe that duration is relevant, arguing that partnerships are 'relatively long-term endeavours … At minimum, the partnership should contemplate the planning and/or implementation of one or more projects, policies or activities'* (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 380).

Roberts and Simpson also emphasise the 'longer-term' nature of partnerships, suggesting that the term refers to 'more than ad hoc or periodic interaction between public and private sectors' (1999, pg. 316). Others, such as Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 135), who look at partnerships between firms, highlight the 'purposive' nature of the relationship between parties that 'share compatible goals, strive for mutual benefit and acknowledge a high level of mutual interdependence'. They also note the advantage of a partnership in facilitating parties to achieve goals which 'each [partner], acting alone, could not attain easily'.

In the health sector, it is recognised that power differences between professionals and lay persons as well as formal organisations such as government agencies and community members are present. Definitions of partnerships in this body of literature thus often address differences in power, culture, values and priorities between the partners and point out that these differences have to be laid out to enable the participants to develop a negotiation platform (Popay & Williams 1998; Dowling, Powell & Glendinning 2004). On entering a partnership, ideally the partners will have to develop mutual trust and respect, an understanding of each other's objectives, equality of the partners' positions and the belief that their perspectives, knowledge and expertise is weighted equally (Popay & Williams 1998). Considering partnerships from this perspective, it becomes clear that the concern primarily lies with elements that describe *social interactions* of a partnership, rather than the outcomes of these interactions, such as problem solving or decision-making. This potentially ties in with the idea of a partnership lasting for a long period or even not having a defined end point, which logically leads to a greater emphasis on process rather than outcome when measuring success. This debate will be considered further in Chapter 2.

Partnerships from a natural resource perspective are defined as involving two or more stakeholders working together to solve a problem(s) or issue(s) that cannot be solved by the stakeholders individually (Selin & Chavez 1995; Selin 1999; Selin 2004). Partnerships in this context are also characterised by the voluntary pooling of resources (Selin & Chavez 1995; Selin 1999). Because the partnerships within this sector are problem or issue specific, stakeholders adapt their approach to their own needs as they seek to fulfil their individual goals (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000). Here, partnerships adopt a more pragmatic approach with respect to the *issue or problem to be solved*, rather than focusing on power, trust or values, which suggests a focus on outcome rather than process. There is however a difference of opinion across the literature on this point. For example, Poncelet (2004, pg. 2) defines multi-stakeholder environmental partnerships as demanding 'a high degree of commitment, participation, trust and respect among the partners'.

Partnerships within tourism have been considered by Bramwell and Lane (2000, pg. 1) and defined as, 'regular, cross-sectoral interactions between parties based on at least some agreed rules or norms, intended to address a common issue or to achieve a specific policy goal or goals'. While formality of structure or rules is not required, there must at least be *agreement* on these rules or norms, the issue to be addressed or goal to be reached. While the definition of partnerships advanced by Bramwell and Lane (2000) is useful, it is important to be aware of additional attributes of partnerships, particularly Brinkerhoff's (2002b) partnership characteristics of mutual influence, mutual accountability and transparency.

For the purpose of this review, we define partnerships in Box 1 as:

Box 1: Definition of partnerships adopted

'Regular, cross-sectoral interactions over an extended period of time between parties, based on at least some agreed rules or norms, intended to address a common issue or to achieve a specific policy goal or goals, which cannot be solved by the partners individually, and involving pooling and sharing of appreciations or resources, mutual influence, accountability, commitment, participation, trust and respect and transparency'.

Table 1 clarifies the source of the different elements of the definition of partnership used in this report, including the applicable body of literature.

Table 1: Source of elements of the definition of partnership used in this study

Element of Definition of Partnership	Source	Body of Literature
Regular cross-sectoral interactions	Bramwell and Lane (2000)	Tourism
Extended duration	Leach and Pelkey (2001)	Watershed management
Based on agreed rules or norms	Bramwell and Lane (2000)	Tourism
Intended to address a common issue or achieve specific goal	Bramwell and Lane (2000); Poncelet (2004)	Tourism Environmental management
Issue or problem cannot be solved other than collectively	Mohr and Spekman (1994) Selin and Chavez (1995) Selin (1999) Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)	Business Tourism Tourism Natural resource management
Pooling and sharing of appreciations/resources	Selin and Chavez (1995) Selin (1999)	Tourism Tourism
Involves trust and respect	Popay and Williams (1998) Dowling *et al.* (2004)	Health Health
Mutual influence, accountability and transparency must be present	Brinkerhoff (2002b)	N/A—General discussion on partnerships

Mention is often made of partnerships in conjunction with allied concepts such as collaboration or cooperation. It is important to be clear as to how they differ, even though it is often only a subtle distinction. Hall (1999, pg. 276) for example suggests that collaboration, cooperation and partnership should be viewed as 'separate, though closely related ideas within the emerging network paradigm … The nature of such linkages exists on a continuum ranging from 'loose' linkages to coalitions and more lasting structural arrangements and relationships'. Timothy (1999) attempts to develop a typology of partnerships and identifies four types which he argues 'are most essential in the context of tourism planning' (pg. 183)—private and public partnerships, partnerships between government agencies, partnerships between administrative levels and partnerships between the same level of polities (i.e. different countries). He notes the importance of public-private partnerships, based on the fact that 'the public sector depends on private investors to provide services and to finance the construction of tourist facilities. By the same token, private tourism projects require government approval, support and

infrastructure development'. Timothy also distinguishes the notion of a partnership from concepts such as collaboration or cooperation. He suggests that there are various *levels* of partnerships and has developed a continuum to illustrate this, running from alienation to integration at the extremes. Co-existence, cooperation and collaboration are the intermediate levels (see Figure 1 below).

Alienation   Co-existence   Cooperation   Collaboration   Integration
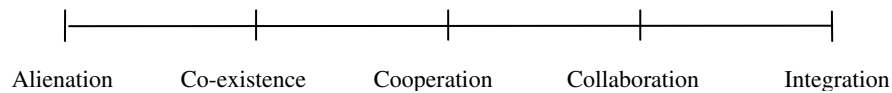
Figure 1: Levels of cross-border partnerships in tourism

(Source: Timothy 1999)

According to Timothy (1999), cooperative partnerships 'are characterised by initial efforts between adjacent jurisdictions to solve common problems', while collaboration involves more established 'joint efforts' in which 'partners actively seek to work together on … issues and agree to some degree of equity in their relationship' (pg. 185). *Alienation* effectively involves no partnership at all, while *co-existence* is defined as involving 'minimal levels of partnership' (pg. 184). Integration on the other hand involves such a degree of joint effort that the parties are 'effectively merged'. These latter three levels of partnerships are thus not particularly useful for a study of tourism partnerships in protected areas in that the first two levels (alienation and co-existence) either do not involve a partnership approach or do not involve sufficient elements of a partnership approach based on the definition in Box 1, while integration goes beyond the concept of a partnership, in that the parties' functions are not fused or amalgamated in the latter.

The following sections consider Timothy's (1999) middle levels (*cooperation* and *collaboration*) in more detail, given these terms are often mentioned in the partnerships literature, as well as some more recently used terms such as joint management and networks, and examines how each might be distinguished from partnerships, the subject of this review.

Cooperation

Cooperation has been defined by Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000, pg. xiii) as involving 'individuals or groups moving in concert in a situation in which no party has the power to command the behaviour of others'. This form of working together relies predominantly on voluntary efforts based on informal arrangements in which the parties maintain their respective responsibilities. Different stakeholders may decide to cooperate on one specific issue to achieve a common goal. Cooperation is often loosely structured and most commonly without a long-term perspective i.e. undertaken on an ad-hoc basis or for a short duration. Hall (1999, pg. 278) citing Mulford and Rogers (1982, pg. 13), argues that it is 'characterized by informal trade-offs and by attempts to establish reciprocity in the absence of rules'. Cooperation can therefore be distinguished from partnerships in that the latter are generally more structured, focused on longer-term goals and involve greater interdependence.

Collaboration

Imperial (2005, pg. 286) notes in relation to watershed governance that one of the 'obstacles to theory building is that researchers employ different definitions of collaboration'. For example, Gray and Hay (1986, pg. 11) define collaboration in simple terms as '[a] process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain'. Bardach (1998) and Moore (1996), cited by Imperial (2005), also view collaboration as involving joint activity and note that it is 'intended to create public value by [two or more organizations] working together rather than separately' (Imperial 2005, pg. 286). This latter part of the definition is akin to the definition of a partnership used in this report, in the sense of incorporating the benefits to be gained by working collectively on a task or activity. Collaboration, in comparison to cooperation, involves a more structured arrangement with a longer-term perspective. Selin (1999, pg. 262) suggests that collaboration is a dynamic process, 'evolving … in response to a host of internal and external forces' and is characterised by five factors identified by Gray (1989):
- stakeholders are interdependent
- solutions emerge by dealing constructively with differences;
- joint ownership of decisions is involved;
- stakeholders assume collective responsibility for the future direction of the domain
- collaboration is an emergent process.

A collaboration is more short-term in focus than a partnership (Leach & Pelkey 2001), and involves less formality (Gannon-Leary, Baines & Wilson 2006), although it has been argued above that partnerships need not necessarily be founded on formal relationships or arrangements (Miller & Ahmad 2000). Collaboration might be more usefully viewed as the *mechanism* for creating partnerships (Gannon-Leary *et al.* 2006) or as central to their formation (Miller & Ahmad 2000). Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) emphasise that collaboration recognises the need to ground decision-making and management in 'good' science, while understanding that technical factors are only one of many important considerations in making wise public choices. Other factors that require consideration include knowledge exchange, public support, balancing competing interests and establishing trust and incentives (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000), which suggests the benefit of drawing on a variety of stakeholders and seeing these arrangements as mutable phenomena, rather than static and unchanging. Oliver (2004) distinguishes collaboration from a partnership by the fact that the latter involves the sharing of power in decision-making, together with the sharing of risk accompanying these decisions. This emphasis on *power* and *risk* as hallmarks of a partnership harks back to the definition used in this report, in the sense of mutuality of influence and accountability.

Joint Management

In contrast to cooperation and collaboration, *joint management*, sometimes referred to as co-management, is a formal arrangement, such as a lease agreement, between the government, state or federal, and the traditional owners of the land (De Lacy 1994). The agreement sets out the rights and obligations of both parties manifested in a statutory management plan. The management plan is often, but not always, the guiding policy framework, aiming to jointly plan and manage the area on a long-term but also on a daily basis (De Lacy 1994). This is a structured and formalised arrangement with the partners having a significant involvement in management activities (Borrini-Feyerabend 2007; De Lacy 1994). Joint management has been used in Australian national

parks since the 1970s (Wearing & Huyskens 2001) but has been criticised for imposing essentially 'Western cultural models of management with an inherent Anglo-Australian cultural bias' (pg. 182) which fail to empower indigenous communities, recognise their interests or provide them with the requisite 'control over their land' (pg. 183). A number of iconic Australian protected areas now centred on indigenous land, with Uluru, for example, leased back to park management from its indigenous stewards in the 1980s (Senate Standing Committee 2007). Any discussion of tourism within Australian protected areas must therefore engage with issues relating to the ongoing role of indigenous Australians within those areas.

Joint management can be distinguished from a partnership in that the latter does not require such a prescriptive approach and can involve more flexible arrangements where trust, respect and mutual goals are the 'ties that bind' rather than legal sanctions. Wearing and Huyskens (2001) note the need for a shift in power, with greater involvement of indigenous populations in decision and policy making, which might suggest developing a partnership within the joint management framework. Fuller, Buultjens and Cummings (2005) also note the benefits of partnerships in this context tied to skills development and capacity to run tourism enterprises. This preference for a partnership approach might also be a better fit with the new paradigm for protected areas, which is characterised by governance shared by many partners, including indigenous groups, and sees value in drawing on local knowledge (Phillips 2003). Phillips suggest that this paradigm shift is driven in part by a growing cultural awareness that 'encourages greater respect for local communities and traditional and indigenous peoples, an understanding of the true character of their relationship with nature, and an appreciation of the sustainable practices that many of them have followed' (2003, pg. 21).

Networks

Another concept which has been used interchangeably with partnerships is the idea of a network or network relationships.[1] Imperial (2005, pg. 287) sees collaboration as a subset or 'particular type of network relationship' and defines networks as 'structures of interdependence, involving multiple organizations, that exhibit some degree of structural stability but that include both formal and informal linkages or relationships'. There appears to be some crossover between networks and partnerships, with Imperial (2005, pg. 303) referring to the 'partners' in an inter-organizational network. Dredge (2006) suggests that networks are in fact a subset of partnerships, 'which may involve different networks'.

An emphasis on partnerships in current research efforts is dictated in part by the interest that policy makers and others have in the concept and perceived associated benefits. As such, this literature review is primarily concerned with partnerships, as defined in Box 1, while being cognizant that our understanding is also informed by work on related concepts.

Protected Areas and Sustainable Tourism

Before moving on to look at the use of partnerships within Australian protected areas, two other important concepts to define are (1) protected areas and (2) sustainable tourism. As with partnerships, there are differences of opinion subject to ongoing debate, summarised briefly below.

Protected areas

Discussion of *protected areas* often begins with the World Conservation Union (IUCN) definition as a starting point (Phillips 2003). It refers to an 'area of land and/or sea especially dedicated to the protection and maintenance of biological diversity, and of natural and associated cultural resources, and managed through legal or other effective means'. Phillips (2003) then cites the definition put forward by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)—'a geographically defined area which is designated or regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives'. Both these definitions, according to Phillips (2003), suggest that protected areas might be located anywhere, and require management. He notes that the definitions also imply the existence of 'some kind of management authority' to achieve conservation objectives.

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[1] See discussion in Chapter 3 on network theory.

The IUCN has also developed categories of protected areas, illustrating the breadth of locations encompassed within their definition (IUCN 1994). The seven categories are:

- **CATEGORY IA**: Strict nature reserve—protected area managed mainly for science.
- **CATEGORY IB**: Wilderness area—protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection.
- **CATEGORY II**: National park—protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation.
- **CATEGORY III**: Natural monument—protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features.
- **CATEGORY IV**: Habitat/species management area—protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention.
- **CATEGORY V**: Protected landscape/seascape—protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation.
- **CATEGORY VI**: Managed resource protected area—protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.

Even this categorisation has been contentious, with Locke and Dearden (2005) disputing the inclusion of Categories V and VI as protected areas. This literature review will generally regard Category I–IV protected areas as the focus of partnerships, but will adopt the IUCN definition of protected areas in the interests of considering partnerships within a wide-ranging context.

Sustainable tourism

This literature review concentrates on protected area partnerships that facilitate *sustainable tourism*, another term which is 'variously interpreted' and the subject of continued inquiry (Sharpley 2000, pg. 1). Hunter (1997) cautions against adopting a rigid framework of sustainable tourism and suggests there may be four pathways or interpretations of sustainable tourism:

- sustainable development through a tourism imperative
- sustainable development through a product-led imperative
- sustainable development through environment-led tourism
- sustainable development through 'neotenous tourism' (tourism is actively discouraged for ecological reasons).

Thus, for Hunter (1997), the concept of sustainable tourism also encapsulates the possibility that no tourism will take place in some areas or regions. He describes these four interpretations as a continuum and while this conceptualisation is undoubtedly flexible, Sharpley (2000, pg. 1) posits that Hunter's approach presents problems in that it 'does little to sharpen the focus of study onto the processes and overall viability of the concept'. Rather than simply assuming that sustainable development principles apply in a tourism context, Sharpley suggests that some aspects of tourism appear to be inconsistent with sustainable development principles, and goes so far as to argue that 'true' sustainable tourism development is unattainable. However, Macbeth (1994, pg. 42), while observing that the concept of sustainability has become politicized and a 'key buzz word', nevertheless remarks on its importance for setting the 'moral agenda' and acting as 'a practical route map' for tourism.

Macbeth (1994) also notes its long-term nature or objectives (pg. 42). 'Put simply, our task is to facilitate a tourism that will carry on, that will endure but that will also contribute, nourish and tolerate'. He identifies four principles within the sustainability model—ecological sustainability, economic sustainability, social sustainability and cultural sustainability. This model, applied in a tourism context, goes beyond a focus on maintaining steady numbers of tourists and involves a holistic approach or *quadriga* to use Macbeth's metaphor—each 'horse' (principle) pulling the chariot (sustainability) needs to be running evenly in the same direction.

UNEP and WTO (2005) have developed twelve aims for an agenda for sustainable tourism, which can also be categorised using the four principles of sustainability identified by Macbeth (1994). They are economic sustainability (economic viability, local prosperity, employment quality), social sustainability (social equity, visitor fulfilment, local control, community wellbeing), cultural sustainability (cultural richness) and ecological sustainability (physical integrity, biological diversity, resource efficiency and environmental purity). Partnerships might contribute to these aims, which might then be viewed as outcomes of partnership success (see Chapter 2). Choi and Sirakaya (2006) identify two additional dimensions of sustainable tourism—political and technological. They argue that the political context is relevant for sustainability, in that political support is 'a critical element on obtaining information, funding, education and expertise' (Choi & Sirakaya 2006, pgs. 1277–1278), while participation of stakeholders in tourism may be a political issue (Choi & Sirakaya 2006). The technological environment may also play a part in sustainable tourism, including the adoption of technology that

minimises environmental impact and its application to gathering data, exchanging information and carrying out benchmarking (Choi & Sirakaya 2006).

There has been a change in the way sustainability has been perceived by the private sector, from an initial emphasis on the environment 'with some add-ons, to the premise that the goal will not be achieved unless corporate bodies take responsibility to society in general, as well as to their shareholders' (Font & Harris 2004, pg. 988). This has led to interest in the triple bottom line (TBL) of sustainability (Font & Harris 2004; Higginbottom 2004; Dwyer 2004), a system of accounting that incorporates information required to achieve sustainability goals, covering not just the organisation's financial performance, but also their achievements from a social/cultural and environmental perspective (Font & Harris 2004; Dwyer 2004).

Recognition that the tourism industry needs to embrace sustainability is central to the Australian Government's *White Paper on Tourism* (UNEP & WTO 2005), with one plank being the development of partnerships between the tourism industry and protected areas. Part of the impetus encouraging partnerships in this context is that these areas cannot achieve sustainability in isolation and thus need to connect to society and the economy (Dudley, Gujja, Jackson, Jeanrenaud, Oviedo, Phillips, Rosabel, Stolton & Wells 1999). This has led some to argue that the area to be protected has to be expanded, the number of partners needs to grow and the vision has to change in order to consider protected areas as part of a whole system. This viewpoint is consistent with the new paradigm for protected areas identified by Phillips (2003), which calls for protected areas to be planned and managed as systems or networks instead of an 'island', which may involve a variety of stakeholders and interests.

Use of Partnerships as a Tool for Park Management

Partnerships are increasingly viewed as a valuable tool for park management and the practical benefits can be seen on both a global and local scale. At an international level, as Timothy (1999, pg. 182) points out, there has been a growth in the numbers of international parks that straddle or are located adjacent to political borders. Cross-border partnerships are therefore a functional means to use, develop and manage these shared resources. There are also likely to be government pressures to adopt a partnership approach, particularly in the context of tourism in protected areas. Eagles (2002, pg. 139) notes that, 'Generally the trend is for government to demand that parks earn much higher amounts of their budget from tourism sources'. This can lead to tensions arising over parks agencies charging fees for what has been perceived as a free resource, with expectations of 'free access' (Eagles 2002, pg. 143). Conversely, the tourism industry may be viewed in a negative light as 'vultures, swooping into the political arena to seize the most important assets, such as accommodation and food provision. This denies the park management important income sources.' Their actions can also place protected areas in jeopardy through 'tourism overuse and environmental degradation due to the lack of budget for the agency to handle tourism pressures' (pg. 145). Working in partnership may therefore lead to 'more constructive and less adversarial attitudes' (De Lacy *et al.*, 2002, pg. 10).

Hall (1999) links this growing emphasis on partnerships within tourism to 'developments in management theory', such as the growing perception that stakeholder relationships are important.[2] He points to the trend towards tourism partnerships in many countries, including Canada, the United States, Europe, Australia and New Zealand, and argues that they should be viewed 'within the context of the public interest as opposed to the market interest … Unless there are attempts to provide equity of access to all stakeholders [then partnerships] will be one more approach consigned to the lexicon of tourism planning clichés' (pgs. 285–286). A number of developing countries, for example, are beginning to use partnerships to achieve conservation goals connected with protected areas (Mburu & Birner 2007). This approach, which provides greater participation in decision-making and park management, might also lead to socio-economic benefits for local indigenous populations.

A recent report published by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)—*Forging Links Between Protected Areas and the Tourism Sector* (UNEP 2005)—sought to address the issue of how tourism in protected areas globally can benefit conservation efforts and recommends the use of partnerships. The UNEP report outlines three steps aimed at showing protected area managers how to link with the tourism sector, with a focus on pre-partnership preparations, approaching the tourism sector and then consolidating the created links (UNEP, 2005).

In Australia, the rise in visitor numbers and the growth of the nature based tourism sector have also resulted in an exploration of various forms of partnerships within protected areas as management tools. One example of a new form of partnership arrangement which was flagged as the way forward was the concept of joint management between a government agency and traditional owners of the land (Wearing & Huyskens 2001;

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[2] Chapter 3 looks at theoretical perspectives involving stakeholders, including stakeholder theory.

De Lacy 1994).[3] The joint management model aims in particular to maintain the hereditary values and culture of the traditional owner, while striving to ensure the conservation of the area's biodiversity. In Australia, Uluru and Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory are examples of protected areas which were recognised as Aboriginal-owned land and decisions were made to manage them jointly with the traditional owners and the government (De Lacy 1994). As mentioned above, Wearing *et al.* (2001) critique the underlying policy guiding joint management and argue that a substantial review is required to overcome identified shortcomings, including power imbalances.

Other partnership approaches used in Australian national parks focus less on cultural values and more on achieving a better conservation outcome and/or economic benefits for the tourism partner. One such partnership can be found between Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service at Lamington National Park, and Binna Burra Mountain Lodge. The Lodge was established in 1933, is privately owned, and situated on freehold land adjacent to the national park (Stubbs & Specht 2005). Since the late 1930s, a relationship between the Lodge owners and the conservation agency responsible for the management of the National Park has been developed. This relationship was intensified in later years and a partnership approach was adopted with the aim of conserving the rainforest, providing linkages with science and research, and the local natural history association (Stubbs *et al.* 2005). This partnership appears to have had financial benefits for the Lodge as it hosted various activities, conferences, workshops and conventions over the years and has also provided educational benefits, through fostering understanding of conservation and the surrounding rainforest (Stubbs *et al.* 2005).

Protected area partnerships not only have conservation and economic benefits but are also seen as lessening management dependence on government agencies. Working in 'true' partnership requires a shift from the traditional hierarchical structure of command and control to a process that engages the partners (Reddel 2004). This development entails a potential shift of responsibilities from government to private stakeholders, building equality between partners, as well as enhancing policy implementation and adaptation (Eagles 2002; Reddel 2004; Williams 2006).

Overview of Australian Protected Area Partnership Research and Policy Responses to Date

In Australia, various government departments, on a state and federal level, emphasise and encourage collaborative working arrangements between conservation agencies and the tourism industry (Buckley & Sommer 2001; TAPAF 2002; De Lacy *et al.* 2002; DITR 2003; Tourism Western Australia 2004; TTF Australia 2004). There has been a recent shift to move beyond collaboration in various research studies addressing partnership initiatives (Buckley & Sommer 2001; De Lacy et al. 2002) while a number of policy documents and responses to these studies have been formulated based on partnerships (DITR 2003; TTF Australia 2004). Table 2 provides an overview of these research studies and any policy documentation/responses stemming from them, and is followed by a discussion of their relevance and influence on future partnership research.

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[3] See discussion earlier in this Chapter on the difference between joint management and partnerships.

Table 2: Overview of key research and policy documents involving partnerships in Australian protected areas to date

Research projects	Objective of the research	Key findings as relevant to partnerships	Theoretical underpinning	Data sources
Tourism and protected areas: partnerships in principle and practice (Buckley and Sommer 2001)	Describe successful partnerships for different types of partnerships	List of ten contributing factors to successful partnerships	None used	Desk-based case study analysis (Australia and international)
Public/private partnerships for sustainable tourism (De Lacy *et al.* 2002)	• Develop a framework for the sustainable development of the industry • Develop a sustainability strategy for tourism destinations	Partnerships are essential for sustainable tourism in protected areas	• Sustainable development • Environmental policy • Public sector management	• Survey • Case studies (APEC countries) • Secondary data
Pursuing common goals: opportunities for tourism and conservation (DITR 2003)	Achieve government policy objectives through successful partnerships	• Strong linkage exists between tourism and protected area managers based on their common interests • Key messages based on how to achieve mutual benefits: economic, environmental, administrative, and education/interpretation	None used	Case studies (Australia wide)
A natural partnership: making national parks a tourism priority (TTF Australia 2004)[4]	Recognise and develop protected areas as a tourism resource as well as conservation resource	• Need for a coordinated approach between conservation agencies and tourism organizations • Financial contribution from tourism to protected areas	None used	• Survey • Case studies (Australia & international) • Secondary data • Meta-analysis of visitor studies
A natural partnership: making national parks a tourism priority (Griffin and Vacaflores 2004)	As above	Need for research into the high turnover of commercial operator licences in national parks	None used	As above
Innovative joint partnerships between protected area management agencies and the private sector (NSW STCRC Network project) (Buultjens *et al.* 2006—project in progress)	• Showcase three partnerships • Identify facilitating/preventing factors to successful partnerships • Determine strategies for NSW NPWS to implement in its partnerships	Project in progress	Yet to be determined (project still in progress)	Case studies (NSW NPWS)
Tourism partnerships in Australian national parks and protected areas (TTF Australia 2006—project in progress)	Develop an action plan to advance tourism developments in protected areas	• Project in progress • Preliminary findings: concern policy and administrative arrangements, communication and finances	Yet to be determined (project still in progress)	• Case studies (Australia & international) • Secondary data • Inventory of needs (visitor services, infrastructure)
Developing successful partnerships for facilitating sustainable protected area tourism	Determine and describe the elements involved in developing, fostering and maintaining partnerships between those involved in protected area tourism	Project in progress	Yet to be determined	Yet to be determined

* This is the broader project incorporating this literature review.

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[4] The STCRC published its own report titled *A Natural Partnership: Making National Parks a Tourism Priority* (Griffin and Vacaflores 2004), based on the research it undertook commissioned by TTF Australia.

Partnerships Research

The findings of the research outlined in Table 2 are synthesised in this section and reveal a number of gaps which need to be filled by a more general search of the literature (see Chapter 2), as well as providing a springboard for adopting a more theoretical approach to a study of partnerships.

Defining partnership success

These studies largely adopt an outcomes based measure of partnership success, although they do not provide a clear definition of the latter, leading to the inference that they measure success by the achievement of benefits they identify from partnerships. For example, De Lacy *et al.* (2002) highlight the importance of partnerships to achieve sustainable development and sustainable tourism objectives and facilitate the pooling of resources of stakeholders, which may lead to more effective usage and presumably efficiency gains. They do however contemplate success in terms of processes, suggesting that some of the benefits of successful partnerships include diffusion of decision-making and control, which provides a more democratic style of management, and promotion of innovation. The De Lacy *et al.* (2002) study also examines the nature of ineffective partnerships, which may involve problems such as limited participation of stakeholders, problem avoidance and power imbalances.[5] Their discussion on partnership effectiveness largely draws from the work of Bramwell and Lane (2000). An exhaustive analysis of success factors was beyond the scope of the De Lacy *et al.* study, which aimed to develop a framework for sustainable tourism development, using public/private partnerships, and a sustainability strategy for destinations.

The DITR study (DITR 2003) also measures partnership success based on outcomes. It notes that the use of partnerships with the tourism industry will enable parks to gain support, funding and revenue, provide tourism with better infrastructure and assets and offer the public better ecotourism products, education/interpretation and visitor infrastructure. Partnerships can best be employed where they might achieve goals which neither partner 'can achieve as efficiently alone' (DITR 2003, pg. 3). Similarly, the TTF Australia study of partnerships (TTF Australia 2004) views success in terms of outcomes. They considered how the tourism industry and protected area agencies can work collectively 'more effectively to achieve mutually compatible goals: the provision of high quality visitor experiences and increased public appreciation of—and support for—protected areas and conservation' (pg. 4). This emphasis was partly a reflection of the fact that the study was based on concerns expressed by the Regional Tourism Reference Group that protected areas in Australia 'were not achieving their tourism potential' (TTF Australia 2004, pg. 3). The potential benefits of partnerships are regarded as primarily economic ones for regional areas and the economy as a whole, but also political benefits in the form of cooperative support in raising awareness and appreciation of protected areas and environmental benefits linked to sustainable tourism. Griffin and Vacaflores (2004, pg. 41) in an STCRC study of partnerships also highlight success in terms of outcomes. They observe that parks offering 'iconic sights or experiences … possess the greatest potential for tourism. Realising that potential may involve engaging commercial tour operators to a greater degree and providing higher levels of facilities in or adjacent to these parks'. This literature review can therefore provide a contribution to the study of partnerships in protected areas by considering success more broadly, both in terms of outcomes and processes.

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[5] Chapter 3 looks at unsuccessful partnerships in more depth.

Success factors

A number of success factors are identified in the studies listed in Table 2 but there appear to be gaps. Buckley and Sommer (2001, pgs. 31–32) identify ten factors that they consider to be necessary for partnerships to become successful,[6] namely:

- open and extensive community involvement combined with correct and available information
- a negotiating platform which allows the stakeholders the freedom to choose to enter a partnership
- a legal framework that provides stakeholders with the right to retain funds raised through tourism
- financial arrangements to manage tourism activities, minimise and compensate for environmental impacts associated with these activities and provide a surplus which can contribute to the protected area
- recognition that the stakeholders have different goals and that the partnership has to strive to meet each party's goal
- recognition by the parties of their different legal, social, economic and environmental situation and that the resulting constraints need to be recognised by the partnership arrangements
- legal arrangements defining liabilities in case of injuries, environmental harm and insurance requirements
- operational arrangements between protected area managers and commercial tourism ventures to fulfil their obligations
- government funding for conservation for public protected areas
- arrangements in small and heavily visited areas which provide opportunities for commercial tourism operations to gain a profit for the operator and funds for the conservation agency to manage larger and less visited areas.

The key outcome from Buckley and Sommer (2001) is three sets of administrative arrangements advocated as providing a basis for successful partnerships, namely:

- fixed-site, privately-managed, large-scale tourism facilities in parts of protected areas which experience most visitors to provide high revenue contributing to the management of the overall area
- transferring visitors and operators fees to low-key activities and facilities sites in less visited parts
- private tourism operations on private land which was set aside as protected areas.

The Buckley and Sommer (2001) study therefore identifies a number of success factors, but does not explore these in depth in their report.

De Lacy *et al.* (2002) identify participation and provision of benefits as factors in partnership success. They note that partnerships should include a 'wide and representative range of stakeholders from the local community', in order to benefit local economic development and that the most successful partnerships are those 'developed for mutual benefit' of the partners (pg. 9).

The DITR report (2003, pg.33) also places great importance on the provision of benefits or incentives, defining partnerships as 'alliances in which all parties benefit,' which need not necessarily be financial in nature, so long as they are visible to all partners and allow them to generate 'significant additional benefits' (pg. 39). Non-financial benefits could be 'promotional, they can represent special opportunities or they can be special access arrangements' (DITR 2003, pg. 28). They also see a role for government in providing recognition, rewards and incentives to encourage private investment in conservation. Other factors the DITR suggest may have an influence on the success and failure of partnerships are:

- legislative framework—any legal frameworks used should include terms binding on all parties. The DITR study however identifies the dangers of over-regulation, particularly with respect to its effect on power balances. 'Rules and regulations can be simple and provide certainty, but they can also be disempowering, removing the likelihood of finding other arrangements which may be more beneficial to park and operator interests' (DITR 2003, pg. 1)
- flexibility—to find the best ways to attract private infrastructure investment
- transparency and openness of negotiations
- openness to new ideas/innovation
- involve broad public good outcomes i.e. indigenous business development
- administrative setting—presence of consultative mechanisms/feedback systems.

These findings provide a platform for further analysis of partnership success factors, in that they are based on case studies and not on a wider examination of the literature on partnerships across a variety of disciplines. TTF Australia (2004) also considers financial incentives in its exploration of the potential offered by partnerships between the tourism industry and protected area agencies. While increased budget appropriations for national

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[6] These success factors will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

parks are advocated, the TTF Australia Report (TTF Australia 2004) also recommends tax incentives for conservation/tourism on private land and the investigation of potential private capital investment opportunities in line with park objectives, which aid conservation efforts and are 'equitable to existing visitors' (pg. 21). They also note that the legislative setting and administrative frameworks may be inhibiting the development of public/private partnerships. In their current study, TTF Australia (TTF Australia 2006) is looking at ways to encourage these partnerships through the provision of investment opportunities in protected areas to add value and reduce liabilities. Their study is limited to examining three key matters, namely:

- *Marketing*—to form partnerships to market protected areas and promote regional economic development.
- *Visitor services*—to review the management structures of protected areas based on their dual role of conservation and tourism.
- *Public and private sector partnerships*—to provide investment opportunities in protected areas to add value and reduce liabilities.

Neither TTF Australia study focuses solely on success factors behind partnerships, but instead concentrates on how partnerships might be facilitated or fostered.

Methods for evaluating success

Most of the studies summarised in Table 2 use a case study approach to evaluate partnership success. For example, Buckley and Sommer (2001) focus on the different types of partnerships (private tourism on private land; public tourism on private land; public tourism on public land; and private tourism on public land), and illustrate these with relevant case studies of successful partnerships (Buckley & Sommer 2001). However, the selected and presented cases only include examples of successful partnerships and their report does not consider unsuccessful or failed partnerships. De Lacy *et al.* (2002) use various methods for their data collection: secondary data, primary data in form of a survey, and case studies within APEC economies.

The TTF Australia study (TTF Australia 2004) also showcases a number of case studies undertaken across Australia and notes that, 'there are some shining examples of tourism and conservation partnerships already existing in Australian protected areas' (pg. 15), while the current TTF Australia project (2006) is collecting data through a literature review (e.g. policies, previous research) and identifying case studies in consultation with key industry stakeholders. They will also conduct two industry forums, consultation with an industry advisory panel and consultation with/survey of key stakeholders.

A recent New South Wales project funded by the STCRC aims to explore innovative partnerships between conservation agencies and the private tourism sector to determine strategies for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) to implement in its partnerships (Buultjens pers. comm., 2007). After the initial identification of existing partnerships between NSW NPWS and the private sector, in consultation with the NSW NPWS, three successful partnerships have been selected. Through in-depth interviews with all relevant stakeholders, the core themes influencing these partnerships will be determined and used to develop a proposed model and toolkit (Buultjens, Nielsen & Wilson, 2006—project in progress). This NSW project will exclusively address the three identified successful partnerships, without considering the less than successful ones. Its scope is also limited to NSW.

These studies outlined above have all adopted a descriptive rather than explanatory approach to the study of tourism partnerships in protected areas. While they provide useful background material and case studies, which illustrate partnership success, they do not synthesise literature across a wide expanse of disciplines, nor have they identified theoretical constructs that might be used to frame a study of partnerships. There would appear to be a need for the development of a conceptual framework for analysing successful partnerships that goes beyond the scope of the previous studies in this area.

Conclusion

Protected areas and tourism should be addressed by considering sustainability and partnerships appear to play a part in this goal. As De Lacy, Battig, Moore and Noakes (2002, pg. i) note, 'Partnerships are at the core of sustainable development and sustainable tourism'. However, despite the plethora of studies that have looked at tourism in protected areas to date, partnerships remain 'an evolving concept and practice' (Brinkerhoff 2002a, pg. 28). Most of the previously outlined protected area partnership projects are largely atheoretical or are anchored in and draw on a single perspective, typically from a tourism, protected area management, and/or economic standpoint. In contrast to these studies, this literature review and the broader project of which it is a critical part, represents the first effort to provide a broad theoretical base to the study of partnerships, informed by the theoretical underpinnings of a range of different disciplines. These include social exchange theory, social capital and community capacity, stakeholder theory, ADR/EDR conflict resolution, and the institutional analysis and development (IAD) framework. It is therefore a natural progression from the earlier studies highlighted in this Chapter and signifies a unique contribution to partnerships research. As part of a further positioning of this work relative to other research, a process which began in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 of this literature review synthesises research efforts across a variety of fields where the interest has been partnerships. Chapter 3 then moves on to explore potential theoretical contributions. Chapter 4 concludes by providing an analysis of future research opportunities using both identified success factors and those theoretical frameworks which might best inform a study of protected area tourism partnerships.

Chapter 2

UNDERSTANDING PARTNERSHIPS THROUGH RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

The second part of this literature review draws on a broad body of research in order to describe 'successful partnerships' and then the factors that contribute to success. Some of the material that follows draws explicitly on theories described in Chapter 3. However, it is important to note that most of the partnerships literature to date has not drawn upon existing theoretical perspectives. The final Chapter of this review addresses this by comparing the factors identified as instrumental in partnership success in this Chapter 2 with the understandings of partnerships gleaned from the different theoretical contributions outlined in Chapter 3. Before considering partnership success factors however, it is necessary to begin by clarifying the meaning of *success* in this context (Gray 1996).

Defining Successful Partnerships

Many studies that have examined 'successful' partnerships have omitted to define what they mean by these terms and appear to assume that their meaning is self-evident. Others have adopted sometimes divergent definitions of the phrase *partnership success*, mainly focusing either on successful *outcomes* or successful *processes*. These different approaches are discussed below, together with more recent attempts to reconcile the variety of viewpoints and distinguish 'success' in a more holistic fashion.

Process approach

The literature refers to using *process* as a measure of partnership success but generally also refers to the need to look at outcomes as well. In the *Final Report of the UC Davis Watershed Partnerships Project* (2002, pg. 14), the authors conclude that while various impacts or indicators (i.e. physical, economic) are 'ultimate' measures of success, it is important to also consider process-centred issues such as the effect that partnership has on human or social capital of its participants, as a mechanism for 'long-term policy implementation and conflict resolution' (Leach & Pelkey 2001). They note that this approach will be particularly appropriate where the partnership has not been in place for very long or has had its progress thwarted by high levels of internal conflict. Leach and Pelkey (2001) draw attention to the opposing viewpoint, suggesting that from a managerial perspective, following Kenney *et al* (2000), 'capacity building is only an intermediate type of success'. Ultimately however, they take a broad view of partnership success in their study of watershed partnerships, seeing it, like Bramwell and Lane (2000) as essentially falling into two broad categories, covering processes as well as outcomes: 'One type of success is the adoption and/or implementation of watershed plans, projects, or policies, and their eventual impacts on environmental or socioeconomic indicators. Another type of success includes trust building, conflict resolution, satisfying the stakeholders, and strengthening the long-term organizational capacity of the partnership' (pg. 380). Distinguishing process from outcome can sometimes be problematic and Bramwell and Lane (2000, pg. 11) refer to 'indirect benefits … not directly related to the central environmental issue' as a category of success which could overlap *both* outcomes and processes. For example, this third measure of success might include social benefits, such as provision of jobs or improvements in social capacity.

Outcome approach

Success can also be measured in the results or products of the partnership arrangement. Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 136) refer to *outcomes* in their 'indicators' of partnership success and divide them into 'objective indicators' flowing from the process of goal-setting and 'affective measures' (satisfaction with the partner), which occurs 'when partnership expectations have been reached'. The study of tourism partnerships by Buckley and Sommer (2001), while not explicitly defining the term 'successful partnerships,' contains a series of case studies which provide an insight into their thinking, and it can be inferred that success, in this context, also appears to cover a wide variety of *outcomes*, such as:

- conservation outcomes such as reforestation, protection of wildlife, enhanced stewardship across local communities (Mburu & Birner 2007), assistance with research and monitoring programs and protection of land from high-impact activities
- economic outcomes such as providing funding for various conservation or restoration programs or protected area management, financial assistance for local communities and encouraging economic growth in regions without alternative sources of revenue
- social outcomes, such as public education or creation of local jobs

- management outcomes such as business skills development.

    Some specific examples of outcome success are discussed below.

Efficiency/productivity gains

Some of the outcomes of successful partnerships which have been covered in the literature have focused on economic gains such as efficiency or productivity. De Lacy *et al.* (2002, pg. 3), like Buckley and Sommer (2001), do not provide a definition of success in their study of public/private partnerships for sustainable tourism. They do however note the efficiencies inherent in 'a pooling of knowledge, expertise, capital and other resources from various stakeholders', citing Bramwell and Lane (2000), as well as the 'consistency' provided by this framework, and management outcomes such as increased competitive advantage enjoyed by the tourism product, and assisting with 'planning, management, problem solving and change'. These advantages could therefore be characterised as the outcomes of a successful partnership. The efficiency argument is also advanced by Cropper (1996, pg. 86), who concedes that, while 'the anticipation of benefit is uncertain … a sustained commitment of assets to a particular collaborative relationship may enable new and improved productivity' and Huxham (1996a, pg. 3), who notes, 'the practical imperative of avoiding duplication of effort and of ensuring that the efforts of various agencies are coordinated into a coherent and directed whole'. The latter also observes that there is a link between efficiency and the political landscape, arguing that private-public partnerships are often encouraged due to a perception that 'what is seen as private sector managerial 'good practice' will rub off on what are seen as the more inefficient public agencies' (pg. 3).

Social gains: social equity/social capital/empowerment

Others consider social gains as an important outcome of the partnership. De Lacy *et al.* (2002), citing the WTTC/WTO report, *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry* (WTTC 1996), refer to the social equity argument in favour of allowing benefits flowing from tourism to reach all stakeholders. Thus success could be measured by the degree to which this sharing of benefits has taken place in a region or community. This is linked to desired sustainability outcomes, with a wide range of interests being considered, not just economic ones, and the full spectrum of stakeholders invited to become involved in decision-making (Bramwell & Lane 2000). Himmelman (1996, pg. 21) also considers equity within collaboration based on the sharing of power, which he labels as 'a transformation of power relations'. He looks at the outcomes of collaboration along a continuum, with 'collaborative betterment' at one end and 'collaborative empowerment' at the other, and supports the latter as a model which has a number of benefits for society as a whole (pg. 30).

> *'The empowerment approach can produce policy changes and improvements in program delivery and services. It is also more likely to produce long-term ownership of the collaborative's purpose, processes and products in communities and to enhance communities' capacity for self-determination'.*

While Himmelman is concerned with 'collaborative empowerment' as an end in itself, Barr & Huxham (1996) emphasise outcomes which flow from this i.e. the 'practical leverage [that is, on the instrumental value] to be gained from doing so' (Huxham 1996a, pg. 9). This outcome is particularly relevant where indigenous communities or populations are involved in a partnership (Robinson 1999; Fuller, Buultjens & Cummings 2005; Mburu & Birner 2007) which can bridge cultural divides and act as a 'mechanism for achieving a better balance between partners' (Robinson 1999, pg. 390), both in economic and social terms.

Conflict avoidance/minimisation

One measure of success of a partnership is its effect on levels of conflict. Bramwell and Lane (2000), Leach and Pelkey (2001) and De Lacy *et al*. (2002) point to the avoidance of conflict as a positive outcome of a partnership scenario. Imperial (2005) however takes a less dogmatic view, observing that some conflict is in fact a hallmark of a vibrant, democratic society, as it 'promotes a healthy competition of ideas and stimulates policy change and learning' (pg. 311). Sofield (1996, pg. 189) also reports on conflict arising over the development of the Anuha Island Resort in the Solomon Islands. While he details issues resulting from the negative aspects of conflict, he also notes that, 'Paradoxically, however, the conflict between foreign investor and customary owner could be judged as functional because it precipitated a review of tourism policy and foreign investment procedures by two successive Solomon Island governments'.

Stimulation of innovation

Another outcome of a successful partnership, according to Tremblay (2000, pg. 322), is its potential to stimulate innovation. Tremblay argues that 'the interacting participants' inability to reconcile their differences' leads to 'exploration of alternative institutional mechanisms to solve resources conflicts and various development paths for given communities'. Innovation may also flow from other features of partnerships, such as the existence of a champion, flexibility of decision-making and openness to new ideas, which are covered later in this Chapter.[7]

Reconciling the Multiplicity of Approaches to Defining 'Successful Partnerships'

As discussed above, rather than seeing the variety of definitions of partnership success canvassed above as a limitation, there have been attempts to reconcile the differing views. This approach considers process as well as outcomes, but does not seem to argue for precedence of one over the other. Toupal and Johnson (1998), for example, approach this dilemma by combining both quantitative and qualitative measures of 'success' and incorporating 'as many interests as possible in defining partnership success' (pg. 5). Their study uncovered measures of partnership success covering outcomes *as well as* processes, such as:

- dramatic changes in attitudes and management of personal differences/easing of tensions between different interests
- improvements to the natural resource, such as increased wildlife populations, superior water quality and wetland development
- better socioeconomic outcomes and changes in levels of recreational use by visitors
- more efficient use of funds.

Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001) see merit in exploring both process and outcome, with the latter considered important in order to 'produce some viable results' (pg. 591), as does Brinkerhoff (2002). The latter advocates evaluating partnerships based on relationships, which stems from a desire to boost or maximise their contribution to enhancing partnership outcomes. Similarly, Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004) consider both outcome and process measures of success, but note the problems inherent with this approach, given that process factors can sometimes be characterised in the literature as outcomes, such as progress made in 'shared principles, knowledge and understanding' (pg. 311). They conclude that a greater emphasis should be placed on *outcome* success, as little attention has been given to this in the literature to date. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000, pg. xiii) rely on the judgement of the participants in their study as to whether a partnership was successful. 'If an effort was viewed as successful by participants from across the spectrum of involved interests, we took their word for it and worked to understand why they perceived it as a success'.

Poncelet (2004, pg. 6) sees the differing approaches to defining success as flip sides of the same coin. As he observes, 'My focus is directed … toward the *practice* of multi-stakeholder environmental collaboration—i.e. how partnerships play out as a social process … This principal focus on practice does not mean, however, that I am not concerned with how these partnerships turn out … The difference between my approach and the prevailing model is that my analysis starts out by focusing on practice and then moves toward partnership outcomes rather than the other way around'. He notes that people will adopt different practices in 'different social contexts' (pg. 9) and that it is important to take this into account, rather than viewing them in a narrow social vacuum. It will also be important to look at long term as well as short-term measures of success (Blackman, Foster, Hyvonen, Kuilboer & Moscardo, 2004), in order to see the 'big picture'.

Gray (1996) also embraces a more holistic view of 'success,' which considers an amalgam of different outcomes and processes adopted, when evaluating success. To this end, she has developed a matrix that summarises criteria for success based on the design of the collaboration ('expected outcomes' and 'motivating factors') and covers *both* outcome and process (Figure 2). Gray (1996) notes that because different outcomes are sought, 'the criteria for judging the success of each design also will vary' (pg. 59). For example, an expected outcome of *exchange of information*, motivated by advancement of a shared vision or goal leads to what she calls *appreciative planning* (success factors include understanding other's visions/expectations and agreement on the nature of the problem). Alternatively, a desire for this information exchange which is motivated by conflict resolution, leads to the cell labelled *dialogues* (forums for exploring 'solutions to a multi-party conflict') characterised by success factors such as trust development and recognition of the legitimacy of the stakeholders' interests. The other expected outcome is a *joint agreement*. Success factors again differ depending on whether the motivation is based on facilitation of a shared vision or resolving conflict. The former motivation leads to

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[7] Note also the link between innovation and partnership observed by Carson, Macbeth and Jacobsen (2005). The existence of a partnership may itself be an indicator of innovation.

collective strategies ('reaching agreement about how to implement a shared vision') where success is defined by such criteria as whether agreement is reached and the various goals achieved. The motivation based on conflict resolution leads to *negotiated settlements* ('solutions to conflicts among the stakeholders') where the success factors may include reduced negative stakeholder reactions and greater compliance with agreements reached.

EXPECTED OUTCOME

	Exchange of information	Joint agreements
Advancing a shared vision	**APPRECIATIVE PLANNING** • exchange of information about visions and understanding • understanding of others' visions and expectations • fuller comprehension of problem by stakeholders • agreement on problem definition	**COLLECTIVE STRATEGIES** • agreement reached • agreement implemented • survival of alliance • partners' goals achieved • problem alleviated
Resolving conflict	**DIALOGUES** • development of trust • recognition of legitimacy of others' interests • generation of integrative ideas • ongoing interaction • recommendations for action	**NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENTS** • integrative agreement reached • agreement implemented • reduction in negative reactions from constituents • extent of compliance with the agreement

MOTIVATING FACTORS (row label, left of the matrix)

Figure 2: Criteria for Success

(Source: Gray 1996)

Gray's approach provides an attempt to understand in broad terms what constitutes a successful partnership, incorporating both processes and outcomes. It does however narrowly define expected outcomes and motivations behind partnerships and fails to consider other motivations outlined earlier such as a desire for innovation or social equity concerns. This may result in success being defined too narrowly and important success criteria as a result being overlooked. This matrix might however have a role to play as an objective starting point for evaluating success, perhaps allied with a subjective analysis of perceptions of the partners as to whether their partnership has been a success, following the approach of Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000), outlined above.

Factors Contributing to Successful Partnerships

Having discussed what is meant by success, success factors identified in the literature are now explored. A number of empirical studies have considered various factors which affect the success of partnerships, in a range of contexts (Table 3).

Table 3: Summary of literature reviewed for success factors in partnerships

Type of partners involved	Prime focus of partnership(s)	Research approach/method	Cases	Location	Publication
Private partnership—manufacturers and dealers	Personal computer industry	Quantitative survey	124	U.S.A.	Mohr and Spekman (1994)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Literature review of community-based collaboration research	N/A	N/A—refers to studies in the U.K., U.S. and Canada but not all study locations of mentioned	Jamal and Getz (1995)
Public partnerships government agencies); public/non-profit partnerships	Community health/social welfare	Literature review of collaborative ventures/arrangements	N/A	N/A	Cropper (1996)
Public/private partnerships	Environmental, business and social services	Case studies and literature review	4	U.S.A.	Gray (1996)
Public/private partnerships; public partnerships (government agencies); public/non-profit partnerships; communities	Social services	Literature review of collaborative ventures/arrangements	N/A	U.S.A.	Himmelman (1996)
Public/private partnerships; public partnerships (government)	General partnership discussion	Editorial, summarising literature	N/A	N/A	Huxham (1996a); Huxham (1996b)
Public/private partnerships; communities	Conservation	Literature review and case studies	3 case studies	U.S.A.	Toupal and Johnson (1998)
Public/private/ communities (landowners/ environmentalists) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Watershed management	Quantitative survey	221	U.S.A.	McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999)
Public/private partnerships; public partnerships (government agencies); public/non-profit partnerships (NGOs); community partnerships	Tourism	Case studies	2	Europe	Roberts and Simpson (1999)
Public/private partnership; public partnership (government agencies); community partnership	Tourism	Case study	1	U.K.	Bramwell and Sharman (1999)

Type of partners involved	Prime focus of partnership(s)	Research approach/method	Cases	Location	Publication
Public/private partnership; community partnership	Tourism	Case study	1	U.K.	Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999)
Public/private partnership	Tourism	Case study	1	U.K.	Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
Private partnerships (contractor/client)	Building/ engineering project partnerships	Case studies	6	U.K.	Bresnen and Marshall (2000)
Public/private partnerships; community partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Tourism	Introduction to edited book of papers on partnerships	N/A	U.S.A, Canada; U.K., Bulgaria, Bonaire	Bramwell and Lane (2000)
Public/private partnerships; community partnerships	Natural resource management	Quantitative surveys and case studies	Number of data sets including 35 cases, 20 cases, 13 cases 105 sites, 10 cases	U.S.A.	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case study	18	Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Tanzania, Belize, Philippines	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
Public/ private partnerships; community (landowner) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Watershed management	Literature review of publications based on empirical studies	37	U.S.A.	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
Public/private partnerships; community (landowner) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Nature resource management	Quantitative survey	276	U.S.A.	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001)
Public/private partnerships; public/community partnerships	Protected areas	Case studies	21	U.S.A. and Canada	Rogers (2002)
N/A—conceptual discussion	General partnership discussion	Literature review of empirical studies	N/A	N/A	Brinkerhoff (2002b)
Public partnership (trans-border)	Tourism	Case study	1	Ireland	Greer (2002)

Type of partners involved	Prime focus of partnership(s)	Research approach/method	Cases	Location	Publication
Public partnership (government)	Tourism/regional development	Case study (interviews and survey)	1 (note: 29 participants interviewed/surveyed)	Brazil	De Araujo and Bramwell (2002)
N/A—conceptual discussion	Health/social services	Literature review of peer-reviewed publications.	36	U.K.	Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004)
Public/private partnership; Public partnership (government)	Tourism	Case study	1	Australia	Chadwick (2004)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case study	N/A	Australia	Charters and Smith (2004)
Public/private partnerships; NGOs (non-profit sector); public partnerships (government)	Multi-stakeholder environmental partnerships	Case studies	4	Europe & USA	Poncelet (2004)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case studies	18	Australia	Steffen (2004)
Public/community partnerships	Natural resource management	Case study	1	India	Kumar and Vashisht (2005)
Public/private partnerships; community (landowners) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Watershed management	Qualitative interviews and analysis of documents/archival records	6	U.S.A.	Imperial (2005)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case study	18	Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Tanzania, Belize, Philippines	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
Public/ private partnerships; community (landowner) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Watershed management	Literature review of publications based on empirical studies	37	U.S.A.	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
Public/private partnerships; community (landowner) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Nature resource management	Quantitative survey	276	U.S.A.	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001)

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Public/private partnerships; public/community partnerships	Protected areas	Case studies	21	U.S.A. and Canada	Rogers (2002)
N/A—conceptual discussion	General partnership discussion	Literature review of empirical studies	N/A	N/A	Brinkerhoff (2002b)
Public partnership (trans-border)	Tourism	Case study	1	Ireland	Greer (2002)
Public partnership (government)	Tourism/regional development	Case study (interviews and survey)	1 (note: 29 participants interviewed/surveyed)	Brazil	De Araujo and Bramwell (2002)
N/A—conceptual discussion	Health/social services	Literature review of peer-reviewed publications.	36	U.K.	Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004)
Public/private partnership; Public partnership (government)	Tourism	Case study	1	Australia	Chadwick (2004)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case study	N/A	Australia	Charters and Smith (2004)
Public/private partnerships; NGOs (non-profit sector); public partnerships (government)	Multi-stakeholder environmental partnerships	Case studies	4	Europe & USA	Poncelet (2004)
Public/private partnerships	Tourism	Case studies	18	Australia	Steffen (2004)
Public/community partnerships	Natural resource management	Case study	1	India	Kumar and Vashisht (2005)
Private/community partnership	Indigenous tourism	Case study	1	Australia	Fuller, Buultjens and Cummings (2005)
Public/community (landowners) partnerships	Indigenous tourism	Case studies	4	Kenya	Mburu and Birner (2007)
Public/private partnerships; community (landowners) partnerships; public partnerships (government)	Watershed management	Qualitative interviews and analysis of documents/archival records	6	U.S.A.	Imperial (2005)

These factors could have been organised and presented in a number of different ways. Leach and Pelkey (2001), for example, provides one approach where factor analysis produced four factors within which themes were grouped—resources and scope, flexibility and informality, alternative dispute resolution and institutional analysis and development.[8] In this report, we have chosen to use Gail Bingham's (1986) approach, developed for environmental dispute resolution (EDR) but which can be broadened out to a study of partnerships involving tourism in protected areas. In the tables (Tables 4–7) and associated description that follow, her work is however modified to enable inclusion of the additional factors influencing partnerships but not necessary for successful dispute resolution. Conversely, some of Bingham's factors have not been included because of their irrelevance to an analysis of partnerships. The Bingham approach was preferred as a means of structuring an analysis of success factors in this literature review because of its widespread recognition in EDR and the extensive overlap between its features and those of partnerships.[9] The two areas also seem to share common theoretical roots, such as strong links to social capital.[10]

Bingham (1986) identifies a number of possible factors in reaching agreements in environmental disputes and has grouped them as being party-related, process-related, context-related or substance-related. Following this approach, success factors relating to partnerships evident from reviewing the literature have been grouped according to these headings or categories in this literature review, although substance-related factors were not identified or were more appropriately subsumed under the 'process-related' grouping. Bingham herself notes that a factor may just as readily reside within one category or grouping as another i.e. trust could be located within partner-related or process-related factors. In addition, no single factor results in success or failure, although the interaction between factors remains poorly understood.

It is also important to understand that not all of the success factors identified are easily measurable and that it is important not to lose sight of the 'less tangible factors which are nonetheless crucial to the continued existence and further development of partnerships' (Roberts & Simpson 1999, pg. 327). They go on to observe (pg. 328) that there can be a tendency for the 'most easily measured criteria' to be 'the most commonly used in established monitoring and evaluation processes and contribute a great deal to the popular and politically perceived success or failure of a partnership', rather than delving deeper. In this review of the literature, we attempt to look at a broad range of factors, some of which are neither simple nor straightforward concepts to measure.

Partner-Related Factors

This first group of factors focuses on the characteristics of the partners themselves i.e. whether all affected interests have been included in the partnership, how many partners are involved, what type of partners they are (government, non-government, industry, environmentalists) and whether the 'decision makers' are involved in the partnership. Bingham (1986) couched this slightly differently by referring to the characteristics of individuals involved in dispute resolution, rather than considering them as partners. The literature on partnerships, interestingly, has paid scant attention to these more 'personal' attributes of partners and their influence on successful partnering. Covered under this category are factors such as leadership, empathy, innovation, power, participation and membership (Table 4).

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[8] The latter two are theoretical frameworks which are discussed in more depth in Chapter 3.
[9] See Chapter 3 on EDR and its potential contribution to a study of partnerships.
[10] Social capital theory is also discussed as a theoretical framework which may assist a study of partnerships in Chapter 3.

Table 4: Partner-related success factors in partnerships identified in the literature (after Bingham 1986)

Partner-Related Factors		
Theme	**Success factor**	**References**
Leadership	Leadership	Toupal and Johnson (1998); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004); Leach and Pelkey (2001) Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Agencies encourage staff participation	Leach and Pelkey (2001); Poncelet (2004)
	Local, bottom-up leadership	
	Effective coordinator or facilitator	
	Appointment of legitimate convenor to initiate and facilitate collaboration	Jamal and Getz (1995)
	Partnership champions	Brinkerhoff (2002b)
Empathy toward partner	Encourage/respect diversity of values and beliefs	Himmelman (1996); Charters and Smith (2004)
	Recognition of different goals and desire to use the partnership to help each party meet these goals	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Recognition of differing legal, social, economic and environmental constraints of the parties	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Value each party's contributions to partnership	Charters and Smith (2004)
	Understand/account for and represent different perspectives/expectations	McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999); Steffen (2004)
	Attend to socio-historic influences	Poncelet (2004)
Presence of innovation/ openness to change	Focus on the problem in new and different ways	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
	Engage in planned change/support change agents	Himmelman (1996)
	Open to new ideas/willingness to adapt	Brinkerhoff (2002b); Steffen (2004)
	Adaptive decision-making	McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999)
Distribution or balance of power	Balance of power between stakeholders	Roberts and Simpson (1999)
	Promote 'meaningful' shared power to achieve common purposes	Himmelman (1996)
	Capacity building	Himmelman (1996); Rogers (2002); Fuller, Buultjens and Cummings (2005)
	Empowerment	Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999); Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
	Tolerance for sharing power	Brinkerhoff (2002b)
	Acceptance of power arrangements	De Araujo and Branwell (2002)
Participation by stakeholders	Joint planning and goal setting	Mohr and Spekman (1994)
	Joint problem solving	Mohr and Spekman (1994)
	Voluntary participation	Buckley and Sommer (2001); Charters and Smith (2004)
	Active participation	Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Charters and Smith (2004)
Parties/ members/ composition of membership	Agency staff support and participation	Leach and Pelkey (2001); Beierle and Konisky (2000)
	Broad or inclusive membership/appropriate cross-section of members/representation by all affected parties	Huxham (1996b); Toupal and Johnson (1998); McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999); Bramwell and Lane (2000); Leach and Pelkey (2001); Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001); Rogers (2002)
	Inclusion of key stakeholder groups	Jamal and Getz (1995)
	Open and extensive community involvement	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Absence of one or more dominating partners	Brinkerhoff (2002b)
	Partner compatibility	Brinkerhoff (2002b)

Leadership

While leadership is seen as a success factor (Leach & Pelkey 2001), it has been noted that partnerships which are too firmly dependent on relationships with particular individuals or leaders can be doomed to failure when those parties leave the partnership i.e. due to staff turnover (Imperial 2005) or when key people in the community involved in the partnership move away from the area or decide to opt out. One way to alleviate this potential problem, according to Imperial, is to 'institutionalize shared policies and norms' (pg. 299). While noting that a 'skilled facilitator and/or coordinator' is an important step for a partnership, Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 383) also advocate leadership from the ground up, 'bringing local knowledge to bear on technical matters, and to make the process credible in the eyes of local stakeholders who will be responsible for the implementation'. It may also help to rectify power imbalances. This strategy however should be allied with agency support and expertise. Beierle and Konisky (2000, pg. 599) identify the importance of leadership from the lead agency in participatory environmental planning, with their findings suggesting that 'the quality of communication between participants and an agency, commitment and even the quality of the internal participatory process are all affected by agency decisions and support'. The importance of managing the variety of interests of different stakeholders and ensuring participation could be addressed using stakeholder theory, discussed in Chapter 3.

Poncelet (2004) sees merit in seeking a third-party facilitator, to help stakeholders to achieve successful partnership outcomes, where expertise to do so is lacking. For example, they may be able to encourage empathy, clarify misunderstandings, manage conflict and support personal transformations and innovation as a change agent. Brinkerhoff (2002b) addresses the concept of a 'partnership champion' whose existence and skills in communication, negotiation and organization, may prove be a factor in success. 'Champions are entrepreneurial individuals who advocate on behalf of the partnership and the partnership approach within their home organizations, within the partnership as a whole, and externally' (pgs. 220–223). The champion must be perceived to have legitimacy to act in this capacity by other partners and stakeholders, in order to be effective (Brinkerhoff 2002b). The existence of a champion is an element of theory dealing with diffusion and adoption of innovations (see Chapter 3).

Empathy toward partner

Success factors centred on empathy involve respecting differences between partners and agreeing to disagree in some instances (Imperial 2005). Steffen (2004, pg. 63) sees recognition of different perspectives as the stepping stone towards 'achieving a common language'. Partners need not necessarily share the same values but should at least value or respect these differences. Charters and Smith (2004, pg. 163), for example, refer to the Cairns Charter on Partnerships in Ecotourism which defines successful ecotourism partnerships as involving 'respect [for] each partner's aspirations … and operational requirements, including respect for social and cultural values'[11] as well as '[valuing] each party's contribution to the partnership'. Buckley and Sommer (2001) also refer to the importance of recognising different goals and a mutual understanding that partners may operate under 'very different legal, social, economic and environmental constraints' (pg. 32). Partnership arrangements thus 'need to recognise both sets of constraints if they are to be successful'.

Poncelet (2004, pg. 184) also refers to empathy when he notes the need for efforts to be made to understand 'sociohistoric differences' between partners as they can lead to 'misunderstandings, miscommunication, and indeed conflict among diverse participants', if not addressed. This involves understanding personal biases, sensitivity as to how other partners might perceive them, and 'where room for potential change exists', which Poncelet labels 'personal transformation' (pg. 184). He sees a link between this attempt to understand and celebrate differences and innovation, in that through seeing the world 'in varying ways … novel, creative ideas can emerge' (pg. 185).

Presence of innovation/openness to change

While stability may have a role to play in a successful partnership, it is also important to demonstrate a responsive approach to changing conditions and openness to adaptation (Imperial 2005, pg. 307). 'Too much stability can create its own particular set of organizational problems'. Partnerships necessarily involve and indeed require innovation, according to Gray (1996, pg. 58), as a means of dealing with dynamic and turbulent situations. 'In most cases, creative solutions are needed that exceed the limited perspectives of each individual stakeholder'. Cropper (1996, pg. 89) refers to collaboration as an 'innovatory, tactical mode of working' and highlights its potential for responsiveness and adaptability to changes in circumstances, as does Steffen (2004, pg. 68) who advocates park planning systems that are 'open to new ideas and products in order to encourage opportunities for innovation'. Imperial (2005, pg. 310) links innovation with the partnership or network structure

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[11] See also McGinnis, Wooley and Gamman (1999) on sustaining cultural values within the collaborative decision-making process.

which connects 'socially dissimilar individuals and organizations', thus accelerating 'the diffusion of new ideas and practices'.[12]

Success factors associated with innovation include 'creating adaptive decision making', flexibility and allowances made for 'experimentation' so as to adapt to change (McGinnis, Woolley & Gamman 1999, pg. 4). Brinkerhoff (2002b) also notes that willingness to change in order to meet the needs of the partnership has been found to be a success factor, involving flexibility, 'responsiveness' to 'unforseen' circumstances and openness to new solutions. Innovation may also act on a psychological level to encourage involvement, as once individuals commit to something new and become 'engaged, they tend to hang together in part to rationalize their past involvement' (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000, pg. 189).

Distribution or balance of power

In tourism partnerships, an imbalance of power may occur which has ramifications for success. Himmelman (1996, pg. 22) defines power in a collaborative context, not 'in terms of dominance', but as the 'capacity to produce intended results'. This definition of power is related to feminist theories that describe power in terms of 'capacity, competence and energy in contrast to traditional (masculine) views of power …' He advocates collaborative strategies which look not just to 'strengthening community-based power', but which also address changes to or transformation of 'institutionalized power'. Roberts and Simpson (1999, pg. 328) also identify the balance of power between stakeholders[13] as a factor influencing the success of tourism partnerships. 'Successful partnerships are based on a legitimacy of power where the authority of a particular partner is accepted by all other groups as representative of joint interests'. Others seek to address power differentials, with Reed (1999, pg. 337) advocating identification of shared values through provision of multiple models or scenarios, so that 'assumptions and values of less powerful stakeholders' are put forward for consideration.

Power is linked to capacity building (Himmelman 1996), with the latter assisting to redress power imbalances (Rogers 2002)[14] through greater self-determination. These power imbalances are often the result of lopsided control over resources, according to Brinkerhoff (2002b, pgs. 224–225), which can then lead to inequality of decision making, 'whether because the more powerful partner takes charge, or, more subtly, because the less powerful partners defer to that partner's wishes so as not to jeopardize future resource flows'. De Araujo and Bramwell (2002) explore a similar phenomenon, linking the acceptance of power in the context of a partnership for regional tourism development in Brazil to the provision of incentives. 'Acceptance of the [government] taking a strong lead may have been encouraged by awareness that it had been entrusted to make decisions about the allocation of substantial financial resources' (pg. 1152). Brinkerhoff (2002b, pg. 224) also notes that a lack of conflict or the existence of consensus may in fact be symptomatic of a 'deeply ingrained power play'. She recognises the difficulty of uncovering and interpreting this sort of situation in many instances, but still sees it as a 'caveat worth noting in reviewing the extent to which partners are maintaining their own identity within the partnership' (pg. 224). Capacity building has also been considered within an Australian indigenous context, with micro businesses requiring assistance from partners to develop skills linked to marketing and employee training (Fuller, Buultjens & Cummings 2005). This building of community capacity may have flow-on effects on the future power differentials between public sector partners and these indigenous businesses but their immediate benefit lies in making the business commercially viable (Fuller *et. al.* 2005).

Actively involving various stakeholders in the partnership process can build enthusiasm (Augustyn & Knowles 2000) and thus potentially lead to greater commitment and loyalty. Limiting participation to an elite few conversely may lead some of the partners to feel disenfranchised, leading to a loss of motivation or enthusiasm for the partnership goals and weaker commitment. De Araujo and Bramwell (2002) also acknowledge that greater opportunities for consultation/participation might play a part in acceptance of the power status quo. 'Most of the partners broadly accepted the strong lead taken by the [government] in the decision-making process. Their acceptance was probably encouraged by the [government] having consulted more widely than was common practice when they refined the policy agenda recommended by the state government's consultants' (pg. 1152). Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999, pg. 247) however observe that participation is not of itself 'intrinsically empowering' and may be used to deliver top-down messages ('to inform and persuade') rather than as a means of encouraging true interaction (bottom-up approach).

Empowerment may be a slow process, particularly if the more powerful party must overcome mistrust 'of those who they initially excluded' (Himmelman 1996, pg. 31). This nexus between power and trust may have

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[12] See Chapter 3 on adoption and diffusion of innovations, which might provide a theoretical underpinning for examining innovation as a success factor in partnerships.
[13] This may support the use of stakeholder theory in identifying the role played by power in partnerships (see Chapter 3).
[14] Community capacity theory might be useful here in exploring ways of empowering some members of the partnership (see Chapter 3).

particular relevance in an Australian context to indigenous groups or communities, who may be somewhat cynical about moves towards greater participation in decision-making and attempts at power sharing. Robinson (1999, pg. 393) sees partnerships as a vehicle for 'bridging cultural disparities and different paradigms', but notes that this collaboration must be built upon a 'foundation of equity', with *consent* sought from the indigenous partner, which might in some cases lead to 'the right to say no' to certain types of development, including tourism.

Participation by stakeholders

Participation, according to Mohr and Spekman (1994 pg. 139), 'refers to the extent to which partners engage jointly in planning and goal setting'. Others view it as a function of a diversity of stakeholder involvement.[15] For example, Huxham (1996b) cites Mattessich and Monsey (1992) as supporting the view that 'having an appropriate cross-section of members' is the 'most frequently cited success factor' for collaboration. McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999, pg. 4) also refer to representation/participation of 'all of the agencies, groups and individuals with a stake in the outcome', while Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 383) found that a 'broad-based membership and inclusive membership rules' were factors in a successful partnership. Finn (1996) suggests categorising stakeholders as 'internal' and external,' with only the former being invited to directly take part in the collaboration or partnership. As Huxham (1996b) observes, not all stakeholders will be able to fully participate in the collaboration, but there might be value in involvement in certain activities or stages of the collaboration (De Jong, 1996). Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) advocate involving stakeholders as early and often as possible in the process, which they suggest is likely to produce better decision-making and greater satisfaction in the outcomes reached.

Participation can also be linked to power balances (see previous discussion), with Bramwell and Lane (2000, pg. 10), following Bramwell and Sharman (1999), observing that in 'ideal circumstances, there should be a balance between those with power, perhaps through their financial resources or regulatory authority, and those with limited power'. Public participation has been classified based on gradations of power in Arnstein's (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation*, which Ross, Buchy and Proctor (2002) have adapted into a typology of public participation (Figure 3).

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[15] Stakeholders are considered in more detail in Chapter 3 (section on stakeholder theory) but can be distinguished from a partner in that the latter is a subset of the former. Stakeholders include those directly as well as indirectly affected by tourism opportunities or activities (Newsome, Moore and Dowling 2002).

Characteristics

Individual management (no participation)	Private ownership (or leasehold) and management. Usually managed primarily to meet owners' economic needs.
Community-based management	Land or a resource is owned and managed collectively, with or without any government/industry financial support. Participants' identities are usually fixed by their connection with the resource. Management may be for commercial or other needs.
Community collective activity	Voluntary, few or loose stipulations on membership. May have government financial or in-kind support. Often activity-based (emphasising on-ground works). Works across private or public land or tenure combinations. Ongoing (indeterminate) timelines.
Organised interest groups	Formed to advance a specific set of interests. May be organised into peak bodies.
Composite stakeholder bodies (Regional planning bodies, devolved self-management schemes)	Management structure deliberately composed of agency, industry, and community-based stakeholders to coordinate or influence planning or management over a defined area which is not under the direct control of any one of the parties.
Shared management (including planning within management)	Formally agreed management partnership over defined land or a resource under direct control of the parties. Clear partners (usually a limited number). Ideal of equality between partners (not always realised). Usually uses representatives at senior decision-making level. Long duration, with or without an end date.
Stakeholder-based planning or negotiation	Formally-identified stakeholders (often a large number) plan or negotiate on a single issue. Ideal of equality among stakeholders (may not succeed). Usually finite time frame. Can lead to an ongoing management role.
Consultation	Public is consulted directly (approached) or has opportunity to comment on a decision, plans, proposals or management that remain the province of government or a business to decide. Communication is two-way, with intention to shape the decision according to input. Timeline usually finite, can be quite tight.

Figure 3: Participatory approaches to Australian natural resource management

(Source: Ross *et al.* 2002)

This typology looks at more than just power sharing, although they agree that it has a part to play in the process. For example, they note that consultation typically involves power over decision-making remaining with one party 'power with officials', as opposed to a shared decision giving people some measure of control over their lives (Macbeth 1994, 1996, 2005).[16] Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999, pg. 268) provide an illustrative example of the former, describing a partnership where the council sets the agenda and seeks to manage community participation 'in order that their power to act remains as unfettered as before or enhanced'.

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[16] Ross *et al.* (2002, pg. 205) make clear however that there is no 'hierarchy of desirability' and that each participatory type they identify has its own particular 'strengths and weaknesses … there is considerable variation within each type, and actual processes may combine aspects of more than one type, and be conducted more or less well' (pg. 216). Rather than seeing them as 'magical recipes', they need to be applied flexibly based on the context.

The typology in Figure 3 also considers:

- differences in agency (recognizing which party carries the initiative in the process)
- tenure (control over the resources)
- nature of participants
- the nature of the task
- duration of the participatory activity.

Mitchell and Eagles (2001) have also noted the utility of this 'ladder' as a way of measuring local participation of a given community in tourism, together with Pretty's (1995) *Typology of Participation*, which provides seven levels of participation based on community involvement. According to Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), 'This much discussed metaphor [ladder] distinguished between different degrees of participation—from manipulation through consultation and partnership to full citizen control (the highest rung); the number of rungs in the ladder varies according to source'. It has been criticised on a number of fronts, including its implied assumption that the higher levels of the ladder are desirable to all communities (Bahaire & Elliott-White 1999). Mitchell and Eagles (2001, pg. 6) also point out that while these typologies might be a useful representation of community involvement, 'it may be difficult to accurately place a community through empirical means'. Other factors might also obfuscate analysis of participation using these typologies, such as the existence of local power bases or government policies which impact upon participation. They therefore recommend an examination of socioeconomic factors that 'may better facilitate portrayal of integration levels in tourism decision-making participation', such as community integration in planning and administration and social benefits and economic benefits linked to participation (Mitchell & Eagles 2001, pg. 6). Thus context-related factors such as administrative setting and the legislative framework might play a part in an analysis of participation within a partnership (see Table 6 and associated discussion).

Parties/members/composition of partnership

The composition of a partnership, in the sense of its membership, has also been identified as a success factor. Brinkerhoff (2002b, pg. 224) refers to the importance of 'compatibility' between the partners, which may be influenced in part by previous experience and what they 'know and understand of each other's mission, track record, operations and constraints in advance of the partnership'. The absence of dominating partners may also be important (Brinkerhoff 2002b) as this may reduce the incidence of conflict or the likelihood of power imbalances. Some of the literature however supports the involvement of ostensibly powerful players such as agency staff (Leach & Pelkey 2001; Beierle & Konisky 2000) as this may assist in the supplying of 'technical expertise or information' (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 383) as well as ensuring that all key stakeholders are represented within the partnership (Huxham 1996b; Toupal & Johnson 1998; McGinnis, Woolley & Gamman 1999; Bramwell & Lane 2000; Leach & Pelkey 2001; Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001; Rogers 2002). Agency involvement in the partnership may also restore a level of trust in the types of decisions that the agency might ultimately make (Beierle & Konisky 2000). Schuett, Selin & Carr (2001, pg. 591) also found that the support of 'leaders, key officials and management, if applicable' was necessary to facilitate the process of collaboration.

'Open and extensive community involvement' is another success factor linked to partnership composition (Buckley & Sommer 2001, pg. 31). Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) refer to the need for community involvement as a means of building trust, as well as the 'civility needed to move forward' (pg. 9). It may also help to build social capital.[17] Communities need not necessarily be tied to 'physical space' (pg. 16), but may include 'communities of identity' linked by 'social characteristics' and 'communities of interest' linked by common benefits or costs.

Process-Related Factors

Process-related factors have been identified as essential by across a wide body of research and relate to the way the partnership is managed or operated. Included in this category are well-known and widely-reported factors such as trust, commitment and open communication (Table 5). Others include interdependence, adequacy of the process, having a structured yet flexible process, being able to deal with conflict and working to achieve consensus.

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[17] See Chapter 3 on social capital theory.

Table 5: Process-related success factors in partnerships identified in the literature (after Bingham 1986)

Process Related Factors		
Theme	**Success factor**	**References**
Scope of partnership	Scope of activities: limited or focused Appropriate geographic scope Developing a sense of place or community/local focus	Leach and Pelkey (2001) Leach and Pelkey (2001) Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
Shared vision/purpose	Common vision	Himmelman (1996); Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004); Imperial (2005)
	Shared policies/social norms	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Imperial (2005)
	Explicit statement of shared or common purpose Common goals established Specific purpose and goal	Cropper (1996) Toupal and Johnson (1998) Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001); Brinkerhoff (2002b)
Commitment	Cooperative and committed participants	Leach and Pelkey (2001); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004)
	Commitment to the collaborative process Lived up to commitments Commitment to collaborate, share knowledge and adapt individual goals and objectives for good of partnership	Mohr and Spekman (1994); McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999) Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) Charters and Smith (2004)
	Intensity of relations	Bramwell and Sharman (1999); Bramwell and Lane (2000)
	Desire for achievement	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001)
Interdependence*	Recognition of a high degree of interdependence in planning and managing the domain/project	Jamal and Getz (1995); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004)
	Lack of availability of potential alternative partners	Cropper (1996)
Trust	Trust	Mohr and Spekman (1994); Himmelman (1996); Toupal and Johnson (1998); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Leach and Pelkey (2001); Brinkerhoff (2002b); Rogers (2002); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004); Imperial (2005)
	Trust and sincerity Trust, respect and honesty Shared problems/fears Perception that decisions will be implemented	Roberts and Simpson (1999) Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001) Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) Jamal and Getz (1995)

Adequacy of process/ transparency of process	Expert preparation	Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
	Familiarity with process/process skills	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
	Right underlying objectives	Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
	Training in collaborative processes	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Build on common ground	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
	Coordination of tasks/actions	Mohr and Spekman (1994); Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
	Develop frameworks/internal processes within which advocacy efforts can emerge with support of as many partners as possible	Himmelman (1996)
	Awareness of the critical process issues and adequate addressing of these issues	Gray (1996)
	Realistic expectations about processes/outcomes	Poncelet (2004)
	Accountability for performance	Rogers (2002)
	Monitoring, assessment, audits, evaluation and assessment of achievements	Leach and Pelkey (2001); Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001); Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004)
	Transparent planning/negotiation process	Rogers (2002); Charters and Smith (2004); Steffen (2004)
Structured process	Formulation of aims and objectives	Jamal and Getz (1995)
	Well-defined decision or process rules	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Regular scheduled meetings	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001)
Flexibility	Freedom of negotiation/Flexibility in negotiating conditions	Buckley and Sommer (2001); Steffen (2004)
	Flexible/informal operating rules/management	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Leach and Pelkey (2001); Toupal and Johnson (1998)
	Flexible planning/negotiation process	Rogers (2002); Charters and Smith (2004); Steffen (2004)
Open internal communication	Effective/quality communication, data sharing	Mohr and Spekman (1994); Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Regular, clear and open communication strategies	Charters and Smith (2004)
	Clear and consistent communication	Toupal and Johnson (1998)
	Atmosphere that allows interpersonal communication	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001)
Information quality and quantity	Adequate scientific & technical information	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Accurate and publicly-available information	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Information sharing/exchange	Mohr and Spekman (1994); Augustyn and Knowles (2000); Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001); Imperial (2005)
	Equal access to information	McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999)
Dealing with conflict	Low or medium levels of conflict	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Conflict resolution training	Himmelman (1996)
	Avoid smoothing over problems and/or destructive resolution tactics (confrontation/domination)	Mohr and Spekman (1994)
	Conflict management behaviours promoted and adopted	Poncelet (2004)
	Extent of conflict avoidance	Brinkerhoff (2002)
Consensus	Consensus decision-making	Toupal and Johnson (1998); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Feedback systems	Steffen (2004)
	Extent to which there is initial agreement	Bramwell and Lane (2000)

* Interdependence was not found to be a predictor of partnership success according to Mohr and Spekman (1994).

Scope of partnership

Leach and Pelkey (2001) have found support through their literature review for the existence of an appropriate geographic scope, which needs to be broad enough to encompass relevant 'ecological or political' factors, but not being so large as to make the partnership 'unwieldy', with too many issues to deal with and too great a distance to be covered or managed. Creating a strong sense of place or identity through a local focus can form a foundation for a more successful partnership, through interdependence and the greater likelihood of shared norms and values (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000). Local interactions are also necessary to build social capital (see Chapter 3). Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) however point out that identity is not necessarily based on geography and communities of identities or interests unconnected with a locale or place may also help to form a successful partnership (see Table 4 and discussion on partnership composition).

Shared vision/purpose

The extent to which 'aims and visions are shared' is a success factor for partnerships according to Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004, pg. 313). Cropper (1996) also discusses the benefits of a clearly expressed, explicit statement of purpose, which is both a 'statement of identity for collaborative organizations, helping to clarify boundaries and commitments' and a 'control against drift' and which can be used as a reference point when dealing with external parties. For Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999), the existence of a vision statement gives 'clarity and purpose' to the partnership process. Imperial (2005, pg. 298) also notes the benefits of 'shared policies and social norms' and how a common vision can be a powerful motivator. These mechanisms can also be used to enforce an agreement. Toupal and Johnson (1998) have found that establishment of common goals, rather than just a common vision; can be a success factor for conservation partnerships.

Commitment

Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 137) define commitment as a willingness 'to exert effort on behalf of the relationship … a future orientation in which partners attempt to build a relationship that can weather unanticipated problems'. Commitment may be a function of the intensity of a partnership relationship and measured by the frequency of involvement in activities (Bramwell & Sharman 1999; Bramwell & Lane 2000), the extent to which power differentials exist and the openness of dialogue between the parties, respect and empathy for 'other's interests, systems of meaning and attitudes' (Bramwell & Lane 2000, pg. 10) and development of trust. Dowling, Powell & Glendinning (2004) also refer to the importance of levels of engagement and commitment demonstrated by the parties.

Allied to commitment is a desire or determination by the partners to achieve success. Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001, pg. 590) note that all the respondents in their study 'were outcome-oriented, with a desire for some specific achievement to occur from the collaborative initiative'. This led to a need for evaluation of progress and acknowledgment of successes occurring throughout the partnership.

Interdependence

Interdependence is defined by Bramwell and Lane (2000) as interaction based on 'the distribution of resources between various actors, the goals they pursue and their perceptions of their resource dependencies' (pg. 5). Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 138) hypothesised that interdependence, which they note 'flows directly from an exchange paradigm' [18] might be a success factor for partnerships, given the potential synergies involved. Their research however did not find interdependence to be an indicator of success; although they conceded that this finding might be due to the measure they used and acknowledging that it might include 'issues of magnitude as well as symmetry' (pg. 147). In other words, some dependence created by a partnership might be deeper and more intertwined. Imperial (2005, pg. 303) however saw partners 'gain a greater appreciation of their interdependence' through their 'repeated interactions' and sees this as a positive outcome, improving decision-making due to the parties feeling that problems are 'shared' and facilitating new perspectives on those problems. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) and Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004) also refer to the existence of interdependence as a process success factor, based on their review of the literature, particularly where geographic isolation is involved (Wondolleck & Yaffee, 2000). Cropper (1994) considered both vertical and horizontal interdependence centred on resources. 'An exchange relationship may deepen to lock partners into a long-term relationship—for example, where exchange eventually involves a variety of resources, that package of resources may not be obtainable from any other potential partner' (Cropper 1996, pg. 87). It might also be relevant to look at the availability of substitute/alternative partners. If they do not exist, this might also foster interdependence of the parties, if only through necessity rather than choice.

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[18] This suggests that social exchange theory might be a useful tool for analysing the role of interdependence in partnership success (see Chapter 3).

Trust

Many studies identified trust as a key success factor for partnerships. As Roberts and Simpson (1999, pg. 328) note, 'Successful collaboration can exist, for example, without measurable targets, but it will fail completely without trust and sincerity'. Mohr and Spekman (1994) define 'trust' as 'the belief that a party's word is reliable and that a party will fulfil its obligation in an exchange' (pg. 138) and they cite literature which supports the view that feelings of trust help to lessen a partner's fear of 'opportunistic behaviour' (pg. 146). Sharing problems or fears can break down barriers and allow partners to work together more effectively (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000). Some see trust as having a role to play in economic outcomes, with Imperial (2005, pg. 304) noting that trust 'lowers transaction costs by promoting smooth and efficient resource exchanges'. It has been noted that trust can be a difficult factor to assess, given its intangibility and dynamism (Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001), yet its centrality as a factor in successful partnerships appears to be consistent across the literature.

Cropper (1996, pg. 96) notes that 'reliance on tacit agreement and trust is inevitable, since 'contracts' cannot specify all contingencies' and reinforces the strength trust brings to a collaboration, with his comment, 'Explicit ground rules cannot substitute for trust which results from shared experience of expectations met'. Trust appears to be a factor which takes time to develop and thus might require some written ground rules at least at the beginning of a partnership, 'to promote a sense of inclusion, of predictability or dependability, and of unequivocality in relationships', which Cropper argues are prerequisites for 'continuing motivation and commitment' (pg. 96). Trust can be eroded through negative experiences, and Imperial (2005) argues for a preference for low-risk strategies with a high likelihood of success in the early stages of a partnership, to give the partners time to develop trust. Erosion of trust is also more likely where a partnership is focused heavily on individuals, who may leave a partnership (Imperial 2005), a problem which can be minimised by institutionalizing agreements as much as possible. Leach and Pelkey (2001) identify several precursors for trust to develop—'neutral facilitators, clear process rules and unimpaired sharing of data and information' (pg. 383). There are also lessons to be learned in trying to 'buy' trust, with Bresnen and Marshall (2000) arguing that incentive systems may 'symbolize the lack of trust and long-term commitment underpinning the relationship' (pg. 595).

Adequacy of process/transparency of process

A number of success factors link to the efficacy of processes adopted by the partnership. Examples include coordination of tasks and actions (Mohr and Spekman 1994), regular scheduled meetings to keep proceedings on track (Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001), promotion of change or 'personal transformation' through stakeholder processes (Poncelet 2004) and monitoring, evaluation and audits of the partnership through its lifecycle (Dowling, Powell & Glendinning 2004; Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001; Leach & Pelkey 2001). While some called for formalization of shared policies, rules and practices (Imperial 2005) or formal aims and objectives (Jamal & Getz 1995) and identified 'well-defined process rules' as a success factor (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 383), the latter also found that flexibility had its merits. 'A partnership's strength lies in its ability to provide a flexible, informal and relatively egalitarian alternative to traditional forms of resource management' (pg. 382). They also found that arrangements should be constantly monitored, 'to discourage … reneging on partnership agreements' (pg. 383). Steffen (2004, pg. 68) calls for openness and transparency of the negotiation process, in order to achieve more successful outcomes for partnerships, as does Rogers (2002), who links transparency of process with accessibility/participation. Achieving accountability for partnership progress and performance is also important (Rogers 2002), to build trust in the process and the partners alike.

Process can also be linked to other factors such as time, resources or participation. For example, Poncelet (2004) notes that the facilitation of personal transformation may depend on having adequate time for this process to take place and not unduly constraining partnership participation, through having a broad mix of partners, both experienced and new to the process at hand, and widely representative of the differing views, interests and perspectives. He also acknowledges the importance of not having unrealistic expectations about what can be achieved through partnership processes and likely outcomes. 'The biggest threat to these processes may come not from efforts to subvert or co-opt them but from failed outcomes resulting from their misapplication' (Poncelet 2004, pg. 190).

Structured process

Successful partnerships are often based on clearly defined processes which provide certainty and structure to discussions and decision making (Leach & Pelkey 2001). This may be based on environmental dispute resolution theory,[19] which 'prescribes methods that individuals can employ when facilitating or participating in negotiations' (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 382). Well-defined and agreed goals and objectives are important (Jamal & Getz 1995; Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001; Brinkerhoff 2002b) as they increase the chances of 'goal

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[19] See section on environmental dispute resolution in Chapter 3.

attainment and the partners' commitment' (Brinkerhoff 2002b, pg. 224). Also contributing to partnership success is the scheduling of regular meetings, to keep the 'process on track' and the provision of progress updates (Schuett, Selin & Carr 2001, pg. 590). Steffen (2004, pg. 68) notes that legal frameworks, where utilised, 'should include specific commercial terms that are binding on all parties', which suggests the benefit of certainty of enforcement.

This does not however mean that the partnership process need be unduly strict and unable to be adapted to suit different conditions or situations (see discussion below). The partners may benefit from a degree of flexibility and may need to strike a balance between informality and certainty, depending on the context and the partners involved.

Flexibility

While a certain amount of structure is important for the successful functioning of the partnership, too much rigidity or formality may impede flexibility and the ability to respond to changing circumstances (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 382). This is based on the argument that 'A partnership's strength lies in its ability to provide a flexible, informal and relatively egalitarian alternative to traditional forms of resource management'. Buckley and Sommer (2001), for example, suggest that the process should facilitate freedom of negotiation, while others point to the importance of flexible planning (Rogers 2002; Charters & Smith 2004; Steffen 2004) which may contribute to greater innovation [20] and more open dialogue between the partners.

Imperial (2005) is comfortable with the existence of different levels of formality of partnerships, ranging from those established by legislation, to those loosely structured around shared social norms. Both, he argues, can be successfully utilised in a partnership context, but he cautions against a mindset which has a preference for centralized structures, arguing that the findings of his study show that, 'It is often equally effective to use several targeted or overlapping collaborative efforts rather than trying to centrally direct all collaborative activities using some sort of centralized committee structure or large collaborative organization' (pg. 309).

Open internal communication

Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 138) identify several success factors linked to communication, and note that 'communication processes underlie most aspects of organizational functioning … effective communications between partners are essential'. Leach and Pelkey (2001) refer to 'effective communication', as well as sharing of information and data, as a success factor for partnerships. Toupal and Johnson (1998, pg. 19) view this as the provision of 'clear and consistent' communications, while Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001) identified the need for an atmosphere which facilitates or permits open and personal communication within the partnership. Communication was broadly constructed to include 'listening, understanding, discussing and decision-making' (pg. 590). This 'open and inclusive' process helped the partnership with decision-making and the building of consensus.

Information quality and quantity

The quality of information shared, as well as the effectiveness of delivery of this information to partners, has been identified as success factors within a partnership (Mohr & Spekman 1994; Leach & Pelkey 2001). Mohr and Spekman (1994) refer to the need for 'timely, accurate and relevant information'—see also Buckley and Sommer 2001 on accuracy and frequency and volume of information sharing ('the extent to which critical, often proprietary, information is communicated to one's partner') to be facets of good communication between partners.

Creating channels of information sharing, according to Imperial (2005), adds to the 'shared knowledge base that is owned by all participants in the process', leading to a presumption of better, more informed decision-making (McGinnis, Woolley & Gamman 1999; Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000). The process of information exchange helps to build trust and might also 'generate new ideas' (Imperial 2005, pg. 296). [21] Equal access to information might also relate to the balancing of power, alluded to by Imperial (2005) with his reference to 'sharing' and collective 'ownership' of information, rather than one partner controlling or limiting the flow of information throughout the partnership. Adequate information also helps to facilitate learning (Imperial 2005) and reduce uncertainty (Augustyn & Knowles 2000; Imperial 2005).

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[20] Chapter 3 looks at diffusion and adoption of innovation in more detail.
[21] Information sharing is an element of the diffusion and adoption of innovations theory (see Chapter 3) and this theoretical framework might assist in analysing this success factor.

Dealing with conflict

There are several aspects to conflict resolution which the literature suggests are factors for partnership success. Conflict resolution might be analysed using theory relating to environmental dispute resolution (EDR), including associated techniques for dealing with conflict, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Gray (1996) views conflict resolution as a motivating factor behind setting up a collaborative framework such as a partnership. It can also be viewed as a factor in a successful partnership according to Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 139), who observe that the literature demonstrates that 'the manner in which partners resolve conflict has implications for partnership success'. They find however that the existence of 'persuasive tactics' to deal with conflict is not an indicator of success, nor are the use of 'smoothing over' techniques or failing to confront or ignoring issues, perhaps in the hope they will 'go away'. As Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 139) note, 'Smoothing [over] or avoiding [conflict] fails to go to the root cause of the conflict and tends to undermine the partnership's goal of mutual gain'. Poncelet (2004, pg. 167) found that certain conflict management behaviours adopted by partners led to constructive outcomes such as encouraging participants to work through problems and maintain a positive outlook in discussions and negotiations. 'These included the practices of civility, argument minimization, non-engagement, conflict diffusion, and reconciliation'.

Himmelman (1996) recommends conflict resolution training, which supports the observation made by Mohr and Spekman (1994, pg. 139), based on the literature they have looked at, that conflict resolution which occurs without the use of external mediators or parties, has the best chance of lasting success. They also note that, 'While outside arbitration may be effective for a particular conflict episode, ongoing use of arbitrators may indicate inherent problems in the relationship'.

Consensus

According to Bramwell and Lane (2000, pg. 10), 'the extent to which there is an initial agreement among participants about the range of concerns that are to be tackled by a partnership' is a success factor, as a lack of consensus or 'differing or unreconciled expectations' may stymie progress or outcomes. Toupal and Johnson (1998), Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) and Steffen (2004) also refer to consensus decision-making as a way to build partnership trust. As Steffen (2004, pg. 68) observes, 'Consultative mechanisms and feedback systems help to resolve potential conflict and build positive relationships'.

The presence of consensus or consensus-based decision making is however not necessarily a positive success factor for partnerships. Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 382), for example, note that an over-emphasis on consensus can prevent partners from focusing on the most important issues and may result in decisions which are wishy-washy 'lowest-common-denominator' and fail to tackle contentious matters. Bramwell and Lane (2000) also acknowledge that blanket consensus is unlikely and 'consensus building is likely to involve continuing conflict even when some convergence and harmony is achieved' (pg. 10).

Context-Related Factors

This category of factors comprises the framework, milieu or background to the partnership. Context has been a point of focus for previous partnership research and especially that conducted in recent years in Australia, centred on protected areas and the tourism industry. The influence of the legislative, regulatory and policy settings on these partnerships has been highlighted in several reports (i.e. Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000; Buckley & Sommer 2001; De Lacy *et al.* 2002), although not explored in-depth. Factors evident from a review of the literature include the importance of having adequate resources and time, the legislative and administrative framework, being able to enforce agreements (i.e. sanctions) and offering benefits or incentives to partners (Table 6).

Table 6: Context-related success factors in partnerships identified in the literature (after Bingham 1986)

Context-Related Factors		
Theme	**Success Factor**	**Reference**
Adequacy of resources	Funding	Toupal and Johnson (1998); Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Adequate resources	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
	Adequate revenue/financial incentive to join partnership	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Funding from the government such that partnership revenue is not the sole means of financial support	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Community resources	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Shared resources	Himmelman (1996); Imperial (2005)
	Equitable access to expertise/resources	Charters and Smith (2004)
	Organizational support, including regular meetings	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001) Augustyn and Knowles (2000)
	Efficient allocation of resources	Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001);
	Ability to meet performance expectations	Brinkerhoff (2002)
Adequacy of time/ duration of partnership	Adequate time	Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999); Huxham (1996a); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Leach and Pelkey (2001); Greer (2002); Poncelet (2004); Imperial (2005)
Legislative Framework	Legislature aids agency participation	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Legislative framework provides incentive for agency participation	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Legal arrangements cover liability and insurance requirements of all parties	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Legal frameworks include binding commercial terms	Steffen (2004)
	Legislative framework imposes statutory responsibilities linked to community participation	Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999)
	Political framework enables partnerships to be established	Mburu and Birner (2007)
Administrative setting	Fixed-site, privately-managed, large-scale tourism facilities in heavily-visited areas	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Low-impact activities in less-heavily visited areas	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Private tourism ventures on private landholdings set aside as protected areas	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Creating opportunities for collaboration through memorandums of understanding, advisory committees and NGOs	Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000)
Enforcement of behaviour/ decisions/ agreements	Formal enforcement procedures	Leach and Pelkey (2001)
	Social norms/peer pressure	Imperial (2005)
	Responsible and accountable actions	Himmelman (1996)
	Move to a performance-based system, away from prescription/regulation	Chadwick (2004)
	Accountability for decisions/agreements made	McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999)
Benefits/incentives	Opportunities for 'win-win' arrangements providing benefits to the different parties, including fulfilment of obligations	Buckley and Sommer (2001)
	Recognition of benefits to be derived and that all parties will benefit from the partnership	Jamal and Getz (1995); Buckley and Sommer (2001); Steffen (2004)
	Incentives scheme which 'rewards' performance or systems of recognition, reward and incentives/visible benefits	Augustyn and Knowles (2000); Bresnen and Marshall (2000); Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000); Chadwick (2004); Steffen (2004); Kumar and Vashisht (2005); Mburu and Birner (2007) Poncelet (2004)
	Evaluation of secondary benefits	

Adequacy of resources

Adequacy of resources might incorporate staff levels and expertise, equipment or funding (Imperial 2005), and it is noted that this is an important aspect of a successful partnership (Wondolleck & Yaffee 2000; Leach & Pelkey 2001; Imperial 2005), as is the allocation of often limited resources (Leach & Pelkey 2001), which need to be allocated in the 'most efficient manner' (Augustyn & Knowles 2000, pg. 349). Funding, in particular, is sometimes an under-recognised element of the success or failure of partnerships. As Cropper (1996, pg. 94) notes, 'The resourcing of collaborative efforts is often a significant point of vulnerability'. Imperial (2005) noted the benefits of pooling of resources by partners, where they assisted in the 'collective ability to solve problems' or helped to 'enhance service delivery' (pg. 297). There may be a link here with innovation, with Imperial (2005, pg. 297) observing that resource sharing might involve 'new and creative ways' to achieve this goal. Other community resources identified by Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 382), include 'wealth, a diversified economy, and an older, more experienced population'.

Imperial (2005) also notes the importance of 'a formidable set of professional skills', including political skills, facilitation skills and persuasion skills, when managing partnerships; aiding the resolution of disputes and avoidance of protracted conflict. The ability to meet performance expectations is identified by Brinkerhoff (2002, pg. 224) as a success factor, incorporating potential external constraints such as legal requirements or government policies and the capacity of the partners to achieve outcomes. These might impact upon the 'complexity of partnership implementation'. This factor was also noted by Schuett, Selin and Carr (2001, pg. 592), who observed that internal as well as external factors may impede collaboration and 'create barriers to success'.

Adequacy of time/duration of partnership

Like funding or staff needs, adequate time is also an important precondition for a successful partnership (Leach & Pelkey 2001), and the two may in fact be intertwined, with time needed to gather resources for long-term maintenance of a partnership in some instances (Augustyn & Knowles 2000; Imperial 2005). 'Otherwise the partnership may have too short a life-span to enjoy fully the benefits of their joint activities' (Augustyn & Knowles 2000, pg. 350). Imperial (2005, pg. 304) also observes, citing a number of authors including Ostrom (1990), that repeated interactions between partners 'over long periods of time … promotes the development of strong social networks, cooperation, and most important, trust'. Time is also important for the setting up of the partnership (Imperial 2005, pg. 305), in order to 'discover which organizations make good partners … Organizations also need time to identify which activities are likely to be effective'. Adequate time to formulate long-term strategies also assists with sustainability goals (Greer 2002) and provides opportunities for capacity-building (Bahaire & Elliott-White 1999).

Legislative framework

The literature diverges on the existence of a clear legislative framework as a success factor. Buckley and Sommer (2001) cite 'a legal framework which allows the landholder or land management agency to retain funds raised through tourism, for management of visitors and for management and expansion of the protected area' (pg. 31), while Mburu and Birner (2007) and Dowling, Powell and Glendinning (2004) also note the benefits of a legal structure or political climate/framework conducive to adoption of a partnership approach. Bahaire and Elliott-White (1999, pg. 255) suggest that legislative frameworks imposing 'statutory responsibilities' are necessary to underpin and sustain community participation.

Chadwick (2004, pg. 95) describes how the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park (GBRMP) has moved from a reliance on mechanisms such as legislation, permits, zoning, which she refers to as 'overly prescriptive, placing unnecessary pressure on managing agencies and the tourism industry in particular'. The GBRMP are exploring a more cooperative framework, which streamlines requirements and is based on performance standards, to build a more successful partnership with tour operators. This aspect of partnership success is the focus of the current study by TTF Australia, discussed in Chapter 1.

Administrative setting

The administrative setting of a partnership might also be potentially relevant to its success. This might cover such elements as land tenure, usage of the land, the financial, operational or management arrangements adopted by the partnership and how resources or infrastructure are used (Buckley & Sommer 2001).[22] For example, Buckley and Sommer (2001, pg. 12) suggest that 'For protected areas where large numbers of relatively small operators conduct relatively infrequent small-volume or low-impact tours, administrative efficiency will largely

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[22] These frameworks are discussed in Chapter 1.

dictate the terms of partnership'. Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) also observe that certain frameworks help to facilitate or provide an opportunity for partnership development, such as a memorandum of understanding.[23]

Although Buckley and Sommer (2001) and Wondolleck and Yaffee (2000) consider context-related factors, it is interesting that the administrative setting of a partnership has not received more in-depth analysis. Intuitively, it would seem that this should be of some importance, but empirical work to substantiate this has been lacking in the partnerships literature. There are references to administrative setting or context in several ecosystem management studies, covering duties, processes and performance styles (Burroughs & Clark 1995) or bureaucratic mechanisms or planning (Caffyn & Jobbins 2003) as well as an analysis of tourism planning and development, where Andriotis (2001) highlights the problems caused by the complexity and fragmentation of administration of tourism on the island of Crete. The *National Tourism Partnerships Initiative*, launched by TTF Australia in 2006, may partly address this gap through their focus on the legislative environment affecting tourism partnerships, particularly the facilitation of private sector investment. Further research however appears to be necessary to more fully examine and explore the role administrative setting plays in successful protected areas tourism partnerships.

Enforcement of behaviour/decisions/agreements

Enforcement can cover a wide range of mechanisms which either lead to certain behaviours being favoured or adopted or help to ensure that decisions or agreements made by the partnership are in fact implemented. Leach and Pelkey (2001) advocate using formal enforcement procedures, although they note that the literature is divided on this factor, with some studies asserting that rather than relying on formal methods of enforcement, like legal sanctions, 'advisory power or moral authority is adequate'. The former might be a disincentive to join or develop a partnership, if the individual partners are concerned that their involvement might lead to litigation against them, particularly when they are possibly volunteering their time and energy to the process. The difficulties inherent with removing 'intransigent members' were also noted by Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 383), with some studies concluding that these aggrieved individuals might seek legal or other redress, leading to an undermining of existing partnerships.

Imperial (2005) suggests that some partnerships may rely on social norms and peer pressure, where legal enforcement is not available, backed up by 'the threat of formal (e.g. being removed as a partner) or informal (e.g. verbal and nonverbal) sanctions' (pg. 298), and that this can work successfully. McGinnis, Woolley and Gamman (1999, pg. 4) support the latter position, and note, 'Participants in a collaborative process need to be held accountable for decisions they make and agreements to which they are a party'. This can be facilitated by regular reporting back to their constituencies 'to ensure broad buy-in to agreements'.

Benefits/incentives

The flipside of enforcing agreements or behaviour is to provide benefits or incentives to encourage them. Imperial (2005) notes that partnerships are not likely to be appropriate where one party stands to gain all the benefits, and works best based on 'issues of mutual interest' (pg. 308). A number of studies have discussed benefits or incentives which have flowed to partners, as a result of a collaborative endeavour. For example, Chadwick (2004, pg. 96) refers to an incentives scheme in Great Barrier Reef Marine Park that 'encourages tourism and recreation users to continually improve their operating standards … The criteria for accessing sites of limited opportunity could be defined in terms of performance standards relating to both environmental outcomes and presentation of World Heritage value'. Since this paper was written, Andrew Skeat of the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority (GBRMPA) has confirmed at a TTF Forum on Partnerships that the Authority provides benefits for those tour operators who adopt higher standards of Reef usage/management, including longer-term permits and showcasing of their businesses at trade shows.

Augustyn and Knowles (2000, pg. 350) also refer to the benefits of designing 'an internal reward system for 'better-than-average' contributions to the attainment of the partnership goals', which they argue may make the relationship 'more dynamic'. Steffen (2004) notes that incentives can be non-financial—'promotional, special opportunities, special access', as illustrated by the GBRMPA example above. They can also flow both ways, with Steffen (2004) suggesting that incentives could be offered by the private sector to encourage park involvement in partnerships. Evaluation of the performance of a partnership can be used to encourage secondary benefits or outcomes which may have a significant impact on future actions (Poncelet 2004) such as personal transformations, which may lead to improvements in levels of trust and relationships and increased innovation/creativity, as well as greater commitment to partnership objectives or goals.

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[23] Perhaps this is an acknowledgement of the role played by formal processes in successful partnerships, which is discussed earlier in this Chapter.

There are however, limitations to incentive use within partnerships. In developing countries, they have been used to build 'confidence in community-state partnerships' (Kumar & Vashisht 2005, pg. 37) and as a financial benefit through cash payments or access to land (Mburu & Birner 2007) but problems may occur where distribution of incentives is uneven and potentially inequitable. Bresnen and Marshall (2000, pg. 588) point out the paradox of encouraging commitment in this fashion. 'Indeed, the very logic of the argument, that … partners need to be motivated to collaborate, is somewhat at odds with the rhetoric of developing trust that permeates the partnering literature'. Their study demonstrates that intrinsic factors such as 'achievement and autonomy' are more important 'sources of motivation and commitment' and incentives only have a small role in developing and maintaining trust within partnerships. They suggest that rather than relying on incentives, partnerships should 'embrace a wide range of supporting internal policies, systems and practices' (pg. 596).

Conclusion

It has been argued that a focus on success should be accompanied by research that will 'look at barriers to partnership success [as well as the] factors that contribute to failure' (Selin & Chavez 1995, pg. 855). However, little research has been undertaken on the factors impeding success although some efforts have concentrated on linking poor outcomes with an absence of factors. In this literature review, the analysis is therefore restricted to the relationship between known factors and success, given the paucity of previous research upon which to draw.

This Chapter has examined the literature on the meaning of success and the factors which appear to affect success in a partnership context. There are two approaches to defining success—one based on partnership outcomes and the other on partnership processes—although the line between the two can sometimes be blurred and there appears to be value in considering success *in globo* from both perspectives, rather than adopting a narrower approach.

Success factors identified in the partnerships literature can be categorised as partner-related, process-related and context-related and appear to cover a wider group of factors than those noted in the studies listed in Table 2 and discussed in Chapter 1. Reviewing literature beyond that pertaining to tourism partnerships in protected areas was therefore a worthwhile exercise, and provides the basis for a more comprehensive understanding of partnership success and contributory factors.

Many of these factors might also have been considered within one of a number of theoretical constructs, which could be applied to a study of partnerships. Selecting key success factors or variables from a rich theoretical background should provide any research endeavour, and in this case tourism partnerships research, with greater explanatory power and prevent 're-inventing the wheel'. The following Chapter introduces a suite of different theoretical frameworks and identifies links with the success factors discussed in Chapter 2 and the partnership approach examined in Chapter 1. It concludes by positing the theory or theories that might be most usefully applied in the context of a study of sustainable protected area tourism partnerships.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO UNDERSTANDING PARTNERSHIPS

This Chapter looks at the phenomenon of partnerships through multiple theoretical lenses, discussing eight theoretical frameworks which can inform this research. Each framework is introduced, then explained *vis-à-vis* its relevance towards advancing an understanding of protected area tourism partnerships. In some cases, there are links between the different components and concepts pertaining to different theories, underscoring the multidimensional nature of partnerships and the advantage of using a variety of approaches to assist our understanding.

The literature relating to two additional theories—social impact assessment and social movements—was also reviewed, but these frameworks were found to have limited value in framing our understanding of partnerships in the context of this study and have therefore not been incorporated into this literature review.

Overview of Theoretical Contributions

As a starting point, an overview of the eight different theories and their respective level(s) and types of analysis is presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Theoretical constructs behind partnerships and level(s) of analysis

Theory	Level(s) of analysis
Stakeholder theory	Individuals
Social exchange theory	Individuals and groups
Social representation	Individuals and groups
Environmental dispute resolution	Individuals and groups
Social capital/community capacity	Individuals, groups and organisations
Adoption/diffusion of innovations	Individuals, groups and organisations
Network theory	Individuals, groups and organisations
Institutional analysis and development	Groups and organisations

Stakeholder theory focuses on the individual level of analysis while other theories direct their analysis at the group and organisational level, such as social exchange theory and environmental dispute resolution. Theories which examine individuals, groups and organisations, such as social capital theory or network theory, might be usefully applied to the study of partnerships, given they potentially offer a broader sweep of the various levels of analysis.

The theories considered have been ordered in terms of historical development. Table 8 provides an approximate year for their development, based on seminal papers or books published in the area.

Table 8: Historical development of theoretical constructs behind partnerships

Theory	Date of seminal work
Social exchange theory	Thibault and Kelley (1959)
Adoption/diffusion of innovations	Rogers (1962)
Environmental dispute resolution	Cormick (1976)
Social representation	Moscovici (1973)
Network theory	Heclo (1978)
Stakeholder theory	Freeman (1984)
Social capital/community capacity	Coleman (1988)
Institutional analysis and development	Ostrom (1990)

Social exchange theory

Social exchange theory attempts to explain relationships and interactions between actors (parties), particularly with respect to the exchange of resources and consequent evaluation by the actors of their relationship post-exchange. The theory has its roots in the sociological literature, chiefly in the work of Thibault and Kelley (1959), Blau (1964) and Emerson (1962; 1972) and has been applied in various contexts, including leisure (Auld and Case 1997) and tourism (Ap 1992; Jurowski, Uysal & Williams 1997; Kayat 2002; Andriotis & Vaughan 2003). The theory of social exchange has been characterised as 'primarily behaviourally focused' on the 'social process of reciprocity, not on the psychological motivations of the actors' (Beeton 2006, pg. 41). Thus exchange behaviour occurs where there are desired outcomes (benefits) to be gained from the transaction or process.

The concept of 'actor' within the theoretical construct can cover a wide variety of individuals or groups and thus encompasses relationships at both individual and collective levels (Ap 1992), including those pertaining to a partnership. It is important to note however that a collective is unlikely to be a 'homogenous' group, and thus the various sub-groups may need to be identified and treated as separate actors for the purposes of the analysis (Ap 1992). Resources can also be widely construed as an item of exchange which can be 'of a material, social or psychological nature' (Ap 1992, pg. 668), including ideas or information. This theory can therefore be applied as a framework for examination of partnerships, based on the variety of exchanges which occur between members of the partnership, the impacts on their relationships and ultimately on the evaluation and success of the partnership itself.

Figure 4 below is a model of social exchange theory, showing the various processes that take place, based on that developed by Ap (1992):
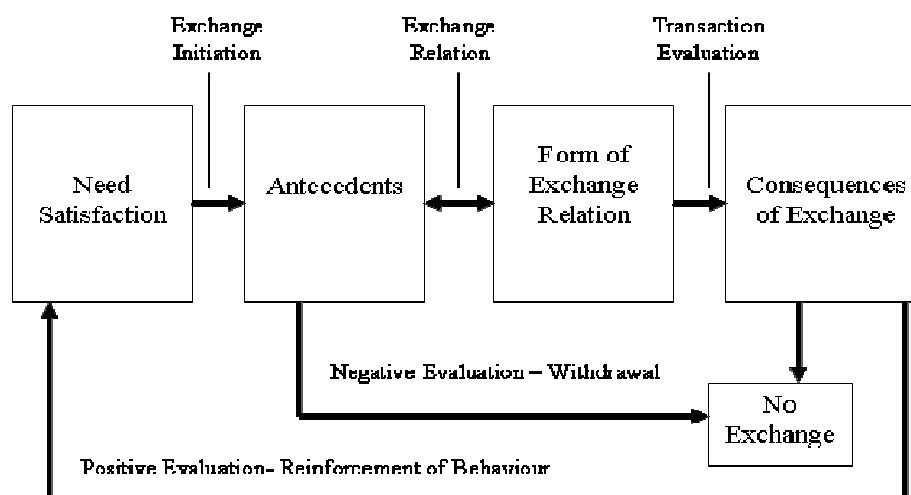
Figure 4: Model of the social exchange process adapted from Ap (1992)

The social exchange process commences with an actor identifying a need to be satisfied and consequently initiating an exchange with another actor. At this point, there will be an evaluation of the exchange by the actors, assessing potential positive and/or negative outcomes resulting in an exchange (or no exchange) taking place (Beeton 2006). Once the exchange occurs, there is an evaluation of the benefits and costs by each actor involved, and if the evaluation is positive (i.e. benefits outweigh costs) for all actors, the relationship continues (Ap 1992). However, if the evaluation of the exchange is negative, 'one or both parties may attempt to withdraw from the process' (Beeton 2006, pg. 41). Ap (1992) identifies an element of rationalism behind social exchange, in that pragmatic trade-offs may occur where 'maximised benefits' are not possible. Cropper (1996, pg. 86) analysed the exchange relationship and sees 'a preference for security and aversion to uncertainty' as tying 'organizations together in relationships of exchange' rather than efficiency gains. 'Thus, organizations are willing to give up degrees of freedom, or autonomy, in order to secure needed resources, ranging from the material and financial to the symbolic, through exchange transactions' (pg. 87). An analysis of partnerships using this theory therefore involves identifying the nature of the exchange and the 'ratio of rewards exchanged among actors' (Emerson, 1972).

Reciprocity in exchange, according to the theory, suggests rough equivalence of resources exchanged (Ap 1992). Equity or justice will also be a factor, with the exchange needing to be seen as a fair one from both actors' perspectives. The role of power differentials in this exchange is of interest (Emerson 1962; Molm 1987; Cropper 1996; Auld & Case 1997; Beeton 2006), as 'the theory is based on the idea that one person's power is a function

of the dependency of another' (Auld & Case 1997, pg. 185). Power is derived 'from having and controlling resources that another actor needs and values' (Ap 1992, pg. 679). Thus one actor may have a dominance and influence over the other, and even given an imbalance in the exchange, the latter may continue in the relationship due to their dependence on the resources (Blau 1964; Ap 1992). Power is also related to cohesion, which is a 'measure of the nature of interdependence between the actors' (Ap 1992, pg. 680). This interdependence can also be viewed as the amount of 'potential conflict' which the relationship can tolerate or absorb (Emerson 1972). Ap suggests that it is implicitly assumed that high levels of cohesion are associated with 'greater satisfaction with the consequences of exchange' (pg. 680).

Thus, when considering partnerships from this theoretical construct, it is useful to look at the role played by power and cohesion. Tension and conflict might be traced to a power imbalance, where the more powerful actor is tempted to 'ignore, coerce, or override the other' due to their dependence (Ap 1992, pg. 677). Interdependence of the partners is also worthy of examination, as this may be linked to satisfaction with the outcomes of the partnership arrangement. Additionally, the benefits of the relationship may be more intangible than the 'exchanged resources' themselves and thus the concept of resources needs to be broadly construed with reference to partnerships.

Adoption/diffusion of innovations theory

The theory of the diffusion of innovations was developed by Rogers (1962; 1983). Rogers (1983, pg. 11) defines an innovation as 'an idea, practice or object that is perceived as new by an individual or other unit of adoption.' He points out that it is irrelevant whether the idea is 'objectively' new, i.e. how much time has lapsed since its first discovery or use, as the key issue is its perceived newness. The management of protected areas through partnerships is arguably an innovation, and its diffusion and adoption can be viewed as the process by which this innovative approach to protected area management becomes known, tried and put into practice within an organisation, country or region. An examination of how new ideas or innovations are adopted and diffused and the factors that facilitate or inhibit this process may thus provide valuable insight on how to facilitate uptake of a partnership approach to protected area management.

The diffusion phenomenon, the psychology of adopters, and the characteristics of innovations that make them likely to be adopted, have been well documented in many hundreds of studies across a wide variety of fields and types of innovations (Hubbard, Huang & Mulvey 2003) including agriculture (Beal et al. 1957; Rogers & Shoemaker 1971; Rogers 1983), forestry (Muth & Hendee 1980), medicine (Coleman et al. 1957; Dearing, Maibach & Buller 2006), family planning (Brown & Philliber 1977); urban water treatment (Crain 1966), service industries (Barras 1986), health (Hubbard & Hayashi 2003; Hubbard, Huang & Mulvey 2003; Greenhalgh 2005), consumer behaviour (Oxley & Nancarrow 2003; Schiffman *et al.* 1997), business (Lundblad 2003; Hausman 2005) and outdoor recreation, tourism and interpretation (Roggenbuck & Watson 1980; Van Every 1983; Machlis & Harvey 1993; Hjalager 1996; Dilworth 2003; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003; Braun 2004).

Hjalager (1996) sought to develop a typology of innovations, which she saw as including 'redefinitions of interrelationships between actors' (pg. 202), dividing them into (1) product innovations, (2) process innovations and (3) management innovations. Hausman (2005) also makes a distinction between different forms of innovation, observing that much of the research on innovation focuses on product innovation, rather than 'ideological innovations, such as new management practices' (pg. 780). The partnership approach could be viewed as a process or a management/ideological innovation, but either way it is amenable to the theoretical framework of diffusion of innovations.

In a tourism context, Braun (2004), for example, applied the theory to regional tourism networks, including 'the forging of new partnerships between regional e-commerce experts and marketing bodies' (pg. 240) and there have been a number of researchers who have used the theory to explain the adoption and diffusion of both technological and ideological innovations in leisure and tourism (Roggenbuck & Watson 1980; Van Every 1983; Machlis & Harvey 1993; Hjalager 1996; Dilworth 2003; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003; Braun 2004).

Criteria for adoption of an innovation

Research has shown that although potential adopters may judge an innovation against a number of criteria, five important questions must be addressed before adoption will occur:

- does the innovation offer *relative advantage*
- is the innovation *compatible* with current practice
- can it be *trialled* without unacceptable risk
- are its benefits *observable* and communicable
- is it *complex* to understand or apply? (Fazio & Gilbert 2000; Rogers 1995; Rogers & Shoemaker 1971; Schiffman et al. 1997, Hubbard, Huang & Mulvey 2003).

In other words, using adoption of a partnership approach as an example, innovations are adopted more easily and more quickly the more they are perceived to:

- *offer relative advantage* (i.e. the degree to which the partnership approach is perceived to be better than the current approach)
- *be compatible with organisations' values, needs and past experiences* (i.e. the degree to which the partnership approach is perceived to be consistent with protected area management)
- *be trialable* (i.e. the degree to which protected areas can experiment with this new approach on a limited basis)
- *be observable* (i.e. the degree to which the results of this new approach to protected area management are visible to others)

Innovations are however more difficult (and take longer) to adopt if they are perceived to:

- *be complex* (i.e. if the partnership approach is difficult to understand and use).

In considering the above factors, it is important to bear in mind that it will be the perception of an individual or the organisation which is relevant, not some other 'objective' measure. In the current study, it may be valuable to ask interviewees the extent to which they considered each factor before adopting a partnership approach.

Leadership is also a factor in diffusion of innovation. Lundblad (2003, pg. 55) refers to the importance of leadership characteristics, observing, following Rogers (1995), 'The more positive the attitude towards change held by leaders within an organization, the greater the organizational innovativeness'. She distinguishes between three types of leaders who potentially can influence diffusion of innovations, namely *opinion leaders*, *change agents* and *champions*. Both opinion leaders and champions are internal organizational influences. Opinion leaders have an influence 'which stems from expertise and competence, accessibility or leadership in conforming to the system's norms … [they] are at the centre of interpersonal communication networks' (Lundblad 2003, pg. 55) and thus can act as a model to others with respect to adoption. Opinion leaders can be characterized as people who:

- are more exposed to all forms of external communication
- are more cosmopolitan
- have somewhat higher social status
- are more innovative than other individuals.

Most importantly, they are at the centre of the organization's interpersonal communication networks (Rogers 1995, p. 28). A champion, on the other hand, is 'important in fomenting excitement' (Dearing, Maibach & Buller 2006, pg. S17) and acts to 'spearhead adoption efforts' (Hausman 2005, pg. 779) and influence change through their normal role and responsibilities (Dearing, Maibach & Buller 2006, pg. S17). Conversely, a change agent is often someone who is heterophilus to those in the organization who need to adopt the innovation (i.e. change agents are often outsiders, and/or are perceived to have different norms and values to those in the organization etc.) but seeks to encourage innovation, often using opinion leaders to carry this off. The existence of these types of individuals within or outside a partnership may therefore be an important factor determining the rate of adoption, and it might be useful to attempt to identify them in any case studies of successful partnerships.

Braun (2004) observes that Rogers' diffusion theory does not refer to the role of trust in the adoption process but might be 'implicit' in the seeking of advice or information from a reliable source. The existence of trust might therefore be relevant to assist adoption of partnerships, as well as its role in building social capital (see discussion in this Chapter on social capital theory).

Other elements of the theory of diffusion of innovations

Other elements of the theory include communication, time and the social system (Rogers 1995; Lundblad 2003; Braun 2004). *Communication* refers to the process of developing and sharing information 'to achieve common understanding' (Lundblad 2003, pg. 52; Rogers 1995). The source of communication is important, given diffusion of innovations is a 'social process' (Lundblad 2003; Hausman 2005) and the more alike individuals see themselves 'in terms of beliefs, status and education' (Lundblad, pg. 54), the faster the rate of adoption (Rogers 1995; Lundblad 2003). Partnerships involving individuals with common visions, goals or social norms might therefore be more receptive to innovation and change. Braun (2004) also refers to the role played by information channels in the adoption process, and the type and rate of information exchange might also be a relevant factor in success in adopting the partnership approach, as well as success of the partnership itself. Hubbard, Huang and Mulvey (2003) note that networks, and thus potentially a partnership framework are conducive to communication of the innovation. 'Although an innovation may be introduced to a community from an outside

source … detailed knowledge of that innovation, including the decision to try the innovation in practice, usually occurs through interpersonal communication networks' (pg. 99).

The *time* element of diffusion theory encompasses (1) the timeframe for the innovation-decision process (the decision to adopt or reject the innovation—see Lundblad 2003), (2) categorisation of adopters according to the time they take to adopt innovations and (3) the rate of adoption, being the speed at which an innovation is adopted 'within a social system' (Lundblad 2003, pg. 54; Rogers 1995). Diffusion of innovations often takes place over an 'extended period of time' and most people wait for a certain period before adoption (Hubbard & Hayashi 2003, pg. 53). Uptake of a partnership approach therefore may need a certain lead time in order to diffuse this new idea throughout the various organisations and social networks that make up the partnership.

The *social or organisational system* is the final element or component to be considered. Lundblad (2003, pg. 55) notes that members of this system may include 'individuals, groups, organizations, or subsystems … who share a common goal or objective that links them together as a social system' following Rogers (1995). The existence of a common vision or goals throughout a partnership would therefore appear to facilitate diffusion of this approach. Hubbard and Hayashi (2003) also point to structural characteristics of an organization which affect the rate of adoption, and they may have relevance when considering adoption of a partnership approach. They include, again using the partnership example:

- the degree of *centralization* (i.e. whether power or control is centralised within a partnership)
- the degree of *complexity* (i.e. knowledge and skills of the partners)
- *formalization* (i.e. how important rules and procedures are to the partners)
- *interconnectedness* (i.e. linkage of partners through interpersonal networks)
- *organizational slack* (i.e. to what degree resources are available to a partnership).

Following Rogers (1995), Hubbard and Hayashi (2003, pg. 54) observe that, in general, 'the diffusion process is facilitated in organizations with low centralization, high complexity, low formalization, high interconnectedness, and a lot of organizational slack', which may point towards success factors for partnerships such as flexibility, interdependence and availability of resources (see Chapter 2). System openness has also been found to be positively correlated with innovation (Lundblad 2003), referring to linkages between the organization and external parties, which may suggest that successful partnerships are open to exchanges, ideas and interaction with parties within and outside the partnership. Openness to learning might also be a factor in diffusing innovation and embracing change, with Braun (2004, pg. 234) noting that 'learning and change [are] closely intertwined'.

Dearing, Maibach and Buller (2006) observe that not enough attention has been given in the literature to the prevalence of adopter involvement in innovations. Some adopters, rather than passively taking up an innovation, in fact tailor or adapt it to their own needs, and this may have a positive outcome, 'likely to intensify the meaning of an innovation for users through a process of personalization and identification' (pg. S19) and also potentially increasing the likelihood of sustainability through 'ownership' of the innovation (S18). This also may be pertinent in a study of partnerships, where active involvement and flexibility of approach may be potential success factors (see Chapter 2).

In summary, diffusion of innovation theory suggests that the following conditions are needed for adoption of partnerships as a protected area management model:

- The partnership approach to protected area management needs to be perceived as *offering relative advantage*, and being *compatible* with organisations' values, needs and past experiences, *trialable* on a limited basis, *observable* and *not too complex* as to be difficult to understand and use.
- *Leadership* is important, including opinion leaders, change agents and/or champions.
- Good *communication* systems, sufficient *time* and appropriate and flexible *organisational systems* will facilitate the diffusion of partnerships as a management approach throughout organisations and regions.
- It will be important to *manage perceptions* regarding the criteria listed above; including the perception that innovation/change is in fact needed.

Environmental dispute resolution
Environmental dispute resolution (EDR), since its emergence in the mid 1970s (Cormick 1976; Bingham 1986), has grown to become a widely recognised body of knowledge and practice. It draws on the more general literature dealing with conflict resolution and alternative dispute resolution. In general terms, EDR research has focused on defining successful resolution, and the influences of resolution processes and the context (including the social setting) on the dispute and associated outcomes. Partnerships, similarly to the resolution of environmental disputes, rely on understanding what are 'successful' partnerships, and the positive and negative influences on success. EDR potentially offers insights into what affects the development and persistence of partnerships, through its focus on the influences of processes on dispute resolution (e.g., how a partnership is

developed and nurtured), and the dispute context (e.g. the political, policy and administrative settings), on successful resolution.

As with partnerships, environmental disputes may be complex in nature, involving many stakeholders with a variety of interests, values or positions (Smith 2006). Avoiding conflict is not necessarily an argument for embracing collaboration, according to Imperial (2005, pg. 311). 'Some conflict can and should occur because it is an important component of our federal system that promotes a healthy competition of ideas and stimulates policy change and learning'. Moore and Lee (1999, pg. 453) also note that conflict over the natural environment/natural resources is 'part of everyday life'. Nonetheless, *managing* this conflict is 'fundamental to environmental management' (Smith 2006, pg. 79) and the literature has considered both successful and unsuccessful examples of EDR, with lessons to be gleaned for partnerships within protected areas. Even where a resolution cannot be reached on a particular issue, Beierle and Konisky (2000, pg. 589) note the value of public deliberation, which can help the parties 'understand the goals and perspectives of others by fostering communication and building relationships'.

Bingham (1986, pg. 5) defines EDR as the collective term given to voluntary processes or approaches 'that allow the parties to meet face to face in an effort to reach a mutually acceptable resolution of the issues in a dispute or potentially controversial situation'. She provides a caveat to this definition in that she observes that telephone calls might be instrumental in assisting mediation 'but are extremely difficult to document' (pg. 6). In today's society however, dependent on technology and the convenience and efficiency of the World Wide Web, it might be possible to imagine a scenario where EDR could be carried out largely, if not entirely online (Clark 1996; Tidwell 1996). The EDR process involves 'some form of consensus building, joint problem solving or negotiation' (pg. 5) which have all been identified as success factors for partnerships (see Chapter 2). Legislation has resulted in EDR becoming more prescriptive in recent years (Smith 2006) which has implications for flexibility of approach, also identified as a factor in partnership success. It would seem however that certainty of process is important in dispute resolution, as Bingham (1986) identifies in her analysis of factors which may affect the likelihood of reaching successful environmental agreements (Table 9). As mentioned in Chapter 2, Bingham's work gives us a potential system for organising the factors likely to influence successful partnerships.

Table 9: Factors that may increase or decrease the likelihood of EDR success

Factors that may increase or decrease the likelihood of success
Party-related factors
Identification and involvement of all affected interests
Numbers of parties involved
Types of parties involved
Direct involvement of decision makers, including public agencies
Process- and context-related factors
Agreement on procedural issues
Presence of a deadline
Possession of sufficient incentives
Ability to satisfy each party's underlying interests
Whether the dispute was in litigation
Maintenance of good representative/constituency relationships
Negotiation in good faith
Substance-related factors
Issues in dispute
Agreement on the scope of issues
Agreements on the facts

(Source: Bingham 1986)

Bingham (1986) makes some interesting observations based on Table 9, which may also be relevant to a partnership approach. For example, she suggests that incentives have a part to play in willingness to participate in discussions, although noting the difficulty of measuring their importance. She also notes the value of seeking to identify the interests of the parties behind the positions or stances they adopt and then devising 'new alternatives that satisfy those interests' (pg. xxiii).[24] This finding of common ground or empathy between the parties may be relevant as to whether agreement is ultimately reached and the dispute resolved. Agreement on the facts may involve ensuring 'disputants are given a level understanding' through provision of technical or other information (Smith 2006, pg. 92).[25] Bingham (1986, pg. xxiv) also points out the significance of having 'those with the authority to implement the decision' take part in the EDR process. This might be a pointer towards the importance of agency involvement in partnerships (see Chapter 2).

Moore and Lee (1999) have also developed a framework for environmental dispute resolution processes (Table 10), which might be usefully applied in a partnership context, showing what stage a dispute has reached and how the dispute might move through to resolution. These authors (pg. 463) note the importance of adequate time available to move through the various stages of dispute resolution, given that 'time enables shared understandings to develop', an argument also made by Moore (1996).

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[24] See Chapter 2 and the discussion on empathy as a success factor for partnerships.
[25] Provision of information (both in terms of quality and quantity) has also been identified as a factor in effective partnerships, as discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 10: Toward a conceptual framework for protected area dispute resolution processes

Stage	Description of stage (social action)	Shared understanding developed	Managing agency influence	In-group relations	Out-group relations
Stage 1: Joint definition of problems	Joint realization and definition of problems	Joint definition of problems	High	Mistrust, blaming others for problems	Identity of group not yet established
Stage 2: Uncertainty about what to do	Uncertainty about how to deal with problems and best ways to protect interests	Mutual acceptance	Low	Extensive exchange of information, begin recognizing members' different roles and skills	-
Stage 3: Agreement on group procedures	Agree on ways of doing things	New way of doing business, setting the sideboards	High	Emerging sense of order associated with a developing, agreed way of doing things	-
Stage 4: Realization of interdependence	Realization of the need to work together to achieve anything	Development of group interests, realizing the group was the 'place to be'	Moderate (indirect)	Use of work groups beginning	Recognition of the group, transfer of information between group and outside world
Stage 5: Enthusiasm about collective possibilities	Enthusiasm about collectively influencing decision making	Development of group interests, realizing the group was the 'place to be'	Low	Emerging sense of joint purpose	Suspicion of cooptation by outside world of group members
Stage 6: Commitment to working together	Commitment to working together to achieve group interests	Shared understanding about consensus	Low	Emerging collective identity	Members seek support for group from outside world
Stage 7: Consolidation of group	Members represent the group	Collective identity	Moderate	Shared understandings consolidate collective identity	Members take group decisions to outside world
Stage 8: Implementation of plan	Implementation of resolutions	-	High	-	Members support agency in implementing plan

(Source: Moore and Lee 1999)

This framework looks at interactions/processes rather than the context of a dispute, but the authors note the need for further research to 'fully explain the nature of these shared understandings, how they develop, and critical factors influencing their development' (pg. 463). Their findings however provide some guidance for dispute resolution processes, namely:

- Active involvement of agencies in the process is essential,[26] although the level of involvement may vary throughout the process itself, depending on the stage reached. The earlier stages should involve deeper agency involvement to get it started and guide building of consensus on the process to be adopted. Later stages warrant less involvement, as capacity builds.
- Better solutions are found when agency staff share technical roles with other participants.
- Shared understandings are vital for dispute resolution to succeed. As Smith (2006) expresses it, 'Disputes can be more difficult to resolve when the focus is on the knowledge gaps, misunderstandings and value differences which obscure the central problem … (pg. 86) [and thus] [t]he underlying interests need to be identified' (pg. 87).

Crowfoot and Wondolleck (1990) have also examined processes of environmental dispute resolution and note the importance of participation, by identifying and involving 'all groups with a stake in the conflict' (pg. 20), which may support the use of stakeholder theory in these situations (discussed in a later section) and sharing 'information and expertise necessary to decision-making' (pg. 21), which may link to community capacity (also discussed in this Chapter).

The definition of 'success' in terms of dispute resolution associated with protected area planning has been considered by Moore (1996), who identified five categories:

- product oriented success (i.e. reaching an agreement)
- politically oriented success (acceptance of the process and the plan by the broader community)
- interest-oriented success (protection or enhancement of individual interests by the plan)
- responsibility-oriented success (sense of ownership over the plan by members)
- relationship-oriented success (building of relationships).

These categories involved both outcomes and processes (see the discussion in Chapter 2). Moore also noted that success might be viewed as conditional or unconditional, with success potentially conditional upon implementation of a plan. This reflects the fact that there may be a time delay between reaching agreement and implementing agreements reached (Moore 1996). These findings can be applied to a study of partnerships, by demonstrating that success may be a multifarious concept and that these categories of success might be useful in their evaluation. It might also support using members of the partnership to define success, which reflects their intimacy of involvement, rather than applying a definition which has been imposed by an outsider. 'First and foremost, success must be defined and judged by those involved' (Moore 1996, pg. 168).

Wondolleck (1988) notes that EDR is not just an abstract concept, with numerous successful examples 'at all levels of government to resolve environmental disputes' (pg. 213). While acknowledging that 'value differences will always exist' between different groups (pg. 212), Wondolleck (1988, pg. 213), citing Cormick (1982), argues that resolution of conflict over those value differences will occur when the parties agree to dispose of the issues 'in which they are in disagreement, despite their continuing differences over basic values'. Thus, decision making must 'acknowledge the legitimacy of each set of concerns … and assure each group that their best interests are represented in the decision made' (Wondolleck 1988, pg. 213).

Applying the EDR or ADR literature in a partnership context is not new. Leach and Pelkey (2001), for example, look at factors behind successful watershed partnerships, and observe that a number of these encapsulate themes 'that are prominent in the ADR literature'. They are:

- effective leadership and facilitation
- high levels of trust
- focus on a manageable number of attainable goals
- broad-based membership and inclusive membership rules
- consensus decision making
- well-defined process rules
- effective communication and education.

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[26] This has been identified as a partnership success factor—see discussion on partnership composition/membership.

This provides further support for the potential for ADR/EDR literature to play a part in an analysis of successful partnerships, although requiring other theoretical frameworks to develop a fuller picture of 'success' and the associated contexts and processes.

Social representation

Social representation theory may help to explain both the divergence of attitudes and behaviour and the reasons for conflict amongst members of partnerships. According to Moscovici (1973; 1984; 2000), groups of individuals in a society share similar values, beliefs and attitudes. He describes *social representations* as 'a special category of knowledge and beliefs … those that arise in ordinary communication and those whose structure corresponds to this form of communication' (Moscovici, 1984, pg. 952). Moscovici's early work was based on the student strikes in France during the 1980's and he observed that while many held supportive attitudes towards the strikes, they did not support the actual strike. Social representation theory assisted in explaining the different ways that people viewed the world and their resultant disparity in attitude/behaviour. Doise (1993), cited in Huguet and Latane (1996, pg. 58), notes the 'organizing' component of social representations, which provides 'common reference points for people at a given point in time'. As Fredline and Faulkner (2000, pg. 767) observe, social representations 'tend to turn the unfamiliar into the familiar, as objects and events are recognized on the basis of past experience, and prior knowledge serves as the reference point of new encounters'.

The process for establishing social representations involves identification of these representations and ascertaining their intensity (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross 1996; Beeton 2006). Factor, cluster or some other multivariate analysis may be used to group like responses together and explore how they are similar or different. This process of analysis might not be easy to carry out in practice (Andriotis & Vaughan 2003) and some have criticised the theory as based on a concept which is 'vague and boundary-less' (Andriotis & Vaughan 2003, pg. 174) or 'ill-defined' (Huguet & Latané 1996, pg. 58). The latter authors however point out that this 'ambiguity' may in fact be a positive element of the theory, leading to its usefulness and popularity. The end result is that 'the people being surveyed are telling us (the researchers) what concerns them and who they are' (Beeton 2006, pg. 63). It is therefore an 'emic' approach, where the community generates its own constructs of social representation, rather than having them imposed by a researcher (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000), although it should be noted that the latter admit in their study to using 'an essentially etic approach', which used a pre-determined series of questions to determine responses, while allowing respondents to 'choose' the group they belong to.

Sources of social representations can be identified using three categories—(1) direct experience, (2) social interaction and (3) the media (Fredline & Faulkner 2000; Dickinson & Dickinson 2006). Direct experience (i.e. experience of the individual) provides information which is more within their 'control; and thus may be a 'catalyst for change' (Fredline & Faulkner 2000, pg. 768). If this source of social representation is not available, other sources, specifically social interaction and the media, become more significant (Fredline & Faulkner 2000). Dickinson & Dickinson (2006), for example, mention the role that 'powerful sectors of the community can play in this process. 'Such groups are able to protect and perpetuate this representation through social interaction and powerful appearances at public meetings' (pg. 203), citing Coleman (1997). Observation and collection of evidence of social representations through a variety of sources may therefore help to identify opportunities and barriers to partnership formation and success.

When identifying social representations, the existence of common perceptions is analysed (Moscovici 1981; Fredline & Faulkner 2000; Dickinson & Dickinson 2006). They identify three levels of consensus as relevant, namely (1) 'hegemonic' representations—accepted by the whole community, (2) 'emancipated' representations —where sub-groups have 'somewhat differentiated opinions and ideas' and (3) 'polemical' representations—a position of conflict, where groups hold widely opposing views or outlooks. It should also be borne in mind that individuals may be members of more than one group and thus may need to reconcile different views based on different reference groups (Fredline & Faulkner 2000; Dickinson & Dickinson 2006). The fluid quality of social representations was noted by Moscovici (1988, pg. 220), as well as the nexus between this evolution of representations and the various communication sources that apply in a particular example: 'How the network evolves depends on the complexity and speed of communication as well as on the available communication media'.

Social representation theory has been applied in a tourism context (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross 1991, Pearce, Moscardo & Ross 1996; Burns 1997; Fredline & Faulkner 2000; Beeton 2006). It has a variety of purposes, such as ascertaining community attitudes towards the setting of user fees for using natural sites for tourism and recreation (Lee & Pearce 2002), identifying and explaining residents' attitudes towards tourism development (Andriotis & Vaughan 2003) and examining how social representations of transport and tourism can be used to manage tourism-related traffic (Dickinson & Dickinson 2006). Its utility for a study of partnerships lies in providing a framework which helps to explain 'how groups of people understand and react to certain

phenomena' (Beeton 2006, pg. 63; Beeton 2005). For example, the theory can be used to identify shared attitudes which in turn may facilitate or inhibit success of the partnership. These shared attitudes may in fact be underpinned by different representations which need to be explored and examined. Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) observe that this theory is also particularly useful as an explanation for social conflict within a community, through identifying 'issues of concern' to particular groups or collectives (Andriotis & Vaughan 2003, pg. 183), such as tourism partnerships in protected areas, and any 'social realities that underpin [these] attitudes' (Dickinson & Dickinson 2006, pg. 193).

Network theory

Network theory provides potential insights for partnerships, given that networks may play a role in fostering or organising partnerships, as well as assisting with our understanding of the nature of these arrangements (Dredge 2006a). Imperial (2005, pg. 282) also notes the link between network relationships and partnerships/collaboration. 'Public managers often use collaboration as a strategy to improve the governance of inter-organizational networks'. According to Dredge (2006b, pg. 565) 'The origin of the network concept has widely been attributed to Heclo's (1978) "iron triangle" … the metaphor used to denote the tight control [interest groups, congressional committees and government agencies] had over policymaking'.

A network theory approach has been applied in a number of contexts, including general business (Freeman 1991; Lawton Smith, Dickson and Lloyd Smith 1991) social service delivery (Provan & Milward 1995), agriculture (Daugbjerg 1998; Howlett & Ramesh 2003), tourism (Tyler & Dinan 2001; Pavlovich 2003; Braun 2004; Saxena 2005; Dredge 2006a, 2006b) and recently in studies looking at diffusion of innovations (Freeman 1991; Lawton Smith, Dickson & Lloyd Smith 1991; Braun 2004). The latter application may be particularly relevant to a study of partnerships. Braun (2004, pg. 231), for example, notes that the findings of her study of regional tourism networks, 'suggests a strong relationship between diffusion and network positioning, both in terms of place (status and position in the network) and space (the geographic make-up of the network)'. This study also noted that successful diffusion may require 'network cohesion and actors' trust in and engagement with the network'. The network approach may therefore offer a useful adjunct to any analysis of partnerships using diffusion of innovations theory, as discussed in an earlier sub-section. The network is used as the tool or facilitator of innovation, although equally, one could also conceptualise the network structure as the innovation, with other factors facilitating its adoption such as leadership or flexibility (see Chapter 2). From a tourism perspective, Dredge (2006b, pgs. 565-566) identifies two streams of research using network theory – studies based on the 'strategic network organisation of firms' and research that looks at 'the networked nature of public-private interest structures'. Both applications may be relevant when considering tourism partnerships, and Dredge (2006b) notes the interrelationship of these applications.

Definitions of networks

Pinning down the nature of a network can be difficult, given the variety of definitions and types of networks which have been identified. Attempts have been made to embrace this diversity and link networks to other relationship structures. Networks and partnerships, for example, have been linked by Hall (1999), with partnership as an element along the 'continuum' of relationships which form the network paradigm. His definition of 'network' (1999, pg. 276), refers to 'the development of linkages between actors', which includes both individuals and organisations. He considers various degrees of formality and duration of arrangements within a network paradigm, following Mandell (1999), namely:

- linkages/interactive contacts
- intermittent coordination/mutual adjustment of policies and procedures
- ad hoc/temporary task force activity
- permanent and/or regular coordination through a formal arrangement (includes a **partnership**) to engage in 'limited' activity for a purpose/purposes
- coalition, with interdependent/strategic actions but with narrow purposes and 'all actions occur within the participant actors themselves or involve the mutually sequential or simultaneous activity of the participant actors'
- collective or network structure with broad mission and joint and strategically interdependent actions.

O'Toole (1997, pg. 45) also defines networks widely in the public administration field as 'structures of interdependence involving multiple organizations or parts thereof, where one unit is not merely the formal subordinate of the others in some larger hierarchical arrangement'. It therefore encompasses 'a very wide range of structures' (O'Toole 1997) with Dredge (2006a) observing that networks can vary in terms of formality and spatial scales and may involve changing issues, structures and intensity of engagement over time.

Networks which have regulated agricultural policy have been considered in the literature (Daugbjerg 1998; Howlett & Ramesh 2003) and contribute to our understanding of the way networks can shape decision making and, in some cases, changes to policy or innovations. Daugbjerg (1998) observes how looser, less cohesive network structures are associated with policy change, in that outsiders can more readily influence members of the network. Daugbjerg distinguishes policy communities from issue networks[27] and notes that the former are more likely to be cohesive than the latter. 'In a policy community, policy rules, norms and procedures are well developed … Members increasingly handle policy problems by referring to rules, procedures and norms … Outsiders' opportunities for forcing new policy rules into an old regulated sector where a policy community exists are limited' (pg. 80). The issue network however is less institutionalized and applicable rules, norms and procedures are 'struggled over' and up for debate. Outsiders are more likely to be successful at influencing policy change in this type of structure. This has consequences for partnerships which are more aligned to a network structure than a community. While there may be more opportunities for conflict due to the absence of unchallenged or commonly accepted rules or norms, this may open up the possibility of innovation through 'new actors' or partners influencing decision making or changes in operation of the partnership or its activities. Partnerships founded more on a community structure may be more inherently stable, but less open to change and new opportunities. This tension between the benefits of stable processes on the one hand and flexibility on the other hand is also reflected in the partnerships literature, with both recognised as potential success factors (see discussion in Chapter 2). The 'discourse community' is another term in current use which encompasses communities sharing 'some common level of understanding of a problem, its definition and its causes' (Howlett & Ramesh 2003, pg. 154). These authors have developed two useful matrices which help us to understand both discourse communities and interest networks:

- a taxonomy of discourse communities based on whether they possess 'a dominant knowledge base' and/or the number of distinct 'idea sets' which exist in that community (Table 11)
- a taxonomy of interest networks based on whether they possess 'a dominant actor' and the number and type of members (Table 12).

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[27] Also termed policy networks or interest networks by some scholars, but essentially referring to the same kind of loose, essentially interest-driven structure, which can be distinguished from the community ('policy actors who share a common idea or outlook'—Howlett and Ramesh, 2003, pg. 151). The latter argue that the interest network is in fact 'nested' within or a subset of the membership of the policy community (pg. 151).

Table 11: Taxonomy of discourse communities

		Number of Idea Sets	
		Few	**Many**
Dominant idea Set	**Yes**	Hegemonic Community	Fractious Community
	No	Contested Community	Chaotic Community

Table 12: Taxonomy of interest networks (Source: Howlett and Ramesh 2003)

		Number of Members	
		Few	**Many**
Dominant actor	**State**	State Corporatist Networks	State Pluralist Networks
	Societal	Social Corporatist Networks	Social Pluralist Networks

(Source: Howlett and Ramesh 2003)

These matrices might be used to analyse partnerships, based firstly on whether they fit the network or community structure more neatly, and then further classified around membership (networks) or idea sets/knowledge base (community). This may help us to understand the potential for stability as well as the likelihood of the partnership being receptive to new ideas.

Advantages of network theory in partnership analysis

According to Dredge (2006a, pg. 271), the use of network theory helps to frame analysis and provides an insight into how policy 'emerges from a complex web of interactions between a diversity of public and private sector actors and agencies. It allows the development of understanding about interdependence, reciprocity, mutual interest, trust, representativeness and leadership'. These factors have been associated with successful partnerships, as discussed in Chapter 2. She identifies four main advantages of the network approach when analysing tourism partnerships (pgs. 271 and 279):

- Partnerships may involve different networks overlapping or working simultaneously or at different scales or times.
- Tourism is a 'multi-dimensional area' of policy interests, involving both public and private sectors.
- This approach recognises the different levels of political support which may be present for different policy issues within the same network.
- Actors may be a member of a variety of policy networks and have different 'powers, roles, functions and level of support and interaction' within these networks.

O'Toole (1997) also notes the growth in 'entrepreneurial government effort' (pg. 46), including public-private partnerships, which often involve 'forms of networking'. As he points out, 'Policies dealing with ambitious or complex issues are likely to require networked structures for execution, and complex issues will continue to be on the policy agenda'.

The origins of this theory, according to Dredge (2006b, pg. 565), can be traced back to the 1930s, and potentially to the focus during that era on 'systems theory' within economic and political studies. She notes that in more recent times, 'The concept of policy networks has become a powerful metaphor that reflects the richness of interest structures, the contestation of agendas, issues, values and approaches, the uneven character of organisation and the reflexivity of business-government relationships', citing Atkinson and Coleman (1992). Network theory has been criticised because the definition of 'network' is unclear and dependant on its context (Dredge 20006b). In addition, no agreed methodological approach has been adopted. Dredge (2006a, pg. 271)

argues that this is perhaps to be expected based on the complexity of the subject-matter and given that suitable methods are still being developed and refined in the field. 'Destination planning and policy-making are inevitably messy, transcending temporal and spatial boundaries, and research methods are necessarily influenced by the specificity of the case study … Case studies, in particular, contribute important insights into networks, since the role and influence of networks are best understood at the level at which destination planning and management takes place'. While acknowledging weakness in its theoretical development, Dredge (2006b, pg. 566) argues that there is a need to develop network theory 'as a lens for understanding the social interrelations of policymaking and to harness management opportunities that come from these in-depth, reflective understandings'.

Tourism networks

Dredge's case study of Lake Macquarie (2006a, pg. 274) looked at networks from three spheres of operation—'macro, meso and micro' using in-depth qualitative inquiry. A variety of factors affecting the destination (social, political, economic and environmental) were identified, as well as the 'broad policy community … which included all those actors and agencies with direct or indirect interests in the development and management of tourism in the destination'. Some of the issues she identified regarding management of networks, with a bearing on partnerships analysis, include problems of power differentials, the need for broader community involvement,[28] the importance of clearly focused and articulated roles and responsibilities, openness of participation about rules of conduct and lack of resourcing. This supports the use of network theory as an 'organising concept to understand the messiness of local tourism networks' (Dredge 2006a, pg. 279).

Pavlovich (2003) also presents a case study using the framework of network theory, with data collected through interviews, archival material and observation, and has produced a visual representation of the different relational patterns over time, based on the tourist destination of Waitomo Caves in New Zealand. Another case study approach is illustrated by Saxena (2005), who used qualitative interview data to examine partnership building in the Peak District National Park and was able to construct a diagram (Figure 5) which looked at perceptions of actors towards cross-sector networks. These types of diagrams might be able to be developed to analyse different partnerships.
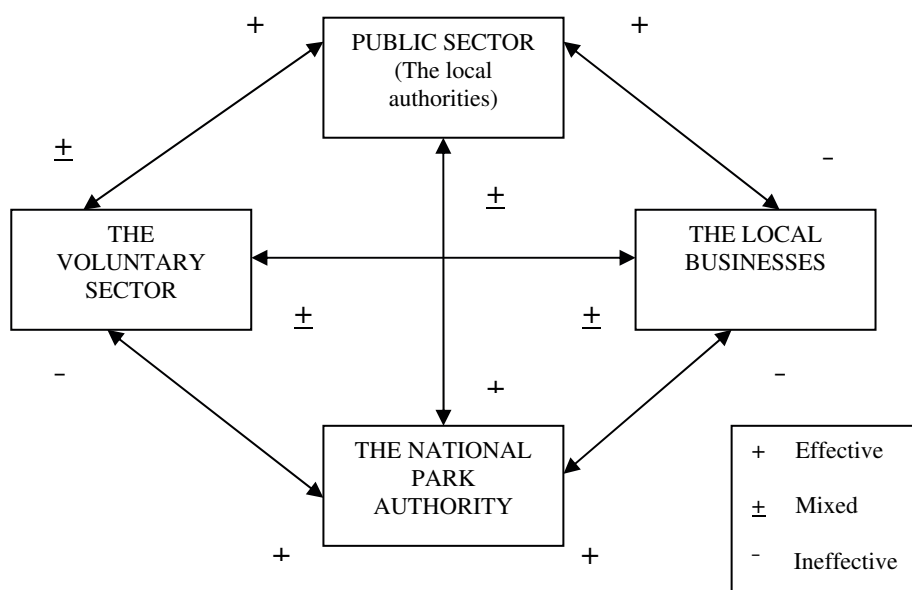

Figure 5: Perceptions of actors towards cross-sector networks

(Source: Saxena 2005)

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[28] This supports the approach of Hall (1999, pg. 284), who warns that a network approach to tourism may be defined too narrowly and exclude some stakeholders, including 'environmental organisations … public interest groups, and wider community interests'.

Pavlovich (2003) applies network theory by identifying four constructs:
- centrality (position of an actor within the network, including power)
- density (structure of the network, including number of ties that link actors together)
- 'strong ties'
- 'weak ties'—focusing on connectivity within the network.

This might be another way to look at various relationships and structures employed by partnerships. Imperial (2005, pg. 309) notes that 'weak ties' are often the conduit for 'the spread of new information, ideas, and innovations' and that acceleration of diffusion can occur where the network 'connects socially dissimilar individuals and organizations', citing Rogers (1995).[29]

O'Toole (1997) has also noted the need for more empirical research on networks, but reviews what has been attempted thus far, including a study of network performance (Provan & Milward 1995), linked to network structure. O'Toole found that network performance or success was dependent on 'the degrees and types of integration, external control, stability and environmental resource munificence' (1997, pg. 49). This type of approach may therefore also be applicable to a study of partnerships, given that some of these factors have been linked to the success of the partnership, based on the literature (see Chapter 2).

While there have been a diversity of definitions and approaches to considering networks, it would appear that the use of network theory has high potential in tourism studies and partnerships in particular. As Tyler and Dinan (2001, pg. 213) observe, 'Network theory may be the most applicable coordinating mechanism for a complex, fluid and young field of study such as tourism'. It may provide a useful framework for considering issues such as interdependence, trust and power relations, as well as measuring the effectiveness of the different relationships within and external to the partnership. It may also provide a means of observing and analysing the relationship between partnerships and the external environment, referred to in the previous chapter as the little-researched administrative setting. The application of this theory also recognises the role that networks play 'in social and organizational life and their importance to policy implementation' (Imperial 2005, pg. 281).

Stakeholder theory

This sub-section examines stakeholder theory, which posits that, 'for each major strategic issue we must think through the effects on a number of stakeholders, and therefore, we need processes which help take into account the concerns of many groups' (Freeman 1984, pg. 26). Freeman (1984, pg. vi) defines a 'stakeholder' as 'any group or individual who can affect, or is affected by, the achievement of [an organisation]'. The theory has been developed to improve how organisations identify, consider and manage a variety of interests or 'stakes' (Mitchell, Agle & Wood 1997). Identification of an organisation's stakeholders and their 'perceived stakes' is thus seen as an element of effective management (Freeman 1984; Sautter & Leisen 1999, pg. 314). A partner is one of many types of stakeholders, others being communities, customers, competitors, owners, employees, suppliers, media, and so on. For example, Figure 6 depicts potential stakeholders of natural area tourism (Newsome *et. al.* 2002) and provides an indication of the range and breadth of interests in a protected area tourism context.

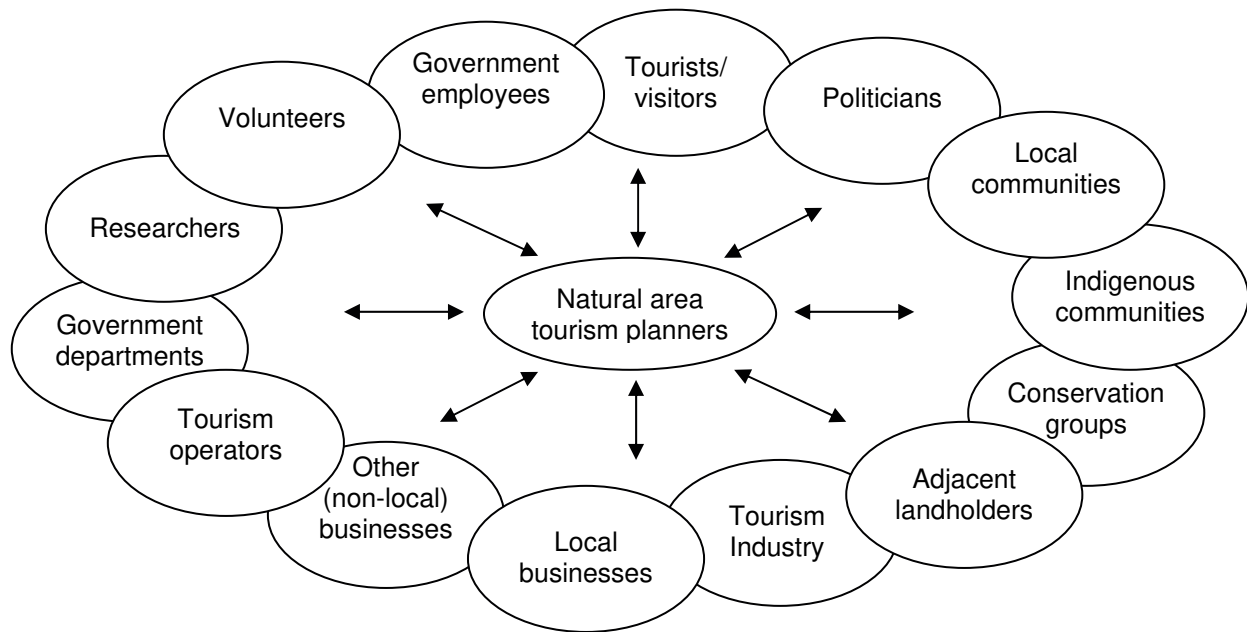[29] See section on Adoption and Diffusion of Innovations in this Chapter.

Figure 6: Possible stakeholders of natural area tourism

(Source: Newsome *et al.* 2002, derived from Hall & McArthur 1998 and Sautter & Leisen 1999)

While stakeholder theory was developed to describe a much wider range of relationships, the theory offers insights and approaches that are useful and relevant to partnerships. For example, understanding the 'respective perceived stakes' (Sautter & Leisen 1999, pg. 314) of various stakeholders is necessary in order to seek and, where possible, achieve alignment in 'strategic orientations', which in turn increases the likelihood of co-operation. With such an approach, differences of opinion on specific actions or decisions can continue to exist, but a base is established for pursuing a common outcome such as a long term partnership (pg. 324). In addition, mastery of stakeholder relations and involvement is seen as important to 'engendering commitment' to such an outcome (Moore, Jennings & Tacey 2001, pg. 91). Stakeholder theory also provides a framework for managing change (Freeman 1984) and clearly partnerships as a management approach is one such change.

One form of analysis is to compare stakeholder *power* over the objectives of the organisation with their *interest* in the organisation's objectives. If a stakeholder has higher levels of interest, this provides an indication of their willingness to utilise the power that they hold. In other words, *stakeholder influence* equates to *power* multiplied by *interest* (Evans, Campbell & Stonehouse 2003). They observe that using this analysis, 'The local community [in most cases] will not concern itself with the setting of organizational objectives and have limited power to impose their views' (Evans *et. al.* 2003, pg. 22). A critique of this implementation of stakeholder theory is its focus on the private organisation and the limitation this presents when dealing with public organisations or the general public. The emphasis on power and interest often downplays the role of stakeholders with limited power stemming from under capacity or low interest due to lack of information. It has also been noted that stakeholder consultation can often be a form of pseudo consultation with those holding the same or similar interests (Schwartz & Deruyttere 1996; Gregory, Fischoff, Thorne & Butte 2003).

Another particular line of inquiry within stakeholder theory has been that of Friedman and Miles (2002, pg. 2–3), who argue for a wider perspective than 'the almost exclusive analysis of stakeholders from the perspective of the organization' that has occurred to date. 'This puts the organization at the centre of the analysis and discourages consideration of stakeholders in their own right as well as discouraging balanced viewing of the organization/stakeholder relation'. They have therefore developed a model explaining various relationships between organisation and stakeholder, based on Archer's (1995, 1996) realist theory of social differentiation (Figure 7). This considers whether relationships/connections between partners are (1) *necessary* (versus contingent) and whether the partners' ideas and organisational structures are (2) *compatible* (versus incompatible). This provides a basis or reason for distinguishing between stakeholders and treating them differently, depending on which cell of the matrix they fall into.

	Organisation and stakeholder perceive a relationship between them as <u>necessary</u>	Organisation and stakeholder perceive a relationship between them as <u>contingent</u>
Organisation and stakeholder perceive the other as <u>compatible</u>	**A** • Shareholders • Top management • Partners	**B** • The general public • Companies connected through common trade associations/ initiatives
Organisation and stakeholder perceive the other as <u>incompatible</u>	**D** • Trade unions • Low-level employees • Government and their agencies • Customers • Lenders • Suppliers and other creditors • Some NGOs	**C** • Some NGOs • Aggrieved or criminal members of the public

Figure 7: Relationship dimensions and associated stakeholder types

(Source: after Friedman & Miles 2002)

Necessary relationships can be defined as 'internal to a social structure … or to a set of logically connected ideas' (pg. 6) whereas *contingent* relationships are 'external' or loosely connected. This first dimension (*necessity*) is closely linked to Clarkson's (1995) notion of a primary stakeholder group. A primary stakeholder group is one that is necessary to the organisation's survival in that 'without its continuing participation, the [organisation] cannot survive as a going concern' and suggests that high levels of interdependence exist between an organisation and this class of stakeholders. Friedman and Miles' second dimension is that of *compatibility*. Relationships are *compatible*, where the relationships help rather than hinder. The four-cell matrix in Figure 7 shows how the social reality differs for a range of stakeholder relationships (pg. 5). They do note, however, that organisational and stakeholder relationships are not static, but can shift from one cell to another over time as circumstances change. Stakeholders in Cell A (necessary and compatible) are generally subject to a formal explicit contract and they are likely to be given the highest priority by the organisation, potentially as a 'defensive' or 'protectionist' move. Stakeholders in Cell B (contingent and compatible) are recognised as significant but not subject to an explicit contract, and thus might represent an opportunity for the organisation i.e. they might eventually move into Cell A. Cell C stakeholders (contingent and incompatible) are not subject to any contract and potentially have a competitive relationship with the organisation, in that both are aligned in different camps. Where possible, the organisation will seek to discredit or ultimately eliminate this group of stakeholders. Stakeholders in Cell D are not recognised as subject to a contract with the organisation but there is a symbiotic relationship which may require concessions to be granted or compromises.

For an examination of stakeholders within partnerships, this matrix also suggests that it is important to find out (1) whether each partner perceives a relationship with the other as necessary (probably using a scale rather than a stark choice of yes or no, as there may be degrees to this perception) and (2) whether each partner perceives the other's organisational ideas and structures as compatible (again using a scale). If the response of either partner is negative on either of the two dimensions in Figure 7 (i.e. they rate their fellow partner as fitting within Cell C or D), this may not augur well for the partnership's success. Friedman and Miles (2002) also observe that stakeholders in a necessary relationship will be perceived as *legitimate*, one of the three key elements of a salient partnership, discussed in the next sub-section. Asking a partner whether they perceive another partner as necessary thus also serves as a surrogate measure of legitimacy.

Classification of stakeholders in terms of salience

Mitchell, Agle and Wood (1997) argue that stakeholder *salience* (the degree to which their claims as stakeholders are given priority) is a function of three attributes of the stakeholder—legitimacy, power and/or

urgency. Freeman (1984, pg. 45) refers to *legitimacy* as linked to a stakeholder's 'ability to affect the direction of [an organisation]' such that it is legitimate 'to spend time and resources on [these] stakeholders, regardless of the appropriateness of their demands'. In the context of this study of partnerships, Mitchell *et al.*'s work suggests that it should be determined whether the protected area manager perceives a particular partner as having legitimacy. *Power* is conceived in terms of a party's influence on the organisation, the power 'to impose its will in the relationship' (Mitchell *et al.* 1997, pg. 865) while the reference to *urgency* imposes a dynamic on the relationship or interaction with the stakeholder—'the degree to which stakeholder claims call for immediate attention' (Mitchell *et al.* 1997, pg. 867). Urgency might be akin to stakeholder interest (Evans, Campbell & Stonehouse 2003) in the sense of an individual's desire to affect the organisation's achievement of objectives.

In their research, Mitchell *et al.* (1997) sought to examine the nature of the relationships where a stakeholder was perceived to have one, two or all three of these attributes. They theorised that low salience is associated with possessing only one of these three attributes 'latent stakeholders', moderate salience is associated with two attributes 'expectant stakeholders' and high salience requires all three attributes 'definitive stakeholders'. However, there has been only limited operationalisation of these constructs, such as the degree to which stakeholders are perceived to possess legitimacy, urgency and power, and none within a tourism context, and therefore their influence on stakeholder relationships in a particular context such as tourism/protected area partnerships is still unknown. Concerns might also be raised that using this theory, which has been developed within a business context, might lead to an over-emphasis on powerful stakeholders and the marginalisation of individuals or groups who lack power. The latter might need capacity building to achieve their full potential as active members of the partnership (see discussion on social capital/community capacity in this Chapter).

Despite these limitations and the somewhat differing approaches to conceptualising stakeholder relationships among researchers, stakeholder theory provides a useful framework and compelling argument for identifying partners' perceptions about the attributes that they and the other partners hold and the relationships between them, as these clearly can either facilitate or inhibit collaboration among the key players (Sautter & Leisen 1999, pg. 325).

Social capital/community capacity

Social capital and the broader concept of community capacity can contribute to our understanding of why and how people might work together in partnerships. As Putnam (1993) observes, 'Working together is easier in a community blessed with a substantial stock of social capital'. Social capital, with its focus on networks and relationships, can help explain how the joint action necessary for partnering occurs or is impeded. Additionally, enormous efforts have been made over the last decade to operationalise and develop measures of social capital, in fields as diverse as community development (Putnam 1993; Putnam 1995; Falk & Kilpatrick 2000), family studies (Stone 2001), health (Poole 1997; Labonte & Laverack 2001), education (Ecclestone & Field 2003), tourism (Jamal & Getz 1999; Hall 1999; Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004; Jones 2005; Beeton 2006) and natural resource management (Pretty & Ward 2001; Pretty 2003). These measures and the associated constraints, from this diversity of disciplines, also provide this project with constructs and variables to help in identifying and then describing the features critical to partnerships.

Social capital

Social capital, according to Coleman (1988, pg. S98) 'is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether persons or corporate actors—within the structure'. Social capital therefore encompasses both structural and cognitive aspects (Jones 2005; Beeton 2006). The former includes 'networks, roles, rules and precedents', while the latter involves 'the norms, values, attitudes and beliefs' (Beeton 2006, pg. 91) of a community or social system. Jones (2005) sees the 'core idea' underpinning social capital theory, following Ecclestone and Field (2003), as centred on the value of 'social networks … as interaction and connections develop shared norms, trust and reciprocity that in turn foster cooperation to achieve common ends'. She shares the concerns in some quarters that the relationship between the two components of social capital—structural and cognitive elements—is problematic, arguing that one may be more important than the other and both need not be present in order to facilitate 'mutually beneficial collective action' (Jones 2005, pg. 321). For example, 'trust, equality and social cohesion may not be as important … as social norms and pressures' (pg. 321).

Three types of social capital have been identified through the literature (Putnam 2000; Productivity Commission 2003; Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004):

- Bonding social capital—developed through 'close-tie networks' involving family or friends (Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004, pg. 512) or through 'relatively homogenous groups' such as those based on common ethnicity (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 18).
- Bridging social capital—developed through 'generalised network ties' (Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004, pg. 512) which leads to its potential application in the 'wider development context' and thus potentially for studies of partnerships.
- Linking social capital—refers to 'relations between individuals and groups in different social strata in a hierarchy where power, social status and wealth are accessed by different groups' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 18). This form of social capital is also relevant to a study of partnerships.

Social capital can be distinguished from other forms of capital such as political capital or cultural capital, although Macbeth, Carson and Northcote (2004) factor in all three when looking at innovation in regional tourism development, and seek to argue that the three can be considered together, as a 'way of understanding how the social characteristics of communities contribute to successful innovation and sustainable development' (pg. 502), despite problems of multiple definitions and measurement of these concepts.

Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) have developed a model showing the relationship of knowledge resources and identity resources to the building and use of social capital (Figure 8). As individuals interact, 'social capital is simultaneously used and built' (pg. 101). These interactions at the centre of the model are crucial to the building of social capital, as social capital 'cannot just spring from the air' (pg. 101) and need not necessarily be face to face, so long as they are *local*. Quantity and quality of interactions are relevant here, which Falk and Kilpatrick (2000, pg. 102) refer to as 'the existence of sufficient opportunities for the kinds of social interaction which have the potential to create it [social capital]'.

The quality of the interaction, according to the model, depends on:

- the quality of *knowledge resources* employed and the degree to which those knowledge resources are shared through these interactions. This may include available skills, tapping into networks and knowledge of relevant procedures/rules
- the quality of *identity resources* employed and the degree to which self-confidence is built up and 'positive identity shifts' encouraged through these interactions. This may involve shared values or attitudes, the level of trust and the level of community commitment built up.
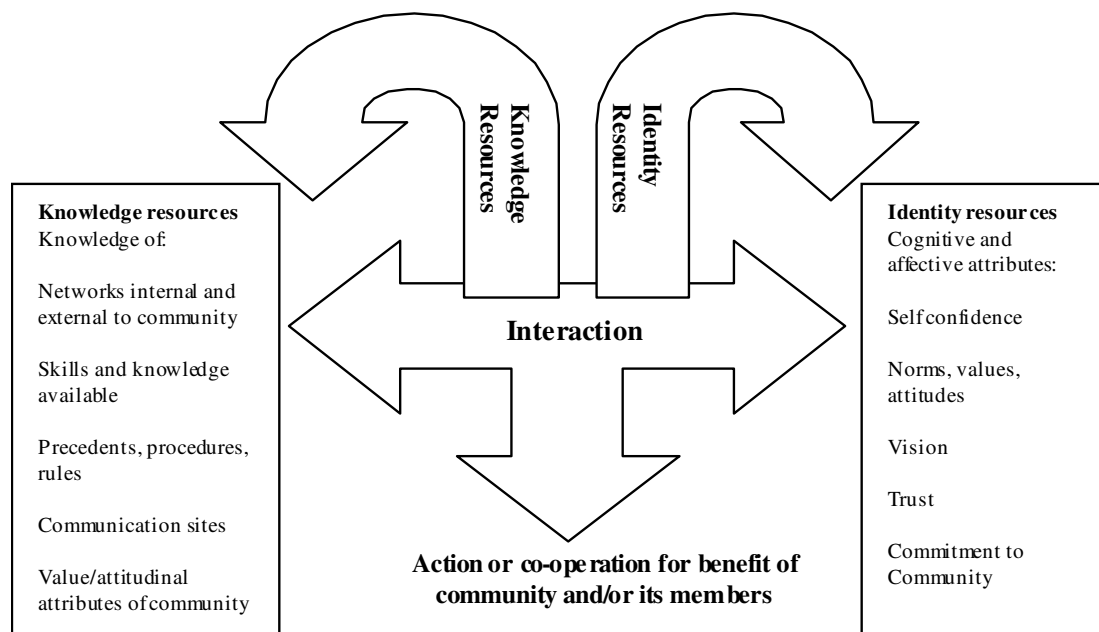

Figure 8: Simultaneous building and using of social capital

(Source: Falk and Kilpatrick 2000)

Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) recognise the role played by past learning ('historicity'), present circumstances and future visions ('futuricity') 'in the processes that transmit social and cultural norms' and calls for more research of these dimensions within studies of social capital. This supports the view of the importance of time in developing a partnership, with 'chronology' playing a part in the building and use of social capital. They also note that interactions 'only make sense' when viewed within a 'framework of a set of purposeful community activities' (pg. 104). This links the *micro* level of the social interaction with the *macro* level of its effect on society or a community. The concept of a community need not necessarily be grounded in a particular place or locale and they draw upon the work of Lave and Wenger (1991) on the *community-of-common-purpose*, which these latter authors see as existing at various levels and scales i.e.:

- place/locale
- organizational/corporate
- professional or other interest group or
- electronic (such as Web communities).

Individuals 'may have multiple memberships of such communities-of-common-purpose, and … the life of the communities tends to be variable and defined by its purpose' (pg. 103).

Jones (2005) criticises applications of the theory as not having given sufficient emphasis to 'power, inequality and exclusion' (pg. 306) i.e. 'negative' social capital. There may be problems associated with social capital where it leads to a group excluding outsiders (Portes 1998, Falk & Kilpatrick 2000) or pursuing 'group objectives … at the expense of community well being' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 21). It can also stifle incentive and demand conformity in ways which are overly restrictive and narrow-minded. 'Overly strong in-group solidarity may reduce the inflow and uptake of new ideas into a group, leading to inertia and parochialism, and thus limiting the economic advance of the group members as a whole' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 22). Macbeth, Carson and Northcote (2004, pg. 503) note the tendency for social capital to be latched upon as an 'alternative to government intervention' and suggest that this approach instead should involve 'the community as an important player in an overall partnership between government, industry and community'. This stance thus supports a 'synergy approach' to social capital (Woolcock & Narayan 2000; Macbeth, Carson & Northcote, 2004), through both 'community and state involvement' (Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004, pg. 506). The latter also support a broader definition of social capital which looks beyond economic benefits or 'value' to the 'rich texture of networks and associations, reciprocity and trust' (pg. 504) which can be found—the 'glue that holds people together and the lubrication that assists our *business*' (pg. 512). Others have supported the use of partnerships to build or accumulate social capital, including Putnam (1993), Pretty and Ward (2001) and Leach and Sabatier (2005), with the latter study discussed below in connection with their analysis of the role of trust within partnerships.

Pretty and Ward (2001) have developed a typology of stages of evolution of social capital through groups, which may be applied to partnerships, differentiating these stages based on five themes:

- world view of members
- internal norms and trust
- external linkages and networks
- technologies and improvements and
- group lifespan.

These stages have been labelled:

- Stage I—Reactive-dependence—the group forms in reaction to some external influence and is dependent on external rules/norms and facilitators.
- Stage II—Realization-dependence—the group becomes more independent and realizes its aptitude for dealing with problems and finding solutions, facilitating sharing of information and development of group rules/norms.
- Stage III—Awareness-interdependence—individuals have acquired 'new world views' and are more 'self-aware of the value of the group' i.e. the value placed on social capital. The group is more likely at this stage to stay together and resist threats through innovating.

A number of positive benefits of social capital have been identified, including:

- reduced transaction costs i.e. through sharing information, greater trust, use of networks
- knowledge and innovation dissemination and diffusion. 'At a general level, the more connected the community is, the more easily people will be able to pass information around and the more people this information is likely to reach' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 16). It has been noted however that the reverse can occur in some instances, as discussed below
- promotion of cooperative behaviour—overriding self-interest, looking out for others, sharing information or resources.
- Individual benefits such as effects on people's self-esteem, confidence and 'sense of belonging.' This may have 'spill-over' social benefits (Productivity Commission 2003) such as better health, less crime or improved career prospects.

There are a number of elements of social capital theory which bear closer attention.

Trust

As indicated in the definition above, trust is an important, and, some would argue, an essential dimension of some forms of social capital (Coleman 1988; Falk & Kilpatrick 2000; Productivity Commission 2003; Beeton 2006), although there is a divergence of opinion as to whether trust should be seen as an element of social capital or an outcome of social capital (Productivity Commission 2003). Woolcock (2001, pg. 71), for example, argues that 'trust is better understood not as social capital per se, but rather as a measure of it'. Stone and Hughes (2002) criticise the use of trust as a single measure of social capital because it 'fails to recognise that social capital is multidimensional' (pg. 18). They prefer to see it as one of a series of elements which might be used to measure social capital, including network size and the presence of social norms.

Leach and Sabatier (2005) view trust and social capital as different variables, in their study of watershed partnerships. Their research suggests that 'highly successful partnerships have high levels of social capital and trust' (pg. 235) and Figure 9 shows the relationship between partnership characteristics, outputs and outcomes, which they explain as demonstrating that 'trust is a catalyst for agreements mainly among partnerships older than three years' (pg. 235).
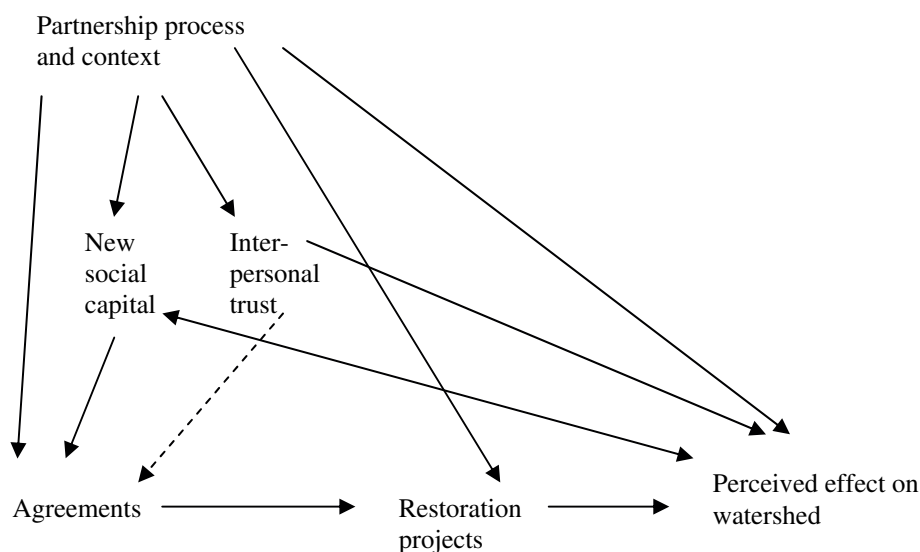
[Dash-dot arrow applies mainly to older partnerships]

Figure 9: Revealed relationship between partnership characteristics, outputs and outcomes

(Source: Leach and Sabatier 2005)

Trust is defined by Leach and Sabatier (2005, pg. 234) as involving 'knowing that one's fellow stakeholders are likely to negotiate honestly, are worthy of respect, and are sufficiently honourable and competent to keep any promises they make'. Their model introduces the concept of *new social capital* which they suggest is generated 'through one's participation in a partnership' and can be distinguished from norms of reciprocity which are a 'pre-existing form of social capital that is probably unaffected by participating in a partnership' (pg. 244).

The findings of Leach and Sabatier (2005) also show that, 'Trust and social capital have a much stronger than hypothesized influence on perceptions about a partnership's effect … The relationship is reciprocal for social and human capital but not for trust' (pg. 255). They note the existence of the *halo effect*, in that high levels of trust may lead participants to perceive the partnership to be 'more successful than it actually is' (pg. 255), which assumes that 'satisfying interpersonal relationships' are not in themselves a successful partnership outcome (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of the meaning of 'partnership success.')

Social capital 'exists in the *relations* among persons' (pgs. S100–S101) according to Coleman (1988) and where an individual performs a 'good turn' for another, there is an expectation that this will be reciprocated in the future. The obligation thus becomes a form of social capital, which Coleman (1988) notes, depends on two elements, '*trustworthiness* of the social environment, which means that obligations will be repaid, and the actual extent of obligations held' (pg. S102). Two forms of trust are distinguished through the literature—'trusting based on personal experience and trust based on a general community norm' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 11). Putnam (2000) values the latter more highly in terms of its contribution to social capital, as it extends trust across a greater circle of individuals, rather than restricting it to those with whom we interact frequently. The existence of trust in a partnership might therefore be analysed in terms of social capital theory, including its role in relationship-building and facilitating interactions.

Norms

Social capital may also relate to *social norms*, which may facilitate certain actions or constrain others. The Productivity Commission (2003, pg. 9) defines social norms as 'shared understandings, informal rules and conventions that prescribe, proscribe or modulate certain behaviours in various circumstances'. Coleman (1988, pg. S104) notes with respect to collective action that, 'an especially important form of social capital is the norm that one should forgo self-interest and act in the interests of the collectivity'. These norms may be internalised or reinforced through the existence of rewards or sanctions. Examples of the latter are external sanctions such as ostracism or internal sanctions such as guilt. According to Coleman (1998, pg. S107), closed social structures may assist this process, by providing 'a set of effective sanctions that can monitor and guide behaviour'. This type of structure also helps to build trustworthiness of the social environment (Coleman 1988). It has however been suggested that norms may stifle innovativeness (see section in this Chapter on diffusion of innovations),

which might prevent changes from being adopted or diffused through a group, community or partnership. Partnerships may be analysed based on the shared norms between partners and how this affects the development of social capital, including the building of trust.

Networks

The Productivity Commission (2003, pg. 10) notes that networks are a core element of social capital, defined as 'an interconnected group of people who usually have an attribute in common'. The network provides individuals with benefits such as social support and greater access to information, including lower search costs. Information which 'inheres in social relations …' is considered by Coleman (1988, pg. S104) to be a form of social capital. Networks can also help with other aspects of social capital discussed above, such as norms and trust. 'Social norms are more likely to be spread and observed in a more connected society, and members of a highly connected community may find it easier to trust one another' (Productivity Commission 2003, pg. 10). Macbeth, Carson and Northcote (2004) distinguish networks extending horizontally and vertically. They note that both forms of networks may facilitate tourism development, with the former providing 'the social capital needed to work together in creating new opportunities' while communities replete with the latter might be 'more open to tourists and tourism development as an economic strategy' (pg. 513). Social capital can also be measured using a network-approach (Stone & Hughes 2002), which looks at norms and network characteristics within different types of networks.

Power

Power relations, as Jones (2005) argues, are not emphasised in many studies using social capital theory, although she cites Anderson, Locker and Nugent (2002), following Grootaert (1998), as conceiving social capital as including 'vertical linkages (characterized by unequal power distribution among members and able to produce negative as well as positive associations)' (Jones 2005, pg. 306). Pretty and Ward (2001) remark on the potential for high social capital to be based on 'power' or 'fear' rather than trust, while Macbeth, Carson and Northcote (2004) observe that networks might be used to 'exclude' certain people, perhaps from membership or possibly decision making, and link social capital with political capital as 'forms of power' (pg. 514). They advocate partnerships 'between different levels of government and local communities' as a way to empower and take account of 'local interests' (pg. 515) and clearly power imbalances should be considered when analysing social capital within a partnership structure.

Measurement of social capital

As discussed, there are measures of social capital based on networks or combinations of various elements of social capital such as power or trust (Stone 2001). A further approach to measurement is to group respondents together, using cluster analysis as a typology-based approach (Stone & Hughes 2002). 'This approach is driven by the expectation that we will find clusters of people with different network characteristics and whose levels of trust and reciprocity will vary with network type. In other words, they will have different strengths and weaknesses in respect to the different elements of social capital and the networks in which social capital can exist' (pg. 23). Stone and Hughes (2002) found that all three measures (network-based approach, using an element or combination of elements as a measure or a using typology-based approach) are useful and valid measures of social capital, with selection of the appropriate measure to be used dependent on the particular research question and the type of data available to the researcher. Any of these measures could therefore be used in this study to measure social capital within a partnership, as a potential success factor.

It is also worth noting that social capital can be measured at different levels, from individual (micro) to group (meso) to macro (society/social order), with specific measures applying to the different levels—see Falk and Kilpatrick (2000) and Figure 10.
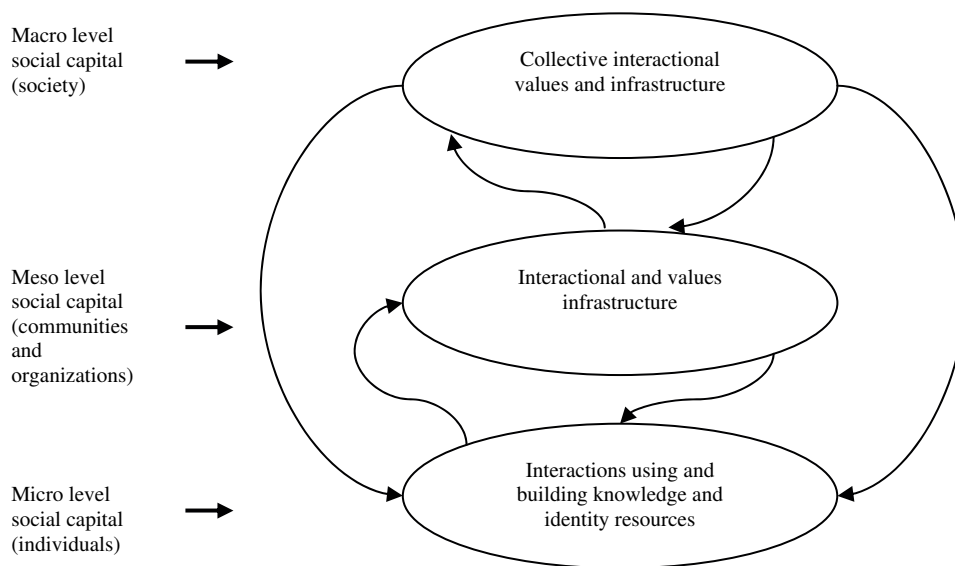
Macro level
social capital
(society) →

Meso level
social capital
(communities
and
organizations) →

Micro level
social capital
(individuals) →

Collective interactional
values and infrastructure

Interactional and values
infrastructure

Interactions using and
building knowledge and
identity resources

Figure 10: Links between different levels of social capital

Source: Falk & Kilpatrick 2000

Given that partnerships can exist across these various levels, this might be a useful tool for looking at the different types of interactions and measuring levels of trust, power sharing etcetera.

Community capacity

Community capacity, according to the definition advanced by Chaskin, Brown, Venkatesh and Vidal (2001, pg. 7), refers to the 'interaction of human capital, organizational resources, and social capital existing within a given community that can be leveraged to solve collective problems and improve or maintain the well-being of that community. It may operate through informal social processes and/or organized efforts by individuals, organizations and social networks that exist among them and between them and the larger systems of which the community is a part'. The concept has been used in a variety of studies, including natural resource management (Moore, Severn & Millar 2007), training (Mayo, Hoggett & Miller 2007) and tourism (Jamal & Getz 1999). For example, Jamal and Getz (1999, pg. 301) consider community round table processes used in cases of conflict over tourism development and note the role played by the imparting of 'conflict resolution skills' on community capacity, facilitating 'personal growth' of participants. Partnerships can play a role in this building of community capacity, according to Chaskin *et al*. (2001), through the fostering of 'specific partnerships to accomplish particular ends' (pg. 140).

Chaskin *et al*. (2001, pg. 20) conceptualise the building of social capital and community capacity as intertwined, with the latter developed through 'networks of positive social relations' and Moore, Severn and Millar (2007) take this further with their findings that indicators of social and *human* capital (in the sense of knowledge, skills and experience) can be used to understand and determine community capacity. The measures of social capital outlined above might therefore be used to explore community capacity, using partnerships as the vehicle or structure for achieving these goals. Social capital is a complex variable, both contributing to outcomes and being one itself (Productivity Commission 2003).

Table 13 developed by Moore *et al.* (2007) depicts a framework for community capacity and capacity building, which is a useful starting point for conceptualising community capacity and its various dimensions.

Table 13: Revised conceptual model of community capacity

Natural Capital	Social Capital	Human Capital	Institutional Capital	Produced Economic Capital
• Extant biodiversity values • Natural biodiversity in nurseries	*Cognitive (social norms):* • Trust & reciprocity • Values, attitudes and behaviour • Commitment • Motivation • Sense of place *Structural (networks):* • Networks • Relationships	• Knowledge • Skills • Experience	Governance arrangements	Financial resources

(Source: Moore *et al.,* 2007)

It covers multiple forms of capital, including human capital and natural capital, the latter being integral to protected areas. There are limitations, in that some of the elements such as social capital are difficult to measure.[30] Nevertheless, it might be a starting point for identifying how a partnership has developed community capacity and the links with desired and achieved outcomes.

Institutional analysis and development

The Institutional Analysis and Development (IAD) framework might also contribute to the understanding of partnerships in protected areas, given it is used to explain how local institutional arrangements help to shape environmental management practices and outcomes. This framework was developed chiefly through the work of Ostrom (1990; 1999) and was influenced by models such as the *'tragedy of the commons'* (Hardin 1968), where human beings seek to increase their share of scarce communal resources, without thinking of the interests of others, the *prisoner's dilemma game*, (Dawes 1973; 1975) which introduces the paradox that 'individually rational strategies lead to collectively irrational outcomes' (Ostrom 1990, pg. 5) and Olson's (1965) *logic of collective action*, which argues that, 'unless the number of individuals is quite small, or unless there is coercion or some other special device to make individuals act in their common interest, *rational, self-interested individuals will not act to achieve their common or group interests*' (pg. 2).

IAD is a framework of collective action (Leach & Pelkey 2001), which is useful for analysing problems relating to 'common pool resources' faced by a group and how they use rules (both formal and informal) to address these problems (Imperial 1999). 'This requires understanding something about the nature of the problem, the nature of individuals (culture) and the institutional setting …' (pg. 454, citing Ostrom 1990). For example, it deals with some of the challenges of studying institutions, such as methods of identification, as well as the fact that they interact in a diversity of situations and structures, which may require multiple levels of analysis (Ostrom 1999). The IAD framework theory is also differentiated from other theories of organizational analysis by its focus on rules and 'rule-ordered relationships' (Imperial 1999, pg. 454), rather than policies, which allows a 'much wider range of organizational relationships' (pg. 453) to form part of the analysis.

The basis of the IAD framework, outlined in Figure 11, is the institution, which Imperial (1999, pg. 453, citing Ostrom, Schroeder & Wynne 1993) defines broadly as including 'families, churches, local governments, government agencies, and most organizations, since they are defined by rule, norms and shared strategies'.

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[30] See the section on social capital in this Chapter and the discussion about measurement issues.
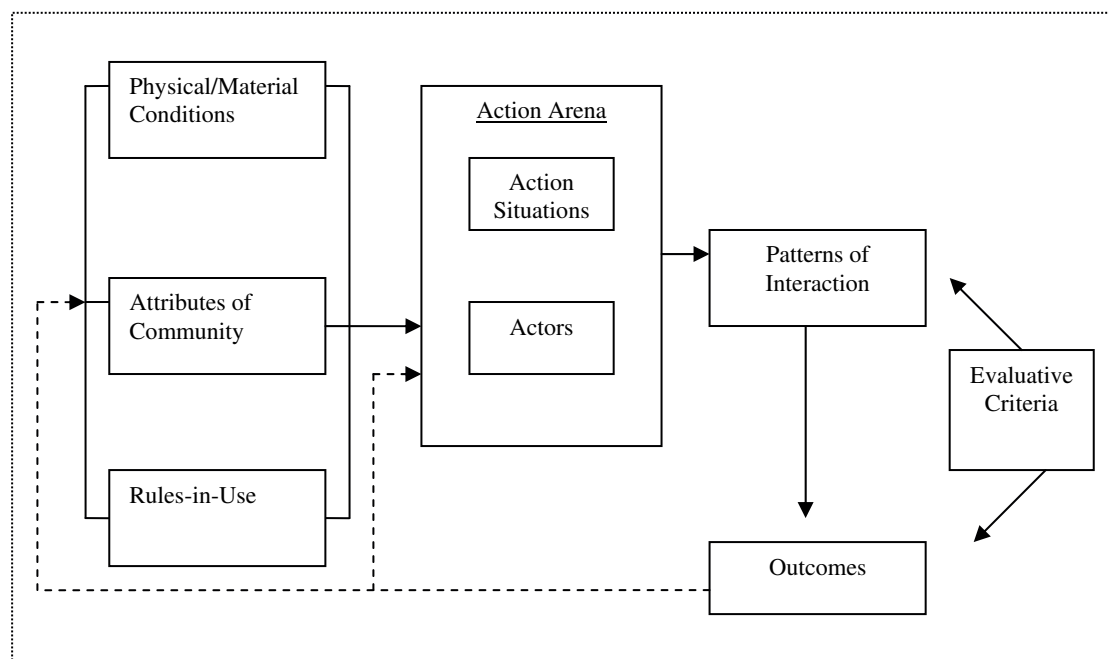
Figure 11: A framework for institutional analysis

Source: Ostrom, 1999, pg. 42, adapted from Ostrom, Gardner and Walker (1994, pg. 37).

Action arenas/action situations

This framework also incorporates the concept of the *action arena*, which is the pool of 'actors' (individuals or organizations) that interact and make resource management decisions (Imperial 1999), as well as *action situations* (Ostrom 1999). It is therefore 'the social space where individuals interact, exchange goods or services, solve problems, dominate one another or fight …' (pg. 42). Some of these actors may fall outside the geographic boundaries of the ecosystems to be managed, but are still part of the action arena if their decisions affect management. Interactions between these actors are influenced by three factors (Ostrom, Gardner & Walker 1994; Imperial 1999):

- assumptions about the rules/understanding the rules in place
- compatibility of the rules with the environment (physical/biological)
- the attributes of the community in which the actors are located.

The action situation is composed of a set of variables (Ostrom 1999), namely:

- the set of participants
- positions to be filled by the participants
- potential outcomes
- set of allowable actions and links to outcomes
- control exercised by participants
- information available to participants about the action situation's structure
- costs and benefits assigned to actions and outcomes.

Rules

When looking at action arenas, it is necessary to first understand the concept of rules, described as 'rules-in-use' in Figure 11. 'Rules are shared understandings among those involved that refer to enforced prescriptions about what actions (or states of the world) are required, prohibited, or permitted. All rules are the result of implicit or explicit efforts to achieve order and predictability among humans …' (Ostrom 1999, pg. 50). The IAD framework classifies rules 'according to their impact on the elements of an action situation' (pg. 52). For example, seven types of 'working rules' have been identified:

- entry and exit rules
- position rules
- scope rules
- authority rules
- aggregation rules—affect level of control
- information rules
- payoff rules—including sanctions/monitoring/rewards.

Discovering which rules apply in these action arenas can be challenging, as in many instances they are unwritten, have evolved over long periods of time and may not even be considered to be rules by those involved (Ostrom 1999). Apart from rules, the IAD framework also considers the way that attributes of the world (*physical and material conditions*) and *attributes of the community* 'affect the structure of action arenas, the incentives that individuals face, and the resulting outcomes' (pg. 59).

Advantages of the IAD framework in partnership studies

There are a number of advantages to using this framework in a partnership context, which Imperial (1999, pg. 451) argues should 'help researchers avoid making faulty policy recommendations and improve natural resource management'. Firstly, IAD looks at various transaction costs associated with implementing institutional policy—information costs, coordination costs and strategic costs (Imperial 1999) and also considers the broader context of the environment (i.e. physical, biological) which influences 'instructional design and performance' (Imperial 1999, pg. 453). The framework does not presume that a particular institutional structure or arrangement is more effective and considers a plethora of criteria to examine 'overall performance of an institutional arrangement' (pg. 456) such as efficiency, equity, accountability and adaptability. *Efficiency*, according to Ostrom (1999) looks at 'the magnitude of the change in the flow of net benefits' (pg. 48). *Equity* relates to processes as well as results (Imperial 1999) and may cover redistributional equity as well as morality (Ostrom 1999). *Accountability* relates to the use of facilities and resources and incorporates methods such as monitoring and sanctions for behaviour, while *adaptability* refers to the ability to adapt to changing circumstances and environments, which is important for 'sustainability of resources and investments' (Ostrom 1999, pg. 49). Performance can be analysed at the level of the institutional arrangement, or from the perspective of individual actors (Imperial, 1999). The outcomes of institutional arrangements may involve a trade-off between these criteria (Ostrom 1999; Imperial 1999), with Imperial (1999) providing the example of an arrangement with low transaction costs, which may be preferable on efficiency grounds, although it leads to less than optimal policy outcomes. It also considers some factors which partnership research suggests are associated with success. For example, research using the IAD framework has identified the role *trust* plays in collective problem solving (Ostrom, Gardner & Walker 1994, Imperial 1999) as well as the importance of *commitment* and its link with institutional change. 'If an actor does not believe that others will follow through on their commitments, they may be less likely to enact changes' (Imperial 1999, pg. 460, citing Ostrom 1990). Imperial (1999, pg. 461) also notes the importance of *time* in these processes, arguing that 'developing effective institutional arrangements can be a complicated and time-consuming task'. The principles outlined by Dolŝak and Ostrom (2003) as improving institutional design performance may also be linked to partnership success, namely:

- rules are devised and managed by resource users
- compliance with rules is easy to monitor
- rules are enforceable
- sanctions are graduated
- adjudication is available at low cost
- monitors and other officials are accountable to users
- institutions to regulate a given common-pool resource may need to be devised at multiple levels
- procedures exist for revising rules.

The IAD framework has already been discussed with reference to partnerships, with Leach and Pelkey (2001, pg. 383) identifying several themes in their review of the literature on successful watershed management partnerships as 'consistent with variables emphasized by institutional economics and the IAD framework' and thus arguing that IAD has value 'as a guide to identifying keys to partnership success', even though not all the studies specifically applied or cited the framework. These IAD-consistent themes were:

- monitoring and/or adaptive management. This links to performance criteria based on accountability and adaptability
- local, bottom-up leadership. This provides local knowledge and ensures credibility
- scope of activities (broad/ambitious or limited/focused), so as to address 'important issues' while also encompassing 'specific, tangible issues' (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 383)
- well defined decision or process rules. The importance of rules to the IAD framework has already been discussed in this sub-section
- adequate information. This links with equity criteria—providing enough information so that agreements can be reached which 'benefit all sides' (Leach & Pelkey 2001, pg. 383)
- agency staff support and participation. This supports the process through supplying information or expertise, and thus links to performance criteria based on efficiency and equity grounds.

IAD, as a framework, does appear to have application to partnerships research, and may help to uncover some of the factors for success, as well as examining how interactions between members of groups leads to various outcomes. These interactions may be progressively more complex and multi-layered. Dolŝak and Ostrom

(2003, pg. 24) note that with the 'increased connectedness of resource users in many spheres of their lives, such as natural environment and economic activity, institutions at various levels of resource use need to be nested … When preferences as to how a common-pool resource is to be used differ across [these] levels, institutions have to be designed to resolve such conflicts'.

Conclusion

This Chapter has considered a variety of theoretical frameworks which might illuminate a study of partnerships and assist with exploring the success and nature of these arrangements or approaches. This willingness to examine the applicability of different theoretical constructs developed in a variety of academic disciplines to a study of protected area tourism partnerships is aligned with recent developments in protected area management practice, as noted by Phillips (2003). He observes, '[I]t has become clear that making connections across professional and institutional boundaries is one of the biggest challenges facing governments and managers of all kinds. For protected areas, this means making connections to the areas around and adopting a multi-disciplinary approach' (Phillips 2003, pg. 22). This literature review therefore has an important contribution to make to protected area management, by demonstrating the value of drawing upon a broader field of knowledge than has previously been the case.

Table 14 links those factors identified as contributing to partnership success with the theoretical constructs which might potentially contribute to their analysis. Of the various frameworks considered, those with the most links to the success factors identified in Chapter 2 appear to be:
- environmental dispute resolution
- social capital theory
- the institutional analysis and development framework
- adoption and diffusion of innovations
- network theory.

Table 14: Factors contributing to the success of partnerships (categorised after Bingham 1986) linked to theoretical concepts

Category of Factors	Individual Factor	Theoretical Constructs							
		SE	ADI	EDR	SR	NT	ST	SC	IAD
INDIVIDUAL PARTNER-related Factors	Leadership		✓			✓			✓
	Empathy towards partners			✓			✓	✓	
	Presence of innovation / openness to change		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Distribution / balance of power	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
	Participation of stakeholders			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
	Membership composition			✓		✓	✓	✓	
PARTNERING AND PROCESS - related Factors	Scope of partnership			✓		✓	✓		✓
	Shared vision / purpose		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
	Information quality and quantity	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
	Commitment			✓			✓	✓	
	Interdependence	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
	Trust		✓	✓		✓		✓	✓
	Adequacy / transparency of process			✓					✓
	Structured process		✓	✓		✓			✓
	Flexibility		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
	Open internal communication	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
	External communication		✓		✓			✓	✓
	Dealing with conflict	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓
PARTNERSHIP CONTEXT - related Factors	Adequacy of resources	✓				✓		✓	
	Adequacy of time / duration of partnership		✓					✓	✓
	Legislative framework								✓
	Administrative setting		✓						✓
	Enforcement of behaviour/ Decisions			✓					✓
	Benefits / incentive	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓

Key: SE = Social Exchange Theory; ADI = Adoption/Diffusion of Innovations; EDR = Environmental Dispute Resolution; SR = Social Representation; NT = Network Theory; ST = Stakeholder Theory; SC = Social Capital/Community Capacity Theory; IAD = Institutional Analysis and Development.

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Between them, these five theories deal with all of the factors connected with partnership success. The next Chapter develops this analysis further, examining which of the various theoretical constructs explored in this literature review might be most useful to partnership research, before concluding with recommendations for future research.

Chapter 4

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter draws together and synthesises the previous chapters and will consider the implications of the findings of this literature review for research involving sustainable protected area tourism partnerships. Before doing so, it is necessary to consider the reasons why protected area tourism partnerships differ from other forms of partnerships and thus why they need to be researched separately, as a unique category of partnership. We then turn to an examination of the relationship between the success factors identified and the theoretical constructs, in order to clarify which theory or theories might best guide future research in this area.

Protected Area Tourism Partnerships

Ideally protected area tourism partnerships will contribute to the sustainability of protected areas and the associated tourism industry. As discussed in Chapter 1, sustainability involves a long-term commitment, with Sharpley (2000, pg. 7) defining it as essentially 'the capacity for continuance'. In such partnerships, partners need to be prepared for the long-haul, which may not be required to such a degree for other partnerships *per se*. Sustainable tourism requires maintenance of ecological integrity of protected areas as a central tenet of protected area management, as well as consideration of social, cultural and economic sustainability. While Bramwell and Lane (2000) consider the ways that tourism partnerships have added to the sustainability movement and sustainable tourism outcomes, they do not focus exclusively on protected area tourism, where environmental concerns are potentially more paramount. Much of the general partnerships literature focuses on economic outcomes or rationales for adopting this approach, which might lead to a preference for particular success factors but not others. It will be important therefore to gather data specifically on protected area tourism partnerships, given the different measures of success that may apply.

Protected area tourism partnerships might also be categorised differently to watershed partnerships, even though both involve ecological concerns. The former focus on protected areas, many of which, but not all, are in public ownership and managed on behalf of the public by the state. Watershed partnerships focus on a mix of public and often predominantly private land, where different issues and concerns apply. This may lead to certain success factors being more relevant to protected area tourism partnerships, such as legislative frameworks or administrative setting. IAD theory considers rules in use and addresses in part this issue of administrative setting. EDR may also have something to offer in framing this type of analysis, given the attention it gives to process rules and administrative/policy settings as they impact upon a dispute (Bingham 1986), as might network theory, which considers policies and procedures across the network (Mandell 1999) and rules of conduct (Dredge 2006a) and the theory of diffusion of innovations, which looks at the organisational system (Lundblad 2003). Social capital theory also focuses on precedents, procedures and rules (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000).

Another point of difference between protected area tourism partnerships and watershed partnerships is the level of control over the source of income enjoyed by the partners. In the former, the tourism industry may rely on protected areas for most of their income, which is largely within the control of the state through protected area agency management and might therefore have no choice but to enter into a partnership in order to access the protected area. However, in a watershed partnership, private landholders own their land and have a great deal of control over it as a result. This has implications for issues such as power balance and participation. With watershed partnerships, the private partners potentially have greater power than their counterparts in a protected area tourism partnership, given that it is at their discretion as to whether or not they should join a partnership and how much of the changes requested they need or want to implement. Power differentials may therefore be more relevant to protected area partnerships, which might suggest adopting theories that explore this factor in some depth, such as social capital, EDR or network theory, and also social exchange theory, social representation and stakeholder theory to a lesser extent.

Protected area tourism partnerships can also be distinguished from watershed or natural resource management partnerships by the tourism dimension, which introduces measures of success such as visitor numbers and visitor satisfaction. This might also affect relevant success factors which should be taken into account when examining the success of the partnership.

Successful protected area tourism partnerships might also differ from general partnerships in several additional respects. Table 15 provides a summary of generic outcomes of partnership success, as well as specific outcomes connected with sustainable tourism. The latter includes social, cultural, environmental and economic

benefits, whereas general partnerships may not encompass some of these dimensions, particularly those pertaining to environmental issues/concerns. Protected area tourism partnerships may involve partial devolution of roles or responsibilities by protected area managers to operators (e.g. provision of information to visitors, assisting in accessing protected areas) and market advantage for operators who choose to take part in the partnership, which may not be the case in a general partnership. There is thus an emphasis on benefits and incentives and theories which might assist here include social exchange theory (what is being exchanged and what need it satisfies), diffusion of innovations (consideration of relative advantage), environmental dispute resolution (incentives to resolve conflict) and social capital theory (overriding self-interest and both individual and group benefits). The protected area partnerships literature also considers the role played by innovation or flexibility, which might play a greater role in these partnerships due to the multiplicity of interests potentially involved. This success factor might be analysed using adoption/diffusion of innovation theory, network theory (looks at the spread of innovation through network ties and the involvement of different actors in the network) or social capital theory (also considering innovation diffusion).

It would appear that there is merit in studying protected area tourism partnerships and that a number of theoretical perspectives potentially give us good explanatory power for some of the success factors identified behind these partnerships. Further analysis however may provide more guidance as to which theories are potentially of greatest assistance, in order to narrow down the field.

Relationship Between Success Factors and Theoretical Contributions to Understanding Partnerships

Table 14 lists the success factors identified in this literature review and then links them with the appropriate theories which address these factors. Identifying the *key* success factors behind partnerships might also assist in clarifying the most useful theoretical contributions. To this end, Table 15 provides a summary of the success factors from Chapter 2 and, using a rough scoring system, indicates how many of the theories in Chapter 3 relate to and underpin the factors in Chapter 2. This was done to narrow down the number of success factors that might be potentially examined, given it is probably not be feasible to cover all these factors within a single study.

Table 15: Factors contributing to the success of partnerships (categorised after Bingham 1986) and the outcomes of successful partnerships

Factors Contributing to Partnership Success			Outcomes of Successful Partnerships	Outcomes for Sustainable Tourism
*INDIVIDUAL PARTNER-*related factors	*PARTNERING AND PROCESS-*related factors	*PARTNERSHIP CONTEXT-*related factors	*GENERIC OUTCOMES*	*SUSTAINABILITY OUTCOMES*
Leadership**	Scope of partnership**	Adequacy of resources**	Efficiency/ productivity gains (also effectiveness)	Economic sustainability (economic viability, local prosperity, employment quality)
Empathy towards partners**	Shared vision/ purpose***	Adequacy of time/duration of partnership**	Social gains (equity, social capital, empowerment)	Social sustainability (social equity, visitor fulfilment, local control, community wellbeing)
Presence of innovation/ openness to change***	Information quality and quantity***	Legislative framework	Simulation of innovation	Cultural sustainability (cultural richness)
Distribution/ balance of power***	Commitment**	Administrative setting*	*PROCESS* OUTCOMES	Ecological/ environmental sustainability (physical integrity of the landscape/ environment, biological diversity, resource efficiency and environmental purity).
Participation by stakeholders***	Interdependence***	Enforcement of behaviour/ decisions*	Building social capital	Political sustainability (local oriented control policy, political participation; local planning policy, political support)
Membership composition**	Trust***	Benefits/ incentives***	Strengthening organisational capacity	Technological sustainability (accurate information/data collection, use of new or local impact technologies, benchmarking)
	Adequacy/ transparency of process*		Indirect benefits (i.e. local employment)	
	Structured process**			
	Flexibility***			
	Open internal communication***			
	External communication***			
	Dealing with conflict***			

*** picked up by 5 or more theories
** picked up by 3–4 theories
* picked up by 1–2 theories

Those factors which were picked up by the most theories (5 or more) were:
- presence of innovation/openness to change
- distribution/balance of power
- participation by stakeholders
- shared vision/purpose
- information quality and quantity
- interdependence
- trust
- flexibility
- open internal communication
- external communication
- dealing with conflict
- benefits/incentives.

The majority of these success factors (picked up by five or more theories) are partnering or process related. Table 15 also summarises the various measures of success, including processes and outcomes, and categorises outcomes as *generic* or *sustainability* oriented. This is a synthesis of the findings from Chapter 2, based on a broad scan of the literature. Table 16 is then a further distillation of the relationship between these key success factors (those picked up by 5 or more theories) and the theories which best contribute to our understanding of them. From this Table, the top three theories which appear to have the most to offer a study of the key success factors behind protected area tourism partnerships appear to be (1) EDR and (2) social capital theory, given both cover all nine of these 'key' success factors. They also pick up on all the success factors outlined in Table 15, except for leadership, administrative setting and legislative framework, all of which are covered by the IAD framework. Table 16 has grouped three communication-related factors (information quality and quantity, open internal communication and external communication) within the single Information Quality and Quantity/Communication factor and Flexibility (another factor listed in Table 15) has been subsumed within the single factor Presence of Innovation/Openness to Change.

Table 16: Key success factors in partnerships linked to different theoretical constructs

Theory	*INDIVIDUAL PARTNER*-related factors			*PARTNERING AND PROCESS*-related factors					*PARTNERSHIP CONTEXT*-related factors	
	Presence of Innovation/ Openness to Change	Power	Participation	Shared Vision/ Purpose	Information Quality and Quantity/ Communication	Interdependence	Trust	Conflict Resolution	Benefits/ Incentives/ Shared Outcomes	Total
Social exchange theory		X			X	X		X	X	5
Adoption/ diffusion of innovations	X			X	X	X	X		X	6
Environmental dispute resolution	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Social representation	X	X		X	X			X		5
Network theory	X	X	X		X	X	X		X	7
Stakeholder theory	X	X	X	X		X				5
Social capital/ community capacity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	9
Institutional analysis and development	X		X		X		X	X	X	6

This supports the use of EDR and social capital theories to guide future research on protected area tourism partnerships, assisted by use of the IAD framework where necessary to examine the 'gaps' (these three additional factors). An important gap addressed by IAD is the influence of administrative setting and context on partnering.

Implications for Research

Using social capital and EDR theories to inform a study of tourism partnerships in protected areas would result in a theoretical construct being applied to almost all of the success factors identified in Table 14, as well as the key success factors identified in Table 15. Social capital theory has already been applied in partnership research, including interactions in a rural community (Falk & Kilpatrick 2000), general partnerships in urban areas (Taylor 2000; Purdue 2001), watershed partnerships (Leach & Sabatier 2005), tourism partnerships (Macbeth, Carson & Northcote 2004, Beeton 2006) and management of protected areas (Pretty 2003), but not specifically to tourism partnerships in protected areas. Some of the potential advantages of applying social capital theory in this new context might be its ability to deepen our understanding of factors such as power and trust and the role played by shared visions and purpose, participation, information/innovation diffusion and benefits/incentives in building and sustaining tourism partnerships within these areas. It also brings the community into the equation, which may be an important component of a tourism partnership in a protected area, particularly those involving indigenous populations. The scope of the partnership, in the sense of local interactions founded on place or identity, might also be usefully explored using social capital theory.

EDR theory has also been applied in both a tourism and general partnership context. For example, Montgomery and Kidd (2004) have considered EDR in the context of a partnership between local government and their 'clients' as a means of resolving conflict and providing participants with power to make decisions. Grant (2004) in a study of tourism planning processes involving a partnership, discusses the use of EDR techniques to encourage participation. Moore and Lee (1999) use EDR processes as a conceptual framework for management of protected areas, but only refer to tourism in passing. There appears to be scope to apply EDR theory to protected area tourism partnerships, which might assist in understanding the role of factors such as interdependence, participation, conflict resolution and information sharing/communication in partnership success.

Success factors that have only been the focus of limited research attention to date in connection with protected area tourism partnerships include administrative setting/legislative framework (Buckley & Sommer 2001) and the role played by structured processes. These factors have also been identified in the general partnerships literature but again only in passing. There appears to be an opportunity to explore these factors in more depth using a theoretically informed perspective such as the IAD framework. Administrative setting, for example, may encompass matters such as operational arrangements of a partnership or administrative efficiency. The IAD framework looks at how these processes or arrangements affect outcomes, including potentially partnership outcomes. It is also interesting that the context factor—resources—seems least well represented theoretically and yet common sense suggests that resources are essential for any successful partnership. This may lead to the conclusion that any partnerships research should include both searches for theoretical constructs and explanations as well as being aware of the everyday concerns of potential respondents/partnership members. These type of factors might have been disregarded in the past because they were considered to be too obvious or axiomatic as a factor in partnership success, or too difficult to measure. They may however be found to be of key importance in successful protected area tourism partnerships, given that many of these areas are dealing with reduced budgets and time pressures on staff and policy considerations may affect what they can do in terms of building partnerships with the tourism industry. Legislative or policy-driven incentives might also be found to play a part in encouraging these tourism partnerships.

Recommendations

There are a number of recommendations, presented as numbered points, for future research into protected area-tourism partnerships where sustainable tourism is the goal:

1. Success factors behind protected area tourism partnerships warrant further research, given the specialised nature of these partnerships and the limited research that has been carried out in this field to date. This research should be based on previous research on protected area tourism partnerships, supplemented by burgeoning research on other partnerships that has also identified success factors and examined partnership success, including the natural resource management, watershed partnerships and general partnership literature. This approach will facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of partnership success and assist protected area agencies and managers to build and maintain successful partnerships involving tourism.

2. This research then needs to draw on theory to provide a limited number of focused areas as a basis for investigation of partnerships. Adopting this approach prevents reinventing the wheel and links the tourism discipline to other disciplines that may offer a different lens to view the same problem. This potentially results in valuable insights but might also result in too narrow an investigation of success factors (see recommendation 3), particularly if reliant on those which are most easily measured or evaluated.

3. One or two theoretical constructs should be selected as a basis of study of tourism partnerships in protected areas, although it is important to be aware that gaps may provide critical insights. Roberts and Simpson (1999) warn of the dangers of adopting too narrow a set of criteria for evaluating partnership success. Social capital and EDR theories appear to offer the most potential in this area of research, supplemented by the IAD framework to fill in the gaps.

4. The definition of success used in relation to a tourism partnership in protected areas is important and has been given limited attention to date, with studies often assuming a common understanding of what constitutes success. Given the paucity of specific success measures in this context, one approach might be to ask members of the partnership to define success. These definitions of success may involve both outcomes and processes (Moore 1996). This allows for a more holistic view of success, particularly given that there is often a blurred line between outcomes and processes, making it difficult to separate the two in some instances.

5. Partnership research centred on protected areas should adopt a wide definition of 'partnership', given the variety of potential interests who might be involved, and a broad definition of 'protected areas', based on the IUCN definition, which would focus on but also look beyond traditional government-run national parks. This approach is consistent with the new paradigm of protected area management (Phillips 2003).

6. Success factors that have not been fully explored in the literature but might be important in the context of protected area tourism partnerships include the role of benefits and incentives, innovation/flexibility, availability of resources and administrative setting/legislative framework. Future studies should pay more attention to these factors, which might be highly relevant in determining partnership success.

7. The broader project, of which this literature review forms a foundational part, will rely on these eight theoretical constructs, and especially social capital and EDR, to design, conduct and report on a study of partnerships in Australia between protected area managers, the tourism industry and others (e.g. indigenous communities, local government). This broader project will be reported on in a subsequent technical report in this same series, as produced by the Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre.

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Introduction

The STCRC has grown to be the largest, dedicated tourism research organisation in the world, with $187 million invested in tourism research programs, commercialisation and education since 1997.

The STCRC was established in July 2003 under the Commonwealth Government's CRC program and is an extension of the previous Tourism CRC, which operated from 1997 to 2003.

Role and responsibilities

The Commonwealth CRC program aims to turn research outcomes into successful new products, services and technologies. This enables Australian industries to be more efficient, productive and competitive.

The program emphasises collaboration between businesses and researchers to maximise the benefits of research through utilisation, commercialisation and technology transfer.
An education component focuses on producing graduates with skills relevant to industry needs.

STCRC's objectives are to enhance:

- the contribution of long-term scientific and technological research and innovation to Australia's sustainable economic and social development;

- the transfer of research outputs into outcomes of economic, environmental or social benefit to Australia;

- the value of graduate researchers to Australia;

- collaboration among researchers, between researchers and industry or other users; and efficiency in the use of intellectual and other research outcomes.