

SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE TOURISM, CLIMATE CHANGE
AND
THE NATIONAL TRUST

By

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ABSTRACT

Climate change is a global phenomenon that has led to policy-making in many spheres. Since the early 2000s, when the projected impacts of climate change had increasingly come to the fore, there has been added momentum in tourism studies to researching sustainable tourism and travel behaviour. Using the National Trust as a lens, this study explores the potential contribution climate change policy makes in achieving sustainable heritage tourism. The research shows how such a policy evolved at the National Trust alongside key events and developments the charity has undergone since 1995, its centenary year. Senior policy-makers, managers, volunteer staff and visitors to properties in the West Midlands region were interviewed to understand their views on climate change, wider environmental matters, transport issues, and the charity's response to tackling climate change. The study found that through mitigation and adaptation strategies, climate change policy does support and inform a sustainable approach to heritage tourism but that dependency on car-borne transport to rural heritage sites remains the 'Achilles heel' of sustainable heritage tourism as well as illuminating some of the imbalances between conservation and access.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to:

My family: Alison, Sam and Anna;

To my late parents: Geoffrey and Ann Floy;

And to the open countryside and coastline cared for by the National Trust.



Barafundle Bay, Pembrokeshire, November 2013

In November 2013, my wife and I rented a National Trust cottage on the Pembrokeshire coast for a week. On our final morning, we rescued a beached seal pup at Barafundle Bay, a stretch of coast managed by the Trust. For me, this experience reinforced the significance of climate change, our responsibilities as humans in caring for the planet, and the importance of taking a sustainable approach to heritage tourism.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Awareness of Consequences model
AONB	Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty
BCCI	Bank of Credit and Commerce
BSE	Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy
CBT	Campaign for Better Transport
CHM	Cultural Heritage Management
COP	Conference of Parties
CPI	Conservation Performance Indicator (National Trust)
CPRE	Council to Protect Rural England
CRU	Climate Research Unit (University of East Anglia)
CSERGE	Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment
DCMS	Department for Culture Media and Society
DECC	Department of Energy and Climate Change
DEFRA	Department for the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DLTR	Department of Local Government Transport & the Regions
DMO	Democratic Member-based Organisation
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
FCCC	Framework Convention on Climate Change
GDF	Geological Disposal Facility
GHG	Greenhouse Gas
HS2	High Speed Railway 2
IAM	Integrated Assessment Models (climate change)
ICSU	International Council of Scientific Unions
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPPR	Institute for Public Policy Research
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KRA	Key Risk Area (National Trust)
MBI	Management by Instruction

MBO	Management by Objectives
MBV	Management by Values
NAM	Norm Activation Model
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
NEP	New Environmental/Ecological Paradigm
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPO	Not for Profit Organisation
NPPF	National Planning Policy Framework
QUANGO	Quasi Autonomous Non Governmental Organisation
RDA	Regional Development Agency
RHS	Royal Horticultural Society
RSPB	Royal Society for the Protection of Birds
TBL	Triple-Bottom-Line (performance)
TPB	Theory of Planned Behaviour
UKCIP	United Kingdom Climate Change Impact Group
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VBN	Value Belief Norm
VBN	Value Belief Norm theory
VCO	Voluntary Carbon-Offsetting
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WMO	World Meteorological Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Sustainable Heritage Tourism, Climate Change, and The National Trust

‘With man, most of his misfortunes are occasioned by man’.
Pliny the Elder (1st Century), *Natural History*

Introduction

The study’s purpose is to explore the contribution of climate change policy and practice to achieving sustainable heritage tourism through a study of the National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Tourism and climate change is a relatively recent research area, dating from the 1980s, with very much an international focus. This study looks at a United Kingdom institution belonging to the voluntary sector, with empirical work conducted in the West Midlands region, which aims to add a new dimension to this developing research area in tourism. In Visit Britain’s (2007) survey of visits to attractions in 2005, 119 million out of 157 million visits were connected with heritage, where 54 million belonged to properties and sites similar to those owned by the National Trust (coast, countryside and historic houses and gardens). Visit Britain’s survey also identified that in the West Midlands, nearly a quarter of top visitor attractions belonged to the National Trust.

This study brings together a recent tourism construct, a global issue, and Europe’s largest conservation charity. Sustainable heritage tourism evolved out of two well-established tourism areas: a convergence of sustainable tourism (via sustainable development) and heritage tourism, described by Timothy & Boyd (2006) as the oldest form of tourism touching all corners of the globe economically, socially, and environmentally in some way. The National Trust’s activities (explained later) encompass its core purpose of conservation as well its role as a major provider of heritage tourism experiences. The

literature reviewed in Chapter 2 shows how issues surrounding climate change have come to be regarded as important in achieving the goal of sustainable tourism. This study therefore, takes the position that pursuing sustainable *heritage* tourism is highly relevant to the tourism industry and the conservation work of a conservation charity such as the National Trust; and hence adopts the term ‘sustainable heritage tourism’, which, to date, has largely featured in the marketing and planning of tourism destinations. Both as a leading heritage tourism organisation, and a conservation charity representing the voluntary sector, the National Trust makes for an interesting exploratory study in an under-researched area. This introductory chapter is organised into three sections. First, the background to the study will be explained: its inception and the reasons for choosing the National Trust as a case. Second, the study’s aim and six research questions are outlined. Third, the dissertation’s structure is set out with a chapter-by-chapter summary. The final section clarifies the legal status of the National Trust and indicates the study’s parameters.

Background to the study

For the author, the origins of the research project date back to 2005-07 when an article (Henderson, 2005) on the weakening of the Atlantic Ocean’s Meridional Overturning Circulation, or weakening of the Gulf Stream sparked an interest in climate change, leading to an exploration of the subject (Bunyard, 1999; Bryden et al., 2005; Quadfasel, 2005; and Levi, 2006, were just a few examples); and interest shown by the media (Parry, 2006; Jowit, 2007; Girling, 2007). A professional interest through teaching tourism at University College Birmingham (formerly the Birmingham College of Food, Tourism and Creative Studies) noted that climate change generally had a low profile in the curriculum. Tourism climate change literature was concerned mostly with impact analysis on international destinations

(ski resorts and low-lying small-island-states in particular), aviation, and the measurement of greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) and energy consumption in different sectors of the tourism industry. It was also noted that few studies addressed heritage in the tourism climate change literature. These factors, combined with a personal and professional interest in the subject, established interest in the research topic. Garrod & Fyall (2000: 683) too, expressed surprise that so little academic attention had been paid to exploring the relationship between heritage tourism and sustainability, as both have a common interest in the inheritance of built and natural assets.

In terms of demand, heritage tourism is a significant contributor to the UK's domestic tourism sector. In 2006 for example, domestic tourism accounted for £21 billion of tourist expenditure, or 80 per cent of tourism turnover, with 63 per cent of domestic overnight trips being taken for holiday purposes (Visit England, 2006); and in 2005, tourist day trips to the countryside accounted for 16 per cent, and trips to the coast 2 per cent, of all day trips (Natural England, 2005). Visit Britain (2007) reported that in a 2005 sample of 156.9 million visits to visitor attractions in England, 119 million visits were connected with some aspect of heritage, built or natural. By 2012, visits to these sites had increased to some 315 million (Visit England et al., 2013); and for the year 2012/13, the National Trust estimated that 239 million visits were made to its properties (National Trust, 2103d), thus highlighting the popularity of Trust sites for such visits. The National Trust and its policies highlight the contribution of the voluntary sector in tourism studies. Some familiarity with the charity through the author's membership and local sites in the West Midlands were additional considerations for choosing the Trust for this research project. Appendix 1.1 summarises the charity's current national portfolio of built and natural heritage sites.

An on-line literature search using www.theses.com for UK theses written on the National Trust identified seven dissertations, none of them addressing climate change, though two relevant works were concerned with rural development and recreation (Cattermole, 2005; Chew, 1990). On-line literature searches and library visits confirmed no mention of the National Trust in climate change literature, and very few references in the wider tourism literature (Dickinson et al., 2004; Anable, 2005); however, the charity featured in the other studies such as the voluntary sector (Lansley, 1996; Slater, 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2010; Bennett & Kottasz, 2000; Spear, 2004); and management studies (Desmond, 2010; Measures & Bagshaw, 2009). Otherwise, the literature search indicated: a) that climate change was a relatively under-researched area in heritage tourism but with a larger presence in the sustainable tourism literature; b), very few tourism articles had been written about the National Trust; and c), no studies were found to link climate change to the National Trust. Preliminary research therefore, confirmed a gap in the literature.

Aim of the research

The aim of the research is to examine how climate change policy and practice can contribute to achieving sustainable heritage tourism, through a study of the National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland, with a focus on the Trust's West Midlands region (Figure 1.1).

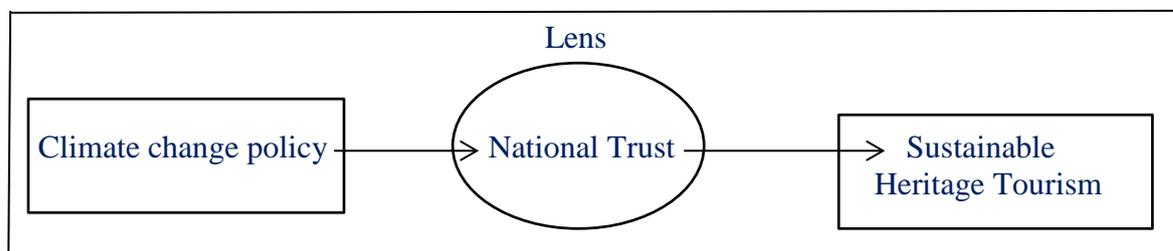


Figure 1.1 Thesis research lens

Two complementary reasons explain the focus on climate change policy. First, except for the macro approach taken in studies such as UNWTO-UNEP-WMO (2007) and Simpson et

al. (2008), climate change policy in the tourism literature is still a developing research area; and second, this research is supervised at the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, until recently part of the School of Public Policy at the University of Birmingham; and therefore considered to be part of the Centre's work in public policy research. The research's empirical work investigates how a climate change policy evolved at the Trust: its origins, the formulation of a statement of intent and subsequent implementation throughout the charity's various activities. Views on climate change and related environmental and policy issues were sought from National Trust policy-makers, managers, volunteer workers, and visitors to various sites. Six research questions are addressed in this study:

- 1) How and why did a climate change policy evolve at the National Trust?
- 2) What is the form and function of the National Trust's climate change policy?
- 3) Do the National Trust's core purpose, structure, governance, and organisational culture support its climate change policy?
- 4) How much consensus exists amongst National Trust policy-makers, managers and volunteer workers with regard to the charity's climate change policy and practice, and does this provide any insights for future policy-making on this issue?
- 5) To what extent can visitors to National Trust properties be described as 'pro-environmental' in their travel behaviour and attitude towards a range of climate change-related issues? Do their responses provide insights for future policy-making on this issue?
- 6) To what extent can the National Trust's climate change policy be seen as an exemplar for sustainable heritage tourism?

Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 begins by reviewing literature concerned with the concepts of heritage and heritage tourism, which includes a brief account of the

Trust's founding era: part of the late 19th century's enthusiasm for the idea of a national heritage and protection of the natural environment. A discussion then follows on the sustainable development paradigm and sustainable tourism, including criticisms of the concept's authenticity. Key to sustainable tourism though, is the practical consideration of its measurement (sustainable tourism indicators) and the involvement of local stakeholders in policy formation and implementation (empowerment). These themes are revisited in Chapters 5-8. Chapter 2 continues by reviewing developments in climate research in tourism, including some of the more recent literature directed at travel behaviour and motivation in a leisure and tourism context.

Chapter 3 provides the study's conceptual framework. A brief account of climate change science and some of the major policy developments at international and national levels precedes a discussion of some of the principles of public policy-making and the recent growth in interest in the voluntary or third sector's potential to contribute to policy-making. At the micro level, contemporary approaches to organisational values, leadership and management practice are considered for their relevance to the study. The final part of the chapter looks at the contributions of environmental ethics and psychology to environmental policy-making and the study of pro- environmental behaviour.

Methodology is discussed in Chapter 4. To begin with, arising from the literature review, the research questions are explained in relation to the study's aim through selected research methods. The project's research philosophy recognises that multiple realities become evident in the research findings, for example on the one hand critical realism (how the objective reality of climate change may be interpreted in different ways); as well as social constructivism (the subjectivities of climate change). The chapter continues with design of methods, sampling, and how the empirical findings were processed and analysed.

Chapters 5-8 constitute the project's empirical work. Using secondary sources, key developments at the National Trust since 1995 are discussed in Chapter 5 to chart the evolution of the charity's climate change policy in Chapter 6. Five themes emerge, centred on: the charity's practice of advocacy; organisational change over a period of nearly thirty years; the Trust's approach to performance measurement; how leadership changes at the head of the organisation came to be associated with particular initiatives; and how in recent years there developed a highly visible policy to engage supporters. Chapter 6 traces the origins of a climate change policy from its beginnings in 1990s, to the more established implementation witnessed since 2005. Since 2010, it has become evident that the charity's mitigation response to climate change has become embedded within its much publicised energy policy. Revisiting an emerging theme from Chapter 5, the Trust's current strategy of decentralisation and empowerment is discussed in the light of climate change policy.

Chapters 7 and 8 turn their attention to the results of fieldwork conducted, yielding data from 14 semi-structured interviews and 3 questionnaire surveys. This took place at five National Trust properties in the West Midlands, ranging from country mansions and gardens, to open countryside and urban locations. Chapter 7 sets out to gain an insight into the perceptions of National Trust personnel with different levels of responsibility on issues related to climate change and its impacts, the charity's subsequent policy responses, as well as wider environmental issues or notions. An exploratory questionnaire survey on National Trust Trustees and Council members was followed by interviews with senior policy-makers and property managers. The range of personnel contacted included a sample of volunteer workers contacted through a questionnaire survey and group interview. Chapter 8 discusses the results of a questionnaire survey targeted at visitors to five properties in the West Midlands. Here, the aim was to examine travel behaviour (distance and mode of transport

mainly) and the responses to a range of attitude statements concerning climate change and notions of individual and collective responsibility for environmental issues. Gaining a perspective on the demand-side view of climate change and the charity's response contributes to a more holistic and representative version of events.

The final chapter starts with a summary of research findings and emerging issues and an assessment of its contribution before assessing its contribution to the literature. The project is further evaluated by considering the effectiveness of the methodology in answering the research questions. Policy implications for the Trust and suggestions for future research conclude the chapter and draw the study to a close.

Definition of the National Trust and the study's parameters

This final section briefly clarifies the National Trust's legal status and sets out the study's parameters. The National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland is a registered charity, number 205846, which describes itself as independent of government, although it does receive some annual grants from government: in 2012/13 for example, DEFRA gave £4 million, Natural England £5 million, and English Heritage £413,000 (National Trust, 2013d). Its mission statement is 'to protect special places for ever for everyone and to share those places with its supporters' (National Trust, 2015: 2). In 2012/13 the charity employed 5,427 full-time equivalent staff supported by up to 70,000 volunteers, generating an income of £457 million and expenditure of £441 million, with total reserves of assets worth over £1 billion. Founded in 1895, its statutory purpose was established under the National Trust Act of 1907, to preserve and promote for the benefit of the nation, places of natural beauty and scientific interest, and buildings of historic interest. These places were to be open to the public for the purposes of recreation and education. Successive National Trust Acts,

mentioned in Chapter 5, extended the Trust's activities and formalised changes to its constitution. The Trust's holdings are 'inalienable', which means they cannot be sold or mortgaged unless agreed through parliamentary process. This arrangement perhaps explains the motto 'forever ...' used by the Trust. Membership, legacies and direct property income provide over half of the Trust's funds, the remainder through fundraising and the charity's two subsidiary businesses: National Trust (Enterprises) Ltd. and Historic House Hotels Ltd. (National Trust, 2014e).

The Trust is variously described as a non-governmental organisation (NGO), a not-for-profit (NPO) organisation, and as representing civil society, the voluntary sector, and the third sector. In her paper on creating a taxonomy of NGOs, Vakil (1997), a Canadian, listed an 'alphabet soup' of various acronyms used to describe NGOs, which added a certain degree of confusion to these various terms. Vakil's proposed framework used descriptors such as orientation (for example, advocacy), level of operation (international/national and so on), sector (conservation, for example), and evaluative factors such as accountability and participation. Lansley's (1996) study on membership participation in the National Trust, mentioned in Chapter 5, also adopted a similar approach. Without further ado, throughout this thesis the National Trust is referred to variously as a charity, an environmental NGO, and a heritage tourism organisation; and as operating within the voluntary sector. Appendix 1.1 illustrates the wide extent of the charity's holdings and undertakings, which include many facets of tourism, hospitality, the arts, and agriculture.

This study however, focuses on property activities: the operational business of conservation and heritage tourism to be found at historic houses, parkland and areas of open countryside owned and/or managed by the charity. In the tourism context, the study confines itself to domestic day trips. The Trust's tourism activities may be categorised within a range

of niche tourism experiences such as conservation tourism, volunteer tourism, rural tourism, nature-based tourism, and countryside tourism. The common factor among these, is that they are not considered to be examples of alternative tourism as opposed to mass tourism; and therefore, as the tourism literature would suggest, more benign forms of tourism. To clarify, taking into account the diverse nature of tourism within which the National Trust operates, the study excludes the charity's hotel operations (Historic House Hotels Limited); various promotions with holiday firms such as Warner Leisure Hotels; working holidays; public houses; various historic buildings such as lighthouses and barns that attract visitors; and let estate such as tenant farms.

The National Trust has existed for 120 years. Following a brief account of its first 100 years, this study is concerned with developments since 1995, the charity's centenary year. This latter day period saw the evolution of a climate change policy that coincided with a period of modernisation in the National Trust's history. The origins of the Trust's climate change policy are traced back to 1970: the year in which 'Earth Day' was proclaimed in the USA, and often considered to be the beginning of the modern environmental era.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW
SUSTAINABLE HERITAGE TOURISM

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on heritage tourism, sustainable tourism, and the emergence of climate change research in tourism studies. The concept of ‘sustainable heritage tourism’ is a term thus far confined mainly to tourism destination planning (Du Cross, 2001) or to the marketing of sustainable heritage tourism (Donohoe, 2012; Marschall, 2012). The review of the literature to date shows that climate change studies have had few associations with this concept. Garrod & Fyall (2000: 683) expressed surprise that so little academic attention had been paid to exploring the relationship between heritage tourism and sustainability as both have a common interest in the inheritance of built and natural assets. However, the launch in 2011 of the *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development* (Roders & van Oers, 2011) indicates a growing research interest in this area. To begin with, this chapter reviews the ideas surrounding heritage and heritage tourism, where an opportunity is taken to relate the early years of the National Trust. Some of the various interpretations on sustainability, sustainable development and its derivative sustainable tourism are then considered, before turning to the development of climate change research within tourism studies. A focus on travel behaviour and transport studies concludes the chapter.

Defining heritage; the early years of The National Trust

Before exploring the concept of heritage tourism, it is as well to clarify the term heritage and its associations with history, preservation, conservation, restoration and the ‘historic

environment'. Its 19th century origins will be explained briefly, leading to an account of the founding of the National Trust, which coincides with this period. Historic environment is a widely-used term describing the built (particularly) and natural environment and their associations with the past/history or, as English Heritage put it: 'the evidence of people's interaction in the past with their physical surroundings' (English Heritage, 2005b: 2). Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996: 20) differentiate between the past (what has happened); history (recording what has happened); and heritage (a contemporary product shaped from history). They contend that history itself, like heritage, is a selective process in deciding what to record and how to interpret and present it: suggesting in other words, that 'history' is far from being a value-free process. To Cassia (1999: 260) history can be likened to the production of knowledge about the past while heritage is the consumption of that knowledge. It is not surprising, therefore, that the management of heritage attractions is sometimes dubbed 'the history business' or equivalent.

Preservation and conservation are commonly used terms used in heritage, but require clarification. Preservation differs from conservation in that the former is a process of maintaining assets in a condition defined by their historical context so that they can reveal their original meaning; whereas the latter requires some degree of management which may include restoration (Hewison, 1987: 98). In defining conservation, English Heritage (2008: 71) also underlined the management of change and sustaining heritage values in the conservation process. It should be noted that 'restoration' is a process of returning a place as far as possible to its original state on the basis of 'compelling evidence, without conjecture', in this sense implying that history provides direction for heritage. Recently, the Chairman of the National Trust, Sir Simon Jenkins, expressed his view that Stonehenge (managed jointly by English Heritage and the National Trust) would benefit from a restoration project

(Jenkins, 2014b). The environmental movement has often been perceived as having a 'leftish' political agenda where the principles of a free market economy are seen as inherently detrimental to achieving sustainability, while Scruton (2012: 9) argued instead, that conservatism can be a 'natural bedfellow' for environmentalism through the empowerment of local communities and the promotion of qualities such as enterprise and friendship. In this sense, parallels are drawn between conservation and conservatism. For many commentators, visitors and members, the National Trust might be seen as a conservative organisation in the sense of preserving and conserving heritage assets; Scruton implies, not necessarily in a political way, that this approach is actually appropriate for the charity's purpose.

Merriman (1991: 8) referred to heritage as an accessible term at an 'intuitive level', exemplified by dictionary definitions that refer to property and valued items as being inherited and passed down through generations, and thus judged worthy of preservation. Several authors emphasise this inter-generational dimension: for example Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996: 1); Nuryanti (1996: 249); Herbert (1997: xi); Graham et al. (2000:11); Timothy & Boyd (2003: 2); and English Heritage (2008: 71). In their study on life members of the National Trust for Scotland, McCrone et al. (1995) viewed heritage as firstly, the tangible physical artefacts including buildings and landscapes; and secondly, the more intangible legacy of cultural values and inheritance. One of the earliest statements to incorporate the notion of 'value' in the definition of heritage came via the newly-adopted UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972, whose stated purpose was the protection of places of 'outstanding universal value' (Young, 2009). A few years later, following growing pressure within the Australian tourism industry, the significance, values and place of the

Aboriginal community were recognised in the Burra Charter of 1979 in which the notion of value contributed to the evaluation of a site's conservation requirements.

In a similar way, Nuryanti (1996: 253) considered it important to convey the significance of a heritage site as well as its preservation aspects. English Heritage for example use 'place' as a generic word for any part of the historic environment that people perceive as having a distinct identity, in preference to more specialised terms such as 'listed buildings' or 'scheduled monuments' (English Heritage, 2008: 13-14). Likewise, the National Trust uses 'special *places*' to promote the distinctiveness of National Trust land or property. The word 'place' has the dual advantage of being both a generic, neutral term, as well as carrying personal significance for visitors. English Heritage also interpret 'value' as going beyond its usual association with historic or scientific interest to incorporate 'inter-related heritage values' including evidential, historical, aesthetic and communal values (ibid, pp. 27-32). Three of the six National Trust conservation principles refer to: properties being valued by the 'Spirit of the Place'; maintaining significance for the future through conservation management; and reconciling potential conflict between conservation and access (Lithgow & Thackray, 2009). The 'Spirit of Place' statement is used to 'challenge and inform all decisions made regarding the site from activities and presentation to repair and conservation philosophy' (National Trust, 2015a: 2).

Britain's consciousness of a national heritage: an interest in preserving landscape and historic buildings, can be traced to the 19th century with the establishment of voluntary organisations such as the Commons, Footpaths and Open Spaces Preservation Society (1865); the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877); and the National Trust itself in 1895 (Mandler, 1997; Graham et al., 2000). Mandler placed heritage in a time-line spanning from the beginnings of modernity in the 16th and 17th centuries, then to the 18th

century Enlightenment and Age of Reason, leading to 19th century Romanticism and eventually reaching the so-called 'post-modern' era of the late 20th century. From the mid-19th century onwards, there was a growing interest in the preservation of open spaces and common land. Since the Statute of Merton, passed in 1235, Lords of the Manor had the right to enclose their common lands, gradually leading, over the centuries, to increased private ownership of land across Britain (Murphy, 1987: 6). During the Victorian era, urban parks, some of them donated by philanthropists such as Louisa Ann Ryland (Cannon Hill Park in Birmingham) increasingly became owned and managed as public assets by public authorities. Common land, on the other hand, was privately owned, but maintained certain rights accorded to individuals or commoners. Otherwise, technically, common land was closed to the public, although many people walked across the land by way of custom (Clayton, 2013). Begun in the late 18th century, the Picturesque movement had given some degree of aesthetic value and emotion to Britain's wilderness, helped further by the interruption of the Grand Tour during the Napoleonic Wars (Mandler, 1997). Harvey (2008: 28) attributed the beginnings of a 'mass market' for a popular national heritage to Walter Scott, in the 19th century, with nostalgia for 'olden-time' England in the medieval period or even earlier Saxon times. Ruins such as Tintern Abbey and Fountains Abbey evoked feelings associated with aestheticism and a connection with nature amongst their visitors; and Romanticism, epitomised in the works of the poets Shelley and Wordsworth, helped to deify nature and eventually led to the institutionalisation of landscape and the creation of a cultural heritage (Mandler, 1997). Voluntary organisations such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (1877) mentioned earlier, reflected a growing interest in preserving historic buildings alongside the first signs of heritage legislation: the first Ancient Monuments Act of 1882. Cowell (2008: 71-72) commented that the influential role

of the ‘art critic and social commentator’ John Ruskin cannot be overstated, in the shaping of the ‘Victorian heritage philosophy’ that promoted the preservation and conservation of heritage assets for present and future generations. Restoration of cultural assets, though, in Ruskin’s view, was considered to be a more disingenuous process, associated with a loss of authenticity.

Against this background, the National Trust was founded in the late 19th century in response to the social and physical impacts of industrialisation on people and the environment (especially housing and the countryside), as well as a growing movement towards social welfare reform. Most histories of the National Trust refer to the ‘Trinity’ of founders: Robert Hunter (a lawyer – Solicitor to the Post Office), Octavia Hill (housing and social welfare reformer) and Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley (Lake District clergyman); but Gaze (1988: 12-14) chose to use ‘Quartet’ by including the Duke of Westminster, who was influential in the Trust’s early years through his wealth, political connections and benefaction associated with public parks and slum clearance. In September 1884, Robert Hunter, an active campaigner for the preservation of open spaces took the ‘first essential step’ in founding an organisation dedicated to preserving open spaces, when he spoke on the subject to the National Association of Social Science in Birmingham (Jenkins & James, 1994: 20). By this time, Hunter had developed correspondence with the social housing reformer Octavia Hill, who shared a similar mission to protect open spaces and the countryside against urban sprawl and building development. Fiona Reynolds, Director-General of the National Trust from 2001 to 2012, frequently referred to Octavia Hill’s belief that the ‘everlasting delight of the people’ extended beyond improved housing, education and employment, to having access to the beauty of countryside and open spaces’ (Reynolds, 2004: 3). At the Birmingham meeting, Hunter promoted the idea of a land company with the

power to hold assets on behalf of the public. Subsequently, Octavia Hill's suggestion for a name for this organisation was 'Commons and Garden Trust', whereas Hunter 'in a pencilled note' to Hill, wrote '?National Trust' (Cowell, 2013: 18).

The clergyman Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley was the third founder member of the National Trust. During the 1880s, Rawnsley had been campaigning for the preservation of common land and open space 'in all its Wordsworthian purity' in the Lake District, in response to an expanding railway network (Cannadine, 1995:14). As an undergraduate at Oxford University from 1870, Rawnsley had shared John Ruskin's concerns over poor housing and other social issues associated with increased urbanisation. Ruskin was particularly concerned over a perceived lack of dialogue between the classes 'that threatened the very fabric of society' (Clayton, 2013: 12). Through Ruskin, Rawnsley came into contact with Octavia Hill and her mission to establish a system of social housing. In 1894, a draft constitution was agreed for a new society to become a landholding body to preserve for the public's benefit what was considered to be land of natural beauty and houses of historic interest. The following year, in 1895, the 'National Trust for places of historic interest or natural beauty' was incorporated under the Joint Stock Companies Act with licence, thus registering its not-for-profit status and excluding the use of the word 'Limited' (Murphy, 1987: 106). The Duke of Westminster, who had hosted the 1894 meeting, became the founding President, with Hunter appointed as its first Chairman. Other representatives from like-minded charities and societies were appointed onto the Trust's first Council. Harvey (2008: 28) commented that although the Trust sought to bring about social change, it was itself represented by a circle of educated, privileged and influential people (including the Earl of [Rosebery](#), the Prime Minister of the day). Cattermole (2005: 1) also found that the charity 'remains centralised and paternalistic, with a central ethos which

has remained relatively unaltered'. In the Trust's dual role of preserving landscape with places of historic interest, Wright (1985: 55) highlighted the coalescence of the preservation of the commons movement with the late 19th century Fine Art tradition. For Wright, this merger became a constituent of the National Heritage, and was used to 'naturalize a bourgeois interpretation of history and society' as well as disseminate a 'class-specific academic culture' (p.55): how some people today continue to view the National Trust. The conferment of the principle of 'inalienability' on its holdings established by the 1907 National Trust Act effectively legitimised how private property is seen to be in national interest (Wright, 1985: 52) and for some, reinforces the image of the Trust as a substantial private landowner who may not necessarily have everyone's interests in mind.

The heritage industry

The idea of a heritage *industry* emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, its growth associated with the expansion of the leisure industry since World War Two (Edwards & Llurdés i Coit, 1996: 344). Between 1965 and 1975, membership of the National Trust grew from 157,581 to 539,285 (Jenkins & James, 1994: 337). Edwards & Llurdés i Coit citing Light (1991), further attributed the growth of a heritage industry to the marketing industry's exploitation of nostalgia; the activities of preservation and conservation movements; and the policies of Conservative governments since 1979, which saw heritage become the central platform for Britain's tourism industries. In his account of how Britain's country houses came under threat following the oil crisis of 1973, coupled with the 1974 Labour government's proposals for the introduction of a wealth tax on current capital and a capital transfer tax to replace death duty, Hewison (1987: 51-80) noted the formation in 1975 of an opposition campaign committee called 'Heritage in Danger' in which the National Trust was involved.

According to Hewison (p.67): ‘It is impossible not to conclude that the campaign against the wealth tax was a powerful stimulus to the spread of the word *‘heritage’*; he noted, however, that the National Trust had been putting forward the idea of a national heritage since the Second World War.

In 1980 and 1983 respectively, the National Heritage Memorial Fund and English Heritage were created (Hewison, 1987: 31); followed in 1992 by a new sponsor department for tourism: the Department of National Heritage. These two government initiatives to bolster and promote the tourism potential of Britain’s heritage coincided with economic recessions. Lowenthal (1985), Wright (1985; 1986), Hewison (1987) and Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996) are prominent critics of the rise of the heritage industry claiming that its growth led to a commodification and dilution of authenticity, trading on a nostalgia industry designed to appeal to a growing heritage market. Alluding to undertones of social control and that the past can be subject to political manipulation, Wright (1985: 215) used the example of the Party’s motto in George Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*: ‘who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past’. Presenting a commoditised history contributed to political, economic, as well as cultural ends. Lowenthal (1985: xvi) adopted his title: *The Past is a Foreign Country* from L.P. Hartley’s *The Go-Between* where ‘they do things differently there’ (i.e. the past). Lowenthal (p.xxiv) argued that the modernist 20th century broke its legacy of ‘ready familiarity with the classical and Biblical heritage that long imprinted European culture and environment’ resulting in our being surrounded by relics and monuments ‘we can barely comprehend and scarcely feel are ours ...’. He argued that the ‘rage to preserve’ (ibid) was driven by our anxiety that we will forget these classical legacies and that they will become less integral to our identity, brought

on by the modern pace of change and development. For Lowenthal, the past (a foreign country) has become partly domesticated: a marketable product for the heritage industry.

Hewison (1987: 37-41) attributed the recent (1970s onwards) popularity of nostalgia to the destruction and dislocation of the past that began with the upheavals of the industrial revolution; then two World Wars; followed by the post-World War Two reconstruction period witnessing the destruction of 8,000 listed buildings; slum clearance; the closure of rural railways in the 1960s; decimalisation in 1970; the 1973 oil crisis; inner-city riots and the miners' strike of 1984-85. Hewison quoted Sir Roy Strong in 1978:

‘The heritage represents some form of security, a point of reference, a refuge perhaps, something visible and tangible which, within a topsy-turvy world, seems stable and unchanged. Our environmental heritage ... is therefore a deeply stabilising and unifying element within our society’ (Hewison, 1987: 46, citing Ascherson, 1986: 300).

The impulse to preserve the past is treated as a form of self-defence mechanism where objects from the past become cultural symbols. Hewison reasoned that the key question is not whether, but what kind of past should be preserved and its possible effects on society. Continuing this theme, in referring to the ‘crumbling mausoleum which is post-imperial Britain’, Wright (1986) saw Britain entering an age in which everything deemed worthwhile has to be saved in order to survive. In this state of permanent emergency Wright contended, the National Trust could evade questions about what type of past it wished to secure for the nation (whose past is ‘ours’? p.33) by appealing to a ‘widespread and regressive nostalgia’ by citing the urgency of the conservation or preservation cause: a point made earlier by Lowenthal (1985). In this way, he argued, the Trust portrays Britain as a homogeneous, already-achieved and timeless historical identity which demands only ‘appropriate reverence and protection in the present’, appealing to an ‘everyday historical consciousness’

(Wright, 1986: 34). Wright concluded that there were political implications if the Trust's portrayal of the nation started to achieve a generalised influence over British public culture. See also, Howkins (1994), in Chapter 5 for a similar discussion. Tunbridge & Ashworth's (1996: 20-27) thesis of 'dissonance' in heritage was also critical of the production and marketing of heritage where, for example, the treatment of historical resources to create heritage products 'endows those products with the tensions and dilemmas inherent in all commodification for contemporary markets' (p.21). Furthermore with the reliance of heritage on interpretation, the content of those messages may cause dissonance in a number of ways, not least by heritage containing implicitly or explicitly value-laden messages.

The concept of heritage then, is prone to being value-laden where the present generation decides on the preservation, conservation and restoration of a legacy of natural and built tangible assets. These assets are marketed, presented and interpreted for a range of audiences. History is a record of the past that may be written to suit particular agendas for certain audiences (for example visitors to museums or the school curriculum). In this sense, history is integral to heritage. This selective process has attracted a dissonant view of heritage that argues historical assets in a sense have become exploited as part of a heritage industry, trading on nostalgia and a marketed package of the past. From a critical theory standpoint, it has been argued that the heritage agenda has been culturally driven by the bourgeoisie that has seen a coalescence of the movement to preserve open common land and the natural environment, with Fine Art. Some commentators see the National Trust portraying a marketable, homogenised version of the past that is expected to be appreciated, even revered; and typically based on the presentation of country estates and parkland in private ownership. If this is meant to represent part of a national heritage, they argue, then by whose values, and for whom? Chapter 5 will show how the National Trust balances its

responsibilities towards both the natural environment and built heritage, as well as having evolved into much more of a 'broader church' than is sometimes appreciated.

Defining heritage tourism

Since the late 1980s the phenomenon of heritage tourism has attracted much critical analysis provoking what Mellor (1991: 96-97) described as a 'minor academic industry' directed at the 'nostalgia business' or 'heritage industry'. In their introductory paper for the first volume of the *Journal of Heritage Tourism* Timothy & Boyd (2006: 1-2) described heritage tourism as one of the oldest and most widespread forms of contemporary tourism, an industry that has grown rapidly since the end of World War Two touching all corners of the globe economically, socially and environmentally in some way. In Cowell's (2010) view, heritage is understood as ascribing present and future values to the inheritance of the past thereby highlighting the role of the day trip through which those values are expressed. However, as Hall (2009a: 88) questioned: when considering what is worth preserving for 'our' heritage and collective identity, '... who is the we?' - he continued by saying that heritage can be co-produced by the motivations of consumers within the prevailing socio-cultural/economic context but also co-destroyed when heritage has reached the end of its life-cycle. Wheeler (2007; 2009) furthered the debate by suggesting that repetitive patterns of tourist behaviour lead to the creation of our/their own heritage. He cites the example of the British holiday camp tradition of the 1940s-1960s. But, he asked, through their patterns of consumption are not those tourists also responsible for the destruction of their own heritage?

Hinting at an under-current of exploitation, Bandyopadhyay et al. (2008: 791) reinforced the notion that tourism is able to frame history ideologically and reshape culture to its own requirements. Furthermore in their study of Croatia, Goulding & Domic (2009:

99) concluded that heritage extended beyond representations of culture or national identification to include deeper, symbolic meanings related to ‘the very essence of selfhood’. The whole assembly of Croatian heritage came to represent what they termed ‘sign systems’, which reinforced the sense of Croatian identity. Park’s (2010) survey of visitors to Changdeok Palace in South Korea also explored similar themes of symbolism. Closer to home, the British politician Margaret Hodge (2008: 1) asked the question: ‘Should cultural institutions promote shared values and a common national identity?’ Hodge emphasised that these institutions played a key role in creating ‘the icons of a common culture that everyone can feel part of ...’ (p.17).

Taking a sector-led approach Timothy & Boyd (2003: 9) viewed heritage tourism as spanning both urban tourism and eco-tourism (i.e. built and natural heritage) within which cultural tourism belongs. Richards (1996) on the other hand, assigned heritage tourism within the broader realm of cultural tourism where cultural tourists are selective in their consumption of heritage resources; whereas Newsome et al. (2002: 11) divided heritage and religion into separate categories belonging to cultural tourism, itself part of ‘alternative tourism’ (alternative to mass tourism) where tourists seek a range of new products and services. The relationship between tourism and cultural heritage management is further examined in a study of Hong Kong as an urban heritage destination (McKercher et al., 2005). The study distanced itself from a traditional conflict paradigm where tourism activities could be seen as a danger to the integrity of cultural assets, and instead developed a ‘continuum of maturity’ where tourism and cultural heritage management were seen to be developing in parallel as part of an evolutionary, mutual process. McKercher et al. concluded that ‘Tourism and CHM [cultural heritage management] are neither natural allies nor natural enemies’ (p. 546). They argued that cultural tourism is successful when it is

recognised that each of these two interests is a legitimate part of tourism, leading to a mature relationship. Figure 2.1 shows some of the sector relationships in tourism. Loulanski & Loulanski (2011) considered the nature of cultural heritage and tourism studies led to a fragmentation of knowledge with many isolated and descriptive studies. They suggested that developing a multi-disciplinary approach between the natural and social sciences underpinned by sustainable development would help to achieve a more unified approach to the subject.

Chhabra (2010) noted that heritage tourism definitions usually adopted either a supply-side view based on visitor attractions and the arts, or a demand-side view centred on visitor motivations, perceptions and the consumption of heritage tourism. Poria et al. (2003) also noted a weighting towards the supply-side, not so much on the demand-side and even less on the relationship between the two. The history of a site is a partial motivator for visiting a heritage location but a core issue in promoting it, they argued, is whether potential visitors can be identified whose perceptions of the location are based on their own heritage; and whether these perceptions can be linked to their behaviour. Ultimately, Poria et al. argued, the relationship between supply and demand was central to our understanding of heritage tourism. The consumption of culture was also the key issue for Du Cross (2001) who adopted the term 'cultural heritage tourism' signifying that it is a destination's culture that acts as a motivator in separating heritage tourism from other forms of tourism.

The usefulness of debating definitions was questioned by Garrod & Fyall (2001) in response to criticism by Poria et al. (2001) of their earlier article on managing heritage tourism (Garrod & Fyall, 2000). Poria et al. proposed that instead of heritage tourism being viewed as representing simply the historic environment (a supply approach), it should be treated more as a tourist motivation phenomenon where a site's attributes are linked to

tourists' perceptions of their own heritage (a demand approach). A dual terminology was suggested: (a) 'heritage tourism' – encompassing a motivation to visit the heritage characteristics of the site and tourists' perceptions of their own heritage; and (b) 'historic tourism' based on a motivation to visit a site because of its historic attributes. For Poria et al. a heritage tourist would always be an 'historic tourist' but the reverse is not necessarily the case: an 'historic tourist' does not have to be a heritage tourist.

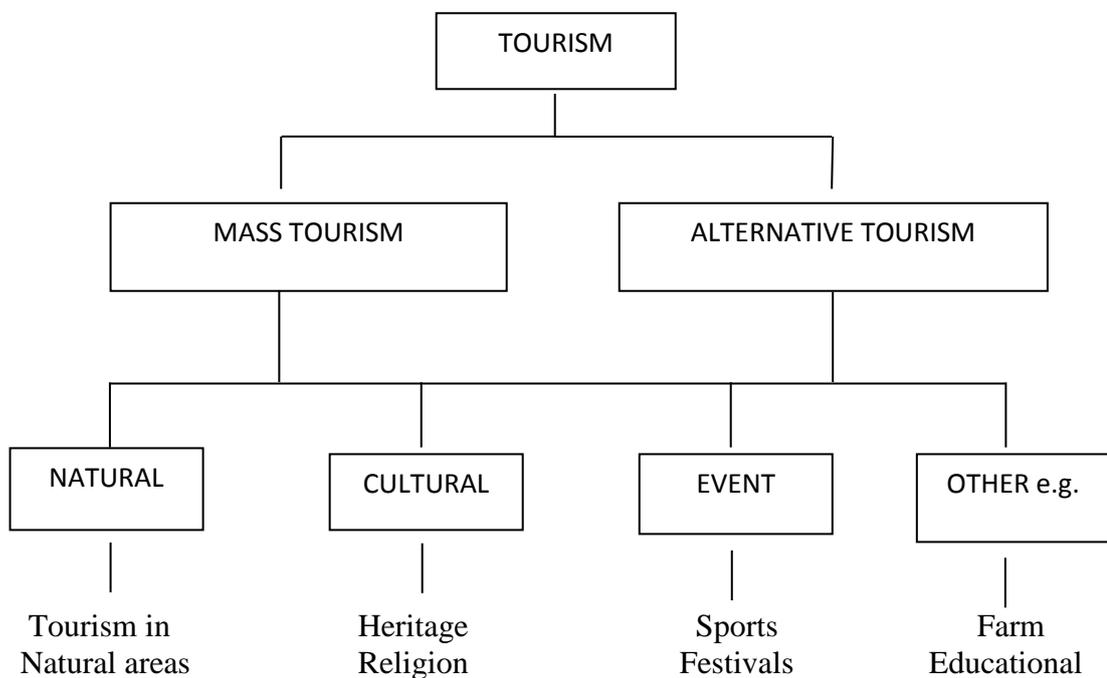


Figure 2.1 Overview of tourism (Newsome et al., 2002: 11)

Authenticity, commodification and post-modern tourism

The notion of authenticity brings into question what is thought to be genuine or artificial. Timothy & Boyd (2006: 5) considered that authenticity was especially relevant for heritage tourism as it illuminated the motives for people travelling to heritage sites: some will travel to seek authentic experiences (citing MacCannell, 1976) whereas others have different

expectations (citing Moscardo, 2000). Chhabra et al.'s (2003) study of Scotland's Highland Games concluded that the level of visitor expenditure at the Highland Games related to the visitor's perception of authenticity: a correlation the organisers of such events might wish to consider. Timothy & Boyd found most research showed tourists do search for some form of authenticity and their perceptions led to satisfactory visitor experiences; yet despite this, they observed, many heritage sites throughout the world are presented as having sanitised and idealised pasts, implying this approach could hinder a better visitor experience.

In one of the earliest papers on authenticity Cohen (1988: 373) shows that 'commodification' and 'staged authenticity' lead to a situation where 'the more tourism flourishes, the more it allegedly becomes a colossal deception'. Writing nearly twenty years later, Cole (2007) underscored the Western-centric approach to authenticity and commodification: concepts that generally imply a negative view of the 'objectification' of other cultures. However, her paper reinforced a move away from the idea of focusing on a destination or site's authenticity to one 'where tourism promotes local awareness' (citing Franklin & Crang, 2001: 10) and opportunities for empowerment, particularly in developing countries.

Weaver (2011a) too, observed that heritage tourism has traditionally taken a supply-side view focusing on the historic assets of a destination; recently though, he argued, discourses have become more complex as they address social constructions that acknowledge subjectivities and the notion of personal heritage. The term 'postmodernism' has become a widely used concept in tourism literature with a sociological provenance: for example Bourdieu (1984) attributed the rise of postmodern consumption to France's expanding middle classes attempting to distinguish themselves from others through education, income and consumption patterns that included heritage tourism (cited in

Richards, 1996); or Adorno's (1991) Marxist critique of culture which was said to have become mass-produced or commodified, resulting in a devaluation of cultural assets but with the process being orchestrated by a culturally competent and financially successful bourgeoisie (cited in Hannabuss, 1999). Earlier mention was made of viewing the National Trust in the context of critical theory. Whilst it could be argued with confidence that the charity is led and managed by people who are culturally competent and financially successful, it would be more contentious to suggest that the Trust's assets are devalued or mass-produced in some way.

Uriely (1997: 982) dated the shift of tourism studies from a modern to post-modern discourse to the 1970s, a decade during which tourism emerged as a 'distinguished sociological subject-field'. Two perspectives were taken. On the one hand, the tourism experience increasingly sought contrived experiences or 'pseudo-events' (citing Boorstin, 1964/1973) that exploit, for example, the quest for nostalgia: a notion felt by John Betjeman in 1947 to be a euphemism for sentimentality (Betjeman & Games, 2007). The other postmodern perspective saw the tourist searching for an authentic experience, typically at places of built and natural heritage (citing MacCannell, 1976). Earlier, MacCannell (1973: 589) coined the phrase 'staged authenticity' when he likened tourism to the pilgrimage in its quest for religious experiences. The net result, Uriely argued, was that post-modern tourism represented a multiplicity of tourist experiences often described in the 1980s as 'niche tourism', recognisable as part of Jafari's (1981) 'adaptancy platform' of tourism knowledge. A later interpretation of this theme is found in Ganzález's (2008: 809) distinction between 'leisure tourists' and 'existential intangible heritage tourists' with implications for heritage sites that might wish to connect with the latter as potential consumers. The intangibility of heritage tourism in providing a source of identity is a post-modern tourism idea. For Clayton

(2010) a local community's perception of a place where there is a strong historic identity improves self-efficacy amongst residents as well as transcending fixed identities such as ethnicity. A sense of belonging to a place is reinforced through participation in events such as volunteer projects; an approach fostered by the National Trust.

The convergence of heritage (tradition) and tourism (modernity) is discussed by Nuryanti (1996: 250) in developing the notion of a global village where numerous national and regional cultures and traditions become more accessible, eventually creating an international identity with endless possibilities for collapsing both time and space. This is interpreted as a form of virtual reality that uses a series of production-related activities relating to the past, aiding 'the tourist's search for new meaning and identity' and facilitated by their intellect and imagination. The quest for these experiences was underlined further by Apostolakis (2003) who drew a distinction between the modern Fordist concept of mass tourism products of the 1960s and 1970s and the more recent post-Fordist (post-modern) diverse and individualised elements of demand. Apostolakis argued that the challenge for heritage tourism was to recognise and cater for this market trend of personal preferences (in the broadest sense) of visitors, leading him to interpret heritage tourism as a 'convergence process' of demand (tourism) and supply (heritage attractions). Thinking about the lot of the visitor guide, Van Dijk & Kirk (2007) pointed out that it can sometimes be exhausting for front-line tourism employees who are often required to energise themselves into theatrical roles as part of a site's interpretation, leading to possible emotional dissonance amongst staff. This element of theatricality in the presentation of its historic properties has attracted recent criticism amongst some National Trust members (see Chapter 5).

In post-modern tourism the association of a focus on cognitive and emotional engagement with heritage tourism is further explored by a strand of literature drawing on

the idea of personal heritage. 'Legacy tourism', a sub-set of heritage tourism, is one such interpretation defined by McCain & Ray (2003) as the search for personal meaning in heritage leading to 'genealogical endeavours'. Poria et al. (2004) have already argued that it is too simplistic merely to define heritage tourism as part of cultural tourism where the main motivation is to view historic artefacts/buildings for education and recreation, as suggested by Nuryanti (1996). Instead, they maintain, visitors are further motivated by the desire to be exposed to their own heritage creating a personal heritage experience. In a later paper, Poria et al. (2006) explored how a site's attributes and the actual heritage presented are implicitly linked to the visitor's perception of personal heritage. This has implications for heritage site management and in theory could widen academic debate beyond leisure and recreation to include, for example, religion and environmental psychology.

Sustainability and Sustainable development

Twentieth century 'environmentalism' is often said to have evolved in the 1960s and 1970s coinciding with influential publications such as Rachel Carson's (1962/2000) *Silent Spring*, Garrett Hardin's (1968) *The Tragedy of the Commons* and Donella Meadows's *The Limits to Growth* (Meadows et al., 1972). Until the 1960s 'the environment' was largely absent from political and policy discourse (Dryzek, 1997). Gigliotti (1993) referred to the USA's 1970 Earth Day as the onset of the 'modern environmental era' and indeed for this study, 1970 is selected as the start date for identifying the origins of the National Trust's climate change policy. In 1972 the Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment and the subsequent formation of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) established environmental concern internationally (Helm, 2000: xi). And in the UK, since 1960, the membership of UK environmental organisations (The National Trust included) has roughly

doubled each decade (Connelly & Smith, 1999: 69); and at government level by 1990 the environment was considered of sufficient importance to produce the White Paper *This Common Inheritance* in the run-up to the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (the 'Rio Earth Summit'). These events paved the way for a series of UK sustainable development strategies at national level.

Against this background of interest in and concern for the environment, 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development' became popularised during the late 1980s following the publication of the World Commission on Environment and Development's (WCED) 1987 report *Our Common Future*, often referred to as the Brundtland Report, named after the Norwegian Prime Minister who chaired the conference. Most literature takes this as the starting point for serious discussion on sustainable development; although Liu (2003) referred to the earlier convention of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN)'s *World Conservation Strategy* of 1980. Bramwell & Lane (2012) date the emergence of sustainable tourism to the environmental and social tourism impact studies of the 1970s; and by the 1990s, a large and increasing amount of tourism research turned its attention to the principles and practice of 'sustainable tourism development' (Hunter, 1997).

Today, the terms sustainable development, sustainable tourism and sustainable tourism development are often used interchangeably in the literature though they are not necessarily synonymous with 'sustainability' itself (Cope, 1995: 66). Macbeth (1994: 42) considered several dictionary definitions of the word 'sustain', all of them indicating a purpose to 'nurture, nourish, supply, support ...' before proposing a four-part sustainability model likened to a 'quadriga' constructed of ecological, economic, social and cultural elements; and: 'If any horse falters, the chariot goes off course or stops. Finished!' (p.42). A

decade later Macbeth (2005: 967) proposed that sustainability should extend Jafari's (2001) platform of tourism scholarship to a fifth level with ethics forming the sixth; thus reinforcing the inter- and intra-generational quality of sustainable development. Baker (2007: 7) underlined the original association of sustainability with ecology whereas Jackson (2008: 57) emphasised the issue of a growing global population living within its limits, echoing Garrett Hardin's (1968) *The Tragedy of the Commons*. Blackburn (2008: 4-5) acknowledged there are numerous definitions of sustainability and chose to theme his study around the "2Rs": resources (economic and natural); and respect (for people and other living things). English Heritage's (2008: 72) definition of 'sustainable': 'Capable of meeting present needs without compromising ability to meet future needs' reflects the thrust of the Brundtland Report: 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Baker, 2007: 20, citing the WCED's report of 1987, *Our Common Future*).

Writing about sustainable development and the National Trust, Cope (1995: 53-54) expressed reservations about the usefulness of the sustainable development concept as a foundation of the Trust's future policies and of government policies because, he argued, the concept contained inherent vagueness and imprecision, which perhaps had been too readily adopted by political parties, the government, businesses and pressure groups. This theme is revisited in Chapter 7. The contradiction of seeking to combine neo-classical economic growth with a traditional ecological perspective in the name of sustainable development is a recurrent theme in the sustainability debate, compounded by a multitude of differing viewpoints: for example, Sharpley (2000), who cited 70 definitions of the concept. O'Riordan (1998: 96) commented similarly on the propensity of the term 'sustainable development' to 'accommodate almost any unrequited social goal ...'. The dynamic nature

of the concept of sustainable development, that is, its ability to be adapted to fit the aspirations of different societies and cultures was emphasised by Baker (2007: 8), serving to highlight the potential of the concept's flexibility.

Sustainable tourism: paradigm or product?

In the late 1980s, the notion of 'sustainable tourism' grew out of concern over the real and perceived negative environmental and social impacts of tourism (Lane, 2009a; 2009b); Bramwell & Lane, 2012; Gössling & Scott, 2012). According to Jafari (2001) the first signs were evident in the 1970s, in the 'cautionary' phase of tourism development, policy and research: the second of Jafari's four 'platforms' or paradigms that have characterised the tourism debate and its literature in the period since the Second World War. But what is sustainable tourism? Buckley (2012), in a review of sustainable tourism research, said that sustainable tourism literature was defined by two external real-world phenomena: sustainability and the tourism industry, rather than by an internally-generated concept. Higgins-Desbiolles (2010: 117) defined it as contentious, arguing that there was no general agreement on any of the permutation of terms used, such as 'sustainable tourism', 'ecologically sustainable tourism' or 'sustainable development in tourism'; while associated terms such as eco-tourism and alternative tourism were often assumed to be synonymous. Garrod & Fyall (1998: 200) referred to the initial popularity of sustainability in the tourism debate in the 1980s but suggested that the term had since been hijacked by economic and financial discourses leading the concept to drift away from its original ecological emphasis. They noted and appeared to agree with the view that continued debate on definition can detract from the more important question of implementation of sustainable tourism practice; and concluded:

‘Most of the bones of contention have already been so well picked that there remains little meat on them for academics to squabble over’ (pp. 199-200).

Despite these concerns a few viewpoints will be examined briefly. The emergence of sustainable tourism post-Brundtland led to a critical response in the early 1990s and some influential reviews later in the decade. Wheeler (1991) for example, highlighted the common perception that mass tourism is the ‘villain’. Alternative forms of small-scale tourism prefixed typically by ‘alternative ... sustainable, soft, green etc.’ collectively termed ‘responsible tourism’ are said by their providers or other supporters to achieve a fairer distribution of benefits and costs. In practice however, Wheeler said that small-scale, so-called ethical or responsible tourism, inevitably added to the growing volume of global tourism (i.e. simply increased foot-fall at any destination); and that economically less-developed countries or destinations could find it difficult to impose some of the controls and restrictions needed to avoid negative impacts. Wheeler (p.96) concluded that the notion of responsible tourism ‘appeases the guilt of the ‘thinking tourist’ while simultaneously providing the holiday experience they or we want’. He suggested that in the long-run, the promotion of sustainability by the tourism industry tended to fuel the ego of the tourist or traveller lured by the marketing of nostalgic images of by-gone eras (for example the 1920s/30s) accompanied by ‘effusive, gushing expressions of concern’ about tourism’s negative impacts (Wheeler, 1993: 121). As far as Wheeler was concerned (p.122), sustainable tourism was a response to the criticism of tourism impact instead of actually addressing those impacts. Ten years later Wheeler (2004: 475) reaffirmed his sceptical view of eco or sustainable tourism’s ‘green mantle of respectability’.

McKercher (1993) considered two approaches to sustainability. The first was development-oriented, focusing on the accumulation of wealth deriving from man-made and

natural capital that passed between generations; the other was the ‘ecologically sustainable imperative’ where the preservation and conservation of natural assets should not be compromised in the cause of generating economic wealth. With its heavy reliance on natural resources, tourism is vulnerable to both approaches in terms of loss of operating areas. Early studies on the environmental consequences of tourism concluded that tourism by its nature was in conflict with any form of sustainable development, and that policy initiatives which tried to reverse this trend were often unsuccessful. Later, a more symbiotic approach was favoured where tourism was seen as part of a triangular relationship with the environment and the local economy (Hjalager, 1996: 201). Choi & Sirakaya (2005) subsequently put forward the sustainable tourism paradigm which sought to balance the traditional ‘utility paradigm’ with that of the ‘new environmental paradigm (NEP)’. Luo & Deng (2008) informed the debate with their study on environmental attitudes analysed using the NEP. Sustainable development can be seen therefore, as aiming to achieve economic, social and environmental benefits, while Hughes (1995) and Macbeth (2005) point also to the ethical dimension of sustainability.

By the late 1990s, several influential articles had reviewed the progress and state of sustainable tourism. Hunter (1997) was critical of its drift from the parental concept of sustainable development, suggesting that the notion of sustainable tourism had become too narrow or ‘tourism-centric’. He argued for sustainable tourism to be viewed within the broader concept of sustainable development (see also Weaver, 2004; 2009). Clarke (1997) identified a difference between the concept of sustainable tourism being seen as a form of tourism product as opposed to a goal for all tourism to achieve (a paradigm approach). Clarke’s paper charted the evolution of the concept in the 1990s taking the following path: polar opposites (mass tourism and sustainable tourism); a continuum; movement (towards

sustainable tourism); and finally convergence (large-scale tourism towards small-scale). This final position, it was argued, endowed sustainable tourism with the characteristics of a goal or paradigm rather than a tourism product.

In discussion of the industry response to the 'sustainability imperative' Garrod & Fyall (1998) referred to guidelines produced by organisations such as Tourism Concern and the Worldwide Fund for Nature which, although appearing to be holistic and adaptable for the diverse nature of the tourism industry, nevertheless exposed the weakness of leaving open to interpretation specific actions or advice that may be needed to protect today's resources in such a way that they can be available to future generations: the so-called 'constant capital' rule of environmental economics.

For Butler (1999) the value of the term sustainable tourism lay in its indefinability so that it could be adapted to suit different purposes such as appropriate development for tourism; restoration of bygone principles for the conservationist; and preservation of significant environments for the environmentalist. Butler agreed with Wheeler (1991; 1993) that the real challenge for sustainable tourism lay in controlling the growing volume of mass tourism, managing the carrying capacity of destinations and not being distracted by the moral complacency of supposed environmentally-friendly tourism products such as eco-tourism or nature-based tourism. Sharpley (2000) used the terms sustainable tourism and sustainable development interchangeably leading to 'sustainable tourism development'. He attributed the multi-sector and fragmented nature of tourism in general to the localised and relatively small-scale nature of sustainable tourism projects. Sharpley's thesis argued that sustainable tourism fell short of fulfilling the broader principles of sustainable development: it was more the case of tourism being driven by an economic rationale while trying to embrace environmental principles. For him, the concept of sustainable tourism was a 'red

herring' (p.14). Other literature supporting this point of view included Joppe (1996) and Berry & Ladkin (1997) who explored sustainable tourism, respectively, in the light of community development in Canada, and a regional perspective in East Sussex. Pforr (2001) highlighted the attraction for governments and tourism businesses of promoting the popular eco-tourism product whilst the conservationists and environmentalists advocated 'protection through usage' (p. 69) in the hope of nurturing a 'green' tourism industry.

Before moving on to discuss the role of sustainable tourism indicators, the thrust of the sustainable tourism concept will be summarised. Its origins lie within the broader fields of sustainability and sustainable development, both of which are underpinned by the rationale of ecology, economics, and society and culture. Central to these concepts is the quest to achieve both intra and inter-generational equity. Much academic debate has been directed at defining sustainable tourism, and whether it is a product or a paradigm; the former indicates perhaps a commercial drift away from the principles of sustainable development. Further on in this chapter it will be shown how climate change has become a recent dimension in the sustainable tourism debate; this is central to this study.

Sustainable tourism indicators

In considering sustainable development, Mitchell (1996: 1) noted the debate had moved from one of definition to measurement; while Lawrence (1998: 69) asked: 'how might we objectively know whether things are getting better or worse?'. Butler (1999: 16) observed that without measures or indicators the term sustainable becomes meaningless and is prone to 'hyperbole and advertising jargon'. More recently, both Choi & Sirakaya (2005) and Buckley (2012) have prioritised indicators for research, whereas Tanguay et al. (2013) cautioned that many indicators devised by academics have limited usefulness for policy-

makers due to their complexity. It seems therefore, as is the case with defining sustainable tourism, there is debate surrounding the usefulness of indicators. Following the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, the UN Commission on Sustainable Development was established with the aim of measuring progress towards sustainability using indicators (Moldan et al., 1997). The tourism industry's response came in 1993 when the UN World Tourism Organisation commissioned a task force to develop a set of indicators (Manning, 1999). Further global initiatives included the 'Bellagio Principles' of the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU) (Hardi, 1997). And in the UK, a sustainable development strategy appeared in 1994 followed by the first set of national indicators in 1996 (DCMS, 2007).

Miller (2001: 351) provided a 'long and impressive' list of organisations at international and UK-level involved in developing sustainable tourism indicators at this time. His research on indicators that can be used by consumers in the selection of their holiday and generally promote a more sustainable form of tourism, was one of the first studies of this kind in the tourism literature. Gössling et al.'s (2002) study of ecological footprint analysis to assess tourism sustainability in the Seychelles exemplified an early methodological study using quantitative techniques applied to tourist consumption. The use of an ecological footprint approach was also commended by Hunter & Shaw (2007) who wished to see its implementation extended from monitoring local destination impacts to a more global scale. They were of the view that in 2007, the art and science of indicator research was still in its infancy.

According to Reed et al. (2006) the sustainability indicator literature fell into two broad categories: 1) the top-down approach using quantitative data (for example Gössling et al., 2002); and 2) the bottom-up participatory approach, which emphasised the importance of the local context. They proposed integrating these two approaches through the

development of an adaptive learning process using both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Becken & Patterson (2006) provided one such example where these two methodologies were combined to measure New Zealand tourism's carbon dioxide emissions. Choi & Sirakaya (2005) on the other hand, turned their attention to measuring sustainable development progress at a local level, combining subjective indicators with objective measurement. Measuring the sustainability of tourism organisations taking a micro approach was examined at by Roberts & Tribe (2008) who argued that indicators could test an underlying assumption that small enterprises, by virtue of their size, automatically contributed to sustainable development (Appendix 2.1). Studies at a wider destination-level include Schianetz & Kavanagh (2008) who proposed a set of indicators termed the 'systemic indicator system', designed to improve the sustainable planning of a destination; and Larson & Poudyal's (2012) study of managing resources more adaptively amongst the vested interests of stakeholders at Macchu Pichu in Peru, to address problems of the site's carrying capacity. Another study, by Williams & Ponsford (2009), which examined a sustainability plan for the Canadian mountain resort Whistler, was considered a useful model if not a blueprint for destination planning. Indicators therefore, have been developed taking different approaches for different scales of application. As will be seen later, this study of the National Trust favours the small-scale, local approach to measuring sustainability.

Stakeholder involvement and empowerment

Cole (2006) noted that community participation and empowerment are essential for ensuring sustainable tourism development; and that this process had become a mantra of sustainable tourism. The challenge for empowerment lay in furnishing communities (i.e. residents and

local businesses in tourism destinations) with relevant information about the tourism development process and the needs of tourists. The notion of 'steady-state solutions' (Hall, 2009b) that optimised all stakeholders' interests as part of realising a sustainable maximum level of tourism development for a region was the basis of Johnston & Tyrrell's (2005) approach to sustainable tourism. Their 'dynamic model of sustainable tourism' took account of trade-offs and potential conflicts between profit-maximising tourism businesses and that of the permanent residents at the tourism destination. The starting point for sustainable tourism development in a community, argued Byrd (2007), was the identification of stakeholders categorised into present and future residents plus present and future visitors. He suggested that a key to success is to encourage stakeholders to participate in sustainability issues even if in a minor way. More recently, based on the European Charter for Sustainable Tourism in Protected Areas, a Sustainable Performance Index has been developed to extend consultation with local stakeholders through a process of active participation (Castellani & Sala, 2010). An example of residents taking a more pro-active approach is provided by Hwang et al. (2012) in their study of five communities on Jeju Island, South Korea where the residents initiated community-based action in response to the social impact of tourism. Their efforts contributed to the long-term planning of tourism development on the island. Other recent research (Waligo et al., 2013; Albrecht, 2013; Graci, 2013; Lee, 2013) addresses the involvement of stakeholders in ways such as networking, collaboration and partnership; and the support of community residents for sustainable tourism development. Empowerment and the advocacy of a bottom-up approach to policy-making are a common theme to these studies.

Sustainable tourism and climate change

The discussion of climate change in the sustainable tourism literature has gathered pace since the publication of the 2007 Helsingborg Statement on Sustainable Tourism (Gössling et al. 2008) where attention was drawn to tourism's contribution to global warming. Much of the literature since then has questioned the effectiveness of sustainable tourism in controlling mass tourism and its environmental consequences. Recent papers in mainstream tourism journals continue to question sustainable tourism's ability to bring about sustainability in the global tourism industry based on the premise that tourism continues to represent a global problem associated with climate change impacts. In this respect Bramwell & Lane (2008) underlined that aviation is widely forecast as tourism's biggest contributor to greenhouse gas emissions and that sustainable tourism has now become a global trip problem, not just a destination issue. Following the financial crisis which began in 2007 with the run on Northern Rock and then the collapse of Lehman Brothers in the USA in 2008, Bramwell & Lane (2011) warned that governments' enthusiasm for sustainable tourism as a remedy for environmental damage inflicted by mass tourism may be thwarted by concerns over the economic crisis resulting in, for example, a possible reluctance to invest in public infrastructure needed for sustainable projects. Gössling et al. (2012a), advocating a transitional management approach needed for sustainable tourism, also pointed to global tourism becoming less sustainable due to its continued growth and limited progress being achieved in areas such as conservation, protection of biodiversity, and energy and water use.

Hall's (2009b) answer to the worsening effects of tourism on climate change lay in his notion of 'steady-state tourism' with the promotion of slow consumption and local travel. He argued for a paradigm shift from sustainable to steady-state tourism (Hall, 2010). For Hall, the notion of the compatibility of sustainable tourism with economic growth was

the key issue. He advocated a type of circular economy approach where tourism accounted for the entire process of production and consumption (the 'polluter pays' principle) rather than just focusing on tourism's negative effects. Hall's thoughts on slow consumption were echoed by Ram et al.'s (2013) 'happiness model' that could give leverage in breaking up the 'speed-distance-demand loop' in the context of leisure mobility. In other words, there was a tacit acceptance that the economic imperative of tourism and its resultant negative impacts continue to present a challenge for sustainability; so perhaps the solution lay in viewing tourism as its own economic model; one that should operate with its own checks and balances. These and similar discourses utilise visitor motivation and behaviour research. Further examples were found to centre on pro-environmental behaviour contributing to sustainable tourism, and included Dolnicar & Leisch (2008); Lane (2009); Dávid (2011); Antimova et al. (2012); Kim (2012); Bramwell & Lane (2013) and Peeters (2013).

Finally, the recent exchange between Weaver (2011b) and Scott (2011) exposed continuing uncertainties surrounding the concept and applicability of sustainable tourism. Weaver maintained that a growing engagement with climate change is not necessarily conducive to sustainable tourism for a variety of reasons. He began by suggesting that the current state of tourism-climate change knowledge had not yet developed sufficiently to warrant major private and public sector investments in climate change mitigation and adaptation. Weaver then highlighted, for example: what he saw as some of the continued uncertainties associated with climate change impact projections; a relative lack of commitment by the tourism industry to tackling climate change, sometimes limited to superficial environmental measures such as hotel linen recycling; and a travelling public who, although they expressed their awareness of and concern about climate change, in practice seemed reluctant to change their behaviour. Scott refuted most of Weaver's

criticisms, defending the performance of the IPCC but recognising that the science of climate change and accuracy of impact projections were not infallible. For Scott, that climate change as a topic had represented only 1.7 per cent of peer-reviewed articles in the leading four tourism journals during 2000-2009, was not a justification for stalling action by the tourism industry; although he agreed with Weaver that the tourism sector engagement in climate change had to date been largely rhetorical. Scott contended that how the tourism industry responded to climate change was critical if the industry were to make progress in its sustainability. For Scott, climate change is the 'new strategic reality' for businesses, governments and NGOs.

Climate change research in tourism studies

Climate change is a concern for tourism because of the direct climatic impacts on the tourism sector (principally adaptation studies); the indirect effects of climate change on tourism; and tourism's contribution to greenhouse gas emissions (principally mitigation studies) (Becken & Clapcott, 2011). Gössling et al. (2012: 37) agreed with their reasons, but added a fourth concern. In their view, climate change was a more holistic and under-researched area: changes in society related to 'reduced economic growth, consumer cultures and social-political stability' brought about by climate change that would inevitably affect tourism. Early research though, had tended to focus on how local destinations responded to the impacts of a changing climate; whereas later studies (generally 2000 onwards) assessed the contribution of tourism to emitting GHGs and subsequent impacts, especially caused by transport. According to Dickinson (2010), there is a present need for public engagement with climate change in an effort to bring about behaviour decisions that could lead to a lower carbon future for tourism.

Broadly speaking, these reasons have framed much of the tourism-climate change literature since its emergence in the mid-1980s, as well as the development of tourism climate change policy across all levels from global to micro levels. Fischer's (2007) meta-study of articles written between 2006 and 2007 on tourism and climate change identified that the majority of papers addressed impacts, adaptation and mitigation measures. Studies addressing the practical implications of climate change on the historic environment are to be found in publications by organisations concerned about climate impacts such as English Heritage's *Heritage Counts* series (English Heritage (2006a/2008)); its collaborative research with University College London (Cassar, 2005); and regional climate change studies including those in the West Midlands (English Heritage, 2006b). Further local studies include the East Midlands Sustainable Development Round Table (2003) and Sustainability West Midlands (2004). A more global perspective for the tourism industry was undertaken by UNESCO-WHC (2008).

Scott et al. (2005: 47-53) saw the evolution of climate change literature as belonging to a spectrum of climate-weather and tourism-recreation studies, across four phases: the Formative Phase (1960-79); Period of Stagnation (1980s); Emergence of Climate Change (1990s); and Maturation (2000-present). A later review of tourism-climate change research contributing to climate policy by Scott & Becken (2010), also saw an essentially slow start being made in the 1980s but with the pace picking up from the mid-1990s. A recent systematic analysis of tourism and climate change research by Pang et al. (2013) found that during the period 1996-2010, some 440 journal articles had been published on the topic, with a significant growth since the mid-2000s. However, taking climate change research in its entirety, over the past 20 years tourism-related papers represented a mere 0.5 per cent of all published works on the subject. A further study by Weaver (2011b), surveyed articles in

the four leading tourism academic journals (*Annals of Tourism Research*; *Journal of Travel Research*; *Tourism Management*; *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*) for 2000-2009 and found that only 1.7 per cent of papers related to climate change. Such studies have pointed to a relative low profile of climate change issues in the tourism literature to date.

By the early 2000s then, the potential impacts of tourism on a changing climate were generally considered to be under-researched; and thus strengthened the case for convening the UNWTO's First International Conference on Climate Change and Tourism on the island of Djerba, Tunisia in 2003 (Nicholls, 2004). In Fischer's (2007) view, following the Djerba Conference, climate change became one of UNWTO's priorities, further acknowledged by the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) and NGOs. Dubois & Ceron (2006: 412-413) saw a further challenge in developing a multi/inter-disciplinary approach to tourism-climate research involving such disciplines as economics, sociology and meteorology.

Early tourism and climate research during the 1960s and 1970s focused mainly on the relationship between the two phenomena and the climate preferences of tourists: a period termed by Lamb (2002) as the 'climate revolution'. Wall & Badke (1994) concluded that climate change was an important determinant of tourism and that it would create new challenges and opportunities for the tourism industry, but that more research and policy analysis were needed to further understand the issues, assess implications, and enable the industry to adapt to changing circumstances. Some studies examined the extent to which a destination's climate would influence a tourist's choice of location. Lise & Tol (2002: 446) for example, arrived at an optimum temperature of 21° Celsius whereas Maddison (2001) settled for 30°-31° Celsius. For Martín (2005), a number of factors determined a destination's environmental assets and the overall quality of the tourist experience, such as the seasonality of its activities and the inter-action of demand, supply and the market agents

of tourism. Berrittella et al. (2006) focused on tourism demand, examining the economic implications of fluctuating tourism flows associated with a changing climate, and highlighted these changes would probably impact on the location of tourism expenditure, but not so much on the aggregate of visitor spending. The impact of a warming climate on visitor behaviour and habitat use at two beaches in East Anglia (Coombes & Jones, 2010) is an example of a study more closely associated with the National Trust's conservation and tourism activities.

The earliest tourism impact studies that appeared in the mid-1980s focused on camping and skiing in Canada: camping, facing potentially an extended season; and skiing, a shorter season (Wall et al., 1986; McBoyle et al., 1986). This research typically reviewed the evidence for a changing climate and considered the likely impacts on their respective sectors of the tourism industry. The 1990s being the warmest decade on record may well have prompted a number of UK impact studies, such as Giles & Perry's (1995) study on how the unusually warm year of 1995 saw a boost for domestic tourism, with possible implications for the competitive balance of holiday destinations at home and overseas; or Harrison et al.'s (1999) optimistic prognosis on the effects of a warming climate on Scotland's tourist industry. This formative period also witnessed medical and environmental journals beginning to publish research on climate change impact issues, thus widening the disciplinary boundaries of the subject. Examples include: Kalkstein (1993); Bowes & Sedjo (1993); Keeney (1994); Gössling et al., (2002); also later: Hoy et al. (2011) and Rosselló-Nadal et al. (2011).

The impact of climate change on tourism destinations has continued to dominate tourism-climate change research since the mid-2000s; although in Patterson & Bastianoni's (2006) view, much climate change impact research has taken a limited, polarised approach,

with the focus being placed on either the impacts of climate change on tourism (more adaptation), or the reverse (more mitigation). Popular destinations for study have included low-lying small island states e.g. the Caribbean (Belle & Bramwell, 2005; Hall & Clayton, 2009; Attzs, 2009); alpine resorts (Scott et al., 2007; Shih et al., 2008; Müller & Weber, 2008); Scotland (Yeoman & McMahon-Beattie, 2006); and coastal tourism (Anning et al., 2009; Moreno & Becken, 2009). Valls & Sardá's (2009) analysis of climate change impacts from the perspective of destination management in the Euro-Mediterranean tourism industry highlighted the pursuit of responsible tourism through the integration of mitigation and adaptation measures. Their study acknowledged some of the uncertainties associated with climate change, such as the speed and regularity of a changing climate and its projected impacts. Tourism businesses, they argued, should be prepared for the unexpected. These, and other studies, usually began with a reference to the increasing evidence for climate change, followed by an impact analysis taking account of changes in tourism demand, and adaptation strategies appropriate for the local climate and geography of the destination.

To reiterate, there has been less research on the impacts of climate change on cultural heritage assets than studies addressing issues associated with coastal tourism, small-state-islands, or ski resorts. This could be explained by those destinations' perceived reliance on geography and climate to maintain a profitable and sustainable tourism industry. In contrast, Haugen & Mattson's (2011) Norwegian study resonates more with the dilemmas faced by the National Trust in its recognition that cultural heritage assets - natural, built, archaeological, interiors - are non-renewable. Threats include damage due to extreme weather events, and problems with humidity and biological degradation affecting interior fabric and art collections. English Heritage (2006a/2008) pointed out that the historic environment is a finite resource and must be protected for future generations although,

inevitably, some assets will have to be lost. In this study's first interview conducted at the National Trust's headquarters in 2007, a director made the following remark about preserving assets in perpetuity: 'There are no sacred cows'. English Heritage argued that it *is* possible to achieve adaptation and energy efficiency without compromising historic distinctiveness and ultimately, this process can act as an inspiration to work towards achieving a low carbon economy. Changing people's behaviour, English Heritage maintained, was just as important as achieving energy efficiencies.

At the Second International Conference on Climate Change and Tourism at Davos in 2007, further action covering a wide spectrum of measures was called for from governments, the tourism industry, consumers, and research and communications networks (UNWTO-UNEP-WMO, 2007). The conference agreed that a rapid response was required from the tourism sector within the evolving UN framework of institutions and mechanisms designed to tackle climate change, in order to reduce the sector's GHGs and ensure the opportunities for sustainable growth. Particular reference was made to transport and accommodation activities as the largest carbon emitters. A year after Davos, two reports were published respectively by Simpson et al. (2008) and UNWTO-UNEP-WMO (2008) setting out the key challenges facing the industry using mitigation and adaptation strategies; and supported by the scientific evidence for climate change and its projected impacts. By 2009, the combined efforts of the tourism research community and the UNWTO resulted in raising awareness of tourism's relevance to climate change, estimated to be 5 per cent of global CO₂ emissions (Simpson et al. 2008).

Literature addressing mitigation invariably involves measuring the energy consumption of tourists and the tourism industry. According to Gössling et al. (2002), despite the enormous and widespread nature of tourism across the globe, its environmental

consequences have not yet been fully addressed. This line of inquiry began to develop from the early 2000s with studies such as Gössling et al. (2002; 2005); Bode et al (2003); and especially research undertaken by Susanne Becken at Lincoln University in New Zealand: Becken (2004); Becken et al. (2001; 2002; 2003a; 2003b); Becken & Simmons (2002); Becken & Patterson (2006). Becken's research focused on the energy consumption of tourism sectors in New Zealand, which is useful for assessing the sustainability of a destination or attraction. This was reinforced by Gössling et al.'s (2005) extensive quantitative study of the eco-efficiency of tourism in various tourism sectors, with its applications for analysing the combined environmental and economic performance of tourism activities such as day-trips, journeys, and destination activities. In a later study, Filimonau et al. (2011) expressed reservations about some of the environmental assessment techniques used to date; and proposed a life-cycle assessment model designed to estimate some of the indirect carbon contributions caused by short-haul trips.

Further, Gössling's (2009) conceptual analysis of carbon neutral destinations and other 'emerging buzzwords' in sustainable tourism research, although using five individual countries as much broader cases, nevertheless, provides a context for some of the National Trust's initiatives such as its energy policy for gradually replacing oil dependence with renewable energy sources. Chenworth (2009) claimed that car-sharing and shorter distance travel, combined with environmentally-concerned travellers, could lead to more sustainable, low-carbon travel. Additionally, the management of leisure time, particularly when on holiday, was explored by Dickinson & Peeters (2014) as contributing to potentially more sustainable tourist consumption: a contemporary theme in the literature.

Travel behaviour and transport issues for leisure and climate change

On the sustainability dilemma surrounding tourism and transport, Becken believed that discussion on such issues was still at an early stage (Becken, 2006). She suggested five themes for future climate change research, all of which link in some way to the present study, particularly regarding tourists' travel demands and attitudes; and, how current transport and climate change policies can affect patterns of tourist consumption and behaviour. Two themes are reviewed here. First, there are studies that address choice of transport mode for both commuting and general purpose travel or, in some cases, leisure travel, as part of a wider discussion about transport policies. This branch of research commonly utilised well-known theories from environmental psychology for analysing travel motivation and behaviour (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; Ajzen, 1991; Schwartz, 1994; 1999; Stern et al. 1995; Stern, 2000; Dunlap et al., 2000; and Bamberg & Möser, 2007). Second, and relying more on the tourism-climate change literature, was a steady stream of papers about sustainable travel behaviour and tourists' perceptions and awareness of climate change issues. These two areas were often inter-related.

For example, in Grob's (1995) study of two groups of Swiss drivers – 'green car' association members versus 'traditional' drivers – the application of nine attitudinal constructs showed that the green drivers revealed higher levels of pro-environmental behaviour than the traditional group, suggesting an association between social group membership and environmental attitudes. Attitude/behaviour constructs also underpinned Nilsson & Küller's (2000) study of Swedish urban motorists, including variables such as annual driving distance; choice of transport mode; frequency of journeys (leisure purposes were represented); acceptance of traffic restrictions; and general attitudes towards transport issues and the environment. Although their research focused on urban motorists, the results have wider application for motorists in general: in particular, how pro-environmental

behaviour might depend on environmental attitudes, and that travel behaviour (including driving distance) was associated more closely with an individual's socio-economic background and available resources.

According to Steg et al. (2001) and Klockner & Matthies (2004), a deeper insight into car-user motives can be explained by symbolic-affective reasons (expressing oneself and one's social position) in addition to instrumental reasons (pragmatic reasons for using a car). Their research into the role of personal and social norms affecting the travel behaviour of German commuters, although also focusing on an urban population, nevertheless contributes to understanding the psychology of modal choice for leisure travel. In contrast, Anable's (2005) study used a sample of visitors to more rural National Trust properties in the north-west of England to show that different visitor segments displayed correspondingly different attitudes on travel and the environment, inferring possibly different responses to policy intervention. When it came to suggesting to the public that reducing their carbon footprint might have beneficial consequences, Hares et al. (2010) pointed out that such communication efforts were usually focused on home activities, rather than holiday travel.

Market segmentation is a common theme running through much of the literature on tourist energy consumption and behaviour, and has implications for pro-environmental campaigns, although Crompton (2008) believed strategies that aimed to promote behaviour change through lifestyle changes had their limitations. The World Wildlife Fund (Crompton) argued that small-step changes relied on successful social marketing campaigns and a potentially fickle audience. Instead, there needed to be a systemic re-appraisal of macro-economic and environmental priorities where, for example, economic goals should be integrated with environmental priorities. Becken et al. (2003a; 2003b) identified different clusters of tourists who exhibited different travel patterns and energy use levels, and,

although set in a national context, their research could be applied also to more local scenarios. The sense of a personal responsibility for the environmental effects of one's travel behavior conflicting with a belief in the importance of freedom to travel, has characterised later work on perceptions of air travellers in relation to climate change (Becken, 2007). The practice of carbon off-setting schemes, notably Gössling et al.'s (2007) research into Voluntary Carbon Off-setting Schemes (VCOs) is associated with an attitude-awareness-behaviour tranche of literature where, again, particular strategies are proposed for different market or visitor segments. Tree-planting (Becken, 2004) was one such idea; whereas Mair's (2011) approach to segmentation, although directed at air travellers, had practical applications for overland travel.

The link between socio-demographic characteristics and visitor segmentation featured in several studies on travel behaviour. Lu & Pas (1999) highlighted tourists' choice of activities, for instance during a day-trip, as a factor which, in addition to socio-demographic characteristics, influenced travel behaviour; whereas Kattiyapornpong & Miller (2009) focused on age, income and lifestyle; and concluded that these variables were likely to be significant in understanding leisure and recreational activity. Lifestyle considerations were also relevant to the study of time as a factor in explaining travel behaviour. Axhausen & Bhat's (2005: 277) concept of 'connection choice', explained as a combination of time, route and travel mode used to reach a destination, was understood to be 'the building block with which travelers organize their daily lives'. By focusing on time and travel behaviour, Dickinson et al. (2013) proposed that increased time available for travel could, depending on choice of transport mode, result in higher speed; thus leading to a corresponding increase in distance travelled with increased GHG emissions. This notion was associated with a traditional, linear view of time, which encouraged a

compartmentalized approach to planning: described as ‘clock-time cultures’. Mobile telephones and social networking were seen also as emerging factors that could influence changing patterns of transport use. An earlier paper by Dickinson et al. (2010) explored a growing movement known as ‘slow travel’ whereby tourists choose to travel more by overland means, to stay longer at a destination, and to travel less within the destination. However, barriers were to be overcome, described as the ‘socially embedded rules of travel and inadequate slow travel structures’ (p.488).

Research into leisure travel and the day visitor market in the context of sustainable tourism is relevant for this study of the National Trust, as the majority of its properties are located in rural areas. For example, Dickinson et al.’s (2004) survey covering 26 National Trust properties and over 8,000 respondents in the south-west of England reviewed some of the Trust’s transport initiatives since 1995, explored in Chapter 6. They found that travel distance to properties, a determinant of GHG emissions, was accounted for by the ‘distinctive pattern’ of each property, consisting of its leisure setting, proximity to population centres, visit purpose and visitor characteristics, as well as transport constraints. Attitudes to traffic problems in rural areas were also examined in Cullinane & Cullinane’s (1999) earlier survey of Dartmoor and the Lake District.

In Dickinson & Dickinson’s (2006) opinion, many studies on rural transport and the leisure market have taken an atheoretical approach, avoiding the ‘quicksand of the transport debate’ (citing Wheeler, 1993: 124). Their study on local public transport on the other hand, used social representations theory (citing Moscovici, 1981) which focused on how people think or create their shared realities about certain issues; for example the notion: ‘The car cannot be restricted’ or ‘If public transport were improved people would use it more’ (Dickinson & Dickinson, 2006: 201-202). Such social realities were held to be

common-sense outcomes, and better explained what influences behaviour than any theories directed at the rational or objective reality of using buses, cycling or walking. They concluded that social representations theory could explain transport/travel attitudes beyond the more established psychology models that looked at attitude/behaviour and rational decision-making such as Ajzen (1991) or Bamberg et al. (2007). Social representations, it was suggested, could contribute to a better understanding of travel behaviour and choice of transport mode as part of climate change mitigation measures. Further applications of the representations model in rural destinations include Dickinson & Robbins (2007; 2008) and Dickinson, Robbins & Fletcher (2009).

Other transport literature addressed some of the various public transport schemes directed at leisure travel in rural UK areas including Lumsdon et al.'s (2006) study of the Wayfarer ticket project in the Greater Manchester area; Guiver et al.'s (2007) research into the Tourism on Board scheduled bus project in the Lake District; and Gronau & Kagermeier's (2007) contention that a successful leisure and tourism public transport provision is more likely to be achieved by a demand-oriented, bottom-up approach to policy-making. It follows, according to Guiver (2007), that a qualitative research technique such as discourse analysis can inform this process. These studies provide context for the National Trust's awareness of its visitors' reliance on car travel and its subsequent efforts to promote local public transport networks or other more sustainable modes of travel. This issue is explored further in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter summary

This chapter set out to establish the context of the literature used for this study. Two areas of literature were reviewed to begin with which, combined, served to show how the concept of

sustainable heritage tourism came to be constructed. Following a discussion on the definition and origins of heritage and Britain's heritage industry, during which the founding years of the National Trust were highlighted, the review then examined the concept of sustainable development, which led to the onset of the sustainable tourism era from the early 1990s. Criticisms have been levelled at sustainable tourism in that the idea has been prone to rhetoric: more of a response to criticisms of tourism's negative impacts rather than actually addressing those impacts. How climate change began to shape tourism studies from the mid-1980s became the third area of literature reviewed. It was shown how early research focused on the impact of climate change on tourism destinations and their response in terms of adaptive measures and policies. Later research began to address tourism's impact on climate change in terms of mitigation: how tourism activities could reduce their impact on the environment, principally by reducing carbon dioxide emissions from the transport sector. This tranche of literature utilised aspects of environmental psychology in order to analyse the motivations for possibly making changes to travel behaviour. It was shown how the sustainable tourism approach became important for how and why tourism could make an effective response to climate change. The literature review therefore, brought together three research fields of heritage tourism, sustainable tourism, and tourism-climate change studies: sustainable heritage tourism.

Two areas of debate emerged from the review that is central to understanding the character of the National Trust and the contribution of its climate change policy to sustainable heritage tourism. The first concerns the critical discourses on heritage that reveal multiple realities of the concept. Once seen as the embodiment of a nation's historic built environment, which provides access for recreation and education in the supply-side sense, heritage then began to be understood through the motivation of visitors and their personal

heritage experiences, perhaps driven by cultural values and a quest for some form of nostalgia. The nexus of the supply and demand sides of heritage came to be regarded by some as the core of heritage tourism. Moving on from these definitional aspects, heritage has been regarded as a value-laden concept. Taking a micro approach, the owner or manager of a visitor attraction (for example) interprets and presents the attraction's product or experience in a way designed to meet the educational and recreational needs of visitors, as well as ensure the attraction's overall operation is commercially viable. This approach resonates with the National Trust. Implicitly, therefore, the organiser of the attraction applies a set of values in the way, for example, historical events are selected and interpreted: the way a story is told. Taking a broader, societal view, some have argued that heritage is a forum for those well-endowed with cultural or even political capital, the bourgeoisie, to perpetuate established cultural values typically associated with higher art. The charity's assets are divided between landscape and built heritage: it was this very coalescence in the late 19th century that helped to create any ideas of a national heritage (in Britain's case). The National Trust's values and extent to which the charity represents a form of national heritage is a theme echoed in heritage's critical discourses. At the same time, these cultural assets, for example castles, country mansions, museums, are prone to being commodified and marketed for mass consumption; some might say even being turned into a form of popular culture. The National Trust finds itself centre-stage in this debate, with some commentators identifying elements of commodification creeping in to the presentation of histories and stories associated with some of its properties. Chapters 5-7 will show how the charity has to balance the competing needs of commercial access with its core purpose of conservation, which, in the long-run, is a statement on its sustainable approach to heritage tourism and response to climate change.

The second area of debate arising from the literature concerns the emergence of pro-environmental behaviour as an important dimension in understanding the role of mitigation in achieving a sustainable approach to tourism. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, climate change-tourism literature began with impact and adaptation studies, but then extended to the realm of tourism's culpability as a contributor to GHGs. This led to tourism research integrating inter/multi-disciplinary studies, notably from environmental psychology and transport studies, as an analytic framework for understanding travel behaviour as an agent of mitigation. For example: why would air passengers consider off-setting their carbon emissions; what is the influence of group norming on bringing about a willingness to use 'greener' modes of transport?; is there potential to explore further opportunities to promote the idea of 'slow travel'?; are social representations a more realistic approach to explain environmental attitudes than traditional psychology models of rational behaviour? Some of the studies in the literature pointed to the incongruities found in cognitive and affective behaviours; in other words, what one might understand and believe as important does not necessarily reflect how one feels about an issue and one's subsequent behaviour. This tranche of literature resonates with some of the criticism levelled against sustainable tourism in that policy-makers and tourism practitioners might be eager to adopt the rhetoric of pro-environmental behaviour but in reality, the motives for what people think about the environment and the way they act require a deeper appreciation and understanding. This study reflects on such matters in relation to climate change and a sustainable approach to heritage tourism.

CHAPTER 3

INTERPRETIVE FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter explains the interpretive framework used to address the study's research questions outlined in Chapter 1. These questions were crystallised out of the literature review, which pointed to an examination of climate change policy's contribution to sustainable heritage tourism being interpreted through a framework illustrated in Figure 3.1 below: the climate change phenomenon and how international and national policies were developed as a response; aspects of the philosophy and principles of public and tourism policy-making; governance and contemporary management practice; and an insight to pro-environmental attitudes and behaviour through environmental ethics and environmental psychology.

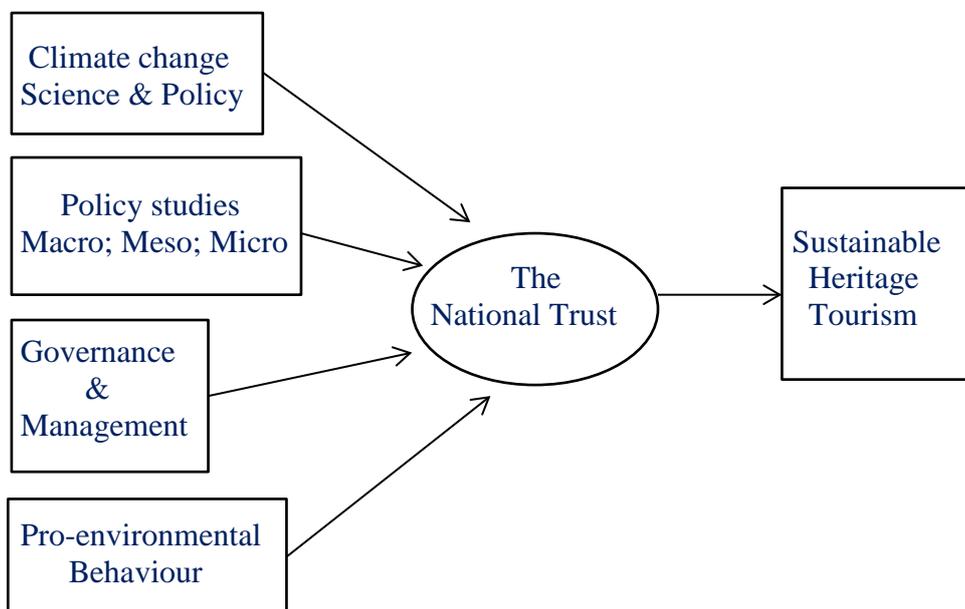


Figure 3.1: Interpretive framework

Climate change

In its two most recent Assessment Reports the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) began by stating that ‘Warming of the climate system is unequivocal’ (IPCC, 2007; 2013) adding in its fifth report (AR5) that since the 1950s ‘many of the observed changes are *unprecedented* over decades to millennia’ (emphasis added) (IPCC, 2013: 4). In the winter of 2013/14 the UK experienced some of its most severe storms and flooding on record which, according to Sir David King, the UK government’s former Chief Scientific Adviser, could be attributed to global warming (Mason & Jones, 2014). These events seem to be consistent with the IPCC (2014) declaring with ‘very high confidence’ (9/10 on a scale of certainty) that recent extreme weather events have revealed the vulnerability of some ecosystems and human systems to climate variability. This prompted a series of press articles from ‘quality broadsheets’ across the political spectrum alerting their readership to the potential widespread impacts of climate change, for example: Connor (2014); Gosden (2014); Jenkins (2014a); Deben (2014) Stern (2014); and the Royal Society (2014).

Climate change has come to be regarded by many as a serious risk to humankind and the planet with research suggesting that the more knowledgeable people become, the more likely they are to have a clearer perception of risk and to take steps to reduce some of the negative consequences associated with global warming (Sunblad et al., 2007). Although the term ‘awareness/attitude-behaviour gap’ is a persistent theme in environmental psychology literature, Antimova et al. (2012) and Gössling et al. (2012b) found that public perceptions of climate change were often ill-informed and polarised, thus creating potential barriers to achieving any degree of behavioural change; although Hares et al. (2010) provided evidence of an *awareness-attitude gap* more than an *attitude-behaviour gap* suggesting an element of

denial, in this case, amongst holiday air travellers. Lorenzoni et al. (2007) though, believed an individual's cognition (understanding) helped to contribute to public engagement with climate change. Some argue that few political leaders or citizens have sufficient understanding of climate change science to evaluate climate-related proposals or controversies; or to communicate the risks of climate change effectively (Kempton, 1997; Pidgeon & Fischhoff, 2011; Sterman, 2011). Furthermore, according to Grothmann & Patt (2005), human cognition can have a bearing on a person's adaptive capacity: in other words, taking practical measures to counteract the effects of climate change. These are some of the reasons why it is considered relevant here to provide a résumé of climate change science.

Climate can be defined simply as 'the typical range of weather, including its variability, experienced at a particular place' (Pittock, 2007: 2). Features that influence a region's climate include latitude, longitude, and proximity to oceans and land masses (Houghton, 2004: 2). According to Dow & Dowling (2007: 14) thirty years is the classical period for defining a climate. Weather patterns or a 'synthesis of weather' make up a climate (Durst, 1951: 974), in other words weather can be seen as a sub-set of climate. Weather changes over decades or centuries are usually referred to as 'climate change'. Britain for example, experienced a 'medieval warm period' during the 11th-14th centuries followed by a 'little ice age' throughout the 15th to 19th centuries.

During the 1960s, new knowledge and techniques helped to revolutionise our understanding of the repeated glacial-interglacial oscillations that have characterised at least the last one million years of Earth's climate history. Lamb (2002: 1) termed this climate science era the 'Climate Revolution'. Evidence gained from ice and sediment cores from Antarctica, Greenland and the ocean floors indicate that climate fluctuations have occurred on much shorter time scales, for example decades, than previously thought (Dansgaard et

al., 1993; Storch et al., 2004; Siegenthaler et al., 2005; Hansen et al., 2006). These variations in climate can be traced through ‘proxy indicators’ such as ice cores, tree rings and coastal land forms (Appendix 3.1).

Variations in the Earth’s climate over millennia experienced principally as ice ages, and in the absence of humans, can be explained by fluctuations in the distribution of incoming solar energy caused by the tilting of the Earth at 23.5 degrees on its axis in its elliptical orbit around the Sun whilst shorter term changes can be attributed to natural events such as volcanic eruptions (Houghton, 2004: 69-72). Increased GHG emissions: principally carbon dioxide, methane and water vapour, and the subsequent acceleration of the ‘greenhouse effect’ attributed to the French scientist Jean-Baptiste Fourier in 1827, led to theories of global warming, notably Tyndall (1863) and Arrhenius (1896). The greenhouse effect is the result of atmospheric warming caused by solar heat becoming trapped by greenhouse gases. Following the work of Roger Revelle and Hans Suess of the Scripps Institute of Oceanography in California in 1957 who measured the atmospheric concentration levels of GHGs, climate change science has advanced rapidly accompanied by a growing concern over the harmful effects of fossil fuels. As concentrations of these gases increase, so the insulation effect is magnified, effectively creating a blanket around the planet. The acceleration of this warming, faster than predicted for the current interglacial period, has been attributed to human activities (principally industrialisation since the mid-18th century); and thus concerns about the effects of global warming.

In 2013 it was reported that levels of carbon dioxide, the principal GHG, had increased from a pre-industrial value of 280 parts per million (ppm) to 391 ppm by 2011 (IPCC, 2013: 11). The accelerated greenhouse effect has led to faster warming of the atmosphere and oceans, diminishing levels of snow and ice, ocean acidification and sea

level rises. These effects have been measured periodically since the 1950s alongside various projections of climate change impacts adjusted for constructed economic, social and technological conditions. These are known as scenarios, developed increasingly with the aid of computer models known as Integrated Assessment Models (IAMs). However, uncertainties have been expressed with the accuracy of these scenarios, which has not been conducive to effective policy-making (see, for example, Rayner & Malone, 1998 and Rotmans & van Asselt, 2001). The IPCC produced four ‘storylines’ related to different scenarios (Appendix 3.2) against which a number of projections of atmospheric temperatures and sea level rises were constructed to inform policy-making.

In the near-term (present to mid 21st-century) it is likely (66-100 per cent probability) that global mean surface air temperature will rise by + 0.3° to + 0.7° Celsius (Kirtman et al., 2013), depending on which scenario prevails. Long-term climate change projections extending to the end of the 21st century and beyond are likely to see rises in temperature of between 1.1° and 4.8° Celsius for low and high emission scenarios respectively (Collins et al., 2013). Given seasonal and day/night temperature fluctuations commonly experienced, these values might seem insignificant. However, the difference between the current global mean surface temperature and that in the coldest part of the last ice age is only about 5° Celsius (Houghton, 2004: 10). According to the IPCC (2013) warming will continue beyond 2100 under all emission scenarios but with regional variations across continents; and it is virtually certain there will be more frequent hot and fewer cold temperature extremes over most land areas. By the mid-21st century global mean sea levels are likely to have risen by 0.17 to 0.38 metres and by 0.26 to 0.82 metres for the later period 2081-2100. Ocean warming will be strongest in the tropical and northern hemisphere sub-tropical regions and it is very likely that the Atlantic Meridional Overturning

Circulation (AMOC) will weaken over the 21st century; but very unlikely that it will undergo any abrupt transition or collapse that would lead to a colder climate on a par with eastern Canada. The AMOC is more commonly understood as a weakening of the Gulf Stream caused by diluted salinity of the Atlantic Ocean from the melting fresh-water Greenland ice sheets.

As mentioned earlier, the most recent (2013) evidence for climate change published in the IPCC's AR5 has led to heightened awareness of the projected impacts and the mitigation and adaptation measures required as a response. Observed impacts and vulnerability are strongest and most widespread for natural systems, with some impacts on human systems such as health and agriculture, being attributed to climate change (IPCC, 2014). Brief reference to the impacts falling under the IPCC's 'medium/high/very high confidence' range follows. A warming climate has led to continued shrinking of glaciers in the Arctic and Antarctic regions as well as permafrost warming and thawing in high-altitude regions, typically ski resorts. Many natural species habituating land, fresh and sea water have shifted their seasonal activities and migration patterns. Negative impacts have outweighed positive an impact on crop yields and in consideration of human health, concern has been expressed over heat-related mortality in some regions. Additionally, the report AR5 highlighted uneven human development across regions attributed to differences in vulnerability and exposure caused by climate change, where some sectors of the population have become marginalised economically, socially or politically. Extreme weather events, for example droughts, floods, heat-waves and wildfires, have led to far-reaching negative impacts across human and natural systems including human mental health. AR5 highlights regional disparities that can be expected with continued global warming. Central and South America, and Africa are projected to have high risks of food insecurity, vector/water-borne

diseases, drought and water stress. Asia could be particularly vulnerable to heat-related mortality and widespread coastal flooding. Europe is projected to experience high levels of river and coastal flooding and problems related to human heat stress (IPCC, 2013). Various studies from the natural sciences explain some of these impacts, which could adversely affect tourist destinations: flooding (Milly et al., 2002); freshwater resources (Arenell, 2007; Kundzewicz et al., 2007); ecosystems (Lanchbery, 2007; Fischlin et al., 2007); coastal areas (Nicholls et al., 2007); oceans and marine systems (Turley et al., 2007); tropical forests (Lewis et al., 2007); extreme weather events and human health (Davis & Topping, 2008).

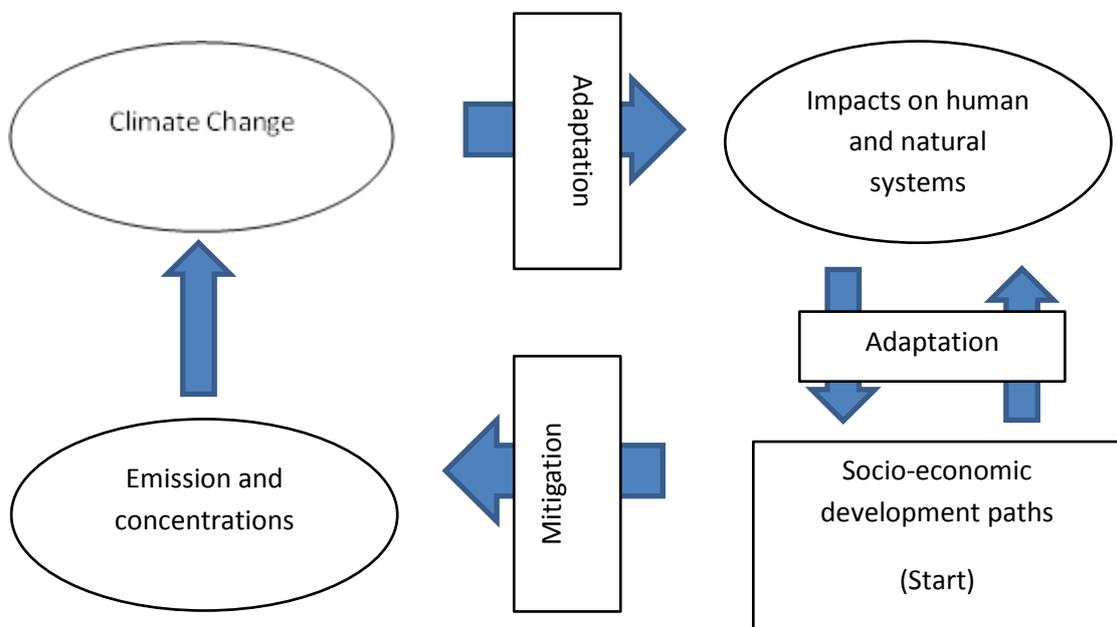


Figure 3.2: Climate Change: An Integrated Framework
(Adapted from Houghton, 2004: 11)

Figure 3.2 illustrates the cyclical process of climate change and the interactions associated with adaptation and impacts against those of mitigation and emissions, starting with either the adaptation or mitigation paths from socio-economic policies and development. The causes and evidence for climate change are now widely, though not universally accepted;

uncertainties over the accuracy of projected impacts still remain. International responses to climate change will now be considered.

Key developments in international climate change policy

Following growing interest in GHGs in the late 1950s, the 1963 conference in the United States sponsored by the Conservation Foundation is said to be the first event through which broader public concern was raised about the effects of global warming; and two years later in 1965, via the US President's Science Advisory Committee, came the first official recognition that climate change could be caused by human activities with important consequences for the planet (Agrawala, 1998: 606). The 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment led to international organisations giving priority to climate issues. This was followed in 1979 by the first World Climate Conference held in Geneva; and by a series of workshops convened in Villach, Austria, during the early 1980s. Following 'Villach 1985', climate change was said to have 'arrived' in both the news media and the international policy arena.

The year 1988 is usually cited as the date when climate change 'exploded' onto the international arena, influenced partially by the US NASA scientist James Hansen's testimony to the Senate Energy Committee. Hansen claimed with 99 per cent certainty that the unusually warm globally averaged temperatures of the 1980s could not be explained solely through naturally occurring climate change (Hecht & Tirpak, 1995: 384). In the same year British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher made public her concerns about climate change and the environment. Furthermore, with strong US involvement and the collaboration of the World Meteorological Office (WMO) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the IPCC was created in 1988 with three remits: the assessment of available scientific information on climate change through peer-reviewed

research; the assessment of economic, social and environmental impacts of climate change; and the formulation of response strategies (Paterson, 1996: 43-44). The IPCC's role was to assess scientific knowledge rather than to conduct research. For Jaspal & Nerlich (2014) it was in 1988 that climate change began to move from the domain of 'normal' science into the socio-political sphere of 'post-normal science' that would lead to decades of argument and contest amongst policy-makers. 'Normal science' is understood to be traditional, pure research; 'post-normal science' becomes more tailored to the agenda of policy-makers. Siebenhüner (2003:117) observed that the IPCC is an organisation 'at the interface between science and policy'.

Andresen & Wettestad (1992: 291) noted that the creation of the IPCC seemed to indicate that scientific consensus on the need to tackle climate change had been achieved by the world community. Agrawala (1998) gave a detailed account of the IPCC's inception and its scientific and political progress over the first two assessment cycles, reported respectively in 1990 and 1995. He concluded that the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC), the principal international mechanism for global climate change policy established at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, owed its existence to the IPCC; and, furthermore, that the IPCC's biggest contribution was not so much in facilitating momentous decisions as providing valuable input for low-key process interactions with stakeholders such as NGOs and businesses. Agrawala (1998: 617) pointed out that the IPCC came into existence as a result of an intense political process within the US and UN system; and that its primary function was of a political nature to bring together governments for climate change decision-making. Yet, paradoxically, the panel managed to sustain the participation of high calibre scientists. An early indicator of the IPCC's effectiveness was that industry and environmental advocacy groups began to attend IPCC sessions in larger

numbers, and to rely on the panel's findings instead of their own research. For a detailed background on the formation and early activities of the FCCC, see Hecht & Tirpak (1995).

Signatories to the FCCC were collectively termed the 'Conference of Parties' (Pittock, 2005: 248), forming a body that would meet annually, subsequently abbreviated to CO'...). At COP5 in Japan in 1997, which achieved the Kyoto Protocol (hereafter 'Kyoto'), Annex 1 countries: most OECD countries plus former communist states undergoing transition to a market economy (Pittock, 2005: 22), signed a commitment to reduce their combined greenhouse gas emissions to at least 5 per cent below 1990 levels between 2008 and 2012, with specific targets for individual countries. Kyoto was a response to Article 2 of the FCCC, with the rather imprecise goal of achieving safe levels of emissions across the globe. It took a further eight years for the Protocol to be ratified by the 55 countries needed to agree (Russia was the 55th, in 2005). The US withheld its ratification because it objected to fast-developing countries such as China and India being excluded from the Annex 1 provisions. US climate change policy was reviewed in detail by Bang et al. (2007) who concluded that the States were unlikely to participate in a truly global climate regime for some years to come. Several papers written in the run-up to the 1992 FCCC addressed these issues of overcoming difficulties drawing on the concept of equity and allocation of responsibility for accelerating global warming; for example Rose (1990); Smith (1991); Andresen & Wettstad (1992).

This area of conflict came to be known as the 'North-South' debate, exposing the polarity of the developed and developing countries' approach to climate change in a number of respects. For example: the issue of historical accountability, where it was argued that northern developed countries had begun accelerated global warming through industrialisation and should, therefore, bear the brunt of emissions reductions. On this basis,

an 'equal per capita emissions' approach to determining emissions reduction was considered to be a fair system (Neumayer, 2000). But Sagar & Banuri (1999: 509) pointed out that justice and equity seldom played a key role in international relations and, in spite of the 'rhetoric of global environmental stewardship', global environmental problems have been treated in much the same way as other international issues; in other words, concerning economic competitiveness, minimising burden-sharing and other unilateral strategic interests. The South (developing countries), the argument went, had been reluctant to make commitments to abate its greenhouse gas emissions because of a perception that the North (developed countries) lacked a focus on these key issues of equity, justice and sustainable development. Instead, the North had been pre-occupied with the economic costs of meeting its commitments and associated principles and guidelines. Byrne et al. (1998: 338) saw the major policy challenges facing the world community (including climate change) as systemic in character, where only a change in the pattern of inequalities across the globe would bring about long-term environmental sustainability. For a full discussion on the North's consequentialist (broadly Utilitarian, welfare approach) and the South's deontological (actions determined by a sense of moral duty) positions on equity, environmental justice and sustainability associated with climate change politics, see Ikeme (2003).

Nearly ten years after Kyoto, commentators continued to observe the seemingly intractable problem of ensuring a fair global allocation of greenhouse gases. Raymond (2006) for example, although recognising the merits of an 'equal per capita' distribution based on positive environmental rights to the atmosphere, suggested that the 'common heritage of mankind', similar to UN treaties with the oceans and outer space, was a worthwhile consideration for dealing with the global commons of the atmosphere. The widely-held view that COP16 held in Copenhagen in 2009 failed to resolve a number of

these long-standing issues was noted by Boston (2011). The crux of the problem, it was argued, was that the atmosphere represented a natural global commodity; and thus was susceptible to free-riding by countries. Parks & Roberts (2010) reviewed how international relations theories helped inform the debate, concluding that structuralism, world views and causal beliefs ultimately explained issues of poverty and economic development, forming part of the climate justice debate.

That much research on climate change policy has been focused on international regimes was noted by Schreurs (2008), who referred instead to the growing importance of climate policy studies at the local level; while Sovacool & Brown (2009) added that local thinking should be linked to global and national scales of action in order to achieve the desired reductions of CO₂ levels. Focusing on the local context they argued, helped to address how society regulates itself on these issues, and was equally important as what should be regulated in the first place. Bond (2010) advocated three avenues along which local climate change action can escalate: more attention to adaptation measures; linking adaptation and mitigation efforts to other ecological concerns; and more engagement with the community. The importance of locality was underlined as, ultimately, greenhouse gases were emitted from a local source with adaptation belonging naturally to the local context. The environmental mantra ‘think globally; act locally’ (Collier & Löfstedt, 1997: 25) was inverted by Mazmanian (2013) who saw a paradox in *acting globally* and *thinking locally* (emphasis added) in his study of California’s mitigation and adaptation policies. California’s Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006, which set ambitious emissions reduction targets for Californian businesses, was lauded as an example of practising global action on mitigation but, as Mazmanian noted, there was an absence of local will (thinking) on implementing adaptation measures for a US state potentially susceptible to rising sea

levels. In his opinion, the report of the IPCC's Working Group II in 2013 gave a much-needed boost to the adaptation camp.

By 2014, Kyoto remained the only existing and binding agreement under which developed countries cut their GHGs. At the 2012 Doha Climate Gateway in Qatar (COP18), 2015 was set as the year to agree targets to succeed Kyoto, to take effect from 2020, if the planet was to have any chance of remaining below the potentially dangerous projected impacts of a future rise of 2° Celsius or more. Given sufficient commitment by countries, COP18 concluded, the increase could be avoided. The process of agreeing this target was given priority at COP19 Warsaw in 2013, so that governments would table a draft agreement in time for COP20 Lima in December 2014 (UNFCCC, 2014).

Key developments in UK climate change policy

Considered to be Europe's, if not the world's, longest established climate change research institute, the Climatic Research Unit (CRU) was established in 1971 at the University of East Anglia when climate change began to emerge as a scientific issue and well before global warming had entered the public consciousness (Hulme & Turnpenny, 2004). By 1990, the Centre for Social and Economic Research on the Global Environment (CSERGE) had been established with a focus on the economic impacts of climate change. In the same year, at the same time as the publication of the IPCC's First Assessment Report, the Department of the Environment established the Hadley Centre for Climate Prediction and Research, its aim being to develop the UK's climate modelling and prediction capability: a task it had completed by 2004 'with spectacular success' (p.107). As Hulme & Turnpenny remarked, these two initiatives reflected Margaret Thatcher's latter-day appreciation of the realities of global warming.

Then in 1997, the same year as the Kyoto COP5, the UK Climate Impacts Programme (UKCIP), based at the University of Oxford, was formed with the remit to focus on adaptation as opposed to mitigation, sponsoring cross-sector impact studies and developing awareness of key issues. These impact studies appeared as a series of 'UKCIP scenarios' that came to be used by organisations ranging from water companies to tourism agencies in supporting their planning in response to projected climate change impacts. The UK's climate change research gradually shifted from the traditional normal science research of the 1970s to more policy-related research in the 1990s. By 2001, when the IPCC published its Third Assessment Report, another two research institutions had been established in the UK: the Tyndall Centre and the Carbon Trust.

The Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research (named after the 19th century British scientist John Tyndall), established in 2000, had a multi-disciplinary remit to evaluate sustainable responses to climate change; and the Carbon Trust, established in 2001 as one of the UK government's responses to Kyoto, was a not-for-profit organisation created between the Departments of the Environment and Trade and Industry, designed to invest in low-carbon technology by developing partnerships between business and research councils. Hulme & Turnpenny (2004) referred also to emissions-reduction initiatives and impact studies being undertaken outside central government such as: the Greater London Authority's London Climate Change Group; the local authorities' Councils for Climate Protection; and research led by English Nature (later Natural England) into biodiversity impacts. In an earlier study of energy policies in Sweden and the UK, Collier & Löfstedt (1997) found that UK local authorities were relatively active in this domain as they saw an opportunity to reassert their role following a period of power erosion experienced by local authorities during the Conservative administrations of the 1980s and 1990s.

Since Kyoto, the UK has been increasingly obliged to meet EU supranational emission reduction targets. In June 2000 the European Commission (EC) launched its European Climate Change Programme to develop a European Climate Change strategy enabling EU countries to fulfil their obligations post-Kyoto (Rusche, 2010). By 2004, a report on GHGs for 2003 identified that only five of the original member states, including the UK as well as the new EU member states (except Slovenia), were on track to meet the EU's overall 8 per cent GHG reduction target by 2008-12 on a 1990 baseline; thus reducing the overall projected reduction to 5.1 per cent although falling short of the 8 per cent target. Throughout the 1990s and 2000s the EU's climate change policy focused on mitigation through the setting of emissions reduction targets. But from 2007 onwards, with mounting evidence of climate change impacts, the European Commission began to turn its attention towards adaptation, leading to a series of National Adaptation Strategies being produced by member states (Biesbroek et al., 2010). Paradoxically, as mentioned in Chapter 2, tourism-climate change research began with adaptation studies and then moved into mitigation.

The UK's adaptation strategy and pro-environmental behaviour initiatives were published in 2008 (DEFRA, 2008a; 2008b). This adaptation programme was updated in 2013 (HM Government, 2013a), with the government also acknowledging the EC's continued leadership on developing adaptation frameworks. Tompkins et al. (2010) comprehensively reviewed the UK's adaptation performance over these years. European policy from 2008 onwards – the European Strategy for Energy and Climate Change – was discussed by Carvelho (2012), who referred to a consensus among scientists and policy-makers that, if the EU were to meet its obligations, a global reduction of 50 per cent in greenhouse gas emissions would be needed by 2050: translated into an 80 per cent cut for industrialised nations. This target was made binding on the UK under the Labour

government's Climate Change Act 2008, although the preceding Climate Change Bill had recommended a 60 per cent cut. A further point to note is the UK's Renewable Obligations for electricity generation and road transport fuel sales from 2009. This aimed to contribute to the target of generating 15 per cent of energy from renewable sources by 2020, as part of the EU's binding target of achieving 20 per cent of energy from renewable sources by 2020 across member states (Anandarajah & Strachan, 2010).

Following Kyoto, the UK launched its Climate Change Programme in 2000 (DETR, 2000) subsequently updated in 2006 (HM Government, 2006a), setting out a strategy for business sectors, civil society and the public sector to reduce carbon emissions, and change or modify transport modes. In 2000 also, the government adopted the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution that the UK, by 2050, should reduce its carbon emissions by 60 per cent from a 1990 baseline, as part of a Climate Change Bill (Lockwood et al., 2007). Further evidence of global warming from the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report in 2007, endorsed by the Stern Review (Stern, 2007), plus ongoing research and awareness campaigns from environmental pressure groups such as WWF and the Green Alliance, as well as political think-tanks inclined to take a more pro-environmental view (the Institute for Public Policy Research is a prime example - see Lockwood et al.'s (2007) report *2050 Vision*), added combined pressure on the government to adopt a more challenging target. Although Neumayer (2007: 299-301) commended the Stern Review for being 'as good as it currently gets' as a persuasive cost-benefit analysis, he was of the view that it did not go far enough in making the case for the non-substitutability of natural capital (in other words, the environment) that could 'violate the inalienable rights of future generations'. Expressed simply, nature cannot be replaced; which, in Neumayer's

view, meant that the crux of the climate change issue was ethical choice as opposed to a quantitative rationale.

UK climate change policy has been grounded in the government's sustainable development strategy since 1994 (HM Government 1994; 1999; 2005) and in the energy strategy set out in the 2003 White Paper (DTI, 2003) by the Labour government; and continued by the present coalition government's Climate Change Plan (DEFRA, 2010) and Green Deal (DECC, 2010); and more recently: the Energy Act 2013 (HM Government, 2013b), and further integration of the principles of sustainable development (DEFRA, 2013). These recent initiatives as well as latter-day Labour measures such as a plan for low carbon transport (DfT, 2009), were designed to encourage energy efficiency and provide consumer and business incentives. Bowen & Rydge (2011) have comprehensively reviewed the UK's climate change policy since the late 1980s, and highlighted its leadership in emissions reduction at international and European levels. More recently, in 2012, the Committee on Climate Change noted that even though GHGs had fallen by 7 per cent during 2011, only 0.8 per cent of this reduction could be attributed directly to the implementation of carbon-lowering measures. Consequently, the Committee concluded that the pace of change should be increased four-fold in order to meet future carbon budgets. The report also advised that greater investment in flood defences and more incentives for reducing the waste of household water were needed (Committee on Climate Change, 2013: 7-8).

Lockwood's (2013) review of the sustainability of the Climate Change Act 2008 identified a number of reasons why progress had been slow on securing political commitment and investors' confidence. Lockwood was of the opinion that in 2006-2007, the salience of climate change had reached its height across the UK but, despite this, attitude

surveys revealed that the public tended to attach more importance to social issues such as crime, immigration and health care. The financial crisis and subsequent economic recession that began in 2007-09, Lockwood argued, partly explained why climate change became a 'back of the mind' issue. This was further reflected in the declining membership of environmental campaign groups where, for example, during 2007-2011, supporters' income halved for Friends of the Earth. These groups, Lockwood maintained, had played an influential role as policy entrepreneurs in the debate leading to the Climate Change Act. His view of a weakening of the public's concern over climate change was corroborated by two recent, wider studies carried out in the US (Scruggs & Benegal, 2012) and Germany (Ratter et al., 2012). Taking a western perspective, both studies attributed some of this weakened concern to short-term events such as prevailing economic conditions and possible media misrepresentation of climate science and associated issues.

The Green Alliance is a further example of how environmental pressure groups can contribute to the national debate on climate change at the meso level (Parsons, 2005). The meso level is a term used to describe the policy-making area taking place between the macro and micro levels. Registered as a charity, the Alliance consists of nine leading environmental NGOs, including the National Trust, although the Trust is not always listed as a member in some of the Alliance's reports, as was the case with the Alliance's manifesto on climate change and the natural environment prepared in the run-up to the parliamentary election of 2010 (Green Alliance, 2009b). In 2009, the Alliance broadly concluded that left wing governments were better placed to tackle climate change because of their leanings towards interventionist policies but also acknowledged the virtues of the centre-right's concern for energy security and economic opportunity (Green Alliance, 2009a). The Alliance also considered civil society had an important role to play in shaping

environmental public policy, particularly because, in its view, voluntary organisations and charities were seen to be better-informed on local environmental issues. David Cameron's 'Big Society' it was suggested, might complement civil society's ability to focus on local issues in tackling environmental concerns (Green Alliance, 2010a). Other reports where the Alliance took a critical view on climate change and public policy contributing to the wider debate included: the importance of how politicians articulate climate change issues to the public (Green Alliance, 2010b); public opinion on climate change (Green Alliance, 2012); the coalition government's progress on meeting low carbon commitments established at the start of its current term of office (Green Alliance, 2011); and a commentary on EU targets for emissions reductions and renewable energy sources designed to help the UK meet and exceed its own targets (Green Alliance, 2013a; 2014).

To summarise at this stage, climate change is a natural phenomenon. It has been understood in the context of oscillations between hotter and colder climates driven by successive ice ages. Ice ages are caused primarily by the changing patterns in solar radiation. Currently, we are living in the most recent inter-glacial period that began with the end of the last ice age some 10,000 years ago. Climate science has produced compelling evidence that since the mid-18th century, concentrations of greenhouse gases have increased beyond what would normally be projected for a natural cycle of warming period. This increase, termed as 'accelerated global warming', has been attributed mainly to human activities, notably the process of industrialisation that has depended on burning fossil fuels. During the late 1980s, an international policy response to climate change emerged with the establishment of organisations such as UNEP and the IPCC in collaboration with the meteorological community such as the WMO. Literature refers to how 'post-normal science' came to represent a policy-oriented influence on 'normal science' (pure scientific

research). A review of UK climate change policy has shown that our response to climate change has been influenced by international agreements (the 1997 Kyoto Protocol for example) as well as the European Climate Change Programme from 2000. The UK's Climate Change Act of 2008 has been acknowledged as the first of its kind. NGOs and policy think tanks contributed to the government adopting a target of 80 per cent reduction in GHGs from an initial target of 60 per cent. The emergence of a climate change policy at the National Trust is considered against this background of policy-making in Chapter 6.

Public policy studies

Reser & Bentrupperbäumer (2005: 129) argued that along with attitudes, beliefs and opinions, values have been a core construct of the social sciences for most of the 20th century. Values represent the more fundamental, enduring convictions that may be held by the individual and society, with strong emotional and/or moral overtones, providing the foundation for social and moral orders. By extension, Stewart (2009: 14) defined policy values as:

‘the valued ends embodied in, and implemented through, the collective choices we make through policy choices ... in a deeper sense, all policy questions are values-based ...’

Public policy is the process through which this happens. Stewart construed environmental values as concern for the integrity and well-being of the natural world and the sustainability of ecological systems, but inevitably leading to a trade-off with the value of economic growth: it would be very difficult for environmentalism to conquer growth within a system that nurtured economic growth (p.169).

Parsons (2005) analysed policy-making from four perspectives: 1) meta or macro-analysis, which looked at public policy and its philosophical framework; 2) meso- analysis,

or the middle ground, where decision-making and implementation took place at sub-government level; 3) decision analysis, examining how choices are made and values allocated at all levels; and 4) delivery analysis, which focused on the implementation and impact of policy, which included a critique of ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches to policy-making. For this study, Parsons’ approach was adapted into three policy zones (Figure 3.3) to contextualise the National Trust’s climate change policy. Parsons also traced the philosophy of public policy, examining the major influences from Machiavelli in the 15th and 16th centuries, to those such as Karl Popper, Harold Lasswell, Herbert Simon, and Charles Lindblom in the 20th century. Simon for example, theorised on the influences of the individual’s perception and cognition in policy-making whereas Lindblom was well-known for his theory of incrementalism. Fiorino (1995) on the other hand, saw the benefits of combining both approaches for a realistic understanding of environmental policy-making. These seminal works are mentioned as passing references to the conceptual background of policy studies.

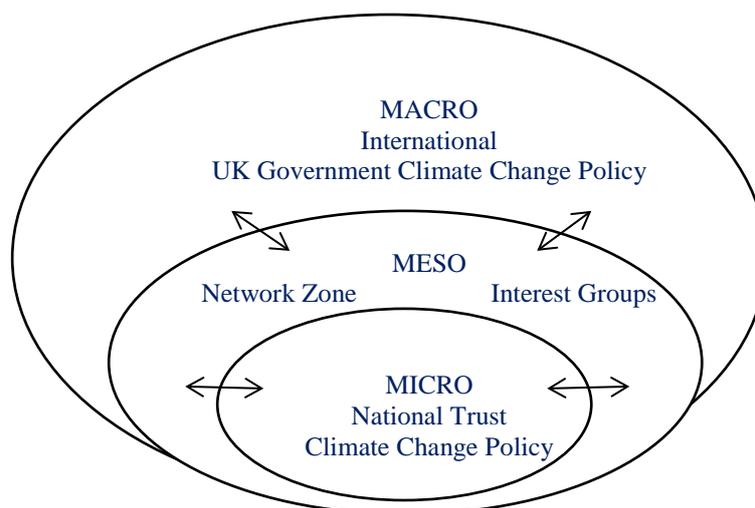


Figure 3.3 Policy Network Zones (Adapted from Parsons (2005))

Climate change policy at the meta or macro-level can be understood as a political process. John (2003) was among several authors who took this view. He developed a framework of six approaches: institutional; group and network; socio-economic; rational choice theory; ideas approach; and synthesis through evolution. The first two approaches had most salience for understanding climate change policy at the macro level, where, first, there was a focus on the evolution of institutions within the context of legal systems and formal structures (e.g. the UNFCCC); and second, where it could be seen how policy is made by smaller groups at the sub-government level with a degree of trust and potential for innovation (e.g. ENGOs, think tanks and charities). Hall & Jenkins' (1995) model of the tourism policy-making process (Figure 3.4) was also meant to be interpreted as a political process. They argued that tourism policy studies had tended to take a prescriptive, rational decision-making approach, similar to the sequential, stages or policy-cycle model, where policy was formulated, implemented, and then evaluated for its outcomes. Instead, their model depicted the wider elements in tourism policy-making, which aimed to explore further complexities in the process. In the model, the 'policy environment' represented the macro dimension; and the 'policy arena' the meso element, which in turn responded to specific policy issues emerging from institutions and significant individuals. Hall & Jenkins' model has resonance with the evolution of the Trust's climate change policy, where the charity sought to involve itself in the policy arena on environmental issues and policy, often in conjunction with ENGOs such as the Green Alliance or the charity RSPB.

It is relevant to note the increased visibility of the voluntary sector or 'third sector' (the sector to which the National Trust belongs) in policy studies, academia, and the media since the early 1980s. Halfpenny & Reid (2002) attributed three reasons for the growth in interest. First, since 1979, the Conservative government's interest in reducing the role of the

state to give the markets more freedom to provide goods and services led to more competitive pricing and an improvement in quality – described as a neo-liberal ideology. The voluntary sector was seen to have a valuable role in filling a vacuum where people could not meet their needs from the private market. Mercer (2002) though, took a more critical view of the neo-liberal assumption that the voluntary sector’s activities naturally supported a democratic political process. Later, the establishment of the Office for the Third Sector in 2006 was designed to give a government lead in supporting what was considered to be a thriving third sector (Jones & Liddle, 2011), thus heightening the sector’s profile. The second reason

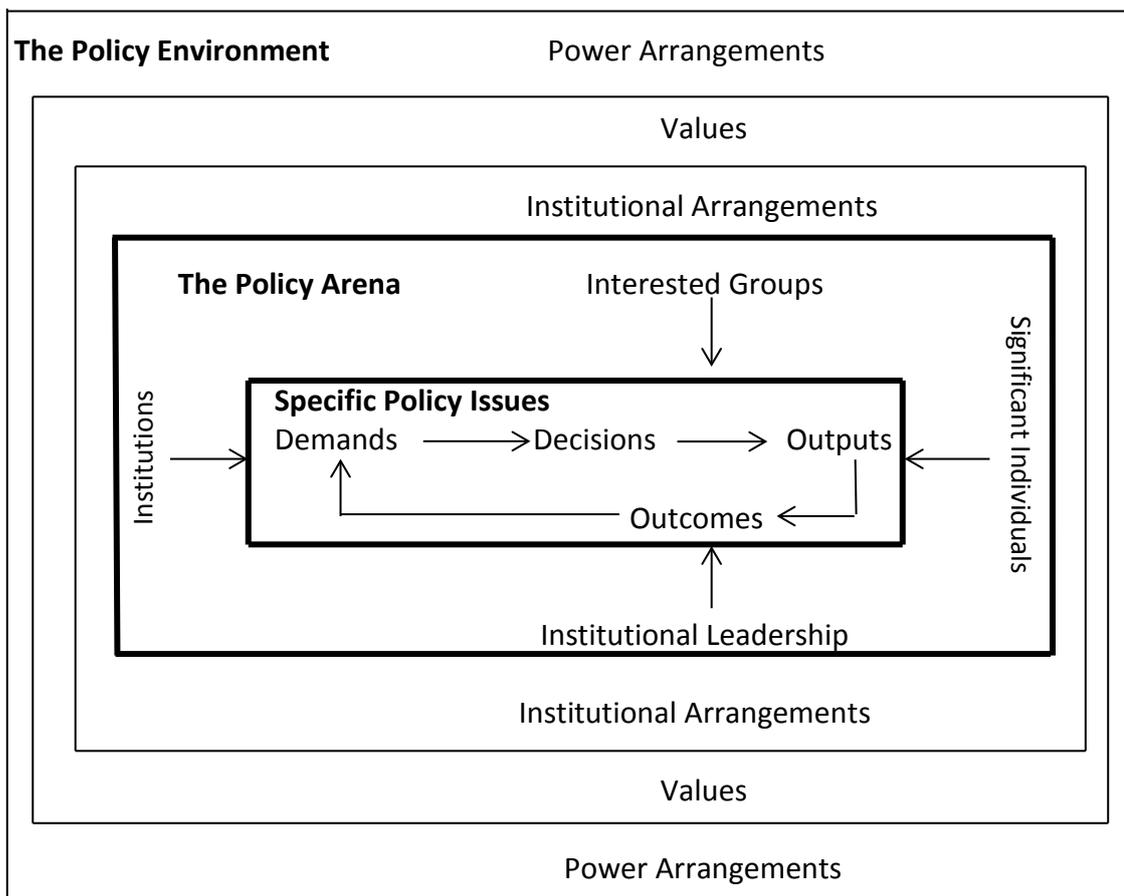


Figure 3.4 Elements in the tourism policy-making process (Hall & Jenkins, 1995)

concerned changes in the sector itself, where charities had adopted more aggressive marketing tactics and greater commercialization, accompanied by a growth in the number of charities being registered with the Charity Commission (often driven by a desire to avoid corporation tax), and partly attributed to a growing disillusionment with state bureaucracies since the late 1960s (Halfpenny & Reid, 2002). Ironically, the Charities Acts of 1992 and 1993 gave the Charity Commission greater power to regulate the growing voluntary sector. The third reason was academia's growing interest in the sector, assisted by new streams of funding following the establishment of the Social Science Research Council in the 1960s. Mercer (2002: 5) noted that the NGO literature had 'proliferated' since the mid-1980s.

Policy networking, a popular approach since the 1980s, acts as a link between various actors within a policy domain, occurring at the sector or sub-sector level (Marsh, 1998b: 15). According to Marsh, networks belonged to the meso zone of policy-making but had little credibility as an explanatory concept unless they were integrated with macro and micro level analysis. Thus, a meso-level explanation of climate change policy-making amongst organisations such as English Heritage, Natural England, WWF, Local Authorities, and the National Trust, would need to focus on the structures and interactions of these groups themselves. This would be followed by making links to state government climate change policy (macro) and the decisions of individual organisations themselves within the networks (a micro approach such as that represented by the National Trust). Rhodes (1997: 30-59, Chapters 2 & 3) provided a comprehensive review of the development and typologies of policy networks in British political science and of the gradual adoption of governance (as opposed to government) since the 1980s. In considering the broad arena within which climate change policy operates, Rhodes' characteristics of a policy community and an issue network form the basis of a useful continuum for interpreting policy-making at

the meso level (Box 3.1). Daugbjerg & Marsh (1988: 54) said that policy outcomes are not just outcomes of networks; they are strongly influenced by ‘the economic, political and ideological context within which the network operates’, for example brought about by change of government and changing economic conditions.

Studies taken from the tourism literature which explored the political process in tourism policy-making showed that the network approach was a popular research area. These included: Tyler & Dinan (2001a; 2001b); Kerr et al. (2001); Pforr (2005; 2006); and Stevenson et al (2008). Tyler & Dinan for example, researched into how the then English Tourism Council was developing a network approach to policy-making with the aim of influencing government tourism policy. Stevenson et al. (2008) provided valuable summaries of the various approaches to public policy models taken by tourism researchers, for example Pforr’s (2005) use of rational choice decision-making or Tyler & Dinan’s study (2001a) that used the institutional approach.

Policy community	Issue network
Limited number of participants with some groups consciously excluded.	Many participants.
Frequent and high quality interaction between all members of the community on all matters related to the policy issues.	Fluctuating interaction and access for the various members.
Consistency in values, membership and policy outcomes which persist.	Limited consensus and ever-present conflict.
Consensus, with the ideology, values and broad policy preferences shared by all participants.	Interaction based on consultation rather than negotiation or bargaining.
All members of the policy community have resources so the links between them are exchange relationships; leading to bargaining between members with resources. The structures of the participating groups are hierarchical so leaders can guarantee compliant members.	Unequal power relationship in which many participants may have few resources, little access and no alternative.

Box 3.1: Characteristics of Policy Communities and Issue Networks
Adapted from Rhodes (1997: 43-45)

Using grounded theory to understand local authority tourism policy-making in Leeds, Stevenson et al. (2008) concluded that written policies often said little about the realities of how policies were perceived by the actual people involved in the process. These studies, although utilising detailed application of policy models, nevertheless provided context for a study of the national Trust's approach to policy-making. Indeed, the project's coverage of climate change policy-making reflected tourism policy literature on network theory, governance, and stakeholder involvement. Further examples consulted were: Reed (1997); Bramwell & Sharman (1999); Dredge & Jenkins (2003); Treuren & Lane (2003); Dredge (2006); Bramwell & Meyer (2007); Urwin & Jordan (2008).

Governance and management

Hall (2011: 439) said that governance was simply 'the act of governing' and had become an increasingly significant issue in tourism public policy and planning literature. In the context of state policy, he referred to broad meanings of the term: first, how the state adapted to its surrounding political and economic environment; and second, how the term was used more theoretically to explain how the state co-ordinated socio-economic systems such as network relationships and public-private partnerships. One of the more relevant elements of what he called 'new governance' for this study, was participation and power-sharing, where policy-making was not considered 'the sole domain of regulators' (p.441); instead, public and private stakeholders were encouraged to participate in the policy process as part of public-private partnership. This approach is salient later in the thesis when the National Trust's advocacy role is examined.

Ruhanen et al. (2010: 4-5) observed that usage of the term governance came into prominence in the 1980s associated with public sector reforms in the USA and UK, following increased adoption of the principles of corporate management and joint public-

private policy development within government bureaucracy. They pointed to a recent 'managerialist trend' of the public sector adopting a more bottom-up, decentralised, and inclusive form of governance. Jepson (2005), whose research focused on how ENGOs could develop their governance and accountability to strengthen their role in society, commented that the topic of governance and accountability came to the fore during the 1990s for three reasons: first, the growing role of NGOs in creating an international civil society; second, the trend of the 'roll back of the state' (p.516), that saw sub-contracting out of state-run services to 'complex partnerships', effectively creating a void which presented opportunities for NGO involvement; and third, Jepson maintained that these aspects of neo-liberal economic theory and globalisation had led to a perception of publicly unaccountable markets and the dominance of inter-governmental bodies in 'dictating the values and policies that form the context of everyday life'. Spear's (2004) research into issues of governance related to democratic member-based organisations (DMOs) referred to the National Trust. He referred to Lansley's (1996) work on the National Trust, which implied that charity law had tended to marginalise members in relation to the ruling body, because legal restrictions meant that charities had to provide *public* as opposed to private benefits, thus placing limits on the rights of members. In discussing various approaches to governance, Spear referred to the 'trustee model of governance' (citing Kay & Silberston, 1995) where management were regarded as trustees of the organisation's assets. The creation of the National Trust's Board of Trustees in 2005 is discussed in Chapter 5.

The literature on leadership and management is diverse and does not warrant a full review for this study. A selection of articles provided context for the discussion in Chapter 5 on internal developments at the National Trust since 1995, where it was shown that the Trust was largely following 21st century contemporary management practice. The National

Trust's core values, for example, are reflected in the way it reports its performance using the triple-bottom-line approach (TBL): a process, according to Norman & MacDonald (2003) that originated in the 1990s when the phrase was coined by management think-tanks; for many NGOs and activist organisations, the term had become 'an article of faith' (p.2). Stoddard et al. (2012: 235) defined the term as the 'economic, social, and environmental accountability of a firm'. They too, referred to TBL as having evolved during the mid-1990s; and pointed out that TBL's roots lay in the idea of sustainability and sustainable development, as espoused by the Brundtland Report of 1987, which emphasised the inter-generational element of sustainable development. Stoddard et al. (2012) saw the process as an essential part of achieving sustainable tourism; however, they were mindful of critics' views on the vagueness of the concept and its tendency to use buzzwords. Writing in the context of tourist destinations, Stoddard et al. argued that the key issue for the triple-bottom-line was measurement: an area of future research for tourism studies. Norman & MacDonald (2003) were also critical of the paradigm which, they argued, was largely rhetorical, making more promises than it could deliver. However, they nevertheless provided a useful working definition of the concept, which comprehensively articulates the three working principles:

'In short, 3BL advocates believe that social (and environmental) performance can be measured in fairly objective ways, and that firms should use these results in order to improve their social (and environmental) performance. Moreover, they should report these results as a matter of principle, and in using and reporting on these additional 'bottom lines' firms can expect to do better by their financial bottom line in the long run' (p.4).

In considering the values espoused by the private and public sectors, Moore (2000) differentiated for-profit and non-profit mainly in terms of revenue sources and value or purposes. In the profit sector for example, revenue sources were derived principally from

the sale of products and services to customers; and in the non-profit sector, revenue came through charitable donations of money, time and materials. The principal value delivered by for-profit organisations was financial return for shareholders; whereas for non-profit, it was the achievement of social purposes and the cause (Figure 3.5). Moore implied that in the case of for-profit organisations, social value was maximised naturally through the achievement of a healthy financial performance reflecting a seamless relationship. With a non-profit organisation however, although financial performance was seen as critical to its survival, it had to further decide whether the social value produced was defined in terms of its purpose or mission. As Moore put it:

‘In public sector enterprises, money is the means to a desired social end. In the private sector, the products and services delivered are the means to the end of making money’ (pp.195-96).

It should be noted that Moore placed the voluntary sector in the category of a ‘public’ organisation. Which values an organisation decides to prioritise leads to consideration of its approach to management. Dolan & Garcia (2002) for example, proposed that by the early 2000s, management by instructions (MBI) and management by objectives (MBO) had become out-dated, and gave ‘notoriously inadequate results’. Management by values (MBV) on the other hand, was seen as the emerging strategic leadership tool offering much potential. In essence, it was seen to represent the following: a model for greater autonomy amongst staff; a facilitating approach to management; more customer –oriented; the ‘redesign of culture’ consistent with humanist advocates of organisation development (‘neo-humanism’, p.102); the inclusion of ethical and ecological principles into strategic leadership. In summary, Dolan & Garcia said, MBV was based on values, and fulfilled a triple purpose of simplifying, guiding, and securing commitment. A concise account of MBV and its antecedents MBI and MBO is also provided by Dolan & Richley (2006).

Jaakson (2010), in clarifying the concept of organisational values from MBV, saw organisational values as a central part of MBV, where she defined MBV as:

‘... a series of interconnected managerial activities to ensure the acceptance of relevant organizational values inside and outside the organization’ (p.796).

In discussing organisational values, Jaakson cited Roe & Ester’s (1999: 3) definition:

‘... latent constructs that refer to the way in which people evaluate activities or outcomes’.



Figure 3.5 The Relationship Between Social Value, Financial Performance, and Organisational Survival – Public Sector (Moore, 2000: 196)

This definition incorporates the means (activities) and the ends (outcomes), which Jaakson saw as being central to the idea of organisational values: values which, according to Roe & Ester, are applicable at all levels within the organisation, or even a nation. To establish these constructs, Jaakson explained, and for them to become a latent part of MBV, organisations invariably write an explicit values statement. Jaakson’s classification of values included ‘espoused’, ‘stated’, and ‘core’. Core values, she maintained, were not always written or stated explicitly, whereas the other two were. Wenstøp & Myrmel (2006) used the term

‘created values’, which also resembled espoused or stated values. Buchko (2007) emphasised that values resembled a sense of collectiveness and shared purpose:

‘Values form the shared conceptions of what is most desirable in social life; in effect, values are the ‘glue’ that binds people together into organisations’ (p.37).

On the question of leadership, Antonakis & House (2014) advocated what they termed as ‘fuller full-range’ leadership theory, which promotes the combination of ‘instrumental leadership’ (transactional, functional, pragmatic, task-oriented) and the more contemporary ‘transformational leadership’ (idealised influence, or charisma; inspirational motivation; intellectual stimulation; individualised consideration). Antonakis & House further remarked that transformational leadership:

‘... has a potent psychological impact on followers beyond the effects of quid-pro-quo transactional leadership’ (p.747).

In their opinion though, too much attention had been paid to the charismatic, inter-personal, empowering facets of transformational leadership, at the expense of the more (traditional) strategic and pragmatic aspects of leadership.

Eisenbeiß & Boerner (2013) also pointed out that leadership research had tended to focus on the positive effects of transformational leadership. Their paper explored some of the more negative aspects of the practice or concept, namely that whilst transformational leadership energised creativity within an organisation, it could lead to followers’ dependency with a dilution of creativity. Schneider & George (2011), who researched leadership styles in voluntary organisations, hypothesised that a positive relationship existed between the more ethically-concerned, employee-centred ‘servant leadership’ often encountered in this sector, and transformational leadership. They pointed to developing the potential of followers and cultivating empowerment, which was seen as one of the main objectives of servant leadership. Dionne et al. (2004) also saw empowerment as a tool for

transformational leadership and team performance. The human resource approach (employee-centred) that utilises ‘talent management’ in contrast to the strategic approach (direction, tasks) (Ridder & McCandless, 2010; Lewis & Heckman, 2006), are further examples of contemporary practice that share a common aim of developing the potential of an organisation’s human resources. In Chapter 5, it will be shown that the National Trust, whilst viewed by some as paternalistic and oligarchic, does nevertheless function as a modern, professional organisation adopting contemporary practice.

Pro-environmental behaviour

Macro frameworks and gauging the public’s views

Environmental behaviour was defined by Stern (2000: 411) as ‘the propensity to take actions with pro-environmental intent’. In developing its climate change policy, the National Trust consulted, and was occasionally participated in the formation of, UK government initiatives on climate change issues. These explored the role of individual attitudes and behaviour. Several reports and surveys were reviewed (DEFRA, 2007; DEFRA, 2008b; AccountAbility® & Consumers International, 2007; MORI, 2008; Thornton, 2009; Southerton et al., 2011; and Thornton et al., 2011). Four examples illustrated their contribution to exploring environmental attitudes and behaviour. First, according to DEFRA (2008b: 18) there was ‘widespread consensus that government, business and individuals need to act together to tackle climate change ...’ expressed by the Sustainable Development Commission & National Consumer Council (2006) *I will if you will*, to which the National Trust contributed; but there was less agreement on how this could be achieved through individuals’ lifestyles. The scope of DEFRA’s (2008b) *A Framework for Environmental Behaviours* included personal travel, travel tourism and climate change. DEFRA, as part of

an overall aim of encouraging lifestyle changes to help the UK combat climate change, used a social marketing methodology to identify twelve ‘headline behaviour goals’ that could be targeted at different segments of the population. Under ‘Personal Transport’, target behaviours included: using more efficient vehicles; using the car less for short trips; and avoiding unnecessary flights. For this study of the National Trust, using the car less for short trips had the most relevance. Furthermore, DEFRA identified several common motivators and barriers that were relevant to this study (Box 3.2). Some of these factors were used to construct attitudinal statements for the visitor survey, the results of which are discussed in Chapter 8. DEFRA (p.8) also identified seven population segments, each with its own value statement on willingness to act in response to climate change. In descending order these were: ‘Positive greens; Waste watchers; Concerned consumers; Sideline supporters; Cautious participants; Stalled starters; Honestly disengaged’.

Common motivators	Common barriers
‘Feel good factor’	External constraints (e.g. infrastructure)
Social norm	Habit
Individual benefits (e.g. health)	Scepticism
Ease	Disempowerment
Being part of something	

Box 3.2 Motivators and barriers to pro-environmental behaviour change
(DEFRA, 2008b)

Several studies focused on gender (Zeleny et al., 2000; McKercher et al., 2011) and age (Torgler & García-Valiñas, 2007; Tjernström & Tietenberg, 2008; Kim & Weiler, 2013) for segmenting visitors in exploring travel and environmental attitudes amongst holiday-makers. Particular note was made of Anable’s (2005) study that used a sample of 666 visitors to more rural National Trust properties in the north-west of England to show that different visitor segments displayed correspondingly different attitudes on travel and the environment, inferring possibly different responses to policy intervention.

Corner & Randall (2011) observed that social marketing strategies (*I will if you will* cited earlier) were popular with both governmental and non-governmental organisations in seeking to influence pro-environmental behaviour and engage the public on climate change. Citing Lazer & Kelly (1973), Corner & Randall (p.1006) defined social marketing as:

‘... the systematic application of marketing concepts and techniques to achieve specific behavioural goals relevant to the social good’.

The term emerged from the early 1970s, with a realization that although providing people with information about issues such as health or the environment might influence their attitude, there was generally seen to be a disconnect between attitude and actual behaviour. Social marketing, according to Corner & Randall (2011), was more of a framework for designing behaviour change programmes, rather than a programme in its own right. Weaknesses in the approach, they claimed, included the limitations of ‘one size fits all’ campaigns as well as segmentation approaches sometimes emphasising rather than reconciling, individual differences. They concluded that the real challenge lay with targeting societal change in attitudes and behaviour; and that social networking amongst groups as opposed to individuals had the potential to become an effective tool in this respect. The potential of the social media in conveying messages to the National Trust’s audiences is a theme discussed in the final chapter.

The second example was a report (Thornton, 2009) commissioned by DEFRA and the Energy Saving Trust, which surveyed attitudes and behaviours towards the environment in England (N=2009 adults). Part of the questionnaire sought to assess how willing people were to reconsider their car use, which included switching to walking or cycling for short journeys and switching to public transport for regular journeys. ‘Ranking importance of reasons to conserve biodiversity’ was another feature of the questionnaire, with the statement: ‘We all have a duty to minimise our impacts on nature and the planet’. Third, the

MORI poll of 2008 asked questions on concern about climate change, uncertainty with the science of climate change and impacts, and attitudes to government action on climate change. The fourth example, DEFRA's survey on public attitudes and behaviours towards the environment (DEFRA, 2007), covered a wide range of questions related to attitudes and knowledge related to, among others, the environment and transport. These were used in the construction of the visitor survey's attitudinal statements (see Chapter 8).

Having gained a UK perspective on environmental issues (including climate change) through government reports, attention was turned to theoretical aspects of pro-environmental behaviour through a sample of literature on environmental ethics and environmental psychology: two disciplines that emerged from the tourism/transport literature in the previous chapter, and which were used to explain tourists' motivation and behaviour. Tjernström & Tietenberg (2008) maintained that the threat of climate change was linked with current lifestyles, making it more of a contentious issue. Furthermore, the nature of climate change was seen to be problematic for policy-making because of its global nature; and being a public good (that recognises no boundaries) with a long latency period between actions and consequences. Their study found that individual attitudes and attributes contributed to the effectiveness of a national climate change policy. The final part of this chapter now considers the role of environmental ethics and environmental psychology in understanding pro-environmental behaviour.

Environmental ethics

Connelly & Smith (1999) argued that environmental ethics have presented a challenge to traditional ethics. Traditional ethics provide a code and framework for what is considered to be acceptable human conduct through a moral duty to fellow human beings and animals.

Environmental ethics on the other hand, extend a moral code to plants, inanimate objects and natural phenomena; thus, the concept of 'stewardship' includes responsibility for the whole of Earth. Stewardship carries two contrasting imperatives: the Kantian moral duty of correct action (deontological); or the Utilitarian approach of an action bringing about the greatest benefit for the greatest number of recipients (consequentialist).

Environmental ethics and the relationships between tourism, the natural environment, and sustainable development have gained a foothold in the tourism literature (Macbeth, 2005; Holden, 2009). Shrader-Frechette (1985: 3) began by saying that any well-thought-out environmental policy must be based on both scientific and ethical considerations; and inevitably, Strong & Rosenfield (1985: 5) maintained, personal inclination, cultural patterns, and concern for humans as a species will often be in conflict: for this reason alone we need ethical guidelines to help us make valid decisions. Houghton (2004) proposed that considering future generations and environmental values were acceptable attitudes for being concerned about climate change, suggesting that a 'back to nature' or 'technical fix' approach to the problem were not realistic. Nash (1990:4) considered the convergence of morality and ethics with human-environment relations to be 'one of the most extraordinary developments in recent intellectual history'. How to combine a plurality of value orientations towards different aspects of ethical heritage was seen to be the key theoretical task for Connelly & Smith (1999). Dryzek (1997) believed that a range of concerns over pollution, whole ecosystems, and global climate change, were connected to a set of aesthetic and moral questions. A moral dimension was also seen to lie at the heart of the climate change problem in terms of equitable cost-benefit analysis (Tol, 2001).

Working Group III in the IPCC's Second Assessment Report of 1995 recognised that most international discussions and IPCC reports took an anthropocentric view of

climate effects, in other words, based on human welfare. However, an eco-centric view, based more on the effects on the biosphere, questioned 'society's moral authority to make decisions affecting Nature as a whole' (Bruce et al., 1996); this was taken further in Leopold's (2003) case for a land ethic, and in James Lovelock's *Gaia Hypothesis*, which promulgated the concept of the planet as a living, self-regulating organism capable of being resilient in the face of human intervention. The relationship between humans and the natural environment was further expressed through the idea of 'deep' and 'shallow ecology' by Naess (2003), where 'deep' ecologists believed in bio-centric equality; in other words, that all living entities were entitled to equal rights. 'Shallow ecologists', on the other hand, Naess argued, although concerned about environmental problems, took a more human-centred approach in terms of dealing with impacts. The emergence of the belief that ethics should expand from a preoccupation with humans (or their gods) to a concern for animals, plants, rocks, and even nature, or the environment, was a relatively recent belief according to Nash (1990). This was thought of as an evolution of ethics from the natural rights of a limited group of humans to the rights of nature. The use of rights though, has created some confusion with the technical, philosophical or legal sense versus the idea that nature has intrinsic worth which humans ought to respect. Nash observed that some moral philosophers questioned whether the rights of nature could exist at all. Palmer (2003) believed that a pragmatic approach to environmental policy-making required the acceptance of moral pluralism to accommodate both intrinsic and extrinsic values. The theoretical task, according to Connelly & Smith (1999), is to combine different aspects of our ethical heritage such as stewardship or utilitarianism into a coherent theory to underpin practice. Notwithstanding the philosophical arguments on how to manage the environment and the problems of global climate change, Scruton (2012) believed that responsible stewardship in

one's own country, an essentially conservative (with a small 'c') approach, should be the first response to these threats.

Environmental psychology

Literature discussed in Chapter 2 highlighted the use of environmental psychology to analyse travel behaviour: and is revisited in Chapter 8 to corroborate the findings of the visitor survey on travel behaviour and environmental attitudes. Giuliani & Scopelliti (2009) reviewed the definitions and research concerns of 'people-environment studies' since the 1960s when 'ecological psychology' researched into human behaviour situated in a specific context or environment; then a focus on the built environment ('architectural psychology'); followed by 'green psychology' and 'environmental psychology' in the 1990s concerned with the relationship between humans and their socio-physical surroundings.

Shalom Schwartz's research into value constructs held by humans is frequently quoted in pro-environmental behaviour research. Rohan (2000) identified two motivational dimensions in his work: 1), openness to change versus conservation; and 2), self-enhancement versus self-transcendence, or the conflict between the consequences of one's own actions for the self versus the implications for the wider social context. Further studies developed the application of various value constructs: Schwartz & Bilsky (1987) focused on three cognitive universal requirements: biological needs, interpersonal interaction and societal demands for group welfare and survival; Schwartz (1999) applied different cultural values to forty nine nations, taking into consideration three societal issues, one of which was the relation of humankind to the natural world; Schwartz (1994) and Schwartz et al. (2001) advocated the usefulness of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ) and Awareness of Consequences (AC) models. Bamberg et al. (2007) saw pro-environmental behaviour divided into two approaches: 1), motivation by self-interest such as improving one's health;

or 2), pro-social motives, where there was a concern for other people such as the next generation, other species, or the whole eco-system. Researchers who viewed pro-environmental behaviour as pro-social behaviour tended to use Schwartz's Norm Activation Model or Paul Stern's Value-Belief-Norm theory (VBN, Stern, 2000).

The NAM explained helping behaviour, which was dictated by internalised personal norms such as feelings of guilt or regret; or social norms such as fear of social sanctions. In contrast, the main psychological determinant of the VBN was intention or deliberate reasoning, akin to Ajzen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour. Stern (2000) developed a theory that linked three aspects of behaviour: value theory, norm-activation theory, and the so-called New Environmental Paradigm (Dunlap et al., 2000). A further perspective was provided by Schultz et al. (2004), who argued that the type of concern individuals developed over environmental issues was connected with the extent to which the person believed s/he felt part of nature, reflecting a connectedness for which philosophers such as Leopold (2003) have sought.

Environmental philanthropy (Greenspan et al., 2012) is a recent construct allied with environmental psychology. Acknowledging the seminal works of researchers such as Paul Stern, Greenspan et al. studied the giving of time and money, or volunteering and donating, in support of the activities of ENGOs: two measures which, in their opinion, had been insufficiently researched; and which warranted being viewed as 'more than just another indicator of environmental behaviour' (p.112). They regarded environmental public sphere', which demonstrated:

 '...the willingness to incur personal costs to promote environmental quality, which is a clear signal of pro-environmental behaviour' (Greenspan, 2012: 114).

This behaviour was seen to have four predictors:

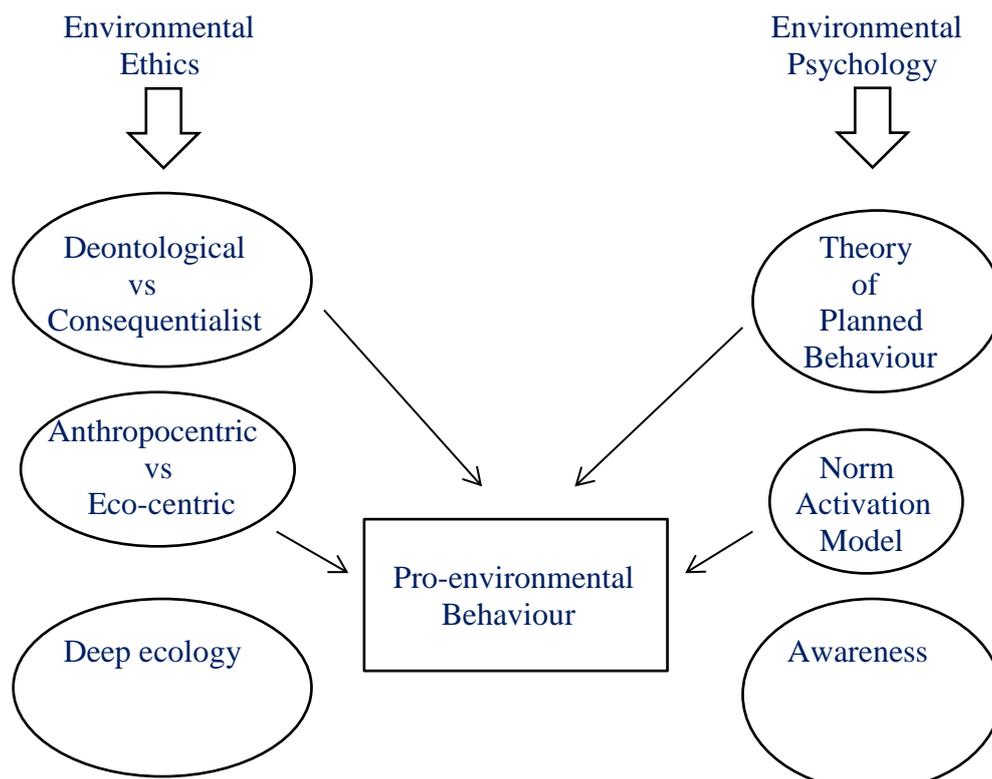
- 1) Socio-psychological factors (value basis theory: egoistic, social-altruistic, and biospheric: Stern & Dietz, 1994);
- 2) Environmental knowledge (increased knowledge about environmental issues can influence environmental attitudes and sometimes behaviour);
- 3) Political orientation (in the US context, liberal orientation was found to be correlated closer to pro-environmental behaviour than conservative views); and
- 4) Socio-demographic factors (a further example came from the US, where women were found to have a greater sense of moral obligation to other people, or pro-social).

Greenspan et al. (2012: 124) concluded that what they termed as ‘typical individual-level characteristics that shape environmental behaviour’ did not necessarily apply to, or at least fully explain environmental philanthropy: essentially a form of pro-social behaviour. Further insights into what motivates potential environmental philanthropists were seen as a prospective research area.

This final section of the study’s interpretive framework briefly discussed some of the principles from a wide field of literature on environmental ethics and environmental psychology. Environmental ethics are a recent (1960s onwards) extension to traditional ethics, seeking to resolve questions about humankind’s relationships and responsibilities with the natural environment. Figure 3.6 illustrates some of these competing ideas. Environmental psychology, also a post-war field of study, examines the motivations of humans to behave in certain ways towards the environment, understood through various models of personal value systems adopted for social as well as environmental reasons. Attitudes towards the environment can be explained through ideas such as rational choice or the anticipation of certain consequences.

Chapter summary

The study's interpretive framework was developed from the literature review on sustainable heritage tourism. Following a discussion on climate change and the development of a policy response at international and national levels, policy was seen to operate at three levels. First, the macro level, which considered the influence of climate change science and the international political will in formulating a global response to climate change, subsequently taken up at the national level (the UK). Public policy models such as institutional and groups and network approaches serve to contextualise a discussion of the arena within which the National Trust engages in policy-making and advocacy. Second, the meso level, which represented sub-governmental level policy formation, was seen as the middle ground in which, typically, NGOs and charities/third sector could exert influence on environmental public policy, often through collaboration and partnership. The National Trust's advocacy role is examined in this respect in Chapters 6 and 7. Third, the micro level, focusing on the individual institution's level of policy-making and decision-making, which in turn would determine its involvement in the meso and/or macro level.



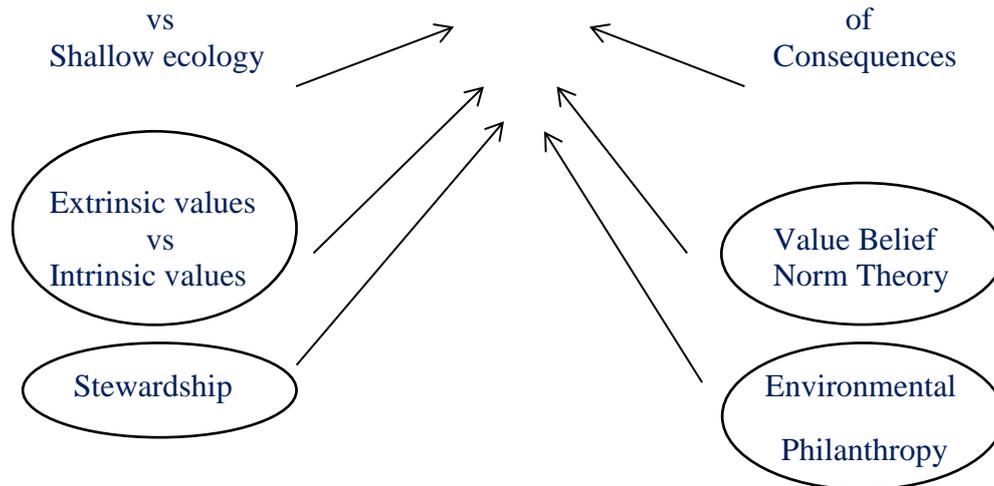


Figure 3.6 Environmental ethics/psychology models

Contemporary approaches to governance, leadership and management are reflected in the study's empirical findings on internal developments at the National Trust since the 1990s and any subsequent bearings on climate change policy. Approaches such as management by values and features of transformational leadership are recognized in developments at the charity, as well as balancing the competing interests of financial performance and social value. Environmental ethics and environmental psychology contribute insights for the underlying causes of behaviour towards the environment.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

Introduction: Research questions and structure of the methodology

A review of the literature on heritage tourism, sustainable tourism, and climate change research in the tourism literature found the concept ‘sustainable heritage tourism’ to be a convergence of these three areas. Sustainable heritage tourism studies had looked at aspects of marketing tourism destinations rather than climate change. This contributed to formulating the aim of the study, which was to explore the contribution of climate change policy and practice to sustainable heritage tourism through the National Trust. The literature revealed several underpinning themes that became the framework for interpretation discussed in the previous chapter:

1. Climate change science and policy
2. Policy studies (macro, meso, micro)
3. Governance and management
4. Pro-environmental behaviour

The literature review and interpretive framework crystallised the study’s research questions shown in Box 4.1, which provided the basis for the methodology.

The first two questions were developed to understand and account for the National Trust’s policy-making process on climate change. The charity was chosen for its high profile as a UK heritage tourism organisation as well as a conservation charity (Europe’s largest) operating in the voluntary sector. The first two questions sought to trace the origins and development of the Trust’s climate change policy and how the charity responded to events surrounding climate change and macro policy. This involved reviewing National Trust documents in the public domain, contextualised by developments in macro climate

change policy-making. How the Trust developed its response to climate change in relation to its core purpose and the contribution of key individuals in building structures and procedures to develop the policy.

- 1) How and why did a climate change policy evolve at the National Trust?
- 2) What is the form and function of the National Trust's climate change policy?
- 3) Do the National Trust's core purpose, structure, governance, and organisational culture support its climate change policy?
- 4) How much consensus exists amongst National Trust policy-makers, managers and volunteer workers with regard to the charity's climate change policy and practice, and does this provide any insights for future policy-making on this issue?
- 5) To what extent can visitors to National Trust properties be described as 'pro-environmental' in their travel behaviour and attitude towards a range of climate change-related issues? Do their responses provide insights for future policy-making on this issue?
- 6) To what extent can the National Trust's climate change policy be seen as an exemplar for sustainable heritage tourism?

Box 4.1 Research questions for the study

The third question considered whether the Trust's climate change policy was supported by the charity's structure, governance arrangements and underlying culture with a focus on developments since 1995. This year was significant because: a) following the Trust's centenary, few holistic accounts have been written about developments at the charity; and b) the origins of the Trust's climate change policy are found in the 1990s. Chapter 5 provides an account of the Trust's recent history and key developments. Using primary research, the fourth question was designed to explore how people who worked for the National Trust in different capacities viewed climate change, related environmental issues, and the charity's response to tackling climate change. Its main purpose was to corroborate or counter the

findings from the previous three questions, which were reliant on secondary sources. Question 5 sought to explore the travel behaviour and environmental attitudes of visitors, including their views on the effectiveness of the government and the role of charities in addressing climate change. Both questions were answered using empirical findings that delivered insights into how climate change was perceived by the National Trust and its members and visitors, and subsequent insights for policy-making. Sampling is discussed later.

The sixth and final question, reflecting the study's overall aim, was devised to assess whether the National Trust's climate change policy could be considered to contribute effectively towards achieving sustainable heritage tourism. In this way, the charity's response to climate change, with its balancing act between conservation and tourism, became a lens for the study (Figure 1.1 in the opening chapter).

Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the study's methodology, taking the word to mean 'the study of how we collect knowledge about the world' (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004: 34), a more holistic view of the process than 'research methods'. Several authors recommended particular structures for approaching methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Saunders et al., 2009; Thomas, 2009). Thomas's approach to the research process: design frame, data collection methods, and data analysis was considered appropriate for this methodology. The chapter begins firstly, with a discussion on the project's research approach in terms of philosophy and design. Secondly, an account is given of how secondary data were sourced and used for the research. The third section discusses primary data sources to include: sampling; an account of data collection methods and their design; data collection procedures (fieldwork); and how the findings were

analysed and interpreted. For clarification and to avoid repetition, the terms ‘thesis’, ‘study’, ‘project’, or ‘the research’ are variously used.

Research approach

This section explains how the project construed knowledge and the approach taken to acquiring knowledge in order to answer the research questions. As Botterill (2001: 199) remarked: ‘The assumptions that underlie social science research in tourism are seldom made explicit’. He basically argued that tourism studies’ status in being able to justify the development of a knowledge system had so far been limited by the normalisation of a positivist epistemology. Tourism research, he continued, should increasingly take opportunities to engage in the epistemological debate surrounding the paradigms of social research, such as looking to social constructivism and realism to expand the boundaries of tourism knowledge. For further debate on the maturity of tourism research and its claims to be a discipline of knowledge, see Ryan (1997), Tribe (1997; 2000; 2001) and Leiper (2000).

An appropriate starting point was to consider the project’s ontological position: in other words, the nature of reality with this study (Saunders et al., 2009: 110); or the kind of phenomena that are assumed to exist in the social world surrounding this topic, and how they should be studied (Thomas, 2009: 86). The research required a consideration of existing theoretical and empirical material related to climate change (‘the science of climate change’) and existing aspects of the National Trust’s climate change policy. This took an objective approach, viewing physical or social entities as independent realities to social actors (researchers and the people they study). Equally, the project explored the perceptions, opinions and views of people who worked for the National Trust in some capacity including volunteers. This dimension of the study utilised a degree of subjectivity, or ‘understanding

the meanings that individuals attach to social phenomena' (Saunders et al., p.111). The study's ontological position therefore, took account of both objective and subjective realities.

How then, did the project acquire knowledge about these realities; or, what constituted acceptable knowledge? Accordingly, the epistemological position will be briefly considered. Research texts usually refer to the process of working within a paradigm, which Kuhn (1962) defined as 'a fixed set of assumptions about the way inquiry should be conducted'. Saunders et al. (p.119) for example, and similar texts, categorise paradigms as: positivism; realism; interpretivism; and pragmatism. As far as this study was concerned, the topic required an understanding of climate change in the natural sciences as well as how the Trust and its supporters interpreted the natural, objective phenomenon of climate change, thus relying on both objective and subjective approaches. In exploring these realities at different levels, for example from a trustee's viewpoint to a volunteer's, different levels provided different perspectives; in other words, the study was concerned with changing or multiple realities. In the case of climate change, for many people who took part in the research the phenomenon was an objective reality (extreme weather, for example). On the other hand, participants from all levels, showed different perceptions of the risk it posed, or the extent to which humans had contributed to global warming.

The study's epistemological position therefore, was seen largely in the tradition of pragmatism, which acknowledges the dual roles of observable phenomena and subjective meanings to provide acceptable knowledge, according to the research question being studied (Saunders et al., p.119). Elements of critical realism were also present (reality seen as objective but open to different shades of interpretation) as well as social constructivism (making sense of the world through social constructions or subjectivity) (Botterill &

Platenkamp, 2012). Further discussion on tourism and leisure research using a post-positivist paradigm can be found in Gale & Botterill (2005) and Henderson (2011). A combination of qualitative and quantitative methods was used to explore the research questions. The rationale for these methods is explained in more detail in the chapter. Primary data collection took place through one set of semi-structured interviews and three questionnaire surveys using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The aim of the fieldwork was to corroborate or counter the secondary data findings, thus acting as a triangulation process.

Secondary data

The study used a wide range of literature. Chapters 2 and 3 developed a narrative sourced from heritage and tourism studies and related multidisciplinary studies taken from climate change science and policy, policy studies, management literature and environmental ethics and environmental psychology. The literature was sourced using a combination of library visits, inter-library loans and internet academic search engines. With the latter, a systematic approach to sampling was developed, where a number of articles were selected from an initial search of approximately 100 articles for each search command. Subsequent snowball sampling developed the literature base. In addition to peer-reviewed articles, a range of government white papers, NGO research (the Green Alliance in particular), policy research organisations (the Institute for Public Policy Research for example), articles from broadsheet newspapers, and conference proceedings, completed the literature portfolio.

For Chapters 5 and 6, much reliance was placed on reviewing a large quantity of documents in the National Trust's public domain, consisting mainly of annual reports, AGM minutes and newsletters. Additionally, a sample of internal documents was made available.

These were records of meetings, memoranda and internal papers dealing with the subject of climate change. Four visits were made to the charity's headquarters in Swindon (Heelis) where access was gained to the archives department. During these visits, original documents were read through, beginning in the 1960s and the lead-up to the launch of Enterprise Neptune. Chapter 6 explains that the 'official' start date for tracing the evolution of climate change policy was 1970. Relevant material was noted in the form of photocopied extracts and supplementary notes. Following the visits, the material was re-examined prior to writing the chapters. Visits to Heelis and university conferences and workshops are recorded in Appendices 4.8 and 4.9. The review of documents resulted in five themes being identified that contextualised the key developments at the National Trust since 1995. These are discussed in Chapter 5.

Appendix 4.1 categorises the project's secondary sources. Peer-reviewed articles accounted for over half of all sources in order to develop a critical discussion on the literature, with over 80 per cent of articles, contributing much of the material for Chapters 2 and 3. Much of the tourism articles were sourced from leading journals, principally: *Annals of Tourism Research*; *Tourism Management*; *Journal of Travel Research*; and *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. National Trust documents, used mainly for Chapters 5 and 6, accounted for 16% of the literature, approximately the same proportion as textbooks. Textbooks were particularly valuable sources for climate change science and public policy models during the earlier stages of the project. Further contributions can be viewed in Appendix 4.1. In terms of the currency of the literature, 60 per cent of sources were published in the last ten years in keeping with the contemporary nature of the research.

Primary data: sampling

Primary data were collected by three methods: 1) an exploratory questionnaire conducted with representatives from the Council and Board of Trustees; 2) a series of semi-structured interviews with a trustee, directors from the senior management team, regional director and advisor, and property managers (12 in total); additionally, two group interviews were held with a regional environmental group, and a volunteers' forum 3), an on-line questionnaire conducted with volunteers. The design of these instruments is discussed in the chapter's main section. Sampling is divided into properties and people.

Region and properties

Chapter 1 introduced the reasons for choosing the National Trust and its West Midlands region for this study of sustainable heritage tourism. A case study is not necessarily viewed as a sampling tool. Stake (2005: 134) noted that case studies were one of the most common ways to carry out qualitative inquiry and should not be seen as a methodological choice but rather an intention to study something particular. The National Trust was chosen as an 'instrumental case study' (Stake: p.137) where the subject (the case) is 'examined mainly to provide insight into an issue ...' but not precluding inquiry into its contexts and ordinary activities as these help the researcher to pursue the external interest. The West Midlands represented one region out of the charity's 11 regions in 2007, the first full year of the study (now 9 regions in 2014/5). It was sampled purposively for practical considerations of conducting the research as well as representing a land-locked area experiencing the impacts of climate change, whereas most tourism/climate change studies have focused on aviation, ski resorts and coastal areas. The results from the primary research have not been generalised in any way for the other ten regions.

Within the West Midlands region (subsequently merged with the Trust's East Midlands region in 2012 to become 'The Midlands') properties were sampled for primary research and for two purposes. A total of nine properties were visited during the course of conducting interviews and conducting the visitor survey. These were purposively sampled from 37 properties listed in the 2011 Handbook for the West Midlands. Table 4.1 shows the breakdown by type of property.

Property category	No.
Mansion	19
Vernacular	4
Countryside	3
Dovecote	3
Garden	3
Farmhouse/barn	2
Museum/monument	2
Inn	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>37</u>

Table 4.1 West Midlands region properties by category (National Trust 2011 Handbook)

The shaded area indicates properties attracting larger visitor populations suitable for a survey. Appendix 4.7 gives a detailed breakdown of numbers for 2011/12, highlighting the five properties used for the survey. Six properties were targeted on the basis of representing each county in the West Midlands (Staffordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, plus Birmingham and the Black Country); both rural and urban locations and urban fringe; and type of property (for example mansion versus open countryside). This approach was similar to Dickinson et al.'s (2004) study of National Trust properties in the south-west of England. Attempts to contact the manager of Carding Mill Valley and the Shropshire Hills in order to gain permission to conduct a visitor survey proved unsuccessful, thus reducing the sample size to five (Table 4.2).

County	Property type	Location	Property
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Staffordshire	Manor House	Edge conurbation	Moseley Old Hall
Herefordshire	Gardens	Rural	The Weir
Worcestershire	Open countryside	Edge conurbation	Clent Hills
Warwickshire	Mansion	Rural	Charlecote Park
Birmingham & Black Country	Urban housing	Urban	Birmingham Back-to-Backs

Table 4.2 Sample of properties used for the visitor survey

People

Through a contact at Heelis, 57 letters (Appendix 4.5) were circulated to members of the Board and Council inviting participation in the survey. This was considered a practical strategy for contacting senior policy-makers who were dispersed across the UK and who convened at Heelis only a few times a year. Fifteen members expressed interest and agreed to take part in the exploratory survey. Eight responses were received. Two further members corresponded by e-mail. In all, ten responses were received which, given the restricted access, was an encouraging start to the fieldwork, representing approximately 20 per cent of the most senior staff at the National Trust.

Following advice from a contact at the National Trust, ten managers in the West Midlands region, some of them General Managers, were approached via e-mail to take part in a semi-structured interview. The ten managers represented all of the counties in the region including Birmingham and the Black Country, as well as a cross-section of property-type. Despite several follow-up e-mails and a few telephone calls, only five agreed to an interview. Four letters (Appendix 4.6) were sent to directors at Heelis, resulting in two interviews. Through a contact at Heelis, a further interview was arranged with a Trustee. Two regional staff and one further manager from Heelis agreed to participate, bringing the total of one-to-one interviews to 12. The two group interviews were arranged with the help of a regional contact and a property manager. In all cases, sampling was purposive. Collectively, the response rate was in the region of 50 per cent.

The visitor survey eventually produced 847 responses. Table 4.3 shows a breakdown of the various populations involved. For the survey, a purposive, convenience sampling process was used, which suited the nature of site visits where visitors were approached when the opportunity arose. The majority of visitors encountered were middle-aged couples. To achieve an improved spread of responses, a form of quota sampling was introduced where younger visitors and ethnic minorities were targeted. Furthermore, considering sampling theory, a transient sample population (visitors arriving and leaving) meant that an unbiased, random (probability) sampling from a fixed population was not possible. However, the final sample size of 847 exceeded expectations and provided opportunities to make some statistical inferences. The general statistical rule holds that the larger the sample size, the more likely it is to be closer to the characteristics of the total population (Rowntree, 2000; Saunders et al., 2009; Thomas, 2009). Table 4.3 estimates the populations involved. Table 8.1.1 in Appendix 8.1 shows the breakdown of response rates. A 98 per cent rate was achieved with one-to-one interviews, while the mail-back method yielded a 48 per cent response rate leading to an overall response rate just short of 60 per cent.

The on-line questionnaire survey of volunteers was the third method used. Volunteers work in diverse locations and with a multitude of different hours and shifts across many properties. Following discussion with a contact based at one of the properties, it was decided that an on-line survey would be an effective method of reaching a sample of volunteers out of an estimated total of 500-600. Through the contact, the survey was distributed via Google (Google Survey Monkey). Responses were returned to a Google account link. Within a few weeks, 139 responses had been received. In this case, the sampling process was self-selection, and proved to be relatively successful. Most of the responses came from one property.

Primary data: design of data collection methods

The collection of primary data involved a series of semi-structured interviews and three questionnaire surveys (Box 4.2). The interview topics are listed in Box 4.3 and copies of the questionnaires can be viewed in Appendices 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4.

Origin	Population category	Numbers	Reference
Total visits to NT properties	Total population	239 million	NT (2013d)
Estimated visits to West Midlands props.	West Midlands total population	3 million (rounded-up)	Appendix 4.7
Estimated visits to the survey's properties	Sampling frame	1.2 million	Appendix 4.7
Recorded visits for survey	Sample	847	Survey results

Table 4.3 Populations for the visitor survey

Semi-structured interviews	N	Questionnaire surveys	N
Trustee; directors; general managers; property managers	12	Members of the Board of Trustees and the Council	8
Group interview (managers)	1	Visitors to five properties	847
Group interview (volunteers)	1	Volunteers	139

Box 4.2 Summary of primary data methods (NT)

To reiterate, the methods were designed to answer the research questions, which themselves were constructed following the review of the literature and development of the interpretive framework.

Exploratory questionnaire survey for the Board of Trustees and Council

The first questionnaire survey (Appendix 4.2) was conducted in 2010 with members of the Board of Trustees and the Council through a contact at Heelis. It was designed as an

exploratory tool to gain an insight into the views of senior policy-makers at the National Trust on issues related to the relatively new governance arrangements (the new Board of Trustees having been in place for only a few years); climate change and environmental issues and how these affected the charity; the relevance of internal consultancy in climate change policy; and the Trust's external role and affairs in policy advocacy. The questionnaire was therefore primarily aimed at informing the study's first three questions (see page 102).

The survey used mainly closed questions constructed mainly of attitudinal statements covering topics of governance and policy-making since the Trust's reorganisation of 2005; a series of statements suggesting possible reasons why the Trust had responded to climate change; internal and external consultancy on climate change issues; and a range of statements covering topics such as global warming, sustainable development, and the Trust's underpinning values related to climate change. In this way, the questionnaire aimed to gauge the senior policy-makers' views on why and how the charity was responding to climate change. Relevant themes from the literature review and interpretive framework guided the questionnaire's construction, such as policy-making in the macro, meso and micro zones; policy networks; governance; the concept of sustainable development; and environmental ethics. The questionnaire was designed for self-completion. Copies were returned via Heelis. The survey was the first data collection exercise carried out over the summer of 2010, coinciding with the first few interviews conducted at Heelis. Its exploratory nature was considered as an appropriate beginning to gaining a sense of how the National Trust viewed policy-making and climate change.

Semi-structured interviews

Box 4.3 lists the interview topics. The topics were devised to span all of the research questions and sought to establish an overall view on the amount of consensus shown for the charity’s response to climate change as well as wider environmental issues. The interview guide was developed to explore each of the study’s research questions. The eight topics were appropriately worded for the interviews. The first three topics were constructed to gain a sense of how climate change was seen as an issue within the Trust and how the policy worked in practice: some of the problems and some of the success stories.

1	The importance of climate change as an issue for the National Trust.
2	The form and function of the National Trust’s climate change policy.
3	Mitigation and adaptation in response to climate change.
4	Sustainable development and the National Trust’s climate change policy.
5	The National Trust as a contributor to environmental public policy; external affairs.
6	The Trust’s recently reformed governance arrangements facilitating climate change strategy and other issues that concern the ‘whole’ Trust.
7	The Trust’s current strategy <i>Going local</i> supporting an effective and sustainable approach in managing climate change issues.
8	The balance between access and conservation as part of sustainable tourism and implications for responding to climate change.

Box 4.3 Interview topics for discussion

The fourth topic on sustainable development was included for two reasons: a), in the literature, the concept has been criticised as being nebulous; and b), the development of the charity’s climate change policy and its approach to Key Performance Indicators were guided by the principles of sustainable development (as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6). With the fifth topic: external affairs, the history of the Trust and more recent developments since 1995 show that the charity has periodically reviewed its role in external affairs, and questioned the extent to which it should be a campaigning organisation. The topic of governance was included because climate change policy was developed during the run-up to a major re-organisation of the Trust in the late 1990s as well as a reform of its constitutional

arrangements completed by 2005. The interviews sought to explore the impact of these changes on the Trust with spin-offs for considering climate change policy. Topic 7, *Going local* was a natural successor to investigating organisational change within the charity leading up to 2005, because of its strategy of decentralisation and empowerment, which gained renewed momentum from 2009 under the chairmanship of Sir Simon Jenkins. The interviews were designed to investigate to what extent this strategy grew out of and was supporting the Trust's response to climate change. The final topic on the balance between conservation and access is a recurring theme in the Trust's history; the interviews provided the opportunity to link this area of potential conflict with the climate change agenda and maintaining a sustainable form of heritage tourism.

Visitor survey at five properties

The second questionnaire (Appendix 4.3) was designed to answer the study's fifth question, essentially a demand-side perspective aimed to capture data on visitors' travel behaviour and attitudes towards the climate change and environmental issues including the roles of the government and the National Trust in tackling climate change.

Questions 1-4 recorded data on frequency and category of visit, distance travelled, and mode of transport. These four questions aimed to gain a picture of travel behaviour from a sample of visitors to the five properties. They were framed against the literature on travel behaviour that has been the subject of much tourism research into climate change issues, including national surveys into carbon pathways analysis (DfT, 2008) and data on leisure day trips (Visit England et al., 2013). The questionnaire then focused on car-users, asking the participants whether they shared their journey, and would they consider using an alternative mode of transport for the next or similar visit to a property (Questions 5-6)? The

aim here was to establish a fast response to a fundamental personal choice, before moving on to explore the possible reasons for the response in Questions 7 (Yes/Maybe) or 8 (No). Participants were given five pre-selected reasons for each question, which reflected pro-social motives (for the benefit of the community and wider society); egoistic motives (such as personal reasons); or instrumental reasons (practical considerations). Here, selected literature from environmental psychology in Chapters 2 and 3 helped to frame the statements.

Through Question 9 in the second half of the survey, respondents were asked to record their agreement with a range of broadly-worded environmental statements that included perceptions of the severity of global warming, its causes, a sense of personal moral duty to reduce carbon emissions, and the notion of nature having equal rights to humans. This part of Question 9 utilised ideas drawn from environmental ethics and psychology such as Nash (1990); Dryzek (1997); Palmer (2003); Bamberg et al. (2007). The remaining three statements in Question 9 sought to gauge respondents' views on the role of the National Trust and the link between conservation work and adaptation to climate change, and whether tourism was seen to be detrimental to tackling climate change. Several drafts of these questions were produced to arrive at appropriate wording and meaning. The statements were designed with the intention of provoking a fast response to a broad question. It was acknowledged that the wording was prone to different interpretations and criticism of asking for closed responses to very broad propositions that deserved further explanation or clarification. Question 10 sought an open response to awareness of climate change measures, possibly prompted by the surroundings of the property being visited or wider knowledge of the charity's measures. Finally, Question 11 captured personal data on gender, age, and membership of the Trust. This information was required to analyse any

variations in responses given by different visitor segments, which may have implications for the Trust's climate change policy. Such analysis was evident in the tourism literature, enabling comparisons to be made.

Volunteer survey

The third survey (Appendix 4.4) was designed to explore the attitudes of National Trust volunteers towards similar climate change and environmental issues presented to visitors (see Chapter 8), but additionally sought to explore volunteers' views on communicating environmental messages to visitors, and to what extent participants felt connected with issues and information and disseminated from Heelis. These questions were designed to answer the third research question (structure, governance and management supporting the Trust's climate change policy) and the fourth question (views on climate change of people who work for the National Trust). Chapter 5 discussed the Trust's approach to management, particularly with regard to decentralisation and empowerment at property level. Volunteers usually work on the 'front line' at properties, and it was considered relevant to capture their views, thus completing a span of perceptions from senior policy-making, down through regional and property management and thence to the volunteers who come into direct contact with the membership and visitors.

As with the visitor questionnaire, personal data were collected on age and gender, as well as information about areas of work, in order to identify any differences associated with clusters of questions. An open question was inserted at the end of the survey as an opportunity to record personal thoughts on the issues raised. The questionnaire was transformed into an electronic version and distributed via Google Survey Monkey with the co-operation and agreement of a contact at the National Trust. The survey was distributed to

four properties, one property providing the majority of responses. In all, 139 responses were received.

Analysing the data

Qualitative data

Data from the interviews were typed-up into transcripts and notes and reviewed several times for emerging themes. Relevant sections in the transcripts were highlighted and aligned with the interview topics. A full version of the transcripts was produced (over 30,000 words), but is not included as part of the thesis so as to protect the identity of interviewees. The process bore some elements of constant comparison and content analysis (Thomas, 2009: 198-207), whereby the text was subjected to several readings leading to the identification of primary and secondary themes. Thematic analysis is another method that provides an appropriate description of the process, as well as discourse analysis that highlighted particular phrases and word choice.

Qualitative data from the visitor survey was entered onto an Excel spreadsheet, where the individual comments on purpose of visit and awareness of climate change measures, and post-codes, were pegged to each respondent. Subsequently, the comments were collated using a simple form of frequency analysis, which appears in Appendix 7.1. in the form of bar charts. In the volunteer survey, the open Question 7 produced some detailed comments from volunteers, some of them quite critical. Comments that were deemed of most interest and relevance were typed-up and included also in Appendix 7.1. In terms of analysing the interview transcripts and open answers from the volunteer survey, the approach taken was to allow the data to speak for itself along the lines of ‘thick description’,

where the language used provides the interpretation. The qualitative findings from the interviews and surveys are discussed in the context of the whole thesis in Chapter 9.

Quantitative data

Results from the two hard-copy questionnaires (Board/Council and visitor surveys) were initially collated manually. With only 8 responses, the Board/Council survey data was processed manually through a simple counting process for categorical data and percentages for the ordinal data. With the visitor questionnaire survey though, 847 responses required the use of several Excel spreadsheets to collate the data before being transferred to Minitab 16, a statistics software package. A series of inferential statistical tests were then conducted (one-sample T-tests, Chi-square analysis, and ANOVA – Analysis of Variance) to test for relationships between independent and dependent variables. The results are shown in Appendix 8.1.

Questions 1-6 and 11 in the visitor survey produced categorical data that were presented as percentages (Table 8.1.2 in Appendix 8.1). These data were then subjected to a Chi-square analysis (Rowntree, 2000: 124) for significance testing of associations between independent (personal characteristics) and dependent variables (travel behaviour) (Table 8.1.4 in Appendix 8.1). In Question 9, One-sample T-tests (Table 8.1.3 in Appendix 8.1) were used to establish the mean scores and standard deviation of all the attitudinal statements recorded with ordinal data from Likert scales (1-5). The highest scores were highlighted in colour. The results from Question 9 were then subjected to ANOVA (unstacked). Here, there were opportunities to test for significant variances found amongst the independent variables of age, gender, and membership (or not) of the National Trust. Results from properties were also tested for significant differences, with the exception of Moseley Old Hall because of its small sample size. Table 8.1.5 in Appendix 8.1 summarises

these results, again highlighting in colour where differences are significant at $P < 0.05$ (95 per cent confidence). Further Tables in Appendix 8.1 show the results of additional tests conducted. As was emphasised earlier, the survey was not designed to produce statistical generalisations that would apply to the whole National Trust. It was a case of the large sample size giving the opportunity to explore these differences and make appropriate inferences. These were interpreted and discussed by making reference to the literature discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, with a focus on transport studies, carbon emissions data, environmental psychology and ethics and pro-environmental behaviour studies.

Quantitative data from the volunteer survey was initially collated through the Google Survey Monkey software. The results are presented in Appendix 7.1. The categorical data (gender, volunteer characteristics, length of service, role) were manually converted to Microsoft Word bar charts and pie charts as this format was compatible with the presentation of other data. The results of the attitudinal questions were manually converted from categorical data (number of respondents disagreeing etc.) to ordinal data on a Likert scale of 1-5 so that Minitab tests for ANOVA could be conducted along similar lines to the volunteer survey. The results of the test are presented in Questions 3 and 6 in Appendix 7.1. As with the visitor survey, significant differences at $P < 0.05$ were highlighted. In retrospect, although the Google survey was effective in reaching its intended target and the results were computed efficiently, the information had to be re-processed to remain compatible with the format of the other quantitative results.

Chapter summary

The literature review and interpretive framework led to the crystallisation of the study's research questions, which decided the research approach and methods used to collect and interpret data, and provided a basis for analysis and interpretation of the findings. A

pragmatic approach was taken towards the philosophy of research for this project, siding with the paradigm of critical realism but with contributing elements of social constructivism. This approach for example, took account of the dual contributions of climate change science and policy practice, as well as the more subjective viewpoints about the nature of climate change and associated environmental notions.

The study used both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in order to answer the research questions. A large sample size from the visitor survey enabled a number of statistical inferences to be made although no claims were made to providing results that could be generalised for the National Trust. Relevant themes were extracted from secondary sources using content analysis. Constant comparison, thematic analysis, thick description, and elements of discourse analysis, were all used to some extent to analyse the interview transcripts and qualitative information provided by the surveys. An evaluation of the methodology is found in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 5

KEY DEVELOPMENTS AT THE NATIONAL TRUST SINCE 1995

Introduction

This chapter reviews developments in policy and practice at the National Trust over the past twenty years since its centenary in 1995. A time-line indicating some of the key events/issues throughout the Trust's history can be found in Appendix 5.1. Reviewing recent developments serves to contextualise the formation of a climate change policy (discussed in Chapter 6), which took shape during the 1990s. Leadership changes left their mark through different personalities and agendas. Continued growth in membership – a doubling in 20 years to reach 4 million in 2011 (National Trust, 2012a) – and 19.2 million visitors to pay-on- entry properties during 2012/13 (National Trust, 2013d), have placed extra demands on the charity, but have enabled additional revenue to be channelled into conservation work and visitor facilities (£79.7 million was spent on properties in 2012/13). In contrast to the Council of the early 1960s, which at times took a guarded view on tourism, the charity now sees 'the number of visitors and volunteers prepared to recommend the National Trust to their friends and relatives' as a measure of its success (National Trust, 2013d).

The chapter is structured as follows. First, a short account is given of the Trust's history to 1995. Although the charity's first hundred years are already well-documented (Fedden, 1968; Gaze, 1988; Jenkins & James, 1994; Waterson, 1994; Cannadine, 1995) it is important to underscore how the charity changed organically in response to defining events and the demands of a widening membership over the years, as background to understanding recent developments in the past 20 years. The second and main part of the chapter examines

changes that have been taking place since the mid-1990s. These are discussed under five themes: advocacy and external affairs; further organisational change; leadership, values and professionalization; performance-based management; and engagement of members, supporters, and unreached audiences (Table 5.2). Following reading of the Trust’s early history, these five themes were constructed through an extensive exploration of secondary sources such as AGM minutes, annual reports and newsletters; many of them accessed at the archives department in Heelis. These included a selection of internal documents considered as primary sources. Careful examination of the documents facilitated a process of content analysis (Thomas, 2009), out of which the themes naturally emerged in the context of organisational change and macro environmental policy developments. Extracts from interviews conducted for Chapter 7 are referred to where relevant.

Background to the first hundred years

Coinciding with the Trust’s centenary, Newby’s (1995) edited collection of essays reviewed the Trust’s major activities in the broader political, economic, social and environmental context of a hundred years of British history. One of the contributors, Cannadine (1995: 12), reviewed the National Trust’s first hundred years (1895-1995) over four, overlapping phases (Table 5.1), to provide context for understanding how the Trust adapted to changing political, economic and social climates.

Period	Main concern of the National Trust
1895 – 1920	Preserving open spaces
1914 – 1949	Proclaiming ‘spiritual values’
1935 – 1970	Rescuing country houses
1965 – 1995	Safeguarding the environment

Table 5.1 Main concerns of the National Trust, 1895-1995
(Cannadine, 1995)

The Trust began its life as a small, largely amateur campaigning organisation led by three well-connected Victorian philanthropists who campaigned for the preservation of open spaces and buildings of historic interest in the wake of late 19th century industrial sprawl. Throughout the 20th century, the organisation evolved in response to changing political, economic and social conditions. By the 1930s, the Trust, a charity since the National Trust Act of 1919, was operated largely on a voluntary basis through local committees across the country overseen by land agents, with direction from a central office in London. The Trust was governed by a Council and an Executive Committee whose expertise lay in matters of finance, land management and heritage. The perception of the Trust as a paternal, oligarchic organisation designed for the leisure pursuits of the middle classes, as well as protecting the interests of the land-owning classes, still persists for some observers and critics (Morrison, 2009; Rumblelow, 2014). The National Trust Acts of 1937 and 1939, for example, are viewed by some as a means to protect landed interests. The legislation was introduced at a time when the Conservative government led by Stanley Baldwin, saw the safeguarding of English country houses as important for retaining part of the national heritage and culture. The National Trust's Alistair Lees-Milne was instrumental in securing the support of would-be benefactors. The Acts enabled an owner to donate their estate to the National Trust with an endowment, in return for exemption from death duties and the right to remain at the premises rent-free. These properties were acquired as part of the Trust's statutory purpose to preserve buildings of historic interest (Cannadine, 1995).

Following the era of country house expansion in the 1950s, the Trust began to turn its attention to protecting the natural environment (the background to this era beginning in the 1960s is discussed in Chapter 6), attracting much publicity through the launch of its coastal protection campaign, Enterprise Neptune in 1965. This is not to suggest that the

Trust abandoned acquiring buildings of historic interest, but that protecting the coast and countryside became more of a priority in the post-war period that had seen the creation of National Parks and Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Since the Second World War, the National Trust had grown in popularity. In 1945, when the Trust had concerns over its future under Clement Attlee's post-war Labour government, membership stood at 7,850, with ownership of 112,000 acres of land, 93 historic buildings; and a complement of 15 full-time staff in addition to a network of volunteers. Fifty years later, membership had risen to over 2.2 million; 580,000 acres of countryside in England, Wales and Northern Ireland; 545 miles of coastline protected; 230 historic houses and 130 'important gardens'; and approximately 30,000 volunteers in addition to nearly 3,000 full-time staff (Jenkins & James, 1994; National Trust, 1995c); National Trust, 2014d). The increasing popularity of the Trust was reflected the growth of post-war UK domestic tourism. The UK's Development of Tourism Act of 1969 for example, established national tourist boards, which helped to market destinations. The economic recessions of the early 1980s and 1990s, though suppressing demand for overseas holidays, instead boosted domestic tourism and a rise in short-break holidays, assisted by the priority given to heritage tourism via the Department of National Heritage (the tourism industry's sponsor department preceding the DCMS). Broad social trends such as the emergence of the 'consumer society' since the 1970s, where between 1971 and 1997, disposable household income nearly doubled; and an ageing population and falling birth rate (Page & Connell, 2009: 43-44) would also have contributed to the Trust's expansion.

Post-centenary developments: 1995-2014

The patrician roots of its senior figures combined with its considerable land ownership, country houses and art collections, may well have perpetuated a stereotype that the Trust was an organisation for the cultured, educated middle classes. Arguably though, this undervalues the size, diversity and complexity of the Trust’s work in maintaining its core purpose of conservation in a changing political, economic, social and environmental climate; as well as its broader social and political complexion accompanied by growth in membership and staffing. As explained earlier, a comprehensive review of documents in the public domain produced several themes that have characterised recent history, shown below with key indicators.

Themes	Subsidiaries
Advocacy and external affairs	Increased involvement in public policy
Organisational change and governance reform	Decentralisation; reform of governance – creation of Board of Trustees
Performance-based management	NT national strategic plans; triple-bottom line performance
Leadership and professionalization of the charity	Transformational leadership; human resource management: talent management
Engagement of members, supporters, and unreachd audiences	Doubling of membership from 2+ million in 1990 to 4 million in 2011; culture of openness; post-modern tourism; ‘new tourism’; bringing properties to life; minority markets; branding

Table 5.2: Developmental themes at the National Trust, 1995-2014

Advocacy and external affairs

Salazar (2010: 365-66) stated that the purpose of advocacy is to ‘influence policy makers’ policies, ideas and practices’, and that its effectiveness related not only to changes in policy, but also to the impact of those policies on affected communities. Advocacy partnerships are a common feature of the NGO and civil society sector. NGO advocacy, Salazar explained, is based on policy analysis, research, and the dissemination of information; leading to such

activities as networking, education, lobbying and campaigning. This process can also be understood as policy networking (Marsh, 1998b) in the meso policy zone (Parsons, 2005), and within the policy arena (Hall & Jenkins, 1995). Advocacy: ‘quiet lobbying, awareness raising, or direct action’ (Hudson, 2002: 407) can be related to the size and resources of the organisation as well as the issue and target group in question; but in the case of the National Trust, its statutory purpose is also relevant in the extent to which it should involve itself as a *campaigning* organisation. In 1919, the Executive Committee concerned itself with how the Trust should engage in work of a ‘militant’ character as opposed to its functions as a holding body (Jenkins & James, 1994: 42). The extent to which, and how, the charity should campaign on issues continues to attract debate today; some of the views of Trust insiders appear in Chapter 7.

The National Trust can be viewed as a charity operating *within* the tourism industry (as opposed to outside, or above the tourism industry) (Turner et al., 2001). According to Turner et al., these three levels of involvement engage the tourism industry to suit different purposes. In their research, the National Trust was used as an example of a leading charity working within the industry with a role to promote sustainable tourism, stemming from its statutory responsibilities to ensure ‘conservation and access are protected in harmony with the local community’ (citing National Trust, 1997). Turner et al. (2001) contended that charity involvement with tourism was an under-researched area, and that there were opportunities to study how charities could promote domestic tourism above international tourism, as well as explore tourist behaviour on holiday. The National Trust’s advocacy in external affairs might present such opportunities.

Before the advent of the internet, evidence in the public domain for the charity’s engagement in external affairs is largely restricted to extracts from AGM minutes, annual

reports and newsletters. A review of these documents shows that by the mid-1990s the Trust had chosen to involve itself in the public policy arena more visibly than previously. This can be partly explained by the ambitions of Angus Stirling, the new Director-General in 1983, who, on taking up his appointment, found the Trust to be rather introspective and conservative in its outlook (Jenkins & James, 1994: 303). Trans-Atlantic links had been forged with the Royal Oak Foundation since 1973, but both Stirling and the three Chairs with whom he worked – Lord Gibson, Dame Jennifer Jenkins, and Lord Chorley – further involved the Trust in national and European affairs. Documents from the 1980s and 1990s reported the charity's participation in countryside and heritage legislation such as the Heritage Act 1980; Wildlife and Countryside Act 1984; and the Agricultural Holdings Act 1984. Further initiatives and involvement included: a visit by Jennifer Jenkins to Brussels in 1989 to take part in talks on the forthcoming integrated European market; European agricultural policy; co-operation with other heritage and environmental public agencies such as English Heritage, the Countryside Commission (later English Nature, then Natural England), and the National Parks Authority; the Water Act of 1989; and a cautious approach, if not opposition to, the government's road-building programme announced in 1990. Other references revealed the Trust working more closely with tourist boards and educational projects. Expressed simply, by the mid-1990s, the Trust had chosen to involve itself more fully in external affairs related to its core purpose of conservation.

The Annual Report of 1997/98 suggested that the Trust welcomed several initiatives introduced by the incoming Labour government of 1997: the establishment of the Regional Development Agencies seen as likely to complement the Trust's own designation of regions; the creation of English Nature by the merger of two former public agencies, the Countryside Commission and Rural Development Commission; the government's New Deal

programme, where the Trust stated its support for the Environmental Task Force and Voluntary Sector Option; and the proposal for Welsh devolution, where the Trust saw further opportunities for involvement in regional public policy (National Trust, 1998e: 6-7). Agricultural policy was a further area in which the Trust took an interest, through support for some of the proposed reforms to the EU Common Agricultural Policy that could reward its tenant farmers for ‘good’ environmental management (National Trust, 1998f). Agriculture dominated policy discussion in 2000, a situation described by the Trust as an ‘agricultural crisis’ precipitated by the outbreak of Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE) in cattle, swine fever, and a high exchange rate for sterling; all of which contributed to depressed export markets for agriculture. Further problems beset the Trust with the outbreak of foot and mouth disease in 2000/01, leading to widespread closure of its rural properties for several months. In the aftermath of the outbreak, the recently-appointed Director-General, Fiona Reynolds, became a member of the government’s Policy Commission on the Future of Farming and Food, where she promoted the Trust’s case for more local food initiatives and promotion of enjoyment of the outdoors bringing social and economic benefits to visitors and residents of rural communities (National Trust, 2001b).

In December 2001, the government published its plans for maintaining statutory protection for the nation’s historic environment: *The Historic Environment: A Force for Our Future* (DCMS, DLTR, 2001). The Trust though, expressed some disappointment with the lack of additional funding made available or fiscal measures to support Britain’s heritage; and subsequently collaborated with four other heritage organisations - Historic Houses Association; English Heritage; Heritage Link; Heritage Lottery Fund - to start a campaign promoting the importance of history for people. This led to the widely-publicised national campaign called *History matters – Pass it On* (National Trust, 2006b; National Trust et al.,

2006c) in 2006. It was reported that over 1 million people attended free entry open days in September, and 46,000 on-line diaries for the 17th October were submitted and subsequently stored in the British Library. The campaign showed the Trust's desire to publicise its heritage agenda, reflected in its three strategic aims for 2004-07 (Table 5.3). From 2004, 'Vision / Strategic plan' was replaced by 'Core purpose / Strategic aims', highlighting the performance-based approach of the charity; and it can be seen that from 2007, the strategic aims reflected the Trust's adoption of triple-bottom-line reporting. Both of these are discussed later. The wording gives a clue as to how priorities developed; for example, during 2001-03, it was evident that the Trust aimed to give more attention to its urban audience (2002) but then a year later inserted the caveat 'where possible'.

Throughout its history, the Trust has publicised its position on environmental affairs that impact on its properties and conservation work as well as wider issues. During the 1970s for example, the charity defended its decision to cull seals off the Farne Islands on the grounds of controlling the population of that species. In the 1980s, with the advent of North Sea oil, attention was focused on East Anglia with the effects of coastal oil drilling. Concern was also expressed over the erection of aerials and radio masts, as well as plans to expand Stansted Airport (affecting Hatfield Forest). The government's road expansion plans in the early 1990s (the transport debate is discussed in Chapter 6) concerned the Trust on environmental grounds and the impacts on its properties. More recently, in 2012, the Trust carefully considered its response to what it termed as two 'national debates': the proposed high-speed rail network HS2 connecting England and Scotland and the government's National Planning Policy Framework for building on land. On HS2, the Council reported that the Trust 'did not want to get involved in transport policy, [and] we were right to champion the natural beauty of the countryside' (National Trust, 2012a: 49). The charity

decided to maintain a neutral position over the principle of this transport infrastructure project, and instead concerned itself with the potential impacts of the railway on its properties, countryside and nearby communities – as part of its core purpose. Three locations came under the spotlight: the vicinity of Aylesbury and the Chilterns Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONB); Hartwell House (an Historic House Hotel) in Hertfordshire, where the Trust pressed for a land bridge to be constructed in preference to compulsory acquisition of part of the house’s garden; and Waddeson Manor in Buckinghamshire, where the Trust believed the proximity of HS2 would adversely affect the property and surrounding community. It proposed making alterations to the A41 trunk road to alleviate the situation. The Chairman, as a journalist, was critical of transport ‘mega-projects’ such as HS2 and latterly HS3 (BBC, 2013; 2014). In his opinion, the opportunity costs of further investment into commuter capacity or even motorway-building were compelling. He was also disdainful of ‘politicians who wrap themselves in the flag’ [supporting grand projects such as HS2].

During 2011/12 the Trust was vocal in its opposition to some aspects of the government’s draft National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF). Fiona Reynolds stated:

‘The National Trust does not make a habit of opposing Government policy’ (National Trust, 2011a).

The charity was concerned with the NPPF’s implied default concession to local planning applications where there was an absence of response or out-dated policies, because it felt that preservation of green belt/open space would be overlooked in favour of economic development, with insufficient attention being paid to the potential of brownfield sites. This position was reinforced by the Chairman’s own views on the subject (Jenkins, 2011) and, in conjunction with the RSPB and the Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), the Trust commissioned a report promoting the case for the ‘non-market value’ of land that would be placed under threat (Vivid

economics, 2012). Additionally, the charity invited all its members to join a petition: subsequently submitted to parliament with over 200,000 signatures. Earlier in 2009, the Chairman had reminded his readers that the National Trust was: ‘not political ... it lobbies; it campaigns; it promotes’ (National Trust, 2009b: 26). In 2013, the Trust commissioned the Local Government Information Unit to survey local councils (N=147) on their planning positions with green belt land and

Vision 2001-03
To inspire present and future generations with understanding and enjoyment of the historic and natural environment through exemplary and innovative work in conservation, education and presentation (2001; 2002; 2003)
Core purpose 2004-07
To look after special places for ever for everyone (2004; 2005; 2006; 2007)
Core purpose 2007/08 onwards
Looking after / To look after special places for ever for everyone
Strategic plan 2001-03 “Our priorities”
<u>Countryside:</u>
Show leadership in the regeneration of the countryside (2001)
Show leadership in the regeneration of the countryside and in the towns (2002)
Show leadership in the regeneration of the countryside and, where possible, our towns (2003)
<u>Learning/education:</u>
Expand the provision of lifelong learning and education (2001)
Expand the provision of education and lifelong learning (2002; 2003)
<u>Heritage:</u>
Deepen people’s understanding of our landscape, built and cultural heritage and broaden their appeal (2001)
Deepen people’s understanding of the meaning and value of heritage (2002)
Deepen our understanding of the meaning and value of heritage (2003)
Strategic aims 2004-07
<u>Countryside:</u>
Show leadership in the regeneration of the countryside (2004; 2005; 2006; 2007)
<u>Learning/education:</u>
Put education and lifelong learning at the heart of everything we do (2004; 2005; 2006;2007)
<u>Cultural heritage:</u>
Deepen understanding of our cultural heritage (2004; 2005; 2006; 2007)
Strategic aims from 2007/8
<u>Supporters:</u>
Engaging supporters (2008; 2009. 2010; 2011;2012; 2013; 2014)
<u>Conservation and the environment:</u>
Improving conservation and environmental performance (2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014)
<u>People (NT employees and volunteers):</u>
Investing in our people (2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014)
<u>Finance:</u>
Financing our future (2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014)
Annual Report headline themes 2008 onwards
Our future – join in (2007/08)

Time well spent	(2008/09)
Going local	(2009/10)
Going local	(2010/11)
Going local	(2011/12)
(No theme)	(2012/13)
	(2013/14)

Table 5.3 National Trust Strategic Themes 2001-14 (Annual Reports)

brownfield sites. The survey found that over half of councils at that time were likely to allocate green belt land for development; and over half of councils had brownfield sites available to meet housing demand, but these had not been considered viable. The Chairman was openly critical of the government’s approach to planning:

‘The Government’s definition of ‘sustainable’ is in practice being interpreted as ‘profitable’, and has effectively killed the former presumption in favour of brownfield land’ (National Trust, 2014d).

The Trust did state though, that it was in favour of ‘plan-led’ systems that were fair and balanced, in other words, those that took account of land and historic buildings worth preserving for the benefit of the nation and local residents.

In December 2013, the Trust published its response to the Department for Energy and Climate Change (DECC)’s proposals for siting the disposal of radio-active waste products: a ‘Geological Disposal Facility’ (GDF). Here, the Trust stated its opposition to siting such a facility in the Lake District, which is a National Park in which the Trust owns a fifth of the land; and, more widely, any part of the country that included National Parks, AONBs or World Heritage Sites. It considered that decisions for siting GDFs should be taken from a national geological and environmental point of view, not at a District Council level. Furthermore, the Trust believed that more open consultation was required before a National Policy Statement could be approved, prior to any siting process. Such a consultation process should take account of affected local communities including their wider interests, including tourism. Again, as so often with controversial issues, the National

Trust took a neutral position on the principle in question (in this case, nuclear energy or the underground storage of nuclear waste in principle), but defended its opposition to any intrusive developments that would affect its core purpose.

Organisational change and governance reform

Although writing about governance in the context of tourism *public* policy, Hall (2011: 439) provided some useful pointers to defining the concept, beginning with ‘the act of governing’, and then a broad meaning that saw governance as a process of the state adapting to ‘its economic and political environment with respect to how it operates’. Since the 1950s, the Trust periodically reviewed its organisational structure and governance arrangements through a succession of internal reviews. Change was sought either in the management structure as with continuing decentralisation; or in respect of the relationship between the Council and the membership, lobbying for greater representation of the membership at AGMs or in committees. At the 1999 AGM, a members’ resolution from the farm tenants’ community achieved a further move towards decentralisation, calling for the Trust to:

‘... reform its over-centralised approach to decision-making, to adopt a far less satisfied and complacent tone ... [so that] ... farm tenants should feel that they are capable of influencing national policy’ (National Trust, 1999c).

A member of the Council supported the resolution, reminding the meeting:

‘... how local decision-making within a national policy framework was encouraged and emphasised that regional committees and management were increasingly consulted in the course of formulating national policies’ (National Trust, 1999c).

A further example occurred the following year, when the relationship of the Trust’s governing body with the membership again came to the surface. At the 2000 AGM, a members’ resolution criticised the standard practice of the Chairman distributing proxy

votes at his discretion. This was described as lacking in transparency; and there should be a reinstatement of the former practice of distributing votes in proportion to those already cast by members. One of the proposers described the image of the governing body as being one of:

‘... potential authoritarianism, secrecy and – potentially – an effective dictatorship’ (National Trust, 2000a).

In the event, the proposal was narrowly defeated by some 2,000 votes. Although Lansley’s (1996) critique of the Trust used the chairman’s discretion to cast proxy votes for elections to the Council as a lens through which the democratic credentials of the Trust are examined, Lansley described the Trust’s management as ‘frankly oligarchic’ (p.229). A glimpse of the Council’s intention to take a more inclusive approach to the views of the membership was announced by the Chairman, Charles Nunneley, in the 1999/2000 Annual Report:

‘For the first time we have asked our members to let us have their views ... [about which direction the Trust should be taking]’ (National Trust, 2000b: 5).

Towards the end of Nunneley’s tenure during 2000-2002, an organisational review was instigated with the aim of enabling the Trust to carry out its core work more effectively. The main outcomes were: a reduction in the number of regions from fifteen to eleven to coincide with the government’s boundaries of the new Regional Development Agencies; rationalisation of a number of departments into centrally-located directorates being a new Conservation Directorate, Customer Services Directorate, and Policy and Strategy Directorate; the introduction of Lead Curators to support the special characteristics of regions and properties; a new role of ‘Territory Director’ to strengthen property representation on the management board; and a new central headquarters to be built in Swindon, thus amalgamating four offices from Westbury, Melksham, Cirencester and London (National Trust, 2002b). One thousand appointments were made throughout the new

structure, but accompanied by staff turnover amounting to 37 senior and middle managers leaving the Trust; 78 compulsory redundancies; 121 voluntary redundancies; and a turnover of just above 19 per cent in 2002/03 (National Trust, 2004b: 4).

In 2002, the Council appointed a Review Group chaired by Lord Blakenham with a remit of examining the effectiveness of the Council's and committees' decision-making. Jepson (2005: 516) observed that the topic of governance and accountability had gained new relevance during the 1990s against a background of globalisation, neo-economic theory and public sector reform dating back to the 1980s (notably in the US and UK), which eventually led to some concerns about the public accountability of what were described as 'green-chip' ENGOs, although the National Trust was not included in Jepson's list of ENGOs. In their review of governance literature in the political sciences and corporate management studies, Ruhanen et al. (2010) identified up to forty variables associated with the concept. The six most frequently identified were: accountability, transparency, involvement, structure, effectiveness and power: similar issues for the Trust during the early years of the 21st century.

The 'Blakenham Report' as it came to be known, was published in April 2003 (National Trust, 2003a), shortly before William Proby succeeded Charles Nunneley as Chairman. The report was critical of some of the inherent features of decision-making that took place between the Council and committees. The report referred to the large number of internal bodies through which issues requiring decisions had to pass, leading to delay, lack of clarity and duplication of staff and effort; while the large size of the Council (52 members) hampered fast and efficient decision-making, and made it difficult for individual trustees to discharge their responsibilities. Following the Benson Report of 1968, the Trust saw its membership grow from around 150,000 to over 3 million with an operating budget

100 times greater than before. The report noted that the Trust had found itself increasingly involved in external affairs in a more complex regulatory environment where there was greater competition for funds. Swifter decisions, it argued, were needed to respond to the financial, social, environmental, regulatory and reputational implications for the charity.

The report (National Trust, 2003) continued by drawing a parallel with the Trust's position and that of the world of large business corporations where transparency, clarity and integrity were increasingly expected by shareholders and stakeholders. Not belonging to the corporate sector, the Trust's own principles of good governance and its duties undertaken as charity trustees were regulated and guided by institutions such as the Charity Commission and the National Council for Voluntary Organisations. The key recommendation of the Blakenham Report was a new, smaller, single governing body of trustees running the affairs of the Trust but appointed by the existing Council, supported by a "radical streamlining" in the number of central committees (National Trust, 2003c: 1-7). Figures 5.1 and 5.2 illustrate the governance and management structures in place before and after the governance review of 2002/03. Although the Blakenham Report was published in April 2003 it took a further two years for the recommendations to be implemented, leading to the appointment of a new Board of Trustees (Blakenham suggested 'Governing Body') taking office from 1st September 2005. The revised governance structure was formalised under the Charities (National Trust) Order 2005. From 2005, the Council's role changed to that of an advisory body, and the guardian or spirit of the Trust, but the Council would appoint and call to account the 12-member Board of Trustees, which was now responsible for the strategic planning and management of the Trust through the Director-General and Senior Management Team. Henceforth, the Council would become the 'shaper of policy' (National Trust, 2009c).

During 2009/10, further internal management changes were implemented in line with the Going local strategy of reduced bureaucracy, which was to become one of the defining themes of Simon Jenkins' Chairmanship of 2008-14. The new post of General Manager was introduced, bringing smaller properties collectively under the control of one manager; and for larger properties considered to be complex in terms of their management and interpretation. An example of the staff structure for a mansion property can be viewed on the following page. A total of 27 Area Managers was replaced by 18 Assistant Directors for Operations, a post designed to support the general managers and property managers. The roles of central and regional staff were now designed to provide a consultancy and support service for properties. From 2011/12, this consultancy role became known as 'the new internal Consultancy' (National Trust, 2012: 49), completing the final stages of the charity's 'Change Programme'. In the 2012/13 Annual Report, the Council announced that successive years of internal re-organisation were drawing to a close, to be replaced by a more demand-led approach to its stakeholders, in other words the needs of visitors and volunteers:

'After a long period focused on internal change, the Council was pleased that the Trust plans to shift its focus to meet the expectations of our 70,494 volunteers and the 19.2 million people who visit our properties every year' (National Trust, 2013d: 31).

Performance-based management

A review of annual reports showed that the Trust began to adopt a performance-based management approach to its planning during the early 1990s, following the economic recession of 1990/91; also at a time when the regulation and transparency of large corporations came under scrutiny. Sir Adrian Cadbury's report on the financial aspects of corporate governance (Cadbury, 1992) in the aftermath of the controversy surrounding the collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI), and Robert Maxwell's

*Plus: Chief Information Officer; Chief Operating Officer = 2 + Director-General = 10 on Executive Team

** Not all property Managers report to General Managers

*** Not all General Managers report to Assistant Directors

Figure 5.2
National Trust Governance Structure as at 2012/13

by Margaret Thatcher. This point was reinforced by Halfpenny & Reid (2002), who referred to the influence of the Charities Acts of 1992 and 1993 in strengthening regulation and requiring greater accountability within charities. Shipley & Kovacs (2008) pointed to the international context where poor governance was viewed as a contributory factor to the collapse of some prominent corporations such as Enron in 2001, producing a ripple-effect where not-for-profit organisations examined their own governance policies. Highlighted principles included performance, transparency and accountability. Under the Chorley/Stirling partnership at the Trust then, planning began on a 3-4 year cycle with the charity's Medium-Term Plan for 1993/94-1997/98, leading to the first National Strategic Plan for 1998-2001, at which time the Director-General Martin Drury was succeeded by Fiona Reynolds in 2001.

From 2008, strategic aims reflected a triple-bottom-line performance approach (Norman & MacDonald, 2003; Stoddard et al., 2012), translated into four areas: supporters (members and visitors); conservation and the environment; people (employees and volunteers); and finance (Table 5.3 previously). Under the William Proby (Chairman) and Fiona Reynolds (Director-General) partnership of 2003-08, the Trust expanded its membership from 3 million to 3.5 million; and continued to professionalise itself in several areas. A combined planning and budgetary process, plus new information technology systems were meant to provide an improved link between expenditure and strategic

priorities, including specific property-based projects (National Trust, 2003b: 21). The 2002/03 Annual Report introduced reporting on performance targets for visitor numbers and member recruitment, as part of Property Management Plans. In 2009, Property Management Plans were re-named Property Business Plans, reflecting the charity's move towards more of a business and empowerment culture. With regard to human resources, performance and development reviews for staff were announced alongside a training and development strategy agreement with the Prospects trades union signed in April 2003. The Autumn Newsletter for 2002 portrayed Proby's background in merchant banking and corporate finance (National Trust, 2002b: 8), which may have influenced the introduction of this performance culture.

From September 2001, in response to the Charity Commission's Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP), the Council developed a risk management framework which was formalised in 2002/03 when the main governance, operational, financial, reputational and regulatory risks were identified, which were seen to impact on the Trust's core purposes and key objectives. These came to be known as Key Risk Areas (KRAs), split into 1) a 'bottom-up' approach identifying live risks; and 2) a top-down assessment of key generic risks. These risks were to be reported on a quarterly basis throughout the regional directorates. From Proby's tenure onwards, performance achievement against set targets became a regular feature in annual reports. The Conservation Performance Indicator (CPI) was introduced in 2004, becoming one of the Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) for each property. Conservation objectives were formulated for each property, and then progress reported annually against a CPI score. As at 2014, the Trust's four KPIs relate directly to its four objectives agreed in 2006/07 (Table 5.4).

The Annual Report for 2012/13 expressed disappointment on a 62 per cent rating for ‘visits as very enjoyable’; whereas for staff satisfaction, a 2 per cent increase on a modest target of 53 per cent prompted the rather selective comment:

‘This year’s survey results show us that we are doing well in motivating and developing our staff’ (National Trust, 2013d: 15).

In 2003/04, Laurie Magnus, the chairman of the Finance Committee, introduced the first Strategic Financial Plan for the charity. Although the Trust’s surplus had risen by 44.9 per cent on the previous year and its investment portfolio had increased by 16.8 per cent to £650 million, the Trust was concerned about its diminishing General Fund – capital reserves to fund the core conservation work. Accordingly, the plan set a target to increase the General Fund, which is the Trust’s working reserve, from its low point of £3.9 million in 2003/04 to more than £20 million in 2006/07 alongside a 20 per cent net gain target (National Trust, 2004c). This 20 per cent target continues to apply in 2014/15. By 2013, the General Fund had continued to rise, reaching £26.9 million, against a target of £50 million. The evidence seems to point to the arrival of a strong period in the management of the Trust’s finances. The Trust’s vulnerability to the changing fortunes of the equity market was illustrated by its reporting a loss of £5.6 million in 2012 against a gain of £84 million in 2013 (p.22). On a technical point, the Charity Commission allows the Trust to distribute part of its capital growth to properties, thus refreshing the General Fund.

Measure of success	2012/13 Target	2012/13 Actual
Engaging our supporters		
Visitors rating visit very enjoyable (%)	75	62
Net promoter Score (members only) (%)	31.0	34.5
Improving conservation and environmental performance		
Properties which have completed a CPI review (%)	100	100
Properties with completed CPI review and reporting an improved score (%)	85	78
Energy reduction (%)	12	4
Investing in our people		

Overall staff satisfaction (%)	53	55
Operational management satisfaction (%)	77	62
Volunteer recommendation indicator (%)	64	63
Financing our future		
Net Gain/total ordinary income (%)	9.2	8.2
Properties beating their baseline targets (%)	90	88
Member numbers (million)	4.03	3.94

Table 5.4 Key Performance Indicators (National Trust, 2013d: 10)

Reading through the financial reviews in the annual reports for the last ten years, the National Trust's financial reporting resembled that of a sizeable private corporation in the for-profit sector. This is not surprising, given the extent of its financial operations, with annual income of nearly £500 million and net assets exceeding £1 billion in 2012/13. The National Trust operates principally as a voluntary sector organisation with public values, but naturally adopts the rigour and culture of a private enterprise in its approach to financial performance. This is probably attributed to its statutory duty to manage sizeable assets, costs and revenue streams. The principal value delivered by for-profit organisations is financial return for shareholders; whereas for non-profit, it is the achievement of social purposes and the cause (Moore, 2000). Presently, the measurement of the social element of TBL in the Trust's annual reports is limited to staff satisfaction and visitor satisfaction. The Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012 required public sector agencies to consider how the service they procured could bring added economic, environmental and *social* benefits (HM Government, 2014). Although a charity independent of government, the definition of social benefit, its identification and reporting, could bring an extra dimension to the reporting of the Trust's TBL performance. However, this might be viewed as an unwanted bureaucratic cost working against the Trust's core purpose. The charity's aim to be inclusive, 'making

everyone feel like a member' by 2020, might warrant consideration of any accrued social benefits experienced by a widened audience and membership.

Leadership and professionalization of the charity

Since 1995, the Trust has been led by six Chairman/Director-General partnerships with the seventh due to take place in November 2014. As Table 5.5 shows, there are invariably cross-overs in partnerships where the Chairman's post is a fixed term for three years with one renewal, and the Director-General's length of tenure more flexible. A chronological account of each partnership is not relevant for this study; some of these achievements though, become self-evident throughout this chapter and the following chapter.

Years*	Chairman	Director-General
1995-1996	Roger Chorley	Martin Drury
1997-2000	Charles Nunneley	Martin Drury
2001-2002	Charles Nunneley	Fiona Reynolds
2002-2008	William Proby	Fiona Reynolds
2009-2012	Simon Jenkins	Fiona Reynolds
2012-2014	Simon Jenkins	Helen Ghosh
2014-	Tim Parker**	Helen Ghosh
* Partnerships often cross-over in a year		
**Tim Parker is due to succeed Simon Jenkins at the end of 2014		

Table 5.5 Chairman/Director-General partnerships at the National Trust, 1995-2014

Fiona Reynolds' term of office spanned the first decade of the 21st century, a period of major re-organisation at the Trust including: the opening of Heelis; progressive development in the Trust's climate change policy; consolidation of the Trust's return to a focus on the outdoors; and a growing interest in acquiring places that reflected a wider social purpose, prime examples being the Birmingham Back-to-Backs and Southwell Workhouse in Nottinghamshire (National Trust, 2012a) Reynolds was also the first female

Director-General in the Trust's history, and served for nearly twelve years, similar to Sir Angus Stirling's term of office during 1983-95 (Jennifer Jenkins was the first female Chair, 1986-89). Given the time-span of this research (2006-14), aspects of leadership and professionalisation over the past twenty years naturally focus on the period of Fiona Reynolds' tenure.

Newsletters and annual reports for the period suggested that Reynolds revitalised the values of the Trust, and navigated it through further internal organisation as well as bringing about a change in the way the charity communicated with the outside world. She gave priority to inclusivity, and during the AGM in 2001, reminded the audience that 40 per cent of the Trust's estate was within 20 miles of the UK's largest cities, thus aiming to bridge a gap between urban and rural communities (National Trust, 2001c). The following year, it was reported that such initiatives had taken place in Liverpool, South London and Birmingham; including a project aimed at 48 children from refugee and asylum-seeking families, clients from NHS mental health services, and the homeless; and poetry-reading in Sudbury open prison (National Trust, 2002c). Her term of office coincided with the growth of the concept 'management by values' (Dolan & Garcia, 2002; Dolan & Richley, 2006; Jaakson, 2010), and discussion on strategic values (Wenstøp & Myrmel, 2006). Management by values (MBV) was seen as the emerging strategic leadership tool in preference to the former management by instructions (MBI) and management by objectives (MBO). From 2008, 'Investing in our people', closely resembling the human resources organisational award Investors in People, became one of the Trust's four strategic aims. Interviews conducted with Trust staff, discussed in Chapter 7, alluded to her effective leadership qualities in bringing about a cultural change to the organisation. One senior manager showed his enthusiasm for Fiona Reynolds' appointment:

‘Fiona has set a very clear vision ... which is about connecting better with people ...we’re not just an organisation that preserves things for ever in isolation, in some kind of vacuum, we’re actually about: quality of life, fantastic experiences, individuals, families and communities, and getting the best things from life, and enjoying things ... a sense of reconnecting with people ... Fiona has energised this ... and that’s the art of leadership ... and that gives back light to our founding cause ... [asked about bringing a culture change to the Trust]: undoubtedly yes – when Fiona arrived – instead of arms closed and looking inwards - arms open – we need to look outwards – [our] latest strategy is a brilliant iteration and so inspiring – to reach everybody – we are prepared to go through pain to achieve the vision, the (task) is monstrous’ (Interview 2).

During 2009-10, a few articles began to appear in business journals, featuring the Trust’s approach to management and leadership (Measures & Bagshaw, 2009; Desmond, 2010; Chocqueel-Mangan, 2010). Martin Measures was Head of Training & Development with the National Trust. Measures & Bagshaw publicised the Trust’s new ‘competency framework’, developed for a set of plausible reasons that included aligning leadership and management development with the charity’s strategic direction; developing the careers and skills of the Trust’s employees; as a tool for performance management; and introducing transparency in behavioural skills expected in management and leadership roles. An element of desired compliance from management was evident:

‘...we see it as important that the [competency] framework needs to align behaviour with the Trust’s vision and values, and to find what differentiates good from less good’ (Measures & Bagshaw, 2009: 356).

The framework was designed around a set of nine competencies that were seen to be common to each managerial role, rather than trying to identify technical skills required for each role. Taking a proscriptive approach, the project continued by designing behaviour groups and statements for four management levels.

The introduction of this model was reviewed a few years later by Chocqueel-Mangan (2010), who interviewed the Director-General. Fiona Reynolds said that, in her opinion, the framework was working well because property managers were achieving their targets, which were aligned to the triple-bottom-line. Chocqueel-Mangan also quoted Paul Boniface's (Director of People and Governance) evaluation of the framework's performance in relation to the Trust's continued path towards decentralisation, held together by the introduction of the General Manager posts:

‘...our experience so far shows that those properties that embrace this approach [empowerment] are better run, and fulfil their triple bottom line obligations more fully than when they were more centrally controlled’ (Chocqueel-Mangan, 2010: 38).

Chocqueel-Mangan further suggested that the ‘strict delineation’ (citing Zaleznik, 1977) between leaders (tolerating chaos and lack of structure) and managers (seeking order and control) did not represent what he found at the National Trust, implying that combining management and leadership in the competency framework had proved to be effective. To support General Managers in their role, the Trust commissioned Ashridge Consulting, based in Hertfordshire, to develop the role of the Functional Advisor. This new post aimed to change the approach of the advisors from a tactical role to more of a strategic role, using their expertise to develop collaborative and consultative skills (Desmond, 2010). It was argued that underpinning the whole decentralisation and empowerment strategy was a requirement for a supporting consultancy role.

The Trust's continuing internal reorganisation towards greater devolvement implemented through the *Going local* theme and the appointment of General Managers, supported by the Consultancy, the constitutional reform with the creation of the Board of Trustees, in addition to the design and opening of Heelis, were all significant developments at the Trust during Reynolds' term of office. This is not to suggest that all these changes

were instigated by her alone. The modernisation and professionalisation of the Trust's working practices had gained momentum during Angus Stirling's tenure during 1983-95, and the most recent major internal review was introduced in 1999/2000 by Reynolds' predecessor, Martin Drury. As suggested earlier, change at the Trust reflected legacies associated with each Director-General/Chairman partnership. The Proby/Reynolds era for example, was defined by constitutional reform and financial planning; whereas during the Jenkins/Reynolds years, *Going local*, reducing bureaucracy and bringing properties to life became defining themes – these continue under the present Jenkins/Ghosh partnership.

Developments in leadership and management at the Trust throughout 2001-12 then, appeared to resemble contemporary management practice, notably in aspects of human resource management (HRM) and approaches to leadership such as instrumental and transformational styles (Dionne et al., 2004; Schneider & George 2011; Eisenbeiß & Boerner, 2013; Antonakis & House, 2014). Elements of a strategic or human resources-based approach to leadership (Ridder & McCandless, 2010); and 'talent management' (Lewis & Heckman, 2006) are evident in the Trust's financial planning and management on a whole-Trust basis, as well as the move towards further reductions in bureaucracy accompanied with professional development. Elements of this were noted in the Chairman's statement in the 2010/11 Annual Report (emphasis added):

'We are pruning our hierarchy, simplifying reporting lines and processes and creating more *collaborative* working. I am convinced these changes will reduce bureaucracy in the Trust. It has not been an easy change, but I am impressed by the *commitment* and professionalism shown on all sides. It is *intended to make a more efficient Trust and aid the conservation and presentation* of all our places' (National Trust, 2011: 2).

Engagement of members, supporters, and unreached audiences

Bringing properties to life was mentioned earlier as a defining theme in Simon Jenkins' term of office as Chairman, as part of a culture change towards the charity being seen as more welcome and accessible for a wide audience. This approach became part of the *Going local* strategy in 2010/11, together with the aim of 'Performing at our best through leadership and delegation' (National Trust, 2011). On being interviewed in the final months of his chairmanship, Simon Jenkins said that empowerment of property managers and bringing properties to life meant the most to him during his tenure. He described these as 'big internal matters'. On bringing properties to life (Photograph 1):

'I'm most proud of that because people notice it – taking away the ropes, letting them play the piano, lighting fires in grates where you can, encouraging staff to stage events in the house ... all the things which I think make a house feel more friendly, more welcoming' (National Trust, 2014e: 30).



Photograph 1: Croquet lawn

A review of annual reports since the 1960s identified at least two references to the origins of this approach. In the summer of 1961 for example, the British Travel and Holidays Association, with help of the Trust, carried out a visitor survey at Hardwick Hall and Clandon Park. The survey reported (emphasis added):

‘...the major enjoyment of the visit can only perhaps be described satisfactorily as the thrill of direct contact with the past. *The exercise of the visitors’ imagination, particularly in thinking about people who lived in the house*, is the most frequently mentioned experience’ (National Trust, 1962: 15).

By the end of the 1990s, Martin Drury had recognised that the Trust’s traditional approach of a formal welcome and a guide book may no longer be sufficient to sustain interest. In the summer newsletter for 2000, he referred to a growing leisure market that ‘is also becoming more fragmented and sophisticated’ (National Trust, 2000c: 19). Drury went on to voice the need to find innovative ways to draw out the distinctiveness of each property, particularly with regard to the people who had lived and worked there; this approach was to be formalised into a ‘statement of significance’ for each property (National Trust, 2000b). This new approach, combined with some property staff taking on an actor’s role wearing period costume for example, attracted disdain amongst some of the membership, who saw a danger in the Trust straying into ‘disneyfication’ (National Trust, 2011), but the Chairman rebuffed this criticism on the grounds that improving the quality of the welcome received by visitors could only add to the enjoyment of the visitor experience:

‘Our places must move on from a period when they have been presented essentially as museums, to seeing them as sources of enjoyment ...’ (National Trust, 2011: 2).

A members' resolution for the AGM in November 2014 partly echoed Drury's earlier sentiments. The resolution called for the National Trust to place Memorial 2007 (a registered charity that aims to raise awareness of the slave trade) collection boxes in properties that had been founded and built on the proceeds from the trans-Atlantic slave trade, in support of raising people's awareness of the legacy of the slave trade associated with a property, as well as contributing to funding the planned memorial to be erected in London's Hyde Park. The resolution was worded to avoid any political or cultural statement on the part of the Trust; more, to promote the juxtaposition of the property's distinctiveness with the manner in which the wealth had been created. The Board of Trustees recommended that members should vote against the resolution on the grounds that, whilst the Board thought it important for visitors to be made aware of a property's antecedents, the proposal to locate collection boxes for another charity was not part of its core purpose and that ultimately, it lay with the discretion of property managers if there were felt to be 'good local reasons to help'. It was made clear that a national policy was to be avoided on such an issue (National Trust, 2014f). The resolution was defeated at the AGM in November 2014.

In 2012, 'Getting outdoors and closer to nature' was launched as part of a plan for the Trust to be recognised for the outdoors as much as country houses and art collections (National Trust, 2012b). The programme was promoted by reviving Octavia Hill's late 19th century legacy during the charity's founding era:

'The need of quiet, the need of air, the need of exercise, and the sight of sky and things growing, seem human needs common to all' (Octavia Hill, cited in National trust, 2012b: 5).

Four work streams provided a framework for the programme: engagement and raising awareness; creating memorable experiences; developing income streams from outdoor enterprises; and enabling Trust staff and volunteers to work to the highest standards (National Trust, 2012b). Several initiatives were introduced, notably in the last two years, the ‘50 things to do before you’re 11 ¾’ campaign and the Trust’s Natural Childhood project have been promoted actively at properties and on the website. Based on its research, the Trust claimed that children in the 21st century had lost touch with the natural environment, experiencing fewer opportunities than previous generations to access and benefit from the outdoors. This lost or reduced connection, it was argued, affected children’s understanding and appreciation of nature and ultimately their understanding of environmental issues that will need to be addressed in the future. Enjoying the outdoors was promoted for its physical as well as mental well-being through events such as autumn rambles (Photograph 2). The Trust used research conducted by institutions such as the USA’s National Environmental Education & Training Foundation (2000); Green Alliance & Demos (2004); England Marketing (2009); King’s College London (2011); and the press: Monbiot (2013).

On taking office in 2001, Fiona Reynolds had publicised her ambition for the Trust to widen its audience and narrow the gap between rural and urban lifestyles and expectations in terms of the charity’s appeal. Over the past twenty years there have been diverse examples of the Trust’s endeavours in this respect, ranging from the acquisition of properties associated with poorer sectors of society (Birmingham Back-to-Backs and Southwell Workhouse have already been mentioned), or appealing to wider tastes, such as the acquisition of 575 Wandsworth Road in London SW8 or the former homes of John Lennon and Paul McCartney (National Trust, 2014: 166 & 268).



Photograph 2: Autumn ramble

Participation was another strategy: inviting visitors to get involved in live conservation projects such as Tyntesfield, near Bristol; or the publicised renovation of Seaton Delaval Hall in Northumberland, which involved the local community; and even staging pop concerts at some of its properties. This diversity was meant to contribute to a vision formed in 2010, to ‘make everyone feel like a member’ of the Trust, and to reach a target of five million members by 2020 (National Trust, 2011). In discussing how the Trust could make everyone feel like a member, a senior manager at the Trust was asked whether he thought the charity was connecting with more diverse audiences such as people who lived in council estates. His answer indicated that, to begin with, the Trust would find that connection challenging. The presence of a National Trust property was advantageous in trying to promote any messages but, where there were few or no properties in the vicinity, as in the

case of some urban locations, the Trust had a legal mandate to promote its message via three levels of engagement, ensuring people would: 1) know the identity of the Trust; 2) understand the Trust's activities; and 3) value the Trust's work. This task could be helped by:

‘... finding ways, a tone of voice, that enables you to ... help people appreciate the wonders of nature and heritage which might make them change a little bit about what they do in their daily life ...’ (Interview).

The interviewee saw this 2020 challenge partly as a social purpose for the charity.

Bringing properties to life, previously discussed, was to be achieved through giving more freedom to General Managers and Property Managers to be innovative, as part of the decentralised approach inherent in *Going local*. In turn, this was part of fulfilling the Trust's second strategic aim from 2008: ‘Engaging our supporters’. Annual reports for this period revealed examples of properties creating themes and events to liven-up the visitor experience, typically presented in the format of a ‘story to tell’. The importance attached to this aim was reflected in changes to the 2010/11 Directorates (Table 5.6), when Customer Services was renamed Supporter Development; and a new Directorate of Brand and Marketing was created. It is also worth noting how Media became a shared title with External Affairs. Finance and Conservation have retained their titles since their inception, reflecting the charity's consistent approach to financing its core work of conservation. The reduction in Directorates from nine in 2010/11 to six in 2012/13 reflects the stated aim to reduce bureaucracy.

On the BBC Radio Four programme ‘Saturday Live’ in June 2014, one of the guests was the Chairman of the National Trust. He was asked how much his attitude had changed

about the Trust since he had taken up his post. Extracts from his answer confirmed the strategy of bringing properties to life as well as a renewed focus on the outdoors; and the observation that the charity’s core purpose inevitably draws it into politics (a point made by Cannadine (1995) in his review of the Trust’s first hundred years):

‘I thought the Trust was a bit stuffy The dead hand of the Trust fell on its properties ... now we are far more focused on the outdoors ... houses used to be under threat; now the landscape is under threat ... nothing is more important in politics than rescuing the landscape’ (BBC, 2014a).

2005/06 Directorates	2010/11 Directorates	2012/13 Directorates
Human Resources & Legal Services	People & Legal Services (New)	People & Legal Services
Policy & Strategy	External Affairs	Media & External Affairs (New)
Finance →	Finance →	Finance →
Customer Services	Supporter Development (New)	Supporter Development
Business Improvement	Business Improvement	
Operations	Operations	
Conservation →	Conservation →	Conservation →
	People & Governance (New)	
	Brand & Marketing (New)	Brand & Marketing
Colour code:		= Continuity

Table 5.6 Changing titles of Directorates at the National Trust, 2005-2014

Chapter summary

The major developments taking place at the National Trust since 1995 have been reviewed. This latter period in the charity’s history has seen its membership double to approximately 4 million alongside events and changes that have materialised as defining themes. These have been discussed under advocacy and external affairs; organisational change and governance reform; performance-based management; leadership and professionalization of the charity; and engagement of members, supporters and unreached audiences.

Over the past twenty years, the Trust has continued to involve itself in a range of national issues that affected its core purpose, notably agriculture (foot and mouth disease,

and bovine tuberculosis); heritage (its *History Matters* campaign); transport (the HS2 debate); land management (fracking and on-shore wind turbines); and planning development (opposition to some aspects of the government's NPPF). In his remarks on NPPF on the Saturday Live programme in June 2014, Simon Jenkins said quite confidently that the Trust should engage itself in controversial matters that affected its estates and core purpose:

‘We’re not shorn of controversy, from badgers to fracking ... I’m rather proud that it does raise controversy [NPPF]... bubbling with controversy ... that’s what makes it so much fun’ (BBC, 2014a).

His words resonate with a common theme identified in this study, and one discussed by the Council as far back as 1919, which is to what extent should the Trust be a campaigning organisation? The Trust does not hesitate to defend its statutory purpose in the arena of external affairs. On issues with more of an ideological or moral complexion though, such as deer and fox hunting, or more recently slavery, the charity resists pressure exerted by some partisan sectors of the membership and seeks to maintain a neutral stance with a default position on its core purpose.

The origins of a more rigorous, performance-based approach to financial affairs date from the early 1990s coinciding with an economic recession. The Trust’s financial position has fluctuated over the years, but certainly during William Proby’s Chairmanship, strong reserves were built-up for its core work, combined with the introduction of the 20 per cent net gain target (income in excess of expenditure). Since the mid-2000s, a culture of performance targets has directed the charity’s management, underpinned by the triple-bottom-line approach to reporting. The Trust has also attached increased importance to the role of tourism with increased visitor numbers in contributing to financial targets, but at

times this has conflicted with achieving both revenue targets and energy-reduction targets. The reporting of the charity's environmental performance in the public domain has so far concentrated on publishing energy reduction targets and completing conservation reviews using the Conservation Performance Index. Social aspects of the TBL have focused so far on staff and visitor satisfaction targets.

Since 1999, the National Trust has implemented significant organisational change and governance reform. Organic change has taken place throughout the charity's history in response to the demands placed upon it by a growing membership and increase in the size of its assets and sphere of work. Particular events have precipitated change, such as the Rawnsley affair in the 1960s during the early years of Enterprise Neptune eventually leading to the Benson Report of 1968 and subsequent National Trust Act of 1971. Decentralisation and empowerment have been the underpinning strategies since 2000, coinciding with a gradual culture change towards a more open, contemporary and accessible National Trust, not least due to the ideas and leadership of Fiona Reynolds. The period under review was defined by the opening of the new headquarters (Heelis) in Swindon, which centralised some of the charity's operations under one roof, at the same time creating a team of Directorates overseen by the new 12-member Board of Trustees. As the Benson Report defined the 1960s, so the Blakenham Report defined the 2000s.

The move towards properties taking more control over their affairs was supported by the introduction of a new post, the General Manager, designed to oversee a group of properties and/or manage the larger and more complex estates. The strategy of *Going local* has gradually introduced a culture of empowerment at property level, but this had to be supported by re-structuring the advisory functions, becoming a new 'internal consultancy'. Central and regional functions, as well as continuing to provide policy and operational

leadership, were now designed to provide a consultancy and support service for properties. Organisational re-structuring resulted in a social cost of redundancies and job changes that some staff found challenging. At the same time, the Trust sought to develop its management staff through contemporary human resource management training and practice, some of it outsourced to Ashridge Consulting. This initiative though, was introduced primarily to support people appointed to the new posts of General Manager. Looking back over the events of the previous twenty years, elements of both management by objectives and management by values are evident in the way the charity combines its core purpose with running a commercially viable organisation. Succession planning has led to the periodic appointment of the key senior figures Chairman and Director-General. These partnerships have contributed their own defining eras to the charity's history.

Particularly under Simon Jenkins' chairmanship 2008-14, the Trust has sought to widen its appeal to its membership, supporters and visitors through a dual strategy of bringing properties to life and promoting enjoyment of the outdoors. The operational management of these initiatives has been driven by further decentralisation and a culture of empowerment supported by a more centralised approach to consultancy. Measures to bring properties to life have been discussed in this chapter and the review has shown that this approach has been seen as a commercial reality to maintain and increase visitor revenue that can be channelled into the charity's conservation work. Additionally though, this move can be seen as part of a bigger culture change taking place within the National Trust: an attempt perhaps to shed its patrician antecedents and associated stereotypes. In aiming to make 'everyone feel like a member of the National Trust', the current mantra, the charity continues in its quest to connect with as yet unreached audiences.

CHAPTER 6

THE EVOLUTION OF CLIMATE CHANGE POLICY AT THE NATIONAL TRUST

Introduction

This chapter charts why and how a climate change policy came into existence at the National Trust. Documents in the public domain, mainly the charity's AGM minutes, annual reports and newsletters over a period dating back to 1970, provided most of the sources for this chapter. Many of these documents were accessed in the archives department at Heelis. Additionally, a number of internal documents such as memoranda and briefing papers became available and proved to be valuable data sources. Appendix 6.1 is a time-line charting how various developments associated with climate change arrived in the public domain. These events are colour-coded in green.

The chapter has seven sections. To begin with, the emergence of sustainable development and the modern environmental era are traced back to the mid-1960s, continuing into the 1990s: a decade that saw much discussion on transport issues at the National Trust. Discussion on the Kyoto Protocol of 1997, coinciding with the incoming Labour government is the chapter's mid-point. Thereafter, the charity's climate change policy picked up momentum and the chapter reviews a series of initiatives implemented during the 2000s. The final two sections address the National Trust's energy policy that came to fruition in 2010 with its aim of reducing dependence on fossil fuel sources, most notably oil; it will be seen that the charity's climate change policy became effectively subsumed into its energy policy, at least in terms of mitigation.

Enterprise Neptune 1965

The National Trust had been founded to promote the permanent preservation of land and

buildings considered to possess the qualities of beauty and historic interest. Until the late 1930s, its efforts had been directed more towards protecting the countryside and coast from development than saving buildings of historic interest. The Benson Report of 1968 noted that during those early years, the Trust: 'assumed the role of national watchdog and regarded any issue affecting unspoilt country or good buildings as its natural concern (National Trust, 1968: 21). Cannadine (1995) referred to a conservative philosophy prevailing at the Trust during the inter-war years under the leadership of John Bailey (Secretary, 1922-1931), who is reputed to have said that preservation of properties should always take precedence over access. This approach was set against a background of a rapidly growing membership: from 850 in 1925, to 4,850 by 1935 (Jenkins & James, 1994: 337). During the 1920s and 1930s, despite the depression in industrialised economies, Britain experienced a growth in low-cost tourism driven by patronage of sea-side resorts and holiday camps, notably Butlins (Page, 2011: 46-48). Planning legislation had to be introduced in the 1930s to curb, and in some cases reverse, the popular development of second homes on green belt land and coastal areas. Car ownership had risen from 132,015 in 1914 to 683,913 by 1926. In the early 1930s, 3 million of Britain's population were entitled to holiday with pay; by 1939, this had risen to 11 million (p.48). Britain's inter-war boom in domestic tourism would have contributed to the growing popularity of the National Trust.

Against this background of growth in leisure and tourism, in 1930, under the direction of G.M. Trevelyan, the well-known historian, benefactor and chairman of one of the Trust's head office committees, the Trust began a survey of England, Wales and Northern Ireland's 3,000-mile coastline with the purpose of identifying stretches that were considered to be 'outstanding beauty and worthy of preservation' (Waterson, 1995: 165). The survey was a long-term project designed to span three decades, during which time the

Trust saw continued growth in its membership: 7,850 in 1945 to 157,581 by 1965 (Jenkins & James, 1994: 337). At the 1963 AGM, it was emphasised that: ‘Trust ownership or protection by Trust covenants is the only permanent safeguard’ against the threat to unspoilt beaches and coastline (National Trust, 1963: 6). The meeting referred to a perceived threat facing the coastline, posed by the growth of motorways and business development opportunities. By 1965, the Trust had decided to launch an appeal called Enterprise Neptune, with the purpose of acquiring 900 miles of coastline deemed to be of outstanding beauty through a capital fund. Appendix 5.1 shows that regular updates on its progress featured in most AGMS over successive decades. Approaching its 25th anniversary, Enterprise Neptune was reported as having acquired 500 miles of coast (National Trust, 1989b); and the 1991 AGM described Neptune as the Trust’s most sustainable acquisition programme (National Trust, 1991b). By 2014 the campaign was called ‘Enterprise Coastline Campaign’ with custody over nearly 750 miles of coast. The Trust’s website reports that there are still 40 sites ‘identified for urgent coastal adaptation’ (National Trust, 2014a). Although the campaign was launched in the 1960s as a response to preserve coastline from post-war development, it is pertinent to note that in 2014, climate change and the threat of rising sea levels and coastal erosion featured prominently in the campaign’s newsletters and associated literature.

The emergence of sustainable development at the National Trust: 1970s and 1980s

Sustainable development and public policy were reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. Discussing sustainable development in relation to the National Trust, Cope (1995) highlighted why the intergenerational dimension of sustainable development had particular relevance for the charity. He recognised the Trust’s custodial role of caring for assets that future generations would have the opportunity of experiencing (presumably for their benefit). The year 1970

has been associated with the beginning of the modern environmental era, exemplified by the USA's 'Earth Day' (Gigliotti, 1993: 15). In the same year, Jacquetta Hawkes, archaeologist and well-known British author of *A Land* (1951), wrote an article for the Trust's newsletter in which she suggested the Trust was looking to the government to show some leadership in addressing damage being inflicted on the environment; and that financial resources needed to be allocated to ensure the necessary conservation work would take place:

'The National Trust believes most strongly that there is an urgent need for the state to step up the search for possible ways of reducing the damage being done to our environment ... In other words, the Trust believes that a fundamental reappraisal of priorities is needed ... above all ... conservation costs money ...but everyone's future well-being [is at stake]. Even economists are opening their eyes. The alarm clock has sounded'. (National Trust, 1970a: 1).

This was identified as the first reference appearing in the Trust's public domain from the 1970s addressing wider environmental issues. In considering which would be the most effective channels for communicating with the government on environmental issues, the establishment in 1970 of the Department of the Environment was welcomed by the Trust, not least because it provided a 'a single point of communication for any representation we might wish to make' (National Trust, 1970a: 1). The year 1970 was also European Conservation Year, in which the Trust recognised that it had been 'practising for seventy-five years what has recently been preached ...' (National Trust, 1970b: 5).

Aside from Enterprise Neptune, other reported environmental issues during the 1980s that concerned the Trust's leadership included: its opposition to the proposed expansion to Stansted Airport because of proximity to Hatfield Forest; problems of overcrowding at properties and trying to strike a balance between access and conservation; acid rain; road schemes; oil drilling; the erection of radio masts and aerials; and erosion and degradation of top soil in the Lake District (National Trust, 1982a; 1982b; 1984).

Awareness of these issues though, did not necessarily result in the Trust committing itself at the time to any of its own research, made clear at the 1984 AGM:

‘The Trust is not a research organisation and will rely on others doing this work and reaching conclusions’ (National Trust, 1984: 19).

As to the identity of ‘others’, the Trust was probably referring to the government, universities, climate change research institutions and environmental NGOs (for example, WWF, RSPB, Friends of the Earth). However, the charity’s reports on environmental issues from the late 1990s onwards suggest a change to this viewpoint. The end of the 1980s was an eventful time for environmental issues. There was a convergence of international climate change science and politics; a growing sustainability agenda following the WCED’s 1987 conference held in Oslo, out of which came the ‘Brundtland Report’ *Our Common Future*; and a series of extreme weather events across the world, including southern England’s Great Storm of 1987 with the loss of 15 million trees, 250,000 of which belonged to the Trust (National Trust, 1987: 7).

AGM minutes and annual reports of 1988-90 indicated some of the Trust’s willingness to collaborate with other ENGOs as well as contributing to discussions at government level and the European Commission (National Trust, 1989a). In the 1989 annual report for example, Angus Stirling (Director-General) referred to a ‘surge of public concern’ over the environment; this was followed by the first reference to global warming reported in the Trust’s public literature: ‘climatic warming and pollution of the atmosphere’ (National Trust, 1989b : 6). In collaboration with the Countryside Commission, RSPB, CPRE and the Ramblers’ Association, the Trust also drew attention to what it considered were inadequate safeguards for protecting landscapes in the Water Bill (privatisation of the water utilities). The Trust showed its support for strengthening the conservation element in a

range of legislation dealing with the built and natural environment: the Heritage Act, 1980; Wildlife and Countryside Act, 1981; and Agricultural Holdings Act, 1984. Phillips (1995) commented on the Trust's role as an environmental campaigner going back to its early pre-First World War days, adding that as its portfolio of land and buildings, and responsibilities increased, so less time and energy were devoted to campaigning. However, as Phillips pointed out, during the 1980s and early 1990s, the Trust increasingly participated in debates on environmental issues that included agriculture, planning and roads. In his opinion, it was time for the Trust to clarify how, and why it engaged in such advocacy, 'especially as there is some concern within the Trust that it might drift into becoming a campaigning organisation' (p.45). Phillips anticipated that, as the 21st century drew closer, the Trust would find itself influencing public policy on a range of environmental issues including energy policy, transport policy, and marine pollution. For Phillips, the Trust's advantage lay in its extensive experience as a landowner and custodian of substantial assets of natural and built heritage; and as such, advocacy by example was its most effective strategy for influencing wider policy. In some ways then, by the end of the 20th century, the National Trust was still unsure of how its role as a campaigning organisation and the evidence suggests that within the charity there was a view that the organisation should keep to its core preservation and conservation work.

Climate change and energy policy arrive on the agenda during the 1990s

One of the earliest references in National Trust documents to climate change was made in the 1990 Annual Report (25th anniversary of Enterprise Neptune), when Angus Stirling (Director-General) commented:

‘National boundaries are proving no barrier to the threats of pollution, over-exploitation of natural resources, the pressures of tourism or *climatic change*’ (National Trust, 1990b: 6). (Emphasis added).

This was followed by an intention to share research and information with European associates as well as taking full opportunity to access grant aid from the European Commission for conservation work: a different approach taken since the 1984 AGM, when the Trust seemed to distance itself from engaging in research. The review of annual reports, AGM minutes and newsletters indicated that the Trust was maximising available European funding, and sought to involve itself with wider environmental policy-making coinciding with the UK’s progress towards the single European market in the early 1990s. Most of the issues related to climate change at this time centred on coastal management, such as the effects of global warming on softer and low-level coastlines (National Trust, 1990a). Anticipated issues for the 1990s, it was reported, included the government’s road expansion programme and the growth of tourism (National Trust, 1991a); although no reference was made to carbon emissions in the context of transport and tourism.

In March 1990 the Trust announced an environmental audit would take place of all its properties and activities, to include the areas of transport, renewable energy and energy conservation (National Trust, 1990a: 9). The audit’s purpose was a broad environmental impact assessment of the Trust’s various policies and practices. No further details were given, but the statement shows that the origins of the Trust’s energy policy – central to its current climate change policy – can be traced to the beginning of the 1990s. Using the government’s proposed road expansion scheme as a platform, the new Chairman, Roger Chorley in his first preface, urged the government to adopt broader and more rigorous procedures for ‘Environmental Assessment’ (National Trust, 1991a: 3). Environmental values, Chorley claimed, should be considered at the conceptual stage of any proposed

scheme, although the annual report did not expand on the substance of those values. Support was also offered for the government's intention to increase the number of 'Environmentally Sensitive Areas'. Although environmental awareness and the beginnings of a performance-related approach to conservation and energy became evident at the beginning of the 1990s, climate change as a discernible issue still had a low profile in the Trust's public documents.

Externally, further collaboration with NGOs and QUANGOs on environmental issues was reported in 1992 by the Director-General (National Trust, 1992). In conjunction with nine other conservation organisations forming the Green Alliance, the Trust asked the government for a co-ordinated response to diverse threats to the coast such as erosion and the endangering of bird and marine life as part of coastal zone management. Working with the Countryside Commission, the Trust participated in a workshop on coastal zone management attended by eleven EC member states, plus Sweden. The dangers of rising sea levels featured in the process. At this time, following the Rio Earth Summit of 1992, the government alongside the other G7 countries announced its commitment to implement Agenda 21 (individual countries' adoption of sustainable development) (Connelly & Smith, 1999: 264). By 1994 the government had published a number of environmental White Papers including the UK's first sustainable development strategy (HM Government, 1994). These wider, macro developments are likely to have informed the charity's own approach to developing a sustainable development model.

In his introduction to the 1993/94 Annual Report, Chorley welcomed the government's commitment to sustainable development, and considered that the voluntary sector 'has a major contribution to make and in this field the Trust is pre-eminent' (National Trust, 1994a: 5), indicating a degree of self-confidence in the charity's role, while also making it clear that he did not see the Trust undertaking a campaigning role. This was

reinforced by Angus Stirling, the Director-General at the Trust's 1995 Centenary Countryside Conference in Manchester:

'[The Trust] should emphatically not seek to become a campaigning organisation. It should not, and has no need to preach. It should engage by offering the example of its own best management practice and experience ...' (National Trust, 1995a: 46).

However, Stirling did point out that the Trust had a duty to engage in political debate on wider environmental and cultural issues, reflecting Andresen & Gulbrandsen's (2006) 'insider strategy' of a 'green NGO' seeking to influence governments and negotiators by providing policy solutions and expert advice/advocacy, in preference to the more activist 'outsider strategy' pursued by organisations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth.

In contemplating the future challenges of sustainable development Chorley had projected that some degree of organisational behaviour change would be required (National Trust, 1994a: 5). He set out five approaches through which the Trust could contribute to the voluntary sector's adoption of sustainable development. Two of them: 1), the Council's formal adoption of a statement on energy policy committing the Trust to reducing its use of fossil fuels and 2), the production of full Environmental Impact Assessments for exploiting renewable energy proposals, were the fore-runners of the Trust's formal position on climate change that would be announced following the 1997 Kyoto Protocol.

A section entitled 'Environmental Practices' appeared for the first time in annual reports from 1993/94. It was reported that with the support of the Midland Bank, an Energy Management Training Project' was being piloted in the Trust's Wessex region. The project used an approach to energy management in current practice: auditing buildings' energy use, setting reduction targets on fossil fuel consumption, and providing staff training on energy awareness. In 1994, Eastern Electricity's Energy Systems Department seconded to the Trust an officer who would examine fifty of its properties in East Anglia with the aim of reducing

energy consumption by at least 10 per cent in the first two years (National Trust, 1994: 15). This initiative led to the beginning of an association with selected energy companies, latterly National Trust Green Energy in partnership with NPower launched in the spring of 2011 (National Trust, 2011e). The current partner is Good Energy, launched in 2013. National Trust members and supporters were incentivised to switch their energy supply tariffs to the new company, which sourced its energy from 100 per cent renewables. The first mention of an energy policy appeared in the Trust's Medium Term Plan for 1993/94 to 1997/98. Additionally, the post of Environmental Practices Adviser was created in 1993/94 to offer support throughout the regions. By the early 1990s then, climate change began to appear in the Trust's environmental lexicon allied to the inception of the charity's energy policy, part of a wider commitment to sustainable development.

The transport debate of the 1990s

Concern over government road-construction policies proposed in the White Paper *Roads to Prosperity* of 1989 and their potential impact on Trust properties, had been highlighted in Roger Chorley's opening statement as the new Chairman (National Trust, 1991a: 3) and, throughout his term of office, they remained one of the more important issues of the day. The Trust has always recognised that the rural location of many of its properties necessitated car transport, leading to measures that had been introduced to promote 'greener' options. These included offering discounts to visitors arriving by rail; a free pot of tea for visitors arriving by bus; greater efforts to promote public transport links; and support shown for Sustrans, an organisation created in 1995 with the help of a £43.5 million grant from the Millennium Commission to develop a National Cycle Network of over 6,000 miles of cycle paths (National Trust, 1996; Tibenham, 2001). Prior Park, on the outskirts of Bath, had already attracted publicity because the Trust was not able to find a suitable location for

constructing a car park, and so alternative transport to the property had to be provided. This situation led to a claim that it was part of a ‘brave new transport policy’ (Brown, 1996). Concern over car transport also became apparent following a resolution carried at the 1995 AGM carried by 52,463 votes against 13,785 that committed the Trust to reducing car journeys to its properties from 90 per cent to 60 per cent by 2020 (a ‘tall order’: Brown, 1996). The Council were expected to make increased efforts in working with local councils and public transport operators to design alternatives (National Trust, 1995b). One member at the AGM urged the planting of trees to counteract the effects of the car. Debate was centred on the adverse impacts of increased traffic on Trust properties in terms of visitor enjoyment and conservation. Although concerned with environmental issues, climate change was not mentioned in the dialogue.

Brown (1996) reported that the Trust already had a new green transport strategy in place before the 1995 AGM, with a dual aim of firstly, trying to persuade members and visitors to use alternative transport; and secondly, more importantly in the view of the Director-General, a social purpose:

‘... to encourage the large segment of the population who have never visited a Trust property to do so. Many of them live in inner cities and have no access to a car’ (Brown, 1996).

Martin Drury, the new Director-General in 1995, summed-up the Trust’s position by generally supporting the government’s concern over inadequate public transport in rural areas, but at the same time avoiding penalising visitors using their cars in rural areas where there were few or no alternatives. Brown (1996) noted that the Trust’s transport strategy had been refined in the light of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution’s recent report (HM Government, 1995), which broadly endorsed the government’s earlier sustainable transport policy set out in 1994 (HM Government, 1994):

‘Avoiding serious environmental damage, while preserving the access people want for their livelihoods and for leisure, requires a fundamentally different approach to transport policy and a radical modification of recent trends [in other words, road expansion programmes]’ (HM Government, 1995: 233, paragraph 14.1).

The Royal Commission stressed the inter-generational imperative of any transport strategy. The Trust’s statutory duties in the 1907 Act to ‘permanently preserve’ and ‘promote for the benefit of the nation’ can lead to a conflict of interest between conservation and access, with implications for the Trust’s environmental record with many of its properties reliant on car-borne access.

It was not until the 2012 AGM that a member asked about the Trust’s long-term business planning for addressing the causes and impacts of climate change directly in relation to car dependency. The Chairman upheld the Trust’s attempts to make it easier for visitors to use public transport to reach properties, but made it clear that it was impractical and undesirable to try and prevent car-borne travel to properties. He continued by referring to the Trust’s high dependency on energy for its many activities and the need to identify further sources of renewable energy (National Trust, 2013d). Later in the meeting, another member asked whether arrangements could be made for public or private transport to carry people without cars to visit properties: reflecting the social arm of its transport policy introduced in the 1990s. Senior management confirmed that demand for such services had been so small that it was not a viable option. Although during the 1990s the Trust reported its concern over environmental issues associated with car-borne travel, the narrative was directed at the physical (congestion, pollution) and social (enjoyment of the visitor experience) impacts on properties. This was entirely understandable as a practical response.

Climate change had yet to become a visible issue associated with sustainable tourism, especially transport to properties.

The Labour Government of 1997 and the Kyoto Protocol

The election of Labour in 1997 was generally welcomed by the Trust, partly because it saw opportunities for promoting its cause through the Regional Development Agencies created in 1998. At this time, the Trust redrew the boundaries of its regions to match those of the RDAs. One of the objectives in the Trust's first National Strategic Plan (1998-2001), was to use its practical experience more effectively in contributing to national and EU environmental policy. It seemed that the new government was interested to gain the views of the charity: during 1998/99 for example, the Trust responded to at least eighty consultation papers (National Trust, 1999a: 10). The 1998 summer newsletter included the first full-length article on climate change written jointly by the Trust's Environmental Practices Adviser and UKCIP's programme co-ordinator (Jarman & McKenzie, 1998). The article publicised some of the measures the Trust had recently taken to reduce its greenhouse gas emissions such as energy/water conservation and green transport initiatives. Later, in the 1999 autumn newsletter, the Trust was

‘... calling for a reduction in the use of fossil fuels and is actively promoting benign energy’ (National Trust, 1999b: 11).

Trust archives of press cuttings, press releases and a number of internal memoranda for 1997-99 showed that the charity was monitoring developments on climate change taking place internationally and at home. In one internal memorandum, the Head of Conservation emphasised that the Trust should be aware of the scientific uncertainties associated with climate change projections (National Trust, 1997a). It became apparent that senior management at the time were not necessarily unanimous that a climate change strategy was needed with one senior officer claiming that he remained:

‘... to be persuaded as to whether or not the Trust should prepare a Strategy for Climate Change’ (National Trust, 1997a: 2).

Further correspondence at the time of the Kyoto Protocol in 1997, indicated that the Trust was beginning to formulate its position on climate change, with much of the preparatory work being undertaken by the Head of Conservation and the Environmental Practices Adviser (National Trust, 1997b; 1997c; 1997d; 1997e).

A key paper was written in November 1997 (National Trust 1997d). In it, the background to climate change was summarised before a review of the political context that encompassed the macro and meso policy zones: the United Nations, the EU, the UK government, and NGOs across the world. The paper made specific reference to EU initiatives that focused on energy efficiency and renewable energies: measures that the Trust was beginning to implement. Impact areas for the Trust to address were: the coast; nature conservation; gardens; archaeology; soil; tourism; agriculture; water; buildings; forestry; and energy. A timescale for responses to these policy areas was drawn-up in 1998 (Table 6.1). By 1997, the Trust had presented policy papers to the UK government as well as the EU (National Trust, 1997d: 8). These papers were based on reducing GHGs through the promotion of energy efficiency and the development of non-fossil fuels, thereby focusing on mitigation. The charity projected the likely impacts it would experience following the EU’s adoption of the Communication *The Energy Dimension of Climate Change*, which defined the policy initiatives needed to achieve GHG emissions targets (National Trust, 1997d: 4). Projected impacts included an increase in operating costs and a decrease in visitor income because of the likely increase in energy costs; increased development of renewable energies (a National Trust Renewable Energy Policy was approved by the Council in 1995); and transport infrastructure developments: the Trust believed it had a role in influencing national and local transport developments in response to EU and UK government initiatives to

introduce environmentally-friendly transport routes and services (National Trust, 1997d: 9).

The Trust also sought to minimise any ‘undesirable effects’ of these plans on its estate.

Issue	Response needed in less than 2 years	Response will take more than 5 years
Wind energy planning bids	#	
Transport strategy	#	
Biomass production		#
Solar PV		#
Energy costs	#	
Renewable energy on properties		#
Water conservation	#	
Private water supplies	#	
Farm practices, rural economy		#
Building specifications	#	
Visitor patterns, facilities, means of access		#
Property acquisition criteria	#	
Statements of significance		#
Conservation plans		#
Coastal management	#	

Table 6.1: National Trust climate change issues (National Trust, 1998a)

The table indicates that climate change was treated as a cross-departmental issue. Senior level research and discussion carried out earlier in 1997 led to a ‘statement of intent’ in response to climate change being produced in December 1997, beginning with a general expression of concern:

‘The National Trust is concerned with the reality of climate change and its impacts on the natural and cultural environment of its properties’ (National Trust, 1997e).

This was followed by a series of media briefings in January 1998 (National Trust, 1998b; 1998c), including a sounding-out of the position of a major oil company on the issue (National Trust, 1998d). The Trust was also copied into correspondence between the Prime Minister’s office and a leading campaigning environmental NGO on matters related to

Kyoto (National Trust, 2001a). A press cutting from the journal *Planning* though, characterised the Trust's essentially conservative approach:

‘The National Trust, not a body noted for its radical planning scenarios, announced a policy programme specifically aimed at combating the effects of climate change ... Organisations that are light on their feet will be in the best position to respond appropriately ...’ (Fyson, 1998).

The phrase ‘light on their feet’ recurred during interviews held with National Trust management (Chapter 6). Later, in the 1999/2000 Annual Report, as part of ‘Our work as an Environmental Organisation’ a section allocated for climate change appeared for the first time. The short piece reported that by 2000 the Trust had completed three regional studies in the NE, SW and SE of England, which found that some of the Trust's land had already been affected by rising sea levels. *Shifting Sands* (Woodside, 2000), one of the earliest reports to address climate change, and written for the Trust's Annual Archaeological Review, concluded that coastal properties were the most at risk from the effects of global warming. A press release in November 1999 announced that in conjunction with the RHS and UKCIP, the Trust was conducting the first climate change impact study on gardens (National Trust, 1999d). In the same year a soil protection strategy appeared (National Trust, 1999e). Reports such as *Shifting Sands* indicated that the Trust was already adapting to climate change impacts through its on-going conservation work. In the 1999/2000 Annual Report the section ‘Green Transport’ was separate to ‘Climate Change’, even though the former included reports on several relevant initiatives to climate change: a new bus route servicing several properties in Kent; work on increasing cycle access to properties; and requirements for commercial vehicles to use cleaner fuel – all of which could be classed as mitigation measures.

Developments throughout the 1990s showed that the National Trust had engaged in advocacy and policy-making related to climate change outside its immediate field of operations. Adaptation measures were publicised through reports such as *Shifting Sands* whilst mitigation measures, dependent on energy conservation, were yet to come to the fore. An effort was made to develop a few green transport initiatives but these were not directly associated with climate change mitigation.

Formative years in shaping climate change policy: 2000-2007

During 2000/01 the Trust began to conduct climate change impact studies on its properties and publicised its belief that sea-level rise, warmer weather and extreme weather events were already affecting properties. Examples included Toys Hill in Kent where woodland was damaged by the 1987 storms; floods and landslips; and erosion of the White Cliffs of Dover and stretches of Studland Bay. These impacts were attributed to the symptoms of global warming, where the Trust declared it would adapt to these changes but nevertheless, emphasised the importance of mitigation responses via energy efficiency measures and renewable energy generation (National Trust, 2001b: 13). The 2001 Annual Report featured eliminating the use of peat for compost, argued on the grounds of protecting animal and plant life in upland and lowland bogs, but, surprisingly, with no reference being made to the function of peat as a valuable carbon sink. The peat-free question had been debated at the 1999 AGM, when a members' resolution to call on the Trust to declare itself a peat-free organisation was carried overwhelmingly by 99,020 votes against 6,157 against (National Trust, 1999c). At the 2002 AGM held in Birmingham, in response to a member's question, the Chairman agreed there was further scope to provide alternative transport to the car for visitors to properties and that a cycling strategy would shortly be introduced. The term

‘green transport’ was used, but again, without any reference to climate change (National Trust, 2002a: 8).

Three years later, climate change was debated for the first time at the 2005 AGM through a members’ resolution. The resolution was lodged as ‘travel to properties’ and was introduced as a follow-up to the successful 1995 resolution to reduce car-borne travel from 90 to 60 per cent by 2020. The Minutes recorded a broader aim:

‘... emphasise that climate change is an issue *we all share responsibility for tackling* and to ask what the Trust and its members were going to do to lead the way and set an example that others could follow’ (National Trust, 2005f: 5) (emphasis added).

The Council’s response was twofold: firstly, it argued, car travel presented a continuing dilemma of access and environmental damage for the Trust; and secondly, the Trust had already supported eighty green transport initiatives, and did members consider it should be doing more? The Minutes reported a general intention to continue providing alternatives to car travel if practical:

‘... in reality the alternatives to the car were often very limited ... The Trust should provide alternatives where practical and cost-effective’ (National Trust, 2005f: 5)

The resolution sought to develop a wider debate on collective responsibility for climate change, but the discussion centred on the reasons for the under-performance of various transport initiatives. Despite the proposer emphasising that the resolution was not an ‘anti-car resolution’, the Council’s response was that, in reality, there were few alternatives to the car to reach properties and, where practical and cost-effective, the Trust would continue to provide alternatives in partnership with other transport providers. The discussion being framed in this way suggests that the original thrust of the resolution became diluted during the meeting; and in the event, the resolution was defeated with 10,696 votes cast for, and 39,164 against. This would have been a disappointing outcome for the supporters of the

resolution on the Trust's wider environmental responsibilities, although the Minutes record that the topic attracted a positive and lively debate.

A year later the Trust appeared to take a more pro-active approach on the issue. At the 2006 AGM, a member expressed concern at:

'... the lack of Government leadership and inconsistent policies regarding CO₂ emissions and urged the Trust, as a leading and respected environmental body, to fill this void' (National Trust, 2006a: 3).

The Minutes interpreted the Head of Conservation's response thus:

'... climate change was *probably the Trust's single greatest challenge*. Therefore, reducing the Trust's environmental footprint was a key element in the Trust's new strategy [the creation of the Environmental Footprint and Climate Change Group] and two directors had been charged with championing the issue ... The Trust agreed that it should demonstrate and champion the climate change issue..' (emphasis added) (National Trust, 2006a: 3)

The following year at the 2007 AGM, another member asked the panel whether funding should be prioritised for counter-climate change initiatives instead of the protection of antiquities. The Director of Conservation's answer indicated that the protection of the environment was complementary to the Trust's on-going conservation work, which by definition would include antiquities. Reducing the Trust's 'environmental footprint' was Trust, 2007a: 4).

Discussion so far on this period has centred on discussion at AGMs during 2000-07 because the minutes show that a very small proportion of members felt compelled to initiate debate on the charity's wider environmental responsibilities, at a time when UK government initiatives in tackling climate change were already in place and in the public domain (HM Government, 2006). It should be noted that during the 2000s, attendance at AGMs averaged between 600-700 out of a membership of some 3 million, and the number of votes cast usually totalled to some 30,000, about 1 per cent of the membership. Environmental

concerns expressed by members at AGMs therefore, represented the views of only a small fraction of the wider membership. This reiterates an earlier point made by Lansley (1996) that large voluntary organisations (the National Trust being the UK's largest voluntary organisation) often represent a paradox, in that the organisation is invariably formed by a group of people sharing a common goal but in practice, the majority of its membership have little involvement [or want to be involved] in policy-making and running of the association. In considering factors that were likely to influence members' participation in the running of a voluntary organisation such as the National Trust, Lansley identified ideology, above all, as 'crucial to member concern about Trust policy ...' (p.237). Lansley used the example of hunting: on the surface, a broad question that often attracted simplified responses to complex issues, but nevertheless appealed to a set of 'basic values that led members to support the Trust in the first place'. According to Lansley, the potency of ideology lies with its ability to transcend the concerns of any one body, leading to lively debate. He implied that at times, the Trust's leadership did not exactly embrace such debate, but, such interest could 'yet be harnessed to positive ends' (p.237). He saw the Trust placed firmly in an 'environmental matrix', which would not exclude the charity from any such future conflict. To date though, climate change has not precipitated the scale of response among the membership as did previous issues on, for example, deer hunting (EGM in 1994) or the principle of inalienability (the Bradenham affair – EGM in 1982).

Although debate on climate change so far had received minor attention at AGMs, and then from the floor, significant progress meanwhile had been made in developing a strategy for the whole Trust. Climate change began to receive regular coverage in annual reports and newsletters coinciding with Enterprise Neptune approaching its 40th anniversary in 2005. Climate-related threats to the coast and countryside had become accepted as issues

to be addressed (for example, National Trust, 2005b; 2006b). Further evidence of collaboration with NGOs saw the publication of a report on the impacts of climate change on gardens in the UK produced in conjunction with UKCIP and the RHS (mentioned earlier) with research by the University of Reading's Plant Sciences Department. The report was funded jointly by Anglian Water; DEFRA; English Heritage; the Forestry Commission; Notcutts; Kew Gardens; RHS; and UKCIP. One of its recommendations reflected the Trust's general approach to policy-making at this time: namely the encouragement of networking amongst the relevant organisations and a sharing of information to inform policy decisions, as well as the implementation of practical adaptation measures (National Trust, UKCIP & RHS, 2000). On the latter, the Trust claimed it had helped to persuade the government on the need to formulate a national adaptation strategy, as well as contributed to the DfT's work on developing green travel options through 'travel planning', aimed at reducing growth in leisure traffic (National Trust, 2005b: 11).

Documents from 2004-07 indicated that a climate change policy had been established as part of a broader environmental strategy. By 2004, the Trust had written a policy statement to the effect that:

'Climate change awareness and planning is to be integrated within decision-making throughout the organisation' (National Trust, 2004a).

This was soon followed by the issue of 'A Statement of Intent' in 2005 (Box 6.1), which became the basis of the Trust's centralised policy (National Trust, 2005a; Appendix 6.4). The causes of climate change required urgent action, the statement maintained, although uncertainties in predictions were acknowledged. Adaptation and mitigation should be integrated throughout all of the charity's decision-making; and the Trust believed it should be proactive in raising awareness and seeking to influence people's behaviour.

Taking gardens and parks as a case, the Trust adopted the following approach for the various sectors. It set out the evidence for climate change; articulated the principles and guidelines behind adaptation and mitigation; and then provided a final instruction from the Conservation Directorate for each property to produce a climate change strategy which would form part of the Property Management Plan. Adaptation required an assessment of a garden's stock to determine which plant collections were most at risk from a changing climate (typically experienced as extreme weather events such as flooding, drought, late/early springs). This was followed by consideration of which species needed re-planting because of their vulnerability and/or historic importance. A more flexible approach could be taken with less important plants, where the Trust would 'generally go with the flow of nature'. Mitigation was closely associated with the Trust's 'Sustainable Practices Guidance' on the Trust's intranet, which focused on the local sourcing of materials to reduce transport emissions, conserving resources through measures such as water harvesting, and encouraging pro-environmental behaviour by encouraging visitors to use greener transport and share car journeys.

In the run-up to the Labour government's White Paper *Climate Change The UK Programme* (HM Government, 2006), a consultation period enabled the Trust to write its own response (National Trust, 2005c). To begin with, the basis of the Trust's energy policy at the end of the 1990s appeared to reflect the approach of the previous White Paper (DETR, 2000) in which the government set out a strategy to meet its Kyoto commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. The Trust's *Review of the UK Climate Change Programme* in 2005 is the most complete account of its approach to climate change. Box 6.2 summarises the Trust's main recommendations. Overall, its four positions on the consultation were: to support the government's target of a minimum 60 per cent reduction of carbon dioxide

emissions by 2050; to argue for a stronger focus on developing energy efficiency and micro-generation from renewable energy sources, citing its own energy policy and practice as an example; to support the need to combat emissions from the transport sector, with a proposal that the concept of work and school travel plans should be developed to include ‘visitor travel plans’; and to support the need for a national adaptation strategy to combat climate change impacts, including a reference to changing attitudes and behaviour through:

‘...enhanced forms of public dialogue about the choices we all face in living with climate change’ (p.1).

CLIMATE CHANGE & THE NATIONAL TRUST

A Statement of Intent

- 1) The National Trust accepts that climate change is real and that key contributors to it are greenhouse gas emissions, in particular from the use of fossil fuels but also from the misuse of natural resources (especially land-based carbon stores of soil, peat and vegetation).
- 2) The causes of climate change need urgent action. The Trust is committed to reducing its own contributions to greenhouse gas emissions from all of its activities.
- 3) The Trust considers that the positive and negative impacts of climate change, present and future, need to be understood and integrated into all of its decision making. We recognise that we have to adapt to climate change and will seek to optimise the opportunities and minimise the risks arising from climate change.
- 4) The Trust understands that climate change cannot be accurately predicted – there will be considerable variation in time and space in projected and actual changes, globally and locally. This uncertainty requires us to be ultra-vigilant and adaptable so as to be prepared for whatever situation does actually transpire.
- 5) The Trust will be proactive in raising awareness of climate change and in seeking to influence people’s behaviour, internally and externally, individually and corporately.

(Attached as Appendix A (Draft) to a submission to Council on Adaptation to Climate Change, 7th April, 2005).

Box 6.1 A Statement of Intent on Climate Change: National Trust (2005a)

Mitigation measures	Adaptation measures
Support for the government's 60% reduction in CO2 emissions by 2050.	Support for the government's planned National Adaptation Framework.
a) Building standards: sustainability goals are reconcilable with costs: the costs of energy efficiency measures are often over-estimated, as evidenced by the Trust's 710-house scheme at Stamford Brook in Cheshire.	a) Improved public dialogue: 'the evidence of the reality of climate change impacts on our properties is overwhelming ...'; 'greater investment in skills, knowledge and confidence of risk managers and communicators ...' e.g. in Environment Agency and local authorities, to help meet cultural challenge of learning to live with climate change.
b) Micro-generation: support for localised energy generation schemes utilising <i>off-shore</i> wind turbines in preference to the more controversial <i>on-shore</i> turbines; opportunities to change public attitudes and behaviour.	b) Spatial planning for natural resource protection: the NT identified limited focus of the land use planning system on 'development', and saw the River Basin Management Plan required under the Water Framework Directive as an example of effective 'local accountability for delivery'; wider spatial planning for natural resources needed a statutory basis, e.g. embedding the recommendations of Catchment Flood Management Plans; go beyond EU compliance.
c) Transport: focus on mitigation of leisure transport: car and air travel; more effective long-term funding of alternatives to the car for leisure journeys ('Visitor Travel Plans'); promotion of domestic tourism to off-set overseas travel for leisure tourism.	c) Funding and risk: current arrangements offered inadequate insurance and compensation; a broader approach needed for risk-based approach to managing change; the NT highlighted what it saw as social inequities: poorer households were less able to adapt (e.g. re-locating or funding private initiatives); transitional support required.

Box 6.2: National Trust's main recommendations in response to
UK Climate Change Programme (HM Government, 2006)
Adapted from National Trust (2005c)

While giving support to the government's programme, as well as declaring a commitment to the wider environmental cause, the Trust said that it took the opportunity to promote and develop its own approach to environmental activities. In April 2005, shortly after the Trust's response to the government's consultation process on the White Paper, a recommendation was made to the Council for a framework of action that would become the charity's adaptation strategy (National Trust, 2005a). The key points included: the Trust's statutory purpose of conserving properties required a risk assessment; property managers were looking for guidance on how to adapt to impacts of climate change already being experienced; public discussion about climate change should be promoted, including opportunities to communicate with visitors; and an intention to influence government policy, where the Trust considered its contribution to the framework. This would become the 2008 framework (DEFRA, 2008a).

Later, in the same year (National Trust, 2005d), in its response to the *Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change* (Stern, 2007), the charity emphasised four aspects related to its work and the impact of climate change: it claimed to be a 'major public communicator' at all levels, with the potential to communicate understanding of climate change and associated risks to a wide audience. The Trust's statutory and charitable purpose in its conservation work required it to 'assess the long term risks to conservation and people at each site', taking account of legal and cost restrictions. Also the Trust laid claim to its 'considerable experience and expertise' and authority on 'land and resource management' as Europe's largest conservation charity, placing itself in a strong position to manage change and associated risks of climate change. Finally, the Trust wished to remind the government that in addition to its role as a conservation charity, it was a 'major business, from tourism

to catering' with assets at risk from climate change, but also with benefits to be gained from 'a proactive and integrated approach to adaptation and mitigation'.

The Trust subsequently established its Environmental Footprint and Climate Change Group. In a briefing paper on the new forum (National Trust, 2006c), it was made clear that the strategy to reduce the Trust's footprint should optimise communication with supporters, stakeholders and staff; and that the strategy required the reduction of the environmental footprint to deliver 'triple bottom line' (TBL) benefits to the Trust, defined as 'the economic, social and environmental accountability' of a firm or organisation (Stoddard et al., 2012: 235). Although sometimes used in a commercial context, the concept implies that benefits from an organisation's performance should extend to the local community. The footprint, the briefing paper explained, would be reduced through four priorities: energy, water, sustainable resource use, and climate change (mitigation and adaptation). A risk assessment of climate change impacts for the Trust was undertaken (National Trust, 2007b; 2007h), various staff briefings were carried out, and a leaflet published on the website explaining some simple measures that could be taken to reduce an individual's carbon footprint (National Trust 2007c). A scoping paper (National Trust, 2007d) though, indicated a shortage of central resources to support adaptation work at property level. Furthermore, an internal discussion paper identified several areas where the charity was less confident, including an on-going challenge on stakeholder and public involvement, and a perceived adaptation skills gap (National Trust, 2008a). By 2008 then, when the Trust introduced its *Our strategy to 2010 and beyond* (National Trust, 2008b), its response to climate change was evident in two main areas: firstly, adaptation, through impact projections and on-going conservation work with a focus on coastal properties and land; and secondly, through mitigation, where energy efficiency and renewable energy sources took centre-stage as part

of the Trust's energy policy. A review of documents showed the Environmental Footprint & Climate Change Group to be the main force at work since 2006 (National Trust 2007e; 2007f).

Energy performance: 2008 onwards

In its overall strategy for 2007-2010, the Trust's climate change policy was most visible in the first two strategic aims. Under 'Engaging supporters', there was a commitment to publicise the impacts of climate change and influence pro-environmental behaviour via a communication theme entitled 'Green living', offering every-day practical tips for energy-saving and carbon reduction measures, a form of small-step lifestyle changes favoured by social marketing approaches (Crompton, 2008). The second aim, 'Improving conservation and environmental performance', incorporated measures as part of 'Addressing our environmental footprint' assisted by the Environmental Practices Advisers across all eleven National Trust regions. Such initiatives tended to focus on mitigation projects to reduce a property's carbon footprint. A few projects were highlighted under 'Inspiring by example' such as the 'Energy Busters' programme at Brancaster Millenium Activity Centre in Norfolk. This project claimed to have 'taught hundreds of Norfolk schoolchildren how to cut their own schools' energy use' (National Trust, 2008b: 17). A further example was the installation of photo-voltaic panels on the roof of Dunster Castle in Somerset in order to maximise solar radiation. The Trust chose to use homely and picturesque language to appeal to the readership (emphasis added):

'Our glorious landscapes and buildings ... Photo-voltaic panels nestle in the battlements_of Dunster Castle ...' (p.17).

The introduction of the Conservation Performance Indicator (CPI) in 2007/08 was designed as a self-review process undertaken by individual properties to assess what progress was being made in their conservation work. Together with energy reduction targets, the Trust used these criteria to publish results on how properties were improving their conservation and environmental performance (Table 6.2).

Measure of success	2010/11 Actual	2011/12 Actual	2012/13 Target	2012/13 Actual
Properties which have completed a CPI review (%)	63	99	100	100%
Properties with completed CPI review and Reporting an improved score (%)	82	84	85	78%
Energy reduction (%)	3	16	12	4%

Table 6.2 ‘Improving conservation and environmental performance’
(National Trust, 2013a: 10)

The charity’s energy consumption reduction target is 20 per cent by 2020, of which 50 per cent should be fossil-fuel consumption. Targets are relative to base-line energy usage in 2009 (National Trust, 2013f: 11), usually measured in MWh (megawatts) of energy. Electricity use was subject to the most monitoring. Measures designed to reduce consumption were described very broadly and included: the replacement, where practicable, of fossil fuel use with alternative energy sources; improving energy efficiency of buildings; and installing energy-efficient light bulbs in all properties. The Annual Report for 2012/13 summarised CPI performance over the past three years. Energy reduction was the criterion associated most closely with mitigation towards climate change, and the results show that collectively, during 2012/13, properties were short of the 12 per cent target. The annual report attributed this dip in performance to the wet, cool weather during 2012/13, and longer opening hours: both factors placing extra demands on energy consumption. The report went on to praise the performance of Wales, which had managed to achieve a 33 per cent

reduction, using an ‘environmental management system’. A reference was made to introducing this system nationally during 2013. Earlier, in 2008, the Trust had indicated that a carbon indicator for the charity’s activities was to be developed, but as at 2012/13, there was no evidence of this initiative in the public domain.

The Trust uses broad targets to report on environmental performance in its annual reports so that its readership is provided with concise information. In comparison, both English Heritage and Natural England (public agencies) publish their environmental performance in annual reports using more precise and detailed quantitative data. This is because from from 2010, the government required public bodies to publish their progress against funding agreements using sustainability indicators that included: greenhouse gas emissions (CO₂ emissions; related energy consumption; financial expenditure on energy); waste (tonnes produced/recycled/cost of disposal); and water (amount supplied/cost) (English Heritage, 2011; 2012; 2013; Natural England, 2011). Aggregated data published by English Heritage for example, on its greenhouse gas emissions in tonnes and by cost, relate to electricity and gas consumption across its sites and the organisation’s business travel (road, rail and air). Such data are also collected by the Trust across individual properties, including the central office Heelis and other branches of administration, although it appears that the data have yet to be aggregated into some form of carbon footprint for the whole organisation; although reports on the progress of various projects are periodically highlighted. The following example is an extract from the Trust’s energy policy *Energy: Grow your own* (National Trust, 2010: 15):

‘Growing our own heat – wood fuel

We now have 44 biomass (wood chip/wood pellet/log) boilers in our properties, with an installed capacity of 2.3 MW and producing approximately 1500 MWh of heat per year, the latest being a 450 kW wood pellet boiler at Chirk Castle in North Wales. The Big Lottery

Fund has financed 12 wood fuel projects on Trust properties worth nearly £0.5 million over the last two years. The award-winning 440 kW wood chip boiler recently installed at Castle Drogo on Dartmoor is expected to save £20,000 on previous oil heating costs and 325 tonnes of CO₂. We have plans to install more than 50 new wood fuel boilers over the next five years. Many of our cottages and farms use wood burning stoves for domestic heating’.

During 2008 the Trust produced a number of reports on conservation work where climate change was portrayed as part of the wider environmental challenges faced by the charity and the country as a whole. These included *Shifting Shores*, a study on Northern Ireland’s coastal management (National Trust, 2007g); *From Source to Sea*, a report on the conservation and improvement of water (National Trust, 2008c); and *Nature’s Capital*, a case for investing in four of the key environmental services the Trust claimed were essential for the nation’s land (clean water; flood risk mitigation; carbon stewardship; and access to green space) (National Trust, 2008d). The Trust also commissioned research by universities such as Essex University’s report on the benefits of utilising green space in the east of England (National Trust, 2008f). In 2009 the Trust also ran a campaign on ‘National Trust Green Living’ themed around people’s houses, gardens, and leisure pursuits, aimed at creating interest in reducing a household’s environmental footprint (National Trust, 2009b). Another project focused on local action is the Low Carbon Village (Coleshill in Oxfordshire, and Cambo on the Trust’s Wallington estate in Northumberland), supported by £600,000 funding from the Trust’s former energy partner Npower. Part of the criteria for initiating these projects was, in the Trust’s view:

‘... the disillusionment and helplessness that many people feel about climate change’ (National Trust, 2013b).

A sizeable assumption on the part of the charity? A website ‘Energy map’, locating the type of renewable energy being generated at National Trust properties, is a further innovation

that aims to bring the energy issue into people's homes. Further promotional and social marketing language included such extracts as:

'We've put together a range of tips from our experts on how you can reduce the environmental impact of everyday life, around your home and garden - which are both good for the planet and your wallet' (National Trust, 2013b).

With the National Trust website's content and access having been improved since the early 2000s, these reports are located under 'Energy and climate change', one of the 'Big issues' publicised on the website in 2013. By July 2014 though, 'Energy and climate change' was replaced with 'Energy and environment'. The other five big issues were Food and farming; Nature and outdoors; Art and heritage; Transport and tourism; and Land-use and planning. This is evidence that climate change has been gradually subsumed into the energy agenda. It receives most coverage under 'Energy and environment' in which recently, two projects have been publicised: Snowdonia's first hydro turbine and Plas Newydd's marine source heat pump as part of its Renewable Energy Investment Programme in 2014.

Several references are made under 'Transport and tourism' to generalised aspects of sustainable tourism, reliance on car-borne visits to properties and some of the greener options that may be considered by visitors, as well as 'Visitor Travel Plans'. These visitor travel plans are required for new tourism developments, and should be introduced for existing sites. On a point of detail, the 2014 website is still quoting national tourism statistics for 2003. Under transport and tourism, most coverage is devoted to the Trust's position on the proposed High-Speed Railway Link (HS2) and its possible impact on the charity's properties along the route. The Chairman openly voiced his opposition to this project (Jenkins, 2014c) as well as the HS3 mega-project mooted: a high-speed rail line across the Pennines (Jenkins, 2014d). Also made clear, was the Trust's opposition to expanding Heathrow Airport by building a third runway, on the ground of loss of open

green space, noise pollution, and ‘aspects’ related to climate change (National Trust, 2014b). Further references to climate change are included under the portal ‘What we protect’, with features on the Trust as a peat-free organisation practising mitigation: peat’s role as a carbon sink, with 3 billion tonnes of CO₂ stored in the UK’s peat stock). The ongoing Neptune Coastline Campaign features adaptation as coastal protection against rising sea levels (National Trust, 2014a). Rising river levels were also a concern. Photographs 3 and 4 taken at Bodiam Castle in East Sussex, illustrate how a property communicates some of potential impacts of climate change outdoors. Photograph 3 shows a benign river on a visit to the property in June 2011, close to which is a representation (Photograph 4) of how the river might look in fifty years’ time as a result of rising water levels, together with some explanatory notes for visitors. Photograph 5 illustrates information made available to visitors about the sustainable approach taken to re-roofing Hanbury Hall in Worcestershire, where a solar hot water system using solar thermal panels positioned on the roof had been installed to supply hot water to the flats at the top of the building. The poster also depicts other energy-saving devices such as the ubiquitous low-energy light bulbs and the capture of rain water.

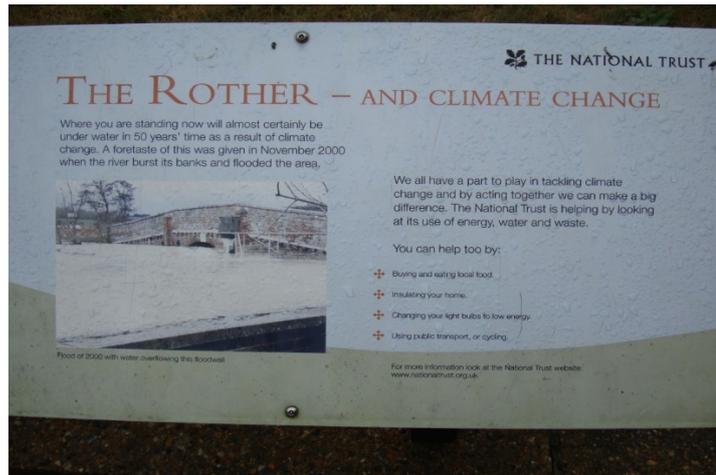
Getting off oil

Writing in the 2009 autumn newsletter shortly before the Copenhagen climate change summit, Vidal (2009) viewed the Trust’s energy policy taking a dual approach: firstly to be considered to be an insecure and financially risky; and secondly to reduce the Trust’s carbon emissions. Over several years, the Trust had already experienced the effects of extreme weather. Since 2001, over 400 insurance claims had been made due to damage inflicted, worth in excess of £3.2 million; furthermore, 375 miles of coast were projected to be

affected by coastal erosion due to rising sea levels over the next 75 years. By 2010, *Energy: Grow your own*, the charity's energy policy, was the central plank of the Trust's mitigation response to climate change. The two goals of reducing energy consumption and switching to non-fossil fuel (renewable) sources were driving the Trust's energy policy firstly, to achieve savings on expenditure – the Trust spent almost £6 million a year on electricity, oil and gas (National Trust, 2010a) – thus freeing-up funds to be spent on conservation work; and secondly, as a mitigation measure that was meant to be part of sustainable living and contributing to a global reduction in greenhouse gas emissions.



Photograph 3:
Bridge over the River Rother, at Bodiam Castle, East Sussex, June 2011 – normal river level



Photograph 4:
Information about climate change at Bodiam Castle, East Sussex



Photograph 5:
Sustainable re-roofing project at Hanbury Hall, Worcestershire

In a recent paper for the Board of Trustees (National Trust, 2013c), it was projected that an investment of £35.5 million into renewable energy sources by 2018/19 would produce a net annual profit of £4.3 million with a total internal rate of return of 10.2 per cent (46 renewable energy installations phased over 6 years, reducing oil dependency from 20 per cent to 3 per cent by 2019). This investment, it was said, would lead to a projected reduction of 2,586 tonnes of CO₂ per annum. Energy policy was devolved through the regions to individual properties, where each general manager or property manager incorporated energy reduction targets into the property's business plan, consistent with the decentralised approach promoted in the *Going local* strategy. Plas Newydd in North Wales, already mentioned, has received recent media attention where its marine source heat pump costing £600,000 is expected to save the property £40,000 a year in operating costs (Harrabin, 2014). At the 2013 AGM, The Trust's newly appointed Director-General, Helen Ghosh, believed the Trust had a wider role to play beyond its heritage tourism activities, in contributing to the environmental debates that would be of concern to the country, particularly with regard to energy. The following extract is taken from the charity's website news:

'Our membership and the nation more generally, expect us to stand up for cultural heritage and the environment of course. We are not just a heritage operator – we have a contribution to make to the debates that matter in this country... We are worried about carbon emissions and the effects of climate change on our properties and the wider world' (National Trust, 2014c).

Hydraulic fracturing for shale gas (fracking) is another climate change-related subject on which the Trust, in collaboration with other conservation charities, has expressed reservations over the government's speed in rolling out the extraction programme (National Trust, 2014e). The paper said that a more robust regulatory framework should be in place, and that adequate protection be given to the natural and historic environment, for example

by creating shale gas extraction exclusion zones. Adverse environmental impact was a concern, where the charities recommended mandatory Environmental Impact Assessments for shale gas extraction proposals. It was also highlighted that shale gas had higher carbon intensity than renewable energy sources, and that fracking could lead to dangerous leaks of methane gas (considered to be a potent GHG) where, already, 30 per cent of methane leaks came from the fossil fuel industry. The charity's mission to reduce fossil fuel dependency and replace it with renewable sources, together with achieving ongoing energy efficiencies, remains the overall aim of its energy policy within which the climate change mitigation agenda continues to function.

Chapter summary

Although Enterprise Neptune was launched in 1965 as a campaign to protect a target of 900 miles of unspoilt coastline in England, Wales and Northern Ireland from inappropriate planning and development, the current campaign publicises the threats posed by climate change, principally rising sea levels and subsequent coastal erosion. In this sense Neptune can be seen as a precursor to the National Trust's climate change policy. The origins of its climate change policy may be found during the late 1980s, at a time when climate change arrived on the international policy-making scene.

A review of Trust documents for the 1970s and 1980s showed the charity's awareness of wider environmental issues ranging from culling seals, to acid rain, airport expansion and the potential impacts of North Sea oil production on the East Anglian coast; but with no reference to climate change. During Angus Stirling's term of office (1983-95) the Trust sought to widen its sphere of influence in public policy matters concerning, in particular, agriculture and the countryside. It was not until 1993, a year after the 1992 Rio

Summit, that sustainable development appeared in the Trust's lexicon. The Trust opposed the government's road expansion plans in the early 1990s on the grounds of environmental degradation and adverse consequences of road congestion, which, it was argued, would have negative consequences for properties and the visitor experience; but again, with no overt reference to climate change. The first full article on climate change in the Trust's public domain appeared in 1990. During Angus Stirling's era the Trust expanded its advocacy role and laid the foundations for a fuller implementation of its climate change policy under Martin Drury and Fiona Reynolds.

The Trust's increasing presence and involvement in public policy with other environmental charities and NGOs reflected Marsh's (1998:15) view that policy networking was a contemporary approach for the 1980s. To reiterate an earlier point, Stirling had pointed out that the Trust should engage in political debate on wider environmental and cultural issues, resembling the insider strategy of a green NGO (Andresen & Gulbrandsen, 2006) that sought to influence government. Quiet advocacy was preferred to the more activist outsider strategy pursued by organisations such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth. Further examples of the Trust's involvement in environmental policy occurred in partnerships with other ENGOs (the Green Alliance is a prime example), as well as at government level such as the publication of *I will if you will* by the Sustainable Development Commission & National Consumer Council (2006), and the *You, Me and the Climate* initiative (aimed at young people aged 16-19) supported by DEFRA (Participation Works Partnership in 2007). These initiatives resonate with Rhodes' (1997) characteristics of a policy community for understanding policy-making in the meso zone (Parsons, 2005; Hall & Jenkins, 1995).

Following the emergence of the Trust's formal position on climate change in 1998, and its statement of intent on the issue in 2005, it subsequently responded to the government's consultation process on the White Paper *Climate Change The UK Programme* (HM Government, 2006), the Stern Review, and the government's proposed National Adaptation Strategy. At this time it was also commissioning various research projects into climate change impact in collaboration with other like-minded organisations and public agencies. Having 'gone public' on climate change, the Trust's climate change policy gradually became dispersed throughout the organisation in most activities, with support and structure provided by the Environmental Footprint and Climate Change Group, whose work related directly to the TBL criteria for performance measurement.

Since 2009, initiatives on climate change have been publicised increasingly via the Trust's website, which have promoted the charity's own behavioural-change projects, for example low-carbon villages and educational projects. Additionally, projects have been designed to promote small-step changes to individual lifestyles through its website, with the theme of green living adopting the mantra of 'think globally, act locally'. Until 2012/13, climate change appeared on the website as a 'Big Issue', but from 2014, the issue has been reported under 'Energy and environment'. The Trust's energy policy has taken centre-stage as the charity's mitigation response to climate change. Over a period of some twenty years, the Trust's climate change policy has remained a centralised policy originating from its statement of intent, but implemented widely across the charity's many activities formalised in sector statements. A review of documents in the public domain has shown that the charity's climate change policy identified with several features of environmental sustainability indicators such as some of the possible targets listed by Roberts & Tribe (2008: 587 – Appendix 2.1) for developing sustainability indicators for small tourism

enterprises: the undertaking of environmental assessments; developing an energy conservation plan; monitoring energy use; use of energy saving devices; promotion of water conservation; and informing staff and customers of the benefits of energy efficiency. *Going local*'s strategy of decentralisation and empowerment has arguably given General Managers and Property Managers more freedom to develop local solutions to local issues and promote climate change messages that cross over into adaptation and mitigation measures.

CHAPTER 7

VIEWS OF NATIONAL TRUST STAFF AND VOLUNTEERS ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Introduction

This chapter considers the study’s fourth question, which explores the views of National Trust staff and volunteers on climate change and their level of consensus with the charity’s climate change policy, and whether their views provide any insights for future policy-making. The previous chapter concluded that a centralised policy was widely devolved throughout the organisation, supported by a structure and governance that has adapted over the past twenty years in order to meet the challenges of an expanding membership and external issues affecting many aspects of the charity’s core purpose. Chapter 7, therefore, aims to corroborate these findings by exploring staff and volunteer perceptions through eight themes (Box 7.1). The development of the interview guides was discussed in the methodology. The chapter is structured through a discussion of each theme in term utilising results from the interviews and the two surveys.

1	The importance of climate change as an issue for the National Trust.
2	The form and function of the National Trust’s climate change policy.
3	Mitigation and adaptation in response to climate change.
4	Sustainable development and the National Trust’s climate change policy.
5	The National Trust as a contributor to environmental public policy; external affairs.
6	The Trust’s recently reformed governance arrangements facilitating climate change strategy and other issues that concern the ‘whole’ Trust.
7	The Trust’s current strategy <i>Going local</i> supporting an effective and sustainable approach in managing climate change issues.
8	The balance between access and conservation as part of sustainable tourism and implications for responding to climate change.

Box 7.1 Interview topics for discussion

Interviews took place at several locations: the Trust’s central office in Swindon (Heelis), a private address, and at various offices and properties in the West Midlands region. Eight

senior policy-makers participated in the study's first survey, an exploratory questionnaire that aimed to capture their views on aspects of policy-making, governance, climate change, broader environmental thinking, and the Trust's overall response to climate change (Appendix 4.2). Twelve interviews were conducted with staff representing different levels within the charity spanning Council/Board of Trustees, Senior Management Team, Regional Director and Advisor, and General/Property Managers. Additionally, two group interviews were held, one with a regional environmental group, and the other with a volunteer forum at a property. Additionally, views were obtained from two senior policy-makers through e-mail correspondence.

In Chapter 4 it was explained that volunteer workers were regarded as indispensable front-line staff in enabling the charity to fulfil its core purpose as well as engaging directly with the Trust's members, visitors and supporters. The study sought to gain their views on the charity's approach to climate change as well as wider environmental issues. Volunteers were interviewed in the study's second survey, an on-line questionnaire (Appendix 4.4) completed by 139 respondents, 136 of which were usable. The survey utilised questions from the visitor survey (Chapter 8) to explore volunteers' level of agreement with visitors, as well as how the volunteers felt about engaging with visitors on environmental issues and to what extent they felt in touch with issues disseminated from the Trust's headquarters. In this way, the volunteers formed a bridge between the charity's climate change policy and its membership and visitors. Appendix 7.1 presents the results of the quantitative and qualitative data collected from the volunteer survey. The identity of respondents who took part in the interviews and the volunteer survey was protected for the production of transcripts and notes. In the discussion that follows, the participants are referred to as

manager, senior policy-maker, interviewee, respondent and participant to reflect the perspectives of the views given by each group, and to avoid repetition of generic terms used.

The importance of climate change as an issue for the National Trust

Most interviewees believed climate change was an important issue for the charity. In the extract below for example, the respondent saw climate change as posing a global threat to humankind as well as affecting the Trust's core purpose of conservation:

‘I’m wholly convinced that climate change is happening, driven largely by human behaviour, probably the biggest single issue for humanity, and certainly a big issue for the National Trust’ (Interview 2).

Five out of the eight senior policy-makers who responded to the exploratory questionnaire agreed with the statement that climate change was ‘the most challenging environmental issue that the Trust has faced to date’; and two agreed that although it was an environmental issue, the threats of climate change had been exaggerated. Another interviewee considered the issue to be of ‘massive’ importance for a number of reasons. Properties were experiencing the physical impacts of extreme weather events. The effects of climate change could be expensive for the charity, for example with its conservation work, or possibly affecting visitor flows, which could impact on revenue generation from membership subscriptions and property income to fund conservation work. Additionally, climate change was seen to be:

‘... big for society, and the environment as a whole ... [and] what role we play in moving towards a more sustainable agenda I suppose’ (Interview 5).

Importance was attached to the Trust's long-term responsibilities for the care of property and land in perpetuity with an imperative to manage climate change impacts. Climate change was viewed as posing a challenge to the Trust's role of conservation as well as

people's enjoyment of the charity's properties and estates, thus underlining the inter-dependence of conservation and tourism:

'It's about judgement ... climate change is one of the most important factors affecting our ability to deliver our purpose in terms of conserving our properties ... enabling people to enjoy our properties ... our ability to do that is directly affected by climate change ... climate change may well require a change in lifestyle habits [but] the Trust is not setting out to make it uncomfortable for people ... we're setting out to provide solutions in such a way that people can still enjoy themselves ... providing an alternative way of doing and seeing things' (Interview 2).

During the first interview conducted for this research in 2007 it was pointed out that the mind-set of the Trust had gradually shifted from preservation to conservation and that the implications of climate change meant some properties or land may have to be written-off in the face of physical impacts, as with land/buildings close to coastal erosion:

'Sacred cows may have to be sacrificed! Preserve integrity but don't pickle it' (Interview 1).

However, half of the senior policy-makers in the exploratory survey maintained a neutral position on the Trust having to accept that some of its properties may have to be sacrificed as a result of climate change impacts. At one rural property, the financial costs of responding to extreme weather events were emphasised by reference to drought, flooding and extremes of heat and cold. Following a recent prolonged drought, it had cost one property £200,000 to re-connect to mains water supply (Interview 11). Asked the same question on the importance of climate change for the Trust, a general manager showed strong affinity with the charity's core purpose, believing this commitment was shared by most staff (see interview extract on following page). During this particular interview, policy documents and information sheets addressing climate change produced at Heelis were acknowledged as useful; but for the manager, a more effective outcome could be gained by talking to visitors about the practical measures taken to combat climate change such as roof

repairs, insulation, and energy-saving measures: measures people could relate to their own homes, rather than any debate on the wider climate change issue. Bringing about change to visitor attitudes and behaviour was seen by the manager as a key challenge, where the property's business model depended on car travel: '... our members are welded to their cars'.

[Our staff are] ... fully signed-up to the cause ... the vast majority of us have joined the Trust because we see it as a cause and we agree with its values and it's very clear where the Trust stands on climate change, and I don't think I've ever had a discussion with a member of staff who isn't fully signed up to it' (Interview 9).

The potential role of volunteers and staff to communicate environmental messages such as the importance of climate change to visitors was underlined (see following responses from volunteers). Interviewee 9 was confident all the property's staff were 'fully signed up to it' but that in the case of volunteers, it was a 'slightly different issue'. The manager believed that volunteers had diverse motivations in working for the Trust, often related to a single issue or interest. Some volunteers held a very traditional outlook; and:

'... we have to work hard with them to get them on board ... you've got to get your team on board first ... otherwise you can't engage with visitors' (Interview 9).

There was a perception that outdoor volunteers were more knowledgeable about, and showed more affinity with, climate change, than their indoor counterparts who tended to be motivated more by interests in heritage and preservation.

Most volunteers surveyed (over 90 per cent) were middle-aged/retired, being born between 1920 and 1964, with a slight bias towards females. The most frequent length of service was between 1 and 10 years (79 per cent), and the majority of volunteers worked either in the house (typically as a room guide/reception) or in the gardens and estate. Two-thirds of volunteers agreed that global warming posed a significant threat to civilisation,

and over 80 per cent felt that as individuals they had a moral duty to reduce their carbon footprint; and agreed with the idea that ‘nature has equal rights to humans’. Most of the respondents agreed that the National Trust had an important role to play in generally encouraging pro-environmental behaviour, and that the government should be more active in tackling climate change. These policy views scored slightly higher than the mean for visitors (Table 7.1). The results from Question 3 (ANOVA) in Appendix 7.1 show strong similarities with the results for the same questions in the visitor survey where female respondents score higher than males on the perception of the threat of global warming, a personal moral duty to reduce one’s carbon footprint (the most significant difference with a p-value of 0.01), and the proposition that nature should have equal rights to humans. The age of volunteers did not make any significant difference to environmental attitudes. Taken as a whole, with the exception of reducing one’s carbon footprint, volunteers’ attitudes towards these issues (Table 7.1) were slightly more pro-environmental than the mean scores for visitors, suggesting the potential value of volunteers in discussing issues of climate change.

Statement (Agree = 5 \longleftrightarrow Disagree = 1)	N	Mean score	N	Mean score
	Volunteers		Visitors	
Global warming is a very real threat to civilisation	136	3.86	843	3.72
I have a moral duty to reduce my carbon footprint	136	4.15	843	4.20
Nature has equal rights to humans	136	4.15	837	3.97
The government should be doing more to tackle climate change	136	4.02	834	3.98
NT has an important role in getting people to think about pro-environmental behaviour	136	4.29	843	3.83
Conservation work helps to reduce the impacts of climate change	136	3.92	840	3.76
Tourism is harmful to conservation work	136	2.24	839	2.66

Table 7.1 Volunteer survey: environmental and policy attitudes vs. Visitor survey

Although strong agreement was evident for the Trust encouraging pro-environmental behaviour (highest mean score of 4.29 in Table 7.1), less than half of volunteers said they would look for opportunities to talk about environmental issues with visitors (Table 7.2). However, there was a strong indication (4.50 in Table 7.2) for responding well to team work, which holds some potential for conveying environmental messages. Less than two-thirds of volunteers though, saw the Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change (Table 7.2) although there was slightly more agreement that the Trust had an important role to play (Table 7.1).

Statement	N	Agree/ Slightly	Not Sure	Disagree/ Slightly	Mean Score
I look for opportunities to talk about environmental issues with visitors	136	45%	13%	42%	2.91
I respond well to a teamwork approach when working on new initiatives/projects	136	91%	7%	2%	4.50
I see the Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change	136	64%	20%	16%	3.74
I feel connected to issues coming from the Trust's Central office (Heelis)	136	40%	30%	30%	3.11

Table 7.2 Volunteer survey: Question 6

The results from the survey generally show volunteers to have a fairly conservative pro-environmental approach towards climate change issues and the charity's role in tackling climate change, although a few individuals were more outspoken in their doubts about the robustness of Trust's response and the extent of human influence on climate change:

'As far as I am aware, the Trust has no specific policies with regards to climate change; Not sure. They are probably responding more to general environmental [issues] rather than specifically climate change issues; I believe so-called climate change is a naturally occurring cyclical process and we make far too much fuss about it; government and the NT use the term for their own agendas e.g. political power and a nice way of advertising; I am unaware of the NT's response to climate change ...; I find the climate change debate to be a red herring; A lot of talk but not a lot of action' (Multiple extracts from the Volunteer Survey, Summer 2013).

The form and function of the Trust's climate change policy

The second theme explored in the interviews and surveys aimed to gauge to how much interviewees identified with a uniformly visible climate change policy throughout the charity and the nature of its implementation. Thompson & Martin (2010: 52/294) suggested that policy followed and supported an overall strategy:

‘Strategies emerge from the culture and values of key players, typically the strategic leader ... very much affected by the wider picture perspective ... policies are guidelines relating to decisions and approaches which support organisational efforts to achieve stated and intended objectives’.

This was evident in Chapter 6, where the Trust's climate change policy was shown to be part of its broader environmental agenda (conservation and energy performance) and periodic organisational strategies. As one interviewee put it:

‘Policy is about guidance, a position; at a lower level than strategy; it's how you achieve the strategy. We have a policy relating to climate change, on energy, to badgers and bovine disease ... you name it ... driven by having to make a decision as to what to do on the ground’ (Interview 2).

Referring to the broader policy literature (John, 2003; Parsons, 2005), policy is understood to be an overall framework of intent for a course of action. On the question of whether the Trust had a single, discernible climate change policy, one interviewee believed it was more of a case of several policies woven into many areas of the charity's work as opposed to one overall, driving policy:

‘... so that sustainability permeates what we do in response to climate change [as opposed to] one joined-up strategy ... we have a policy around energy ... water ... we've tended to pick it off by theme rather than an over-arching policy ... put into bite-sized chunks ... but I think partly it's because we have such a broad agenda ... getting our own house in order ... influencing public policy ... the whole engagement piece with visitors

and supporters and influence there as well ... as we've got multiple fronts we've tended to go for the 'weave it into everything approach' as opposed to one joined-up strategy. Interestingly, you might get a very different view from someone in what we call 'whole Trust', the central structure ... but that is how it looks from my perspective' (Interview 5).

After some brief hesitation, climate change policy was associated with being part of the charity's wider energy policy:

'I think it does, yes, um ... I would probably say our climate change policy is our energy policy, which is to reduce our energy use overall, and reduce reliance on fossil fuels, so that encompasses mitigation and adaptation, so yes, I would say that we do' (Interview 6).

And another manager was not entirely sure about the existence of a single climate change policy, but also readily made a connection with energy policy:

'Can't remember if we do have one; one of our key performance indicators is energy consumption; regional and national targets for lowering energy use; alternative sources, for example solar energy' (Interview 7).

The notes for Interviewee 8's response to this question read:

'Not a distinct climate change policy; energy policy yes; energy conservation, changeover from fossil to non-fossil dependency; local visitors; cut down on carbon footprint; from my perspective: daily operational rather than grand scheme' (Interviewer's notes).

One manager, having only recently been appointed, was not confident in identifying a single policy:

'When I got here ... not really ... first thing I knew ... fracking debate recently; obviously I've seen HS2 but that's different ... nothing on climate change specifically, no' (Interview 12).

Asked whether the Trust had a single, unified view on climate change, one interviewee at Heelis expressed confidence that those who worked for the charity supported the cause and with it, targets such as halving fossil fuel use by 2010; and continued with a more general reference to environmental behaviour:

‘... that’s something the staff have to deliver ... people’s attitude and their cultures of working are going to have to change [referring to members supporters and visitors] ... and that will be a challenge’ (Interview 3).

Six out of eight senior policy-makers agreed that the Trust had a climate change policy although only four felt able to identify a year in which climate change began to be addressed by the Trust; these years were all different: 1991, 2000, 2004 and 2008. Another senior participant referred to the Trust’s ‘statement of principles’ on climate change extended through sector statements/policies, and emphasised the possibility of trying to encourage lifestyle changes amongst the charity’s members and supporters through the ‘real passion’ shown by staff on these issues:

‘Climate change may well require a change in lifestyle habits ... we’re setting out to provide solutions in such a way that people can still enjoy themselves ... providing an alternative way of doing and seeing things ... the real passion comes from our staff who are actually dealing with this’ (Interview 2).

During the interviews, a recurring area of agreement lay with communicating climate change messages. The Trust believed an effective strategy to reach its target audience was through practical demonstrations of the charity’s work, such as with renovation works that factored-in adaptation to extreme weather events; or energy-saving devices that could be used in the home. This approach was seen to be more appropriate and effective than any attempt to lecture visitors on climate change science. As one participant explained:

‘That’s always been a strength about the Trust: policy from practice ... if we express a view about something we can demonstrate we’ve experienced it on the ground ... and that’s a huge strength ... in terms of local food ... trying to change people’s behaviour ... inspire them to source more local and seasonal food ... that has had huge traction because we can create allotments on our land and let kids help grow stuff in the walled kitchen garden ... we’re not only a campaigning organisation. We

did some research a few years ago – on climate change – how do people feel if you start lecturing them on greener living, and the answer is: they don't respond very well! Particularly if they've come for a nice day out ... so we found that the way in to that work is much more through pragmatic things ... like food ... like seeing a boiler in action ... it's that sort of stuff that we can really add to the party' (Interview 5).

Mitigation and adaptation measures in response to climate change

Mitigation measures aim to cut GHG emissions and reduce dependence on fossil fuel sources, thus decreasing the carbon footprint of an individual, organisation or destination. Switching to renewable energy sources has been part of the Trust's climate change policy since 1995. Adaptation, on the other hand, is essentially a defensive process, which aims to reduce the impacts of climate change on landscape and buildings. The National Trust's current adaptation strategy was formulated in 2005. Discussion on mitigation and adaptation measures took place mainly during interviews at properties in order to establish an operational, practical perspective on these different strategies in dealing with climate change. Energy became the emerging theme from the discussions, where most interviewees reiterated the importance of meeting Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) through targets on energy reduction and efficiencies using a number of measures. These included: switching to renewable energy sources through commissioning biomass boilers; the wholesale adoption of low-energy light bulbs; 'smart' monitoring of energy consumption at properties; installation of photovoltaic solar roof panels; water harvesting (collecting rainwater from roofs); water conservation measures; and the sale of logs to the local community (Photograph 5 on following page). Interviewees confirmed their understanding of these initiatives as examples of mitigation. One manager made the point that renewable energy sources alone were not enough, and needed to be combined with on-going efficiencies in energy use, confirming the Trust's dual priorities in its energy policy:

‘... we’re not just going to burn the same amount of energy with biomass boilers as we did with fossil fuels ... energy saving measures are needed [in addition to renewable energy]’ (Interview11).



Photograph 6: Logs for sale

Another respondent (Interview 7) who managed woodland and countryside highlighted a ‘big push’ on selling locally-felled wood, thereby maintaining a neutral CO₂ cycle with no net loss or gain. His work required effective forestry management and managing biodiversity, both of which fed into the wood cycle, as opposed to planting trees for the production of timber. A popular area of countryside on the edge of a major conurbation, much of the conservation work involved repairing landscape following extreme weather events, such as rebuilding a collapsed car park bank, cordoning off pockets of erosion, replacing drainage systems and repairing footpaths. The manager of a large estate with a park and gardens, referred to the constant task of maintenance in response to heavy rainfall

and flash flooding, necessitating the installation of soak-aways on sloped drives (twice in the last ten years); as well as managing the garden cycle in response to changing seasons (Interview 8). During the visitor's survey (Chapter 8), a Head Gardener also recounted some of the impacts of changing seasons brought on by early springs and autumns and milder weather, where planting decisions had to be revised; and the maintenance of footpaths had to be re-scheduled due to early leaf-fall in the autumn. Changeable weather emerged as the main issue for planning, maintenance, and health and safety considerations for visitors.

One interviewee described some of the problems experienced with heat waves. After a late spring, the heat dried out the ground on the house's parterre (a formal garden with patterned flower and herb beds) 'to an extent never known before' (Interview 12). The manager also recounted how visitor numbers decreased during heat waves (in his opinion, an optimum temperature for visiting was 16-23° Celsius). The house contained collections that required an evenly-balanced humidity: when the humidity was too low and the house was also warm, the heating system would automatically fire-up, leading to unpleasantly hot conditions for both visitors and staff. Severe weather also impacted on the planning of events held at properties. Extreme weather events had resulted in the cancellation or low attendance at events, outdoors especially, leading to issues with insurance claims, contractors and reduced net income. Planning was now conducted on a shorter time-horizon with more realistic targets and cancellation clauses being negotiated between the property and any outside agency required for the event (Interview 12).

Open answers from the volunteer survey (Appendix 7.1) showed an awareness of both local and wider issues associated with climate change. Two respondents believed a nearby river could be harnessed to produce hydro-electric power:

'Instead of pulling down the weir ... which runs through the property, install a hydro-electric generator. You might have to raise the weir slightly

but the power generated could be a good example for others to copy and in the long run save money' (Volunteer survey).

And:

'I have mentioned, in the past, on several occasions that electricity could easily be generated at by installing a water wheel in the river at the weir. I have been told that (we) can't afford it' (Volunteer survey).

Others highlighted transport issues: encouraging cycling and improving public transport access. Renewable energy sources, re-cycling and sourcing local food were also mentioned; including the challenges of procuring adequate funds to maintain conservation work:

'The Trust desperately needs more cash to tackle conservation and hence changes in the climate. They must do research into new methods of disposing of waste product and fully utilising the resources that are abundant on NT properties (wood chip burners etc.). New methods to tackle old problems will be the key to the future' (Volunteer survey).

Sustainable development and the National Trust's climate change policy

The concept of sustainable development was discussed in Chapter 2; and previously, Chapter 6 showed that the Trust's climate change policy evolved from its overall sustainable development agenda, driven principally by the charity's energy and conservation performance. It is worth reiterating Cope's (1995) observation that for some, the concept's 'vagueness and all-encompassing sweep' is conducive for including diverse viewpoints on the subject; but this imprecision, Cope said, does not provide a firm basis for future policy at the National Trust. O'Neill (2001) also remarked that widespread use of the term, an elastic concept, had led to a certain amount of green rhetoric and understandable suspicion. For Cope, the Trust's statutory core purpose by definition required a sustainable approach, where 'permanent preservation for the benefit of the Nation' implies intergenerational responsibility: the preservation and conservation of its assets for future generations, with the Trust acting as 'a major guardian of the critical natural capital of the nation' (p.55). In

fulfilling its functions, the environmental footprint of the Trust extends over a diverse and far-reaching range of activities as both a conservation and tourism enterprise. With this in mind, the interviews sought to gain a sense of the relevance of the concept to the Trust's climate change policy. At the charity's most senior level, half of the respondents to the exploratory survey maintained a neutral position on the relevance of sustainable development and sustainable tourism as reasons for addressing climate change; and five out of eight considered sustainable development to be more of a mantra than a practical strategy. These findings show some consistency with Cope's (1995) view on sustainable development. Despite this, the survey indicated that most of the senior respondents saw responding to climate change as part of sustainable development.

A senior policy-maker generally endorsed the concept, indicating that it provided the basis for the Trust's triple-bottom-line approach to performance:

'Yes ... it catches some very useful ideas for the Trust, fits with long-termism, fits with our triple-bottom line ... [but] I find I don't use the term so often now because its values have been over-used - beaten out of it' (Interview 4).

This interviewee also expressed some doubt though, as to how often the term would in practice be used at high-level meetings. Another participant chose to discuss the role of sustainable technology, and seemed to suggest that the Trust was not entirely consistent in its approach:

'...so I think sustainable development is very important to us, and it should be more important than it is, because we're trying to tackle climate change; but if the new buildings we're putting up, or our renovated properties are not using the best sustainable technology, then we're kind of shooting ourselves in the foot and creating further problems down the line, and we won't meet our energy strategy target either ... so I think it's a very relevant concept ... I think it is, whether the organisation realises

how important it is, I don't think they do, but I think we'll get there'
(Interview 6).

At another interview, some degree of scepticism was associated with the concept, or at least some of the attempts at definition:

'I think the definitions that float around are nonsense, by and large ... [but] ... sustainable development means that an activity can go on in perpetuity without depleting resources or damaging the environment'; and: '... it's debatable that there is any truth in that statement sustainable development' (Two extracts from Group Interview 1).

However, as the discussion continued, the value of sustainable development being promoted outside the Trust was expressed by one of the participants:

'And the other thing is, Fiona said this, she nailed her colours to the mast 6 or 7 years ago, 'what's the point of having 650 nice places if the rest of the country is falling around your ears ... and that's a very powerful statement ... and you've got to be careful ... what the National Trust's aspirations are and what my personal aspirations are ...but I've always thought the Trust had a role to play, a much wider, bigger role in society, and environmental things ... in getting people and getting the history ... and making them reflect on the past for the benefit of the future ...'
(Extract, Group Interview 1).

A later question on the significance of *Going local* in managing climate change illustrated the importance of the Trust's properties being seen as the centre of the local community, as well as an employer. During most interviews, sustainable development was linked to the charity's TBL performance criteria (discussed in Chapter 5). However, maintaining a sustainable approach was not necessarily seen as a foregone conclusion. Asked about the relevance of the concept in tackling climate change, one interviewee, although endorsing the relevance of TBL to the long-term horizon, pointed to differences between the 'core, purist conservation agenda' for example peat restoration in the Peak District; and 'where it gets

more challenging for us': the more short-term priorities associated with visitor business, such as with planning a new visitor centre:

'... how much sustainable thinking really goes into that? That's where more short-term thinking tends to drive things – we need something now – we need it to work ... that's where we sometimes struggle to get the more sustainable thinking to play out.' (Interview 5).

This particular interview continued with a statement that 'getting off the fossil fuel agenda' had the most resonance for sustainable development, as in the case of installing bio-mass boilers at properties. The more complicated issue for the respondent though, concerned a business model based on around 300,000 people a year travelling by car to properties in the Midlands, underscoring the charity's reliance on this relatively unsustainable form of transport:

'That's where I think we've put that into the 'too hard to think about' box ... what do you do? [if people did not travel by car] ... it would fundamentally change our business model' (Interview 5).

The National Trust as a contributor to environmental public policy; external affairs

Literature reviewed in the Trust's public domain and some of their internal documents showed that the Trust has contributed to public policy through quiet advocacy, policy networking and occasionally more active campaigns, as in the case of the charity's criticisms of the government's National Planning Policy Framework in 2012. The charity has engaged in public policy-making as a response to issues it considered affected its core purpose and management of assets. This process comes under the Directorate of Media and External Affairs. This section explores how much importance interviewees attached to this dimension of the Trust's work in relation to climate change. A senior manager underlined the purpose of networking:

'Yes – networking is the most effective way to achieve our conservation objectives ... not because we want to change the world because we're the National Trust ... because if we want to conserve our wonderful places we

can't manage our places as islands, therefore the external environment, political above all, but also social and environmental, has a direct impact on that; so we need to help influence the context around our properties to enable us to manage them effectively ...' (Interview 2).

He continued by likening the Trust to the 'last, truly great mutual organisation', which by virtue of the size of its assets, membership and being a 'neutral contributor', would make the charity a natural choice for the government to approach for its views.

Interviewee 3 made a distinction between partnerships and networks. For him, partnerships were about working with organisations and creating structures, even with those where conflict existed; whereas networking was seen to be more of a communication process between individuals. Both processes were seen as important for the Trust, which needed to be 'very open and outward in engaging [with partnerships]'. Continuing with the subject of networking, Interviewee 4 endorsed the composition of the Council with half of the members appointed from relevant organisations to the charity's core purpose, drawn from such areas as the arts, countryside, heritage, natural environment, and tourism. The Green Alliance and the Wildlife and Countryside Link were partnership organisations cited as having particular relevance for the Trust's work on climate change. The charity was considered to be well-connected:

'... the range of contacts we have across public sector, government departments and civil society organisations is huge ...' (Interview 3).

However, the exploratory survey revealed that only one out of the eight senior respondents was able to identify a range of external organisations the Trust consulted on matters related to climate change, despite the majority believing networking to be necessary for developing an effective climate change policy. Asked directly whether the National Trust had been approached by the government to contribute to policy-making, this interviewee responded by saying:

‘Yes ... We have a central external affairs team based in London, who work with government departments; specifically on climate change, it would be DECC and DEFRA ... they tend to get us involved before they go out for consultation on a policy’ (Interview 6).

An insight into how the Board of Trustees should respond to national issues at different levels came through a paper on what positions the Trust could take on the controversial topic of aviation policy in the UK (Interview 4, Paper). Four zones of existing and/or potential engagement are shown in Table 7.3.

Level of engagement	NT’s operating zone	Impact
International policies	Outside our scope	General impact on the environment
National aviation policy – and related policies	Zone to which we are moving and where most questions arise	Impact on all properties – via climate change and sea level rise
Regional/national policy on airport expansion	Wider zone where we operate	General impact on countryside properties
Site specific issues, e.g. airport expansion	Traditional ‘comfort zone’	Direct impact on neighbouring property

Table 7.3 Type of impact/Level of engagement
(Adapted from Interview 4, Paper)

Examples of the type of engagement the Trust could consider were as follows:

- 1) Being wholly reactive, for example in deciding whether or not to respond to a government consultation paper;
- 2) Being more pro-active, for example undertaking or commissioning studies (subsequently used at public inquiries or distributed as publications);
- 3) Direct action: the Trust could choose to join, or ‘even organise’ public demonstrations.

Any one, or all of these options, could be undertaken by the Trust on its own, or in various ad hoc or permanent alliances with like-minded organisations. The paper’s author made clear that the Board had not yet really discussed how to approach this type of issue. In his

view, it was important for the Board to refer to the Trust's core purposes and take a realistic view of what could be achieved by way of influence. The Trust's long-term interests (such as climate change) would be best served by taking account of these three criteria: type of impact (aviation in this case); level of engagement; and type of engagement. As one senior manager put it:

'Big question is – can our actions influence the wider environment? Advocacy and practical action have to be balanced; no point in pontificating while we could be taking action' (Interview 2).

During one discussion, the importance of partnerships with other conservation charities in order to develop conservation projects was underlined. On the eastern moors of the Peak District, in partnership with the RSPB, the Trust recently took out a lease arrangement with the National Park so that the two charities could undertake conservation work in an uplands area:

'I think those partnerships are essential to tackle those huge issues like climate change ... we won't get anywhere trying to tackle that on our own' (Interview 5).

Another respondent alluded to a change in culture at the Trust, which, previously was seen as tending to be introspective in its approach to common issues:

'It's all matrix [now] ...this is a new approach ... the Trust has traditionally been inward-looking, not looking outside its boundaries ... but other organisations are working towards similar ends ... there's been a huge shift [towards working in partnerships]' (Group Interview 1).

A local example of how some the Trust's recent initiatives (in this case associated with climate change) were being publicised related to a planning application for solar panels:

‘... a church in Moseley [Birmingham] had had its application for solar panels in its roof turned down ... someone in the meeting said ‘well I know that Hanbury Hall managed to get their panels up, we need to contact the National Trust to see how they got permission to do it’ ... that for me is a first’ (Group Interview 1).

One Trust manager believed the Trust should be capable of raising the level of debate in public affairs, and seemed to imply that climate change was a vehicle for this:

‘... we could be the nation’s carbon bankers ... we manage our land better ... and with 3.5 million members ... that should give us quite a position of influence and raising the level of debate, because there’s a pretty poor level of debate in the country at the moment ... but I think that’s part and parcel of why the Trust has got involved in the climate change issue’ (Group Interview 1).

In discussing the Trust’s involvement in public policy, interviewees usually took the opportunity to comment on the Trust’s role as a campaigning organisation, although not always directly related to climate change. A senior policy-maker summarised his view of the Trust’s position on campaigning thus:

‘I do not believe the NT should, in general, be a ‘campaigning’ body. Exceptions to this are when a National Trust property, or aspects of that property, are threatened. Another is when issues arise that relate to our founding Act, even though they may not directly affect any Trust property. A current example is the proposals for reform of the planning policy system’ (E-mail correspondence 1).

At another interview, it was suggested that although the Trust was not an active campaigner such as Greenpeace, the charity nevertheless took opportunities to communicate pro-environmental messages. This comment implied that the Trust was becoming more confident with this idea, and potentially could exert influence:

‘Yes, I think that’s something that has changed in the organisation; maybe we are becoming more confident on the campaigning; sometimes we are

frightened of our own power; massive organisation, 4 million members; in Shropshire, 15% of households are members of the Trust; we have the potential for massive influence' (Interview 9).

Continuing with this theme, one manager alluded to a charity such as the RSPB as having a stronger sense of its cause amongst its members, than was the case in the National Trust. The Trust had been founded as a campaigning organisation, and the manager implied it had the potential to become more active in this area:

'... and looking at membership ... 99 per cent of people join the Trust because it's a good deal in financial terms: free entry, free car parking ... actually, could we introduce a membership that costs a lot less ... that's about do you want to support our cause? I'm sure most people are members of the RSPB because they believe in what it does and what they stand for ... so how do we tap into that? I think it's about the cause, because actually if you look back to why we were founded, we weren't founded to own stately homes and provide nice days out to people; we were founded as a campaigning, cause-based organisation, that just through circumstance happened to move more into owning properties and that was the way we delivered our cause' (Interview 6).

The Trust's governance arrangements and climate change

Governance is defined by Thompson & Martin (2010: 787) as 'the location of power and responsibility at the head of an organisation'; and Jepson (2005; 518) contended:

'A key purpose of governance is to ensure that an organisation's assets are managed and developed in a manner that will maximise delivery on its mission'.

The key asset of Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations, and indeed the 'third sector' in general, Jessop maintained, was public trust'. Reform of the National Trust's governance arrangements and organisational changes were discussed in Chapter 6. As a reminder, the Blakenham Report of 2003 led to the transfer of the highest level of decision-making within the Trust from the 53-strong Council (the Chairman is the 53rd member) to a

12-member Board of Trustees. Thereafter, the Council's role was designed to represent both the 'guardian spirit' and 'shaper of policy' for the charity, assuming more of an advisory role to the Board. Being a relatively recent change at the Trust, the interviews sought to explore perceptions of whether the charity's current governance arrangements supported an effective response to climate change in terms of policy formation and implementation. Disappointingly, the interviews produced few, if any, links to climate change; and largely served to largely endorse the outcome of the Blakenham Report that led to the creation of the smaller executive decision-making Board of Trustees.

Initially though, not all Council/Board members who took part in the exploratory survey agreed that the Council was the shaper of policy: instead, that role was seen to belong to the Senior Management Team (SMT). However, respondents were unanimous about the Council's primary role as the Trust's guardian or advisor. Although one informant remained unconvinced about the usefulness of the Council's new role:

'That's the problem – Council does not make policy. Recent policy decisions have been made by the Trustees and Council were then informed ... Council has been largely side-lined ... and a useful role for its 52 highly experienced members has not yet been identified' (E-mail correspondence 2).

On the other hand, a senior policy-maker endorsed the new arrangements:

'Unwieldy? [the Council in its former role] Yes; but also counter-democratic. It appears to be democratic, but in practice you get small, internal bodies that take decisions. [It was] clumsy, unfocused, and open to all sorts of inefficiencies. So the turkeys as it were, voted for Christmas ... it became much more practical for this small body to delegate prescribed decisions to SMT' (Interview 4).

The Chairman, he explained, was keen for Council to utilise the Regional Chairs' local knowledge and Advisory Panels' expertise in shaping policy, thus bringing together three

constituencies for making strategic decisions. Asked whether the current governance arrangements were more effective, another senior manager did not hesitate to say: ‘Yes; without a shadow of doubt’ (Interview 2). He confirmed that the Board’s decisions were delegated to the SMT through the Director-General on the basis of finance and reputation being the principal criteria: ‘... reputation is arguably the Trust’s most important asset’ (Interview 2). Half of the Council/Board respondents in the exploratory survey believed policy development at the Trust represented a ‘top-down’ more than ‘bottom-up’ process, and that grassroots opinions and values of members and visitors did not influence policy development. This indicated the prevalence of a centralised approach to policy-making.

Going local and managing climate change

Discussed in Chapter 5, the Trust’s current strategy *Going local* was introduced in 2010 with the aim of empowering property managers as part of longer-term decentralisation. The introduction of General Managers (GMs) in 2007 was a move designed to help strengthen the operational and functional divisions of the Trust to enable the charity to place properties at the centre of its activities. GMs were appointed at that time to manage forty of the Trust’s most complex properties; and in doing so, were ‘charged with the corporate goals of engagement’ (Desmond, 2010: 9) with various stakeholders in local communities and the visiting public. To support this shift of power towards property level, Functional Advisors in areas such as Human Resources, Archaeology, and Conservation, were given training to develop consultancy and influence skills to both support and challenge GMs, who had to balance commercial and conservation outcomes whilst keeping pace with the delivery of the strategic change set by the Trust. Interviews were conducted with the aim of exploring managers’ views on the effectiveness of the *Going local* strategy in relation to managing

climate change-related issues. An initial endorsement came via six out of the eight Council/Board members who saw the strategy as an effective way of promoting pro-environmental behaviour, in other words at property-level and amongst local communities.

One interviewee chose to emphasise that in his view, while freeing-up property managers with more autonomy had led to greater effectiveness associated with swifter decision-making and a more demand-led, active involvement in the local community, nevertheless ‘the whole is more than the sum of parts’; implying that a central policy would always hold sway. In the case of climate change:

‘... the ability to take a helicopter view of what’s going on and act as a barometer – is very relevant to climate change; if you’ve got all those case studies, and the ability to take that overview, ... and we can join up all the dots to see the picture ... we have to retain that ability as well as be effective at local level’ (Interview 2).

This point was reinforced by another property manager (Interviewee 8), who saw the value of promoting the Trust’s conservation and adaptation measures undertaken in other regions to visitors at their local properties,. Visitors to inland properties in the West Midlands might be interested to view exhibitions presenting work carried out at coastal locations tackling erosion. This would reinforce the notion of the ‘whole Trust’. This also applied to the setting of targets for property managers:

‘... what the agenda [*Going local*] cannot do is drive ambitious stretch targets ... that [those] will almost always have to come from the central organisation ... [*Going local*] needs to sit within a bigger framework’ (Interview 5).

The practical implications of the *Going local* strategy were illustrated by a manager of one of the larger properties in the West Midlands. His account reinforced four important

operational themes: the perceived effectiveness of *Going local* as a motivating force for property managers in being able to run a property with more autonomy; the expectation of receiving centralised budgets and targets from the whole Trust; the contribution of Trust properties and estates to the local economy and as an employer; and the opportunity to develop local and repeat business (visits) as part of a sustainable approach to heritage tourism, although at times conflicting with energy reduction targets. The extract provides a comprehensive account of the relationship between Heelis and a large, complex field of operations for a property.

‘I’m a great advocate of it, it’s one of the things I really like about the Trust; because we’re a big bureaucratic organisation but the fact is our properties ... they have national value but they are at the heart of their local communities whether we like it or not ... the vision for my property business plan is for XXX to be full of life and locally loved ... because most of our visitors come from within a 10-mile radius ... so we’re talking about sustainability ... although most of my visitors arrive by car they are making very short journeys to get here ... increases in petrol prices have forced people to visit more locally ... we’re the biggest employer in the locality ... we are the 2nd biggest tourist destination in the WMs; we’re really important for the local economy, local suppliers, businesses, commercial fairs; tenant farmers, 50 tenanted properties on the wider estate so we’re a big landlord, all the small villages; all my volunteers being drawn from the local community ... but on the other side, I expect decision making and budget signed-off to be delegated down to my level ... so that I can be making decisions close to where it has an impact ... the Trust sets the national strategy ... that’s very clear ... generating income, engaging visitors, improving conservation performance, developing our team; clear policies and procedures, climate change being one of them, energy reduction, reducing carbon footprint; my expectation is that central and region set a very clear framework and rule book which we have all signed up to ... I then produce my business plan locally, which reflects that strategy ... I have KPIs ... it’s that balanced scorecard ... some of it quite contradictory ... XXX has experienced massive growth (364-day opening) but will have to work against 20% energy reduction’ (Interview 9).

One manager recognised that an organisation the size of the National Trust needed to have ‘nationally driven joined-up policies’ but, while he was in broad agreement with the aims of

Going local and looked forward to developing some of his own ideas, with regard to catering, retail (visitor shop) and plant sales, he estimated that up to 80 per cent of the merchandise on offer in these areas was decided by Heelis; and consequently:

‘But the way we’re going at the moment, we do risk some of the individuality of properties ... [and in developing local initiatives] you have to be really quite bold and get on with it ... there’s so many rules and guidance on everything ...’ (Interview 12).

National contracts on food and drink sold in property tea rooms and restaurants came across as a disincentive to forging local initiatives. He related the following story about a souvenir, which had a questionable provenance in terms of its sustainability:

‘...this is an item we’re selling in our shop which is made in Germany, shipped to the Chinese to put together then shipped back again; no-one’s been able to explain to me why we’re selling that, why it’s appropriate to have it ...’ (Interview 12).

However, the manager had since been able to introduce several local initiatives to encourage repeat business, one of them being to allow dog-walkers greater access to the estate; or, with the co-operation of the local authority, running a shop in the local country park, which helped to promote the Trust’s presence in the area.

The balance between access and conservation as part of sustainable tourism and implications for responding to climate change

As early as 1960/61, the growth of tourism had come to the attention of senior figures at the Trust. This extract illustrates their concern at the time over the impacts of increased numbers on a property’s integrity:

‘It is difficult to combine tranquillity with a disproportionate number of visitors ... Where the Trust once had to cater only for the walker, countless visitors now arrive in droves by car, bus and motor cycle ... an increasing number also wish to camp in tents and caravans’ (National Trust, 1961: 5).

The concepts of sustainable development and its derivative sustainable tourism were discussed in Chapter 2. During the interviews the two concepts were used interchangeably, as both share the three pillars (Hall, 2010: 133) of economic, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability. The National Trust Act 1907 intended the preservation of natural and built heritage for the benefit of the nation to be promoted, as well as providing opportunities for recreation: ‘the maintenance and management of lands as open spaces or places of public resort and buildings for purposes of public recreation resort or instruction’ (Section 4 (2), National Trust, 2009a: 4). As one senior manager remarked:

‘The verb to ‘promote’ goes beyond simply owning and acquiring ... [it means] enjoy historic and natural assets, which then links into sustainability’ (Interview 2).

Asked whether tourism and conservation were compatible partners, he was:

‘... unequivocally in agreement if done in the right way ...[referring to] sustainable development’.

This part of the interview process therefore, sought to explore if managers considered the Trust was achieving a proportionate balance between its conservation work and tourism activities, so that a sustainable approach to heritage tourism was realisable, taking into account climate change (Gössling et al, 2009). In the volunteer survey, the issue was addressed through a negatively-worded question where 62 per cent of respondents disagreed that tourism was harmful to conservation. With regard to climate change, two-thirds agreed

that conservation work helped to address the impacts of climate change. These responses from volunteers indicated a relatively positive view of tourism's potential to contribute towards conservation of the built and natural environment.

At least three interviewees made a direct reference to areas of potential conflict between conservation and tourism. There was an implicit recognition that increased visits would potentially impact on a property's conservation needs, for example repair and maintenance work; but also, increased visits, invariably made by car, contributed to the Trust's carbon footprint. In this case:

'I think there's always the potential for conflict between conservation and access, and it's something the Trust has struggled with for many years, but, yes, intrinsically, the argument is that if you increase access it's going to be detrimental to conservation, whether you're talking about conservation of the building and chattels or ... reducing your carbon footprint ... if you think differently about doing things and act differently ... there are ways of achieving both' (Interview 6).

And:

'... [there are] opportunities to tell people about what we're doing, to try to tackle climate change; it will make us more sustainable financially; then we'll have more money to plough back into the business to tackle climate change issues, help us become more adapted ... so I think there is potential for conflict, if it's handled well it shouldn't be a problem' (Interview 6).

Another respondent saw some benefit in the Trust's 'open 364 days a year' initiative in helping to even-out seasonality, also recognising that collectively, properties were in some way self-regulating with their individual visitor capacities:

'We are an organisation about people and places; we want people to enjoy our properties; that income goes towards conservation; it is getting that balance right; the great thing about the Trust is its differences; some places

might be up to capacity, others have headroom; 364 has helped to even out the season' (Interview 8).

When it came to visitors using alternative transport to their cars:

'...it's not so much telling people that they could use alternatives, more a case of having all the information to hand when people ask' (Interview 8).

Another manager took the opportunity to highlight the remote rural location of his property with its heavy reliance on car-borne transport to reach the site, posing the dilemma that a healthy visitor income had to be maintained. However with a small local population, only a limited number of visits could be expected; in this respect, the conurbation market offered more potential. Thought had to be given to a property's use, and its appeal and utility for as yet unreachable audiences:

'... but there's a lot we can do with the communicating and the messages with our visitors; having said that we are totally reliant on 99% of our visitors arriving by car and this is one area we're struggling with ...very rural location; public transport links very poor ...growth in our properties will rely on people day-tripping probably from south-west conurbation in Birmingham, because the growth that we need to sustain cannot be provided alone from a local population of 186,000; there will be some people that we will just never reach us because it will not fit into their lifestyle ...we are going to struggle and that does bother me; I don't know whether it's fixable' (Interview 11).

But, thinking about intra- and inter-generational needs:

'...I think the balance is right; the difference is in how we encourage people to use our properties; we have to think not just about those members who might have passed away in 10-20 years but future generations: what is it they will want to protect about places forever for everyone?' (Interview11).

Throughout the interviews, energy reduction targets set by Heelis frequently came up in conversation as presenting a dilemma between increasing visitor numbers to fund conservation work conflicting with making energy savings. Increasingly, properties were opening ‘364’ (every day of the year except for Christmas Day) but this in turn led to greater energy consumption for heating houses throughout the winter; the cold winter of 2012/13 winter was a case in point. Furthermore, the 2009 base-line energy targets were set before properties started to extend their opening hours since 2012 (Interview 12). One manager summed-up the balancing act thus:

‘... the need to make money balanced against those green policies ... it’s hard work and requires a lot of thought ... and it requires your entire team, including consultancies, particularly building surveyors ... [they are] really critical in helping you reduce energy use and [the property’s] carbon footprint’ (Interview 9).

Similarly:

‘...we want to grow our visitor business because that is what drives the income that allows us to do the conservation work, and yet it’s difficult for us to grow our visitor business without increasing our energy and water use ...’ (Interview 5).

Going local was again mentioned as a strategy that could encourage more frequent local visits and possibly contribute to reducing the Trust’s carbon footprint, but only if there was enough interest being generated in and around the local property. As one interviewee put it: ‘Car-based visitors could ultimately ... be our undoing’ (Group Interview 1). Extracts from a property business plan illustrated the dual objectives of increasing visitor was to be achieved via the *Going local* strategy:

‘[Objective] To increase visitor numbers and membership of the National Trust through our local community repeat visiting and valuing our properties in the same way as our members currently do ... [and] we will have to get out there, into our communities and show them what we have

to offer ... [and] we will woo visitors through providing great customer service, improved facilities and activities all year round which will lead to converting them to members' (Interview 11, Property Business Plan).

Secondly, the objective:

'To reduce our impact on the environment we will improve our properties environmental performance and move towards renewable energy'.

Meeting this objective depended on a number of measures: carrying out carbon audits of properties; involving the region's 'green champions', who were staff responsible mainly for supporting the communication and implementation of energy policy at properties and making a transition to renewable energy; as well as promoting pro-environmental behavioural change. A property's targets for 2014-16 are shown below in Table 7.4.

Measure	2012/13 Forecast	2013/14 Target	2014/15 Target	2015/16 Target
Visitors rating visits as very enjoyable (%)	63	65	70	75
Conservation Performance Index Score (%)	67.27	67.9	68.5	69
Energy reduction (%)	0	4.7	11.7	14.4

Table 7.4 Extract from a Property Business Plan

Chapter summary

This chapter explored the views of a sample of National Trust staff and volunteers taken from different levels within the charity ranging from an exploratory survey of Council and Board of Trustee members, to three levels of management and then to a sample of

volunteers workers. Identifying how much consistency was shown by the different respondents in their views towards climate change and the charity's response was an underlying purpose of the data collection, and will contribute towards an overall evaluation of the effectiveness of the Trust's policy on climate change and its practice of sustainable heritage tourism. The eight themes that directed the qualitative data collection mentioned in the beginning of this chapter have been condensed into five as a chapter summary.

The importance of climate change for the National Trust and the perception of its climate change policy; sustainable development

The interviews and volunteer survey indicated general agreement on the importance of climate change as a wider environmental issue as well as a situation to which the National Trust had to respond. Some volunteers expressed a more sceptical view about the influence of human activities in causing accelerated global warming, as well as the Trust's motives for involving itself in such issues. There was a view that climate change impacted directly on the charity's ability to deliver its core purpose, because of the physical impacts on conservation work.

Senior policy-makers at the Trust were in broad agreement that theoretically, policy was part of a broader strategy, and this applied in the case of the charity's climate change policy working towards achieving its energy and conservation objectives, which belonged to the Trust's periodic strategies (currently *Going local*). Policy was seen essentially as a position, providing guidance for implementation. Some respondents from across all levels were not able to identify a single, discernible climate change policy; but readily associated climate change with the Trust's energy policy. Climate change policy was seen to be integrated throughout many aspects of the charity's work such as gardens, coastal

protection, building maintenance, land management and other sectors – in effect, as subsidiary policies.

How the Trust chose to communicate climate change issues to its audience emerged from the interviews. There was widespread agreement that tactics such as lecturing visitors about making changes to their lifestyles would be ineffective, and not appropriate for engaging audiences. The preferred approach was to communicate through practical demonstrations, such as showing how climate change affected essential conservation work. Senior management expected staff throughout the organisation to deliver these messages; and there was a belief that attitudes and culture would need to change as part of the greater effort in responding pro-environmentally to climate change. Discussing and/or presenting these issues to visitors were seen as opportunities to enrich the visitor experience. Volunteers though, were not entirely enthusiastic about discussing these issues with visitors on a one-to-one basis; more support was shown for a team-work approach to projects. Adopting the most effective methods for the Trust to adopt in communicating its concern about climate change to members, supporters and visitors, emerged as an important consideration from the field work.

Chapter 6 discussed how the Trust's climate change policy formed part of the charity's wider sustainable development agenda. The interviews revealed differing opinions with this concept. On the one hand, sustainable development was seen to neatly encapsulate the charity's triple-bottom-line performance framework. On the other hand, respondents from all levels within the organisation expressed some reservations with both the definition of the concept, and its practical implementation, especially with regard to long and short-term horizons. The concept was open to different interpretations, but was viewed as a relevant framework for the charity's climate change policy.

Practical measures in response to climate change

Preoccupation with meeting KPI targets on energy reduction was a recurrent theme during the interviews. The Trust's energy policy emerged as the driver of mitigation. Although renewable energy sources were highlighted as part of the strategy, it was stressed that a steady reduction in energy consumption also formed part of the centralised policy. Most respondents at some point recalled their experiences in dealing with extreme weather events, most commonly associated with flood or drought. Extreme weather impacted the fabric of land and buildings as well as planned events, seen as valuable revenue streams but increasingly subjected to cancellation, poor attendance, and in some cases disputes over insurance claims.

Mitigation and adaptation measures were treated overall by managers as sensible, risk-averse strategies to meet both the charity's energy targets and maintain conservation work. As indicated earlier in the chapter, volunteers who provided written responses on their questionnaire were aware of the various approaches to mitigation and adaptation. Capitalising on volunteers' local knowledge offers potential for managing local issues.

External affairs related to climate change

This interview topic largely confirmed Chapter 6's findings that the Trust continues to involve itself in public policy advocacy on environmental matters, through being invited to participate in the government's consultation process. Some thought had been given as to how the Board of Trustees should respond to various levels of engagement depending on what the charity saw as its operating zone (international down to site specific) and any subsequent impacts. Interviewees confirmed that the Trust increasingly attached importance to collaborating with like-minded organisations, understood as a process of networking. A

distinction was drawn between working in partnerships, where structures were created; and networking, which was seen more as a communication activity undertaken by individuals. A view was expressed that networking was conducted with great skill by individuals higher up the Trust's organisation. From one or two interviews, a sense was gained that perhaps the Trust should be bolder as a campaigning organisation, even mooted the idea that people could support the charity (paying a subscription) primarily for its cause, rather than for access to visitor attractions.

Governance and organisational structure supporting climate change policy

The reform of the Trust's governance arrangements following the Blakenham Report of 2003 was mostly endorsed by the more senior members of the charity interviewed. The new 12-member Board of Trustees was seen as a swifter, more efficient decision-making body than the 52-member Council. The Council was viewed as continuing to take important decisions on behalf of the charity, but that its role had changed to become the guardian of the spirit of the Trust. However, in consideration of the Council's role as a shaper of policy, several respondents believed in practice, this was implemented by the Senior Management Team.

The organisational review leading up to the introduction of the *Going local* strategy in 2010, saw further empowerment of property managers and the introduction of the new post of General Manager to oversee a group of properties and/or take on more complex operations. The interviews gave the impression that empowerment combined with the delegation of centralised targets was seen as a largely effective way to manage properties, opening up opportunities for property initiatives centred on the surrounding community. These could include measures that bore some relevance to climate change, both locally and

further afield. One or two managers though, alluded to some frustration with restrictions imposed by centralised policies.

The balance of conservation and tourism as part of sustainable heritage tourism

The National Trust Act 1907 gave statutory powers for the promotion and preservation of natural and built heritage including public access for recreation, leisure and educational activities. Chapter 6 identified some concern shown by the leaders of the Trust in the 1960s over tourism encroaching onto conservation priorities. To some extent, this view also emerged from some interviews. Overall, most interviewees acknowledged that visitor revenue was essential for funding conservation work, but with some inevitable trade-off between the financial benefits of increased visitors against the requirement to reduce energy consumption and protect landscape and buildings. The interviews clearly showed that car-borne travel remains a dilemma for the Trust, arguably the ‘Achilles heel’ of the Trust’s carbon footprint and its contribution to sustainable heritage tourism.

Participation in National Trust policy-making

Taken together, the exploratory survey, interviews and volunteer survey have shown three different responses to how policy-making, not just climate change policy, is perceived at the charity. At the highest level, policy was mostly seen as a ‘top-down’ process, which is largely immune from the influences of grass-root views or opinions. At property manager level, the direction and target culture provided by centralised policies were seen to be conducive to the business model, but with scope for an individual approach enabled by the Trust’s belief in the benefits to be found in decentralisation and empowerment. The Trust views volunteers as an indispensable part of their workforce: in 2014, there were 60,080

volunteers who worked 4.2 million hours, estimated to equate with a value of £38.2 million of time given (National Trust, 2015b: 43-46). This study's survey indicated that only 40 per cent of volunteers who responded to the survey felt connected with issues communicated by Heelis, and less than two-thirds saw the National Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change. Given the number of volunteers who work for the Trust and their accumulated experience and knowledge, arguably this sector within the charity offers some potential in contributing to policy-making. One of the interviews conducted took place at a volunteers' forum, where ideas were fed into the management of the property in question. This is re-visited in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 8

VISITORS' TRAVEL BEHAVIOUR AND ENVIRONMENTAL ATTITUDES

Introduction

This chapter aims to answer the research's fifth question through an exploration of the travel behaviour and attitudes towards climate change and associated environmental issues from a sample of visitors from five National Trust properties in the West Midlands region. It further considers whether their views can provide any insights for the Trust's climate change policy-making. Kim (2012) pointed out that visitor management strategies have increasingly looked to promoting environmentally responsible behaviour in trying to manage the balance between tourism and environmental protection. In Chapter 2 it was underlined that transport was the largest contributor of greenhouse gases from the tourism industry, and although aviation accounts for most emissions (54 to 75% of tourism transport), overall the car is the most popular mode of transport, but has received less attention from tourism researchers (Simpson et al., 2008). In Great Britain, 63 per cent of day visitors use a car for their journey (Visit England et al., 2013) with passenger cars overall accounting for nearly 40 per cent of the UK's CO₂ emissions from domestic and international transport (DfT, 2008). Chapters 6 and 7 revealed that car-borne transport to properties remains a dilemma for the National Trust. For these reasons, through a visitor questionnaire survey, this chapter explores possible motivations and attitudes of visitors in their choice of transport mode. Additionally, visitors were asked to comment on a range of environmental issues as part of gauging their pro-environmental attitudes. Chapters 2 and 3 underlined the contribution of pro-environmental behaviour to achieving sustainable tourism and Chapter 6 identified that the National Trust's first climate change policy document

made a specific commitment to engaging its wider audience on climate change issues. Accordingly, this chapter explores these aspects.

A copy of the visitor survey is at Appendix 4.3 and its design was explained in Chapter 4. Briefly though, the first part of the questionnaire aimed to capture categorical data about respondents' travel patterns and choice of transport mode. Using ordinal data, the second half of the survey probed reasons for car users to consider, or not consider, alternative transport to their cars. This was followed by an exploration of attitudes to climate change and environmental issues, as well as the roles of government and charities such as the National Trust in tackling climate change. The survey collected data on age, gender and membership. An open question asked respondents to record their awareness of climate change measures introduced by the National Trust. The properties surveyed are shown in Table 8.1. The survey achieved a sample of 847 responses, with an overall response rate of 60% through a combination of face-to-face interviews and mail-back questionnaires. Table 8.1.1 in Appendix 8.1 shows the breakdown of response rates.

County	Property	Type	Sample size (N)
Birmingham/Black Country	Back-to-Backs	Urban dwelling	227
Warwickshire	Charlecote Park	Country mansion	220
Worcestershire	Clent Hills	Open countryside (urban fringe)	238
Staffordshire	Moseley Old Hall	Mansion (urban fringe)	43
Herefordshire	The Weir	Rural garden	118
Total sample			<u>847</u>

Table 8.1 National Trust West Midlands properties surveyed for the study

Throughout the chapter, many of the findings are presented as tables and figures with added commentary. Quantitative data are presented using descriptive statistics (principally bar charts), with further analysis employing inferential statistical techniques. One-sample T-tests were conducted to calculate the mean scores and standard deviations of the attitude statements (Appendix 8.1, Table 8.1.3). A Chi-square test determined any significant

association between travel behaviour and properties visited (Appendix 8.1, Table 8.1.4). To establish the degree of variation in the results according to the independent variables of age, gender and membership, a series of ANOVA tests (Analysis of Variance) were carried out (Appendix 8.1, Tables 8.1.5 to 8.1.7). Some of these tables are reproduced in the text to assist clarity.

The term 'significant' is used extensively: this refers to the level of confidence sought from the statistical tests. This chapter adopts a 95 per cent confidence that the results were not arrived at by chance or coincidence, which is normal practice for social science research. The tables show a 'P reading' expressed as, for example, $p < 0.05$, where the confidence level is 95 per cent or more. A final comment on quantitative data relates to generalisation. It was explained in Chapter 4, that although a larger than expected sample size was obtained, the nature of the sampling process (purposive /convenience) was not appropriate for making any generalisations claimed for the National Trust. Appendix 8.2 is a collection of charts and visitors' comments that summarise the qualitative data from the three open-ended questions (purpose of visit; climate change measures; post code).

The chapter's findings are presented over three sections. First, a profile is provided on visitor responses according to the characteristics of gender, age and membership. Socio-demographic profiling is commonly used to research environmental policy insights (Anable, 2005; Torgler & García-Valiñas, 2007; Tjernström & Tietenberg, 2008; Zeleny et al., 2000; McKercher et al., 2011; Kim & Weiler, 2013). Second, visitors' travel behaviour is explored from the perspective of different properties (Nilsson & Küller, 2000; Steg et al., 2001; Klockner & Matthies, 2004; Schultz et al., 2004; Bamberg et al., 2007; Dickinson et al., 2004; 2010; 2013). The third section explores attitudes to climate change and environmental

issues (Stern & Dietz, 1994; Dryzek, 1997; Naess, 2003; DEFRA, 2007; 2008b; Thornton et al., 2011). The chapter ends with a discussion of policy insights and a chapter summary.

Overview of visitor profiles

Visits to properties and choice of transport

References are made to the results presented in Table 8.2 on the following page. Across all five properties the female 45-64 year-old National Trust member was the most frequent visitor followed by the male 45-64 year-old member. Overall, three-quarters of all visitors were aged over 45 years. The least frequent visitor category was the younger 15-29 year-old, very few of whom were members. Two-thirds of all participants were members of the National Trust. Moving onto visitors' postcodes, of the 582 respondents who supplied this information, nearly three-quarters lived in the Midlands. Moseley Old Hall and the Clent Hills received the highest proportion of local visitors, arguably because of their close proximity to the West Midlands conurbation; whereas the highest number of visitors from outside the Midlands occurred at Charlecote Park, possibly because of nearby Stratford-upon-Avon, a popular tourist destination. The majority of visitors were visiting the property of their choice for the first time, the actual visit being the main purpose of the day trip, having travelled between 5 and 25 miles from their start point. The majority of visitors used their car for travel (77 per cent) with over 90 per cent of these journeys being shared. Only 14 per cent of journeys were made using public transport and these occurred solely at the Birmingham Back-to-Backs. When asked, most car users would not consider an alternative mode of transport for environmental or other reasons. A Chi-square test (Table 8.1.4 in Appendix 8.1) indicated that there was no significant association between sharing a car

journey to travel to a particular property; whereas all other characteristics of travel behaviour (visit patterns, transport choice) were significantly related to individual properties.

Question 1	MOH		TWR		CLH		CHP		B2B		Aggregated	
How often do you visit this property?	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daily/few days a week	0	0	1	1	17	7	2	1	4	2	24	3
A few times a month	4	10	6	5	42	18	8	4	4	2	64	7
Once a month	2	5	3	2	13	5	3	1	0	0	21	2
A few times a year	3	6	24	21	88	37	32	15	2	1	149	18
Once a year	2	5	4	3	23	10	7	3	4	2	40	5
Once every few years	9	21	8	7	17	7	28	13	21	9	83	10
First visit	23	53	72	61	37	16	140	63	192	84	464	55
N/%	43	100	118	100	237	100	220	100	227	100	845	100
Question 2												
Is your visit to this property:												
Return trip: main purpose of the visit?	26	74	55	51	192	86	116	55	67	40	456	61
Return trip being part of other plans?	7	20	32	30	29	13	56	27	69	41	193	26
En-route, part of a tour?	2	6	20	19	2	1	38	18	32	19	94	13
N/%	35	100	107	100	223	100	210	100	168	100	743	100
Question 3												
How far travelled to get to the property?												
Within 5 miles from start point	12	29	24	21	113	48	21	10	29	13	199	24
Approximately 5-25 miles from start	21	50	56	48	97	42	85	39	80	36	339	41
Over 25 miles from start	9	21	36	31	24	10	110	51	114	51	293	35
N/%	42	100	116	100	234	100	216	100	223	100	831	100
Question 4												
How did you travel to this property today?												
Car	40	93	114	97	216	92	194	88	90	38	654	77
Bicycle					7	3	1	1			8	1
On foot	3	7	1	2	12	5	1	1	9	4	26	3
Bus									20	8	20	2
Coach tour							23	10	8	3	31	4
Motorbike					1						1	-
Rail/foot									80	34	80	9
Rail/bicycle									1	1	1	-
Rail/taxi									11	5	11	1
Rail/bus									14	6	14	2
Taxi									2	1	2	1
Other			2	2								
N/%	43	100	117	100	236	100	219	100	235	100	848	100
Question 5												
Is today's car journey:												
Just by yourself?	4	10	11	10	14	6	16	9	3	3	48	7
Shared with someone else/group?	36	90	103	90	202	94	171	91	90	97	602	93
N/%	40	100	114	100	216	100	187	100	93	100	650	100
Question 6												
Travelled car: consider alternative mode?												
Yes	5	12	5	5	30	14	11	6	36	37	87	14
Maybe	4	10	12	10	53	24	37	18	30	31	136	20
No	31	78	98	85	134	62	148	76	31	32	442	66
N/%	40	100	115	100	217	100	196	100	97	100	665	100
Question 11												
Male	11	25	57	50	113	48	102	47	82	39	365	45

Female	32	75	57	50	120	52	114	53	129	61	452	55
N/%	43	100	114	100	233	100	216	100	211	100	817	100
Age 15-29	0	-	0		44	19	8	3	8	3	60	7
Age 30-44	15	35	8	7	64	27	28	13	24	11	139	17
Age 45-64	20	47	53	46	100	42	106	49	107	48	386	46
Age 65 and over	8	18	54	47	29	12	75	35	85	38	251	30
N/%	43	100	115	100	237	100	217	100	224	100	836	100
National Trust member or volunteer - Yes	36	84	109	92	78	33	185	84	153	67	561	66
National Trust member or volunteer - No	7	16	9	8	160	67	35	16	74	33	285	34
N/%	43	100	118	100	238	100	220	100	227	100	846	100

Legend: MOH Moseley Old Hall; TWR The Weir; CLH Clent Hills; CHP Charlecote Park; B2B Back-to-Backs

Table 8.2 Property visitor survey – categorical data

Environmental attitudes

Using ANOVA tests, several significant differences were found among travel and environmental attitudes according to gender, age and membership/non-membership of the Trust, as summarised in Table 8.3. Female visitors for example, showed a stronger allegiance to climate change issues (Figure 8.1).

Travel attitudes/Environmental attitudes	Visitor characteristics < P 0.05					
	Gender	N	Age	N	NT Mem	N
<u>Reasons for not (or possibly not) using car:</u>	P value		P value		P value	
Savings on travel costs	0.091		0.351		0.487	
Reducing my personal carbon footprint	0.002	204	0.035	191	0.009	210
Personal health and fitness	0.910		0.718		0.088	
Supporting local economy	0.162		0.001	186	0.589	
Social reasons	0.182		0.569		0.024	206
<u>Reasons for continuing to use car:</u>						
Long distance/challenging road conditions	0.040	379	0.345		0.106	
Health/mobility	0.784		0.101		0.144	
Carrying family/passengers/equipment	0.776		0.001	362	0.066	
Lack of/limited public transport	0.635		0.953		0.158	
Loss of flexibility	0.644		0.002	373	0.675	
<u>Environmental issues/role of NT:</u>						
Global warming greatest environmental threat	0.003	815	0.111		0.523	
Personal moral duty to reduce CO2	0.001	814	0.004	831	0.502	
Human contributions CO2 exaggerated	0.400		0.001	827	0.211	
Nature has equal rights to humans	0.631		0.013	825	0.650	
Radical rethink of UK govt. policy needed to reduce CO2	0.061		0.001	823	0.031	834
Individual/local action is effective for reducing CO2	0.001	809	0.001	826	0.229	
NT has an important role to play in reducing CO2	0.001	814	0.871		0.145	
Conservation helps address impacts of climate change	0.003	811	0.828		0.477	
Tourism harms environment; not help climate change	0.113		0.772		0.575	

Table 8.3 Attitudinal differences amongst visitor characteristics (ANOVA)

(Highlighted boxes indicate significance at p<0.005)

When considering possible reasons for not using alternative transport to the car, males were less concerned about road conditions or journey length. Females attached greater importance to the role of the National Trust and individual action in bringing about a reduction in CO₂ emissions. Zelezny et al. (2000) projected that future models of environmentalism would include gender as a predictor, with females having the potential to influence policy development and participate in environmental activism. Overall, the survey found female visitors to demonstrate a stronger pro-environmental approach across a range of issues, consistent with McKercher et al. (2011).

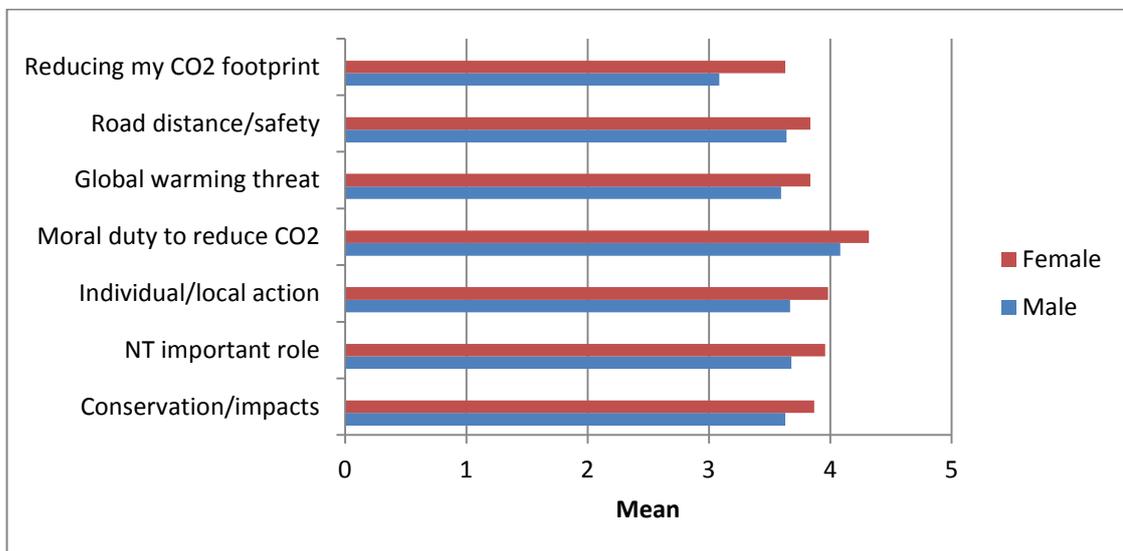


Figure 8.1 Attitudes to travel/climate change: significant differences male vs. female

Younger visitors aged 30-64 attached more importance than the 65+ group to practical, instrumental reasons for not considering alternatives to the car, possibly explained by lifecycle lifestyle requirements. On environmental issues, the under-65s showed more affinity with a personal moral duty to reduce their carbon footprint (Figure 8.2); whereas the 65+ group were in least agreement that the government needed a radical re-think on tackling climate change, and that individual/local action is effective for reducing CO₂

emissions (Figures 8.2 - 8.4). 65+ year-olds were also the age group most convinced that contributions of human activities to climate change had been exaggerated. Figure 8.5 shows middle-aged and retired visitors, the majority age group, having the strongest agreement on the proposition that nature should have equal rights to humans.

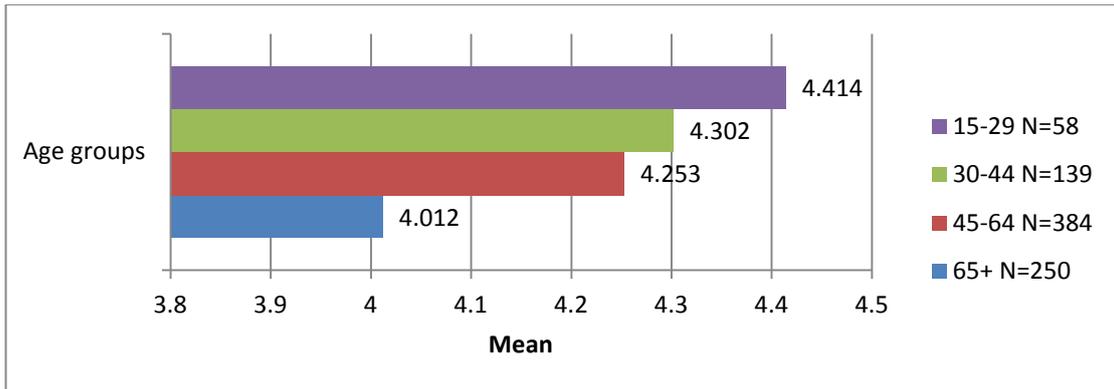


Figure 8.2 Moral duty to reduce personal CO2 emissions (Age)

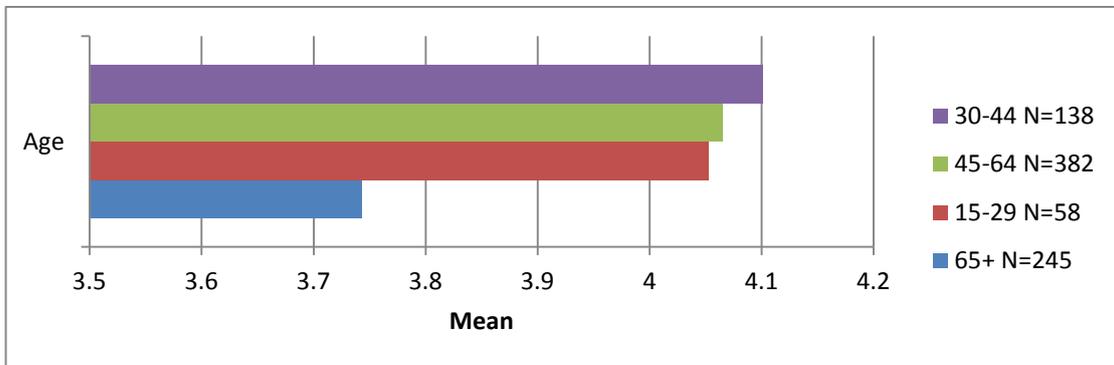


Figure 8.3 Government needs to re-think on climate change (Age)

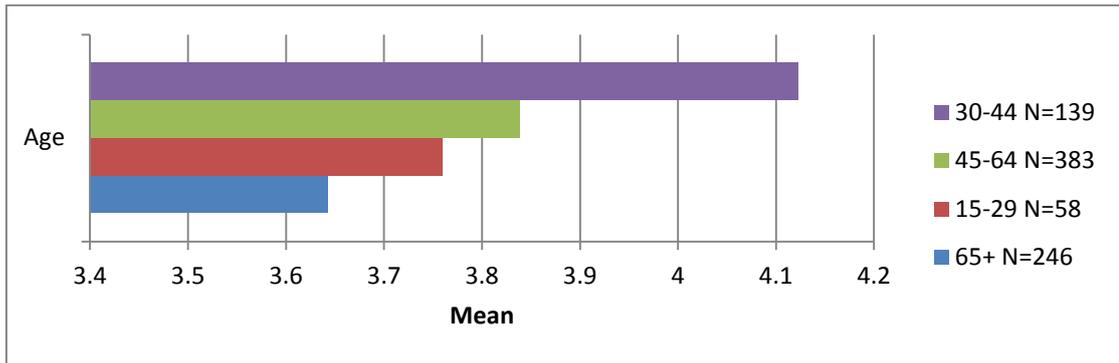


Figure 8.4 Individual/local action is effective for tackling climate change (Age)

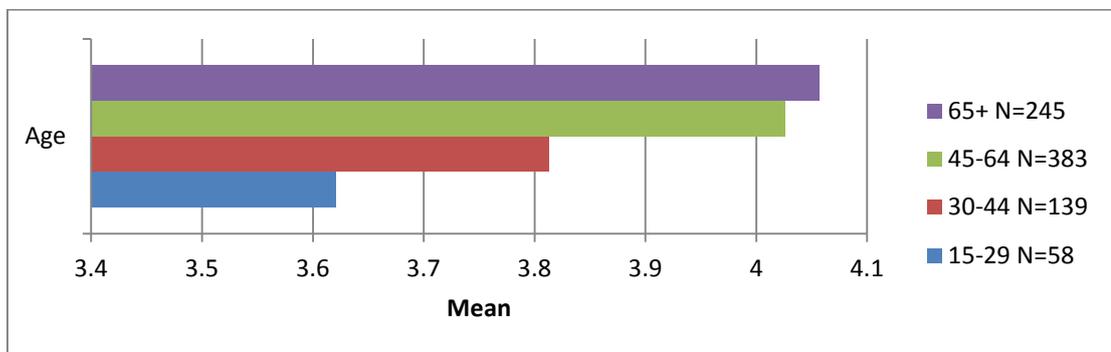


Figure 8.5 Nature should have equal rights to humans (Age)

Combined with females' stronger affinity with environmental concerns, the survey's findings on gender and age broadly corroborate similar studies such as Kim & Weiler (2013); although Torgler & García-Valiñas (2007) referred to research that showed *younger* people to be more concerned about the environment. The survey's findings are consistent with Tjernström & Tietenberg (2008) who found that older people were less likely to be concerned about climate change. The DfT's (2011) research into transport choices and climate change attitudes amongst different segmentation models also reported that younger car-owners had a tendency to show more concern about climate change than older people. Furthermore, 'less affluent older sceptics' and 'affluent empty nesters' were found to be more sceptical about climate change than 'educated suburban families' (DfT, 2011). Studies

on environmental attitudes determined by socio-demographic factors such as gender and age continue to reach different conclusions on how different age groups respond to environmental issues. Fewer differences in the survey's responses were identified between members and non-members but two held statistical significance. First, *members* attached *more* importance to reducing their CO₂ footprint as a reason for using alternative transport to the car. Second, non-members were more inclined to agree that the government should re-think its approach to tackling climate change, indicating that *members* were *less* critical. (Appendix 8.1, Table 8.1.5).

Visitors who *were* willing to consider alternatives to the car took a more critical view of the government's approach to reducing CO₂ emissions. They also treated global warming more seriously; and attached greater importance to individual and local action having a role to play in reducing CO₂ emissions. These visitors thought tourism was more likely to contribute to climate change (Table 8.4). These findings partly corroborate those of Grob (1995) and Anable (2005). Having presented an overall visitor profile based on responses to travel behaviour and attitudes to climate change and the environment, the next two sections focus on how the results were distributed amongst the five different properties.

	Y x N	Yes/Maybe N=223	No N=442
Environmental issues/role of NT:	<i>P</i>	Mean	Mean
Global warming is the greatest environmental threat	0.050	3.811	3.617
Personal moral duty to reduce CO ₂	0.179		
Human contributions CO ₂ have been exaggerated	0.116		
Nature has equal rights to humans	0.842		
Radical rethink of UK govt. policy needed to reduce CO ₂	0.010	4.104	3.861
Individual/local action is effective for reducing CO ₂	0.007	3.901	3.671
NT has an important role to play in reducing CO ₂	0.427		
Conservation helps address impacts of climate change	0.018		
Tourism harms environment; not help tackling climate change	0.035	2.793	2.588

Table 8.4 Analysis of variance for environmental attitudes amongst car travellers

Travel behaviour of visitors at properties

Questions 1-6 targeted visitors on the frequency of their visit to the property; purpose of visit; distance travelled from starting point to the property; transport mode; and if travelling by car, would an alternative method of transport be considered? According to Visit England et al. (2013), 63 per cent of day visitors in Great Britain used their car for travelling (Figure 8.6), whereas this survey identified a higher proportion (77 per cent), probably explained by the predominance of rural locations visited. A narrow majority of respondents (55 per cent) made their first visit to the property in question; followed by 18 per cent who visited a few times a year. The Clent Hills attracted most repeat visits, probably explained by a) free access to open countryside (except for a £2.50 car park levy); and b) close proximity to Birmingham and the Black Country. Visitors were asked to describe their visit, for example return trip/en-route but many misinterpreted the term 'return trip', especially at the Back-to-Backs where nearly half of the respondents missed out this question. Return trip was meant to be understood as returning to the start point on the same day. Well over half of all visitors made return trips for the main purpose of

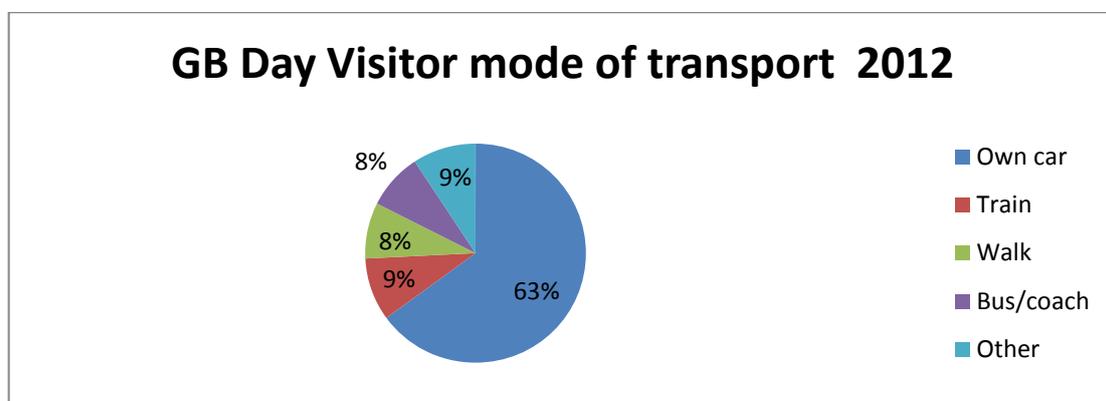


Figure 8.6 GB Day visitor mode of transport 2012, adapted from Visit England et.al., 2013)

re-visiting the property whereas en-route/touring was the least frequent. The Back-to-Backs was the exception, where the visit was evenly divided between a return trip and as part of other planned activities, probably explained by other activities undertaken in Birmingham such as visiting the Christmas Market. Moseley Old Hall and the Clent Hills, being situated near to the Black Country and Birmingham, received the highest proportion of local visitors. These two properties recorded the most return trips with the single purpose of visiting the property; whereas the more rural locations of The Weir and Charlecote Park recorded a higher number of visitors touring and travelling en-route; as previously mentioned, probably explained by their close proximity to tourist routes.

Results for the first open question 'Please state main purpose of visit' were collated individually for each property in order to capture any associated distinctive features. In the case of Moseley Old Hall, the Halloween pumpkin-carving event, coinciding with schools' October half-term, attracted the most interest for visitors. Visitors to the Back-to-Backs and Charlecote Park cited tourist activities allied to their visit, for example shopping, concerts and the theatre. Visiting friends and relatives and other social motives were most evident at the Clent Hills and the Back-to-Backs, possibly because of being situated near or in large population centres. Nostalgic motivation was evident with some visitors to the Back-to-Backs (Nuryanti, 1996; Hannabuss, 1999; Poria et al., 2003; Timothy & Boyd, 2006), where the respondent had lived in similar surroundings in childhood. The Weir was the only property not to record any mention of VFR/social reasons. The survey showed that most visitors to these rural gardens were motivated by the gardens themselves.

Considering all transport modes, the majority of journeys to the properties were between 5 and 25 miles from their start point. Local journeys of fewer than 5 miles were the

least frequent distance except in the case of the Clent Hills. At the Back-to-Backs, the majority of journeys were over 25 miles, and made by rail, also from within the Midlands. Figures 8.7 and 8.8 (Visit England, 2013) illustrate that these distances for day visits were broadly in line with national trends for day trips. Analysis of visitors' postcodes showed the majority of visitors lived in the Midlands travelling up to 25 miles for their journey. Members travelled further afield than non-members.

Over three-quarters of visitors used a car to reach their property, broadly in line with national trends (Figures 8.9 and 8.10). As expected, the highest proportion of cyclists/walkers visited the Clent Hills as part of their recreation, but often had to use a car or van to reach the car park because of distance and safety reasons. Despite nearly a third of visitors to Moseley Old Hall travelling up to five miles only, no one used the local bus service from Wolverhampton or Cannock. A half-mile walk from the bus stop, without a pavement probably explained this decision. Public transport links to the more remote locations of Charlecote Park and The Weir depended on infrequent local bus services from Stratford and Hereford respectively: approximately a five-mile journey in each case. One interesting outlier was recorded: two USA tourists travelled to The Weir by canoe on their journey down the River Wye.

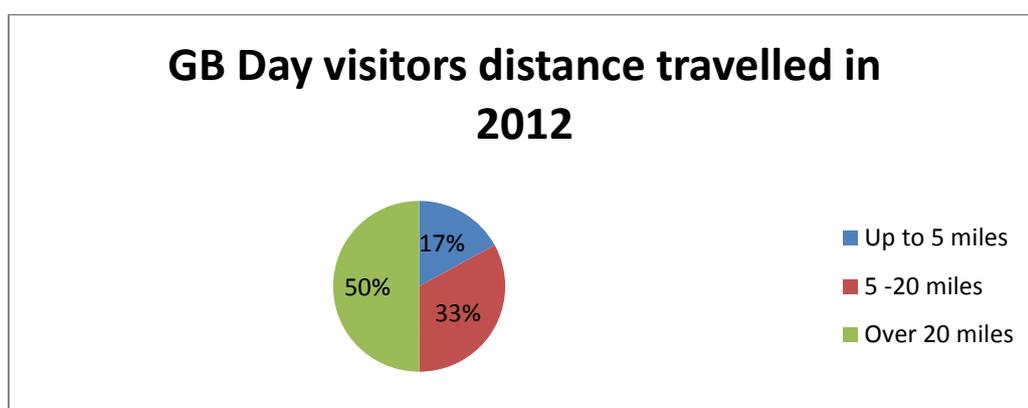


Figure 8.7 GB Day visitor distance travelled 2012 (Adapted from Visit England et.al., 2013)

With visitors who travelled by car, 93 per cent shared their journey. The follow-up question, Q.6, asked car travellers whether they would consider an alternative mode of transport, before considering reasons for their decision in Q.7 and Q.8. Two-thirds of visitors who travelled by car said they would *not* consider an alternative transport mode.

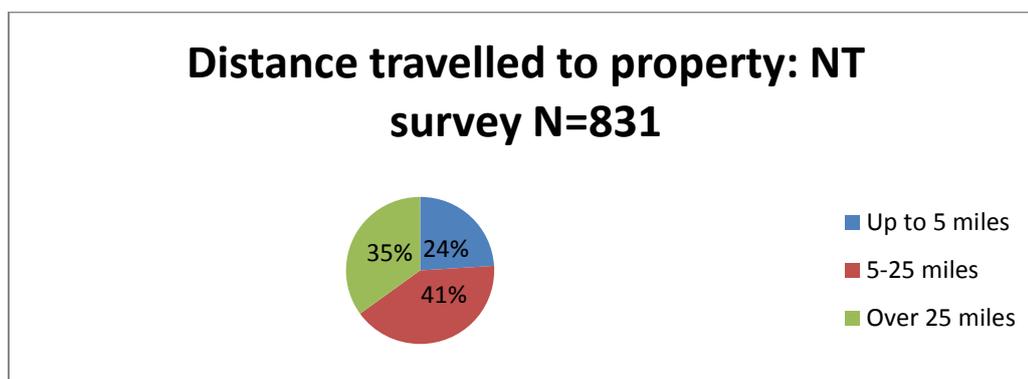


Figure 8.8 NT survey: distance travelled to property

At the Back-to-Backs, close to public transport links, as expected, the proportions were reversed: two-thirds yes/maybe and one-third no. Visitors were asked to rate each scenario to indicate their reasons for either considering or not considering alternative transport. Table 8.5 summarises the results of the mean-scores for all five properties where ‘improving health and fitness’ and ‘reducing one’s carbon footprint’ emerged as the leading reasons for considering alternative transport to the car.

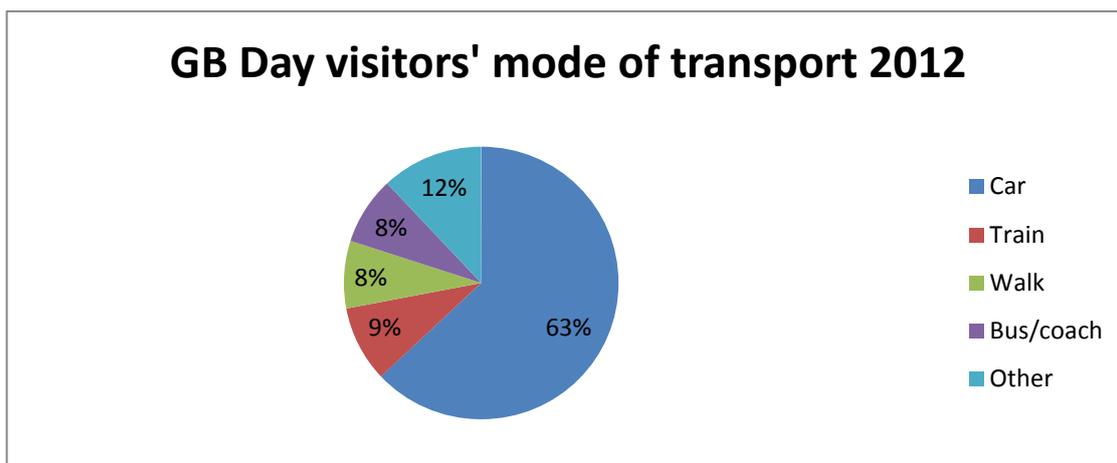


Figure 8.9 GB Day visitors' transport to destinations 2012 (Adapted from Visit England et al., 2013)

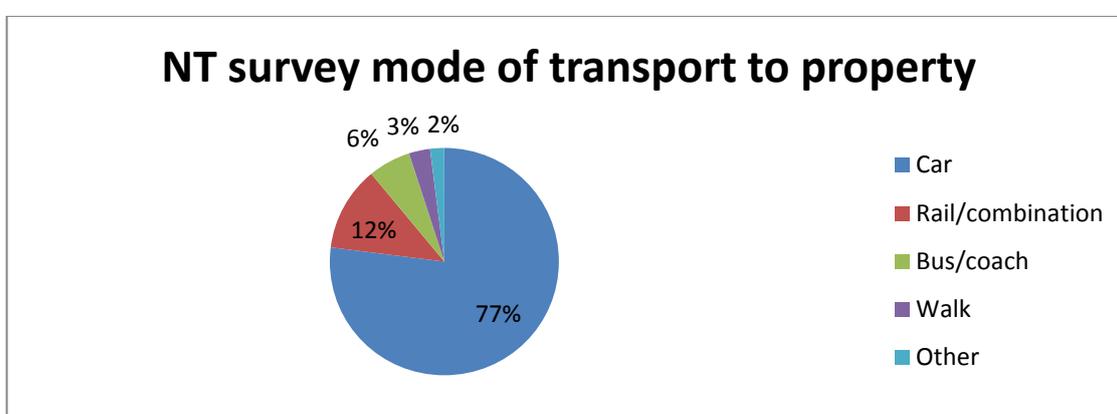


Figure 8.10 Visitors' mode of transport to property: NT survey

Variable (reason to consider alternative mode to the car)	N	Mean	StDev
C30 Savings on travel costs	213	3.131	1.489
C31 Reducing my personal carbon footprint	210	3.390	1.294
C32 Personal health and fitness e.g. walking/bicycle	209	3.612	1.311
C33 Supporting local economy e.g. local bus service	207	3.126	2.962
C34 Social reasons e.g. meet new friends; contacts	206	2.048	1.232

Table 8.5 Reasons to consider alternative mode of transport to the car (all properties)

(Highest mean scores are highlighted)

A few significant differences were identified across the three properties with larger samples (Figure 8.11). The results indicate an association between pro-environmental motivation and the surroundings of the site visited (Schultz et al., 2004), with rural locations scoring higher

than urban. Since 2009, the Trust has made enjoyment of the outdoors part of its strategy, leading to the launch of the ‘Getting Outdoors and Closer to Nature’ programme in 2012 (National Trust, 2012b). The Trust wished to promote the idea that a more active lifestyle could lead to a range of personal benefits, including enhancing the learning process for children (King’s College London, 2011). Two-thirds of car travellers stated they would *not* consider an alternative mode of transport for reasons shown in Table 8.6. The most important reasons lay with concerns about loss of personal flexibility, challenging journey distance and road conditions, together with limited availability of public transport networks. The reasons given largely reflected practical concerns (instrumental reasons) associated with leisure travel.

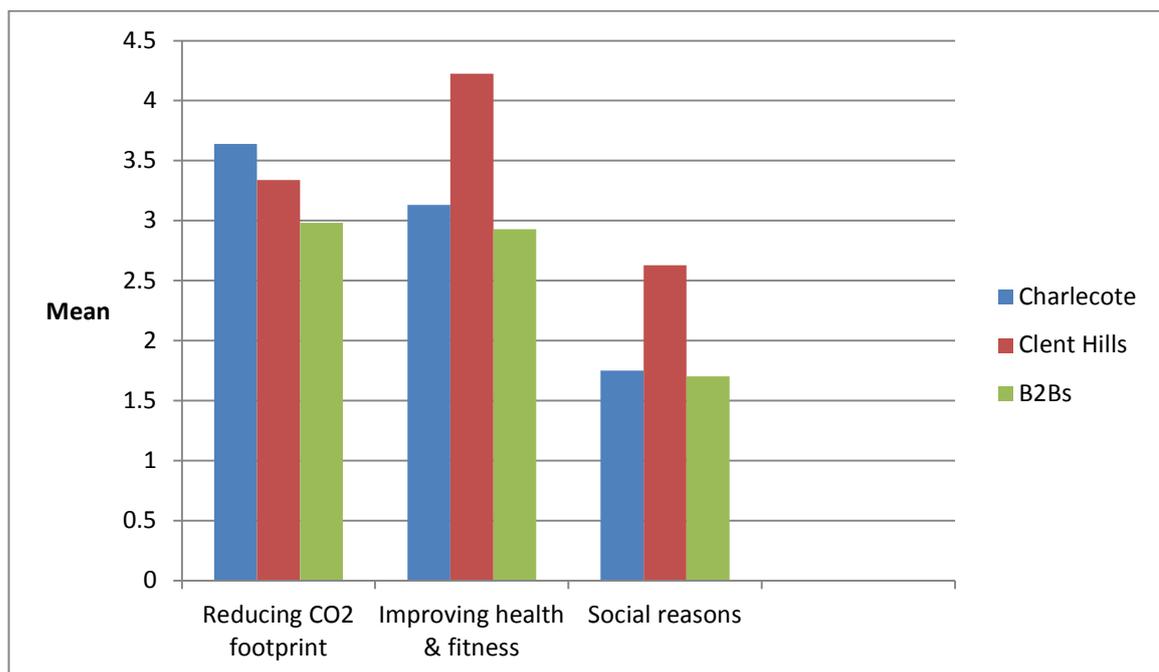


Figure 8.11

Variations in motives for considering alternative transport to the car: 3 largest properties

Variable (reason not to consider alternative mode to the car)	N	Mean	StDev
C35 Distance too long/challenging or unsafe road conditions	392	3.801	1.502
C36 Health/mobility considerations	388	1.948	1.438
C37 Carrying family/extra passengers/equipment	385	2.815	1.667
C38 Lack of public transport networks/limited service	386	3.792	1.476
C39 Flexibility e.g. time, other tasks and journeys	396	3.863	1.491

Table 8.6 Reasons not to consider alternative mode of transport to the car (all properties)

Excluding Moseley Hall because of its small sample size, a few differences in motivations for *not* considering alternatives to the car were identified (Figure 8.12). The ability to carry extra passengers and equipment was of most importance for Back-to-Backs visitors but of least importance for visitors to the Weir despite half of the Weir visitors recording their visit as part of other planned activities and/or en route to another destination. Public transport issues, as expected, were of least importance for the Back-to-Backs visitors but more important for visitors to Charlecote Park. Some of the ad hoc comments on written by respondents on transport challenges to their journeys are summarised in Table 8.7.

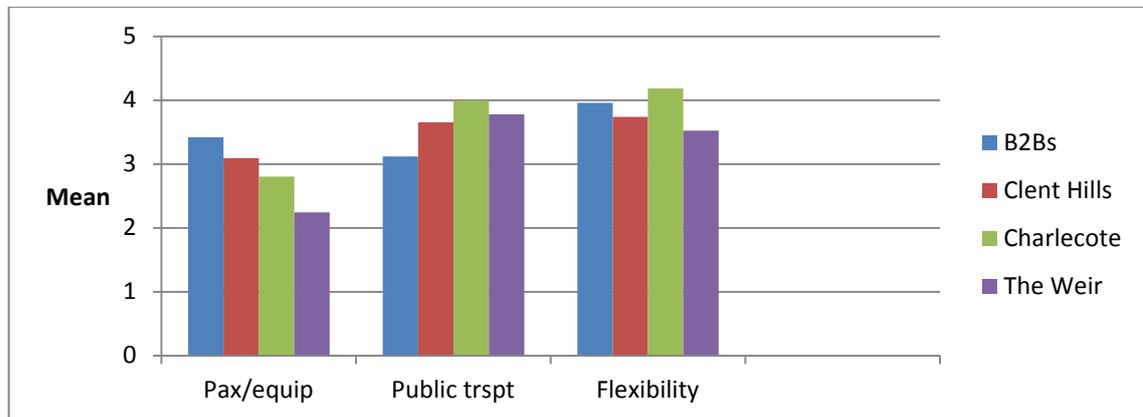


Figure 8.12

Variations in motives for not considering alternative transport to the car

(‘Pax/equip’ = Carrying passengers and equipment)

Property	Comments on transportation
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Moseley Old Hall	'Too far off bus route; too much to carry'.
The Weir	'Too dangerous to cycle'. 'No transportation to the Weir'. 'I am a keen and regular cycle rider; routes to Weir too dangerous'
Clent Hills	A member reminisced about the former Midland Red bus service.
Charlecote Park	'Less frequent bus services from Leamington on a Sunday'.
Back-to-Backs	'Bus service from home is hourly and does not connect with train where going. When returning late at night there is a poor bus service, needing a 1.5 mile walk in the dark. We would have used a taxi if car not available. Used public transport for convenience, not for "green" reasons. Driving into and parking in Birmingham and other major cities is not easy and best avoided!'. 'But only in the unlikely event of there being convenient, cheap, local transport and not as in this case - a multi-stage, expensive journey that would have meant we wouldn't have come at all' [answering 'Maybe' on Q.6].

Table 8.7 Samples of visitors' comments on transport to properties

Attitudes to climate change and associated issues at properties

This section examines the findings from the nine attitude statements, divided into three clusters of statements. Each cluster is reproduced from the questionnaire.

Attitudes to climate change and nature (C40-C43)

	Variable (attitudes to climate change ...) (Abbreviated)	N	Mean	St.Dev
C40	Global warming = greatest environmental threat to planet	843	3.716	1.168
C41	We all have a moral duty to reduce our CO2 emissions	843	4.200	1.028
C42	Human contributions to global warming are exaggerated	839	2.793	1.351
C43	Natural environment has equal rights to humankind	837	3.971	1.125

Table 8.8 Attitudes to climate change and nature

The first set of statements in Table 8.8 sought to gauge visitors' responses to ethical issues associated with climate change. The notion that the individual has a personal obligation or moral duty to reduce his/her carbon emissions attracted the strongest agreement out of the nine statements. DEFRA (2009) also found that 65 per cent of people ranked as 1st or 2nd most important the proposition that 'We all have a duty to minimise our impacts on nature and the planet'. On the proposition that nature should have equal rights to humans (excluding Moseley Old Hall due to small sample size) it was evident that the more rural the

property the higher the score received for this statement (Figure 8.13), resonating with Schultz et al. (2004).

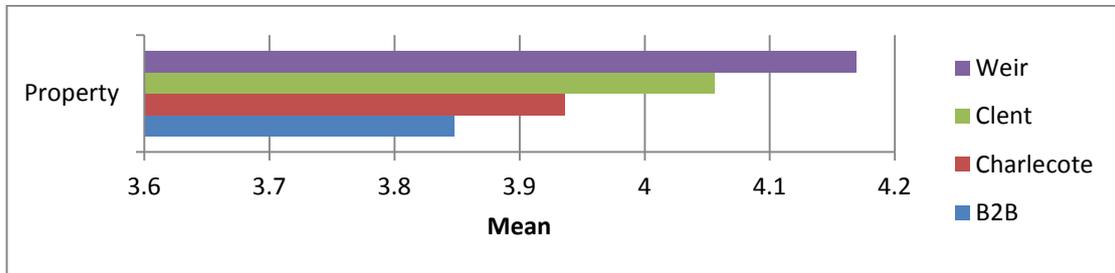


Figure 8.13 Nature should have equal rights to humans – by property

Photographs 7 and 8 depict some of the tranquil scenes where the survey was conducted, in contrast to the restricted access for the Back-to-Backs in Birmingham (Photograph 8). To what extent ‘human contributions to global warming have been exaggerated’ led to an overall response on the border of slightly disagree/not sure. Pidgeon & Fischhoff (2011) also noted a shift in public opinion seen in America, Britain and Europe when, since 2006, there had been a growth in uncertainty on climate change which they attributed to the politicisation of climate policy.



Photograph 7: Bench on the Clent Hills Photograph 8: Bench at The Weirs Gardens



Photograph 9: Birmingham Back-to-Backs Visitor Reception

The roles of institutions and individuals in tackling climate change (C44-C46)

	Variable (attitudes to climate change ...) (Abbreviated)	N	Mean	St.Dev
C44	A radical rethink of UK govt. policy needed to reduce CO ₂	834	3.977	1.068
C45	Collectively, individual action will help to reduce CO ₂	837	3.814	1.148
C46	NT has an important role to play in tackling climate change	843	3.826	1.110

Table 8.9 Roles of institutions and individuals tackling climate change

The second cluster of attitudinal statements in Table 8.9 sought to explore opinions on how much responsibility institutions such as the government and the National Trust should take in addressing the challenges presented by climate change. Although just short of ‘slightly agree’, some of the highest levels of agreement in the questionnaire on climate change policy were recorded in this cluster. That the present government’s approach to tackling climate change policy could be improved or changed scored high, although this proposition was emphatically rejected by a visitor to Charlecote Park who worked for the DECC! National Trust members were less critical of the government than non-members. Additional comments are recorded in Table 8.10.

Property	Comments on the government's approach to tackling climate change
Clent Hills	'Economic policy yes'. 'Multi-lateral is the approach needed'.
Charlecote Park	'Train networks are important; the government is too concerned about "doing business'.
Back-to-Backs	'UK has a responsibility, but the rapidly developing countries in SE Asia, India, Russia and Brazil as well as the USA lag far behind W Europe and have a much larger impact. Working in isolation is fruitless although well-intentioned'.

Table 8.10 Sample of visitors' comments on UK government's climate change policy

Can small-step lifestyle changes make an effective contribution to the global effort in reducing carbon emissions, an approach supported by the Trust? The survey responses fell just short of slight agreement, alongside the view that the National Trust had an important role to play in tackling climate change 'on all fronts'. Additional comments in Table 8.11 indicated an awareness of the Trust's current measures in tackling climate change, including a reference to the current controversy surrounding the costs and benefits associated with wind turbines (on-shore especially) (BBC, 2013).

Property	Comments on the NT's role in tackling climate change
The Weir	'NT should set an example'. 'The NT and Scottish NT should object to the development of wind farms and turbines as they create more damage to the environment than any other form of renewable energy'.
Charlecote Park	'NT's main role is heritage; NT has an educational role; setting an example'.

Table 8.11 Sample of visitors' comments on the National Trust's role in tackling climate change

A few significant differences were identified across properties. Visitors to gardens and the open countryside seemed to be more critical of the government's approach to tackling climate change and attached greater importance to the Trust's role to play in tackling climate change (Figures 8.14 and 8.15); as well as showing stronger agreement that tourism could harm the environment and thus hinder efforts to tackle climate change (Figure 8.16).

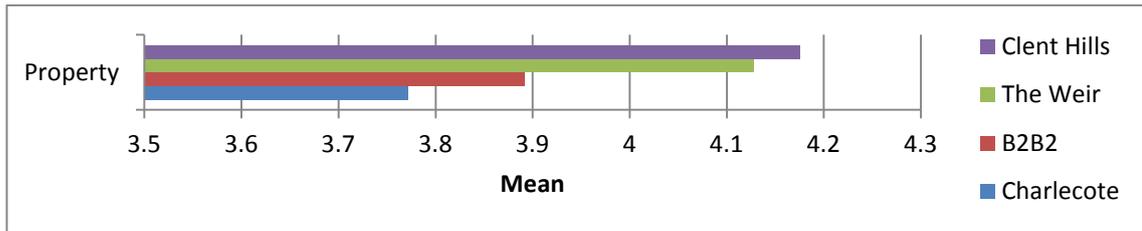


Figure 8.14 Radical change is needed in government's approach to climate change

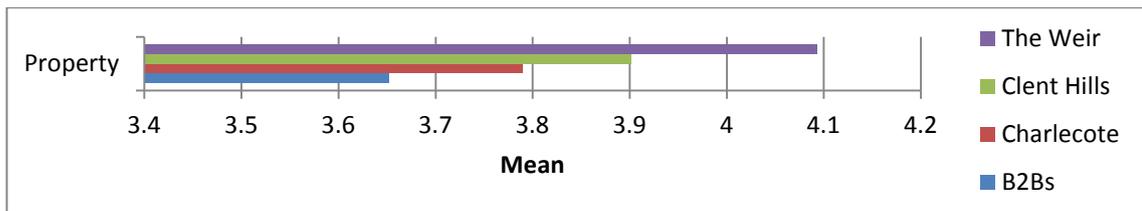


Figure 8.15 National Trust has an important role in tackling climate change

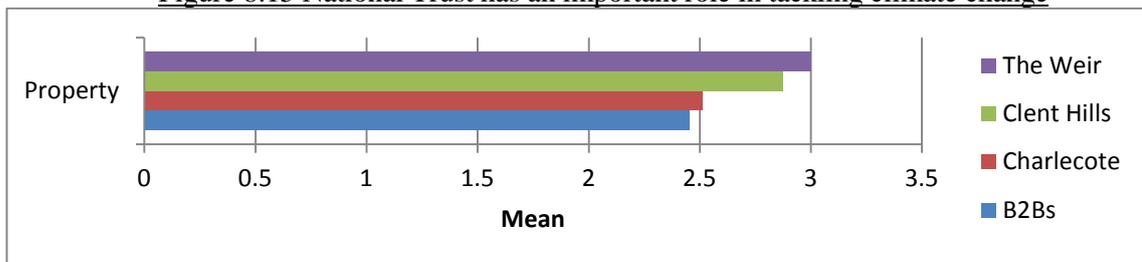


Figure 18.16 Tourism harms the environment so therefore contributes to climate change

How conservation and tourism contribute to the impacts of climate change (C47-C48)

	Variable (attitudes to climate change ...) (Abbreviated)	N	Mean	St.Dev
C47	Conservation helps to address impacts of climate change	840	3.763	1.132
C48	Tourism does not help us tackle climate change	839	2.661	1.159

Table 8.12 Conservation and tourism: impacts on climate change

The third cluster of statements in Table 8.12 were designed to gain a perception of visitors' associations of a), conservation resembling adaptation to climate change; and b), tourism's responsibility to mitigate its carbon emissions. With the benefit of hindsight, the terms 'conservation' and 'natural and built heritage' were not always well-understood, and had to

be explained during one-to-one interviews. Referring to the literature in Chapter 2, English Heritage's study into climate change and the historic environment was considered, which concluded there was a need to raise awareness and educate the public on climate change impacting on the historic environment (Cassar, 2005). The overall mean score of 3.763 for this response was just short of slight agreement. The final statement, the notion that tourism harms the environment and thus exacerbates the impacts of climate change, provoked a few comments from respondents in their interpretation of tourism, perhaps explaining why this statement produced the least overall agreement.

Awareness of climate change measures undertaken by the National Trust

Figure 8.17 shows that half of all respondents showed some awareness of a balance of mitigation and adaptation measures taken by the National Trust, principally: renewable energy projects; a number of activities under the umbrella term 'land management', for example countryside management, general conservation, repairing paths/fences, and tree-planting; and water conservation. Fewer references were made to coastal protection, possibly because of the inland location of the survey. References to local food suggested awareness of the Trust's campaign to promote locally sourced produce sold at its properties. A few visitors were familiar with the carbon footprint concept of 'food miles'. Initiatives to encourage using public transport or promoting cycling and walking though, accounted for less than 10 per cent of responses. At the Clent Hills, non-members showed more awareness of measures associated with land management, conservation and the coast; whereas members identified more readily with public transport initiatives, sourcing local food, solar

panels and renewable energy. The division between awareness of adaptation (non-members) and mitigation measures (members) was probably coincidental.

Further comments emerging from properties

More familiarity was shown with renewable energy and local food initiatives at The Weir and at the Back-to-Backs, albeit contrasting properties. Recycling and renewable energy were mentioned most frequently by visitors to Moseley Old Hall, whereas at Charlecote Park and the Clent Hills, woodland management, tree-planting and land management measures attracted the most comment. The rural locations of Charlecote Park and Clent might explain these comments. The majority of comments related to the installation of

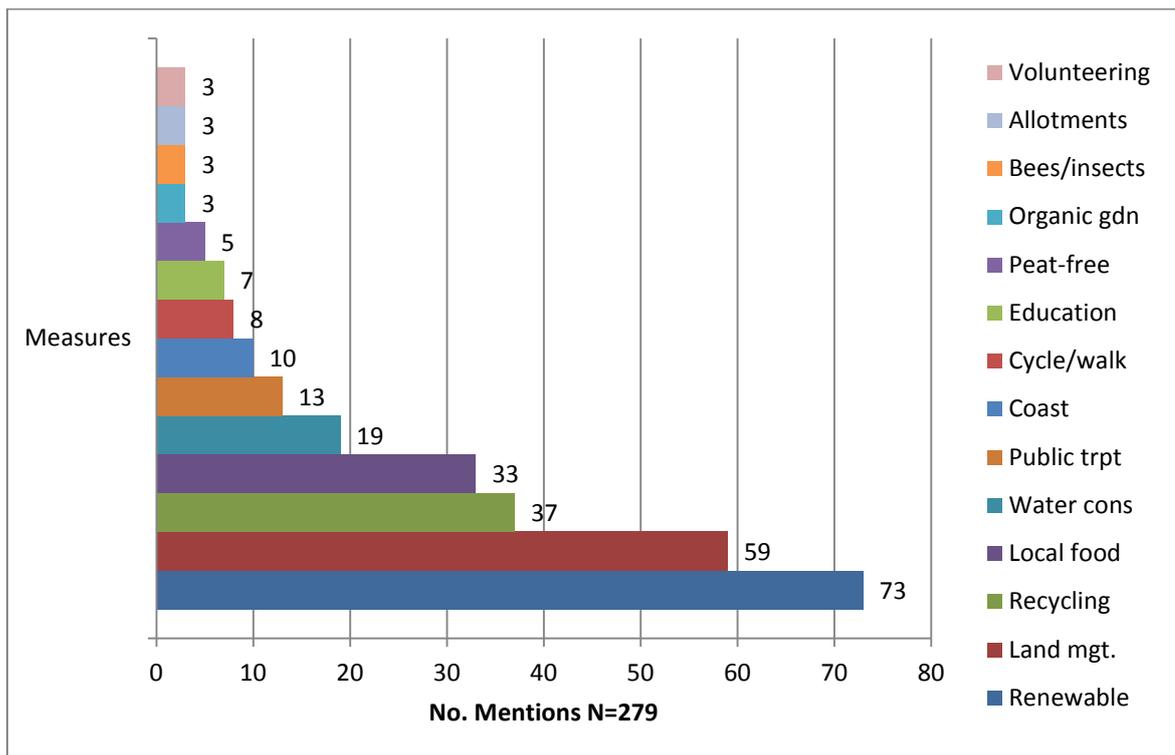


Figure 8.17 Awareness of climate change measures (all properties)

low-energy light bulbs. In 2007/08 the Trust began replacing conventional lighting with low-energy bulbs at every property at a cost estimated to be £431,000, but leading to projected annual savings of around 2,223 tonnes of CO₂ per year (National Trust, 2008e).

Some comparisons of the survey's results with national findings

There are many surveys carried out on people's attitude to the environment but two surveys here show broadly similar findings to the visitor survey. DEFRA (2007) conducted a survey of public attitudes and behaviours towards the environment covering a wide range of issues, the first two of which are relevant for this research. When confronted with statements such as 'The environment is a low priority for me compared with a lot of other things in my life' or 'The effects of climate change are too far in the future to really worry me', most respondents to DEFRA's survey showed a positive attitude towards the environment. Over half interviewed believed 'using a more fuel efficient car' and 'using the car less' would make a major impact on the UK's reduction of its carbon emissions; similarly, over half stated 'I would like to reduce my car use but there are no practical alternatives'. Strong agreement was shown with the statement 'I do worry about the changes to the countryside in the UK and the loss of native plants and animals'. Half of those interviewed disagreed with the statement 'I don't believe my behaviour and everyday lifestyle contribute to climate change'. These few examples suggest that DEFRA found people to be more inclined than not, towards pro-environmental views. This is broadly consistent with the survey conducted for this research where the majority of mean scores for level of agreement on a range of environmental propositions were close to 4 (slightly agree), with 'We all have a personal moral duty to reduce our carbon emissions to help reduce global warming' attracting the highest score of 4.200 (Appendix 8.1, Table 8.1.3).

MORI (2008) found that 77 per cent of people were concerned about climate change; but interestingly, 60 per cent thought that ‘Scientific experts still question if humans are contributing to climate change; whereas in the National Trust visitor survey most respondents were more inclined to disagree with the statement: ‘Human contributions to causing global warming (e.g. industrialisation) have been exaggerated’. The MORI poll also showed that over half interviewed were not confident that the government would deal with climate change in the next few years (68 per cent said they wanted to ‘see the government do more on climate change). This was consistent with the visitor survey’s second strongest level of agreement (3.977) with the statement ‘A radical rethink of government policy is needed if the UK is to reduce its carbon emissions significantly’. The survey’s findings on environmental attitudes are broadly consistent with two national surveys on similar issues.

Policy insights

Research has shown that people’s attitudes towards their travel options and the environment can to some extent influence their pro-environmental behaviour, which is seen as an important contributor to achieving sustainable tourism. This section considers policy insights arising firstly from issues related to travel (public transport issues; carbon dioxide emissions from cars; fuel efficiency of cars; the Trust’s transport strategy and travel behaviour; and carbon off-setting). Secondly, environmental attitudes revealed by visitors to the charity’s properties have some implications for policy.

Public transport issues

As expected, the visitor survey confirmed a reliance on car travel to reach properties that was both rural and close to the West Midlands conurbation. Only with a city location (Birmingham Back-to-Backs) did car dependency diminish. The majority of visitors showed

some reluctance to consider alternatives to the car, for practical reasons of convenience, flexibility, unsuitable road conditions for cycling, and lack of public transport alternatives. Those who did consider alternatives to the car cited pro-social motives for reducing their carbon footprint and improving their health and fitness as the most important reasons. Furthermore, the majority of journeys were over 5 miles, placing even greater reliance on public transport for alternatives. The few cyclists interviewed were enthusiasts, who in some cases felt it safer and more practical to transport their bicycles in a car to the site (the Clent Hills for example). The natural conclusion here is that in the absence of realistic alternatives, visitors to National Trust properties will continue to use their car – either for specific day trips, or as part of other planned activities. This trend would not seem to align itself to a sustainable tourism approach.

Chapter 6 related how the Trust's transport policies had dated back to the early 1990s, when the charity voiced its concern over the then Conservative government's road expansion plans. A series of transport initiatives followed, articulated ten years later in the Trust's *Policy from practice: Visitor Travel* (National Trust, 2005e), in which the Trust stated its aim to bring about a culture change in travel to properties. Despite various incentives to use public transport, providing information on greener options; and encouraging cycling using the Sustrans network, car-borne transport to properties remains a dilemma for the Trust, underlined in Chapter 7. The standard response of the Trust has been to state that it will continue to lobby the government on improved public transport for rural areas; and that it provides visitors with information sites on alternatives to car travel. 'Visitor travel planning', the Trust maintained in 2005, should receive equal attention to some of the government's proposals aimed at business travel and commuting. The Trust was also keen to see rail leisure travel networks extended for weekends.

These findings are consistent with Dickinson & Dickinson (2006) on some of the practical problems encountered by tourism transport initiatives. In their research on social representations of local transport, Dickinson & Dickinson (2006) concluded that users of alternative transport were often regarded as ‘other people’; and that in some way, they had a different persona or identity to car users. Their research also detected a prevailing perception that the government should bear most of the responsibility to solve transport problems. More progress could be made on developing a network of alternatives to the car, Dickinson & Dickinson continued, if planners and policy-makers gave more attention to the needs of local residents and visitors at tourist destinations.

Estimating carbon dioxide emissions for car travel to sites

The government’s present reference point for an analysis of the UK ‘carbon pathways’ is the DfT’s report of 2008 (DfT, 2008). In the UK, domestic transport accounts for 24 per cent of total domestic CO₂ emissions, with passenger cars being responsible for just over half of the UK’s domestic transport emissions (approximately 12 per cent of total domestic emissions, therefore). Visitors who use their cars for days out, holidays and other leisure activities account for 12 per cent of journeys, which could be equated to approximately 1.5 per cent of total domestic emissions. Visit England et al. (2013) estimated that in 2012, the following accounted for about one-fifth of all day-out leisure activities: long walk; short stroll; sightseeing on foot; visiting a garden; sightseeing by car; or visiting an historic house. These activities accounted for approximately one-fifth of 1.5 per cent of total domestic CO₂ emissions: or approximately 0.3 per cent.

According to Visit England et al. (2013), those day-out leisure activities totalled to 315 million visits (Table 8.13), closely resembling the types of visits made to National Trust sites. For the year 2012/13, the National Trust reported 19.2 million visits to its pay-for-entry properties out of an estimated 239 million visits to all of its sites (National Trust 2013d). Thus the National Trust could account for in the region of 75 per cent of such visits made in Britain, in other words day trips to historic buildings, the countryside and coast. With car journeys for these activities representing in the region of 0.3 per cent of the UK's domestic CO₂ emissions, a crude estimate for the Trust's contribution would be 0.3 x 0.75, which gives a CO₂ footprint for car visits to the charity's sites of approximately 0.22 per cent of total domestic emissions or just under 1 per cent of domestic transport emissions, equivalent to about 1million tonnes of carbon dioxide. In contrast, the Trust estimated that converting oil boilers to biomass fuel would reduce its carbon emissions by 2,586 tonnes of CO₂ per annum (National Trust, 2013c). Notwithstanding this rough estimate (1 million tonnes of CO₂), car journeys to Trust properties clearly account for a large proportion of the charity's carbon footprint and present an ongoing policy challenge in achieving a stated intent in 2005 to bring about a culture change in travel behaviour. Equally, despite its challenge, reducing car travel to properties presents the Trust with an opportunity to show leadership in this area.

GB Day Visitor activities - 2012	
Type of day visitor activity:	Millions of visits
Short walk	81
Long walk/hike	94
Outdoor heritage	97
Visiting castle/historic property	20
Visiting historic house	23
Total visits (million)	315

Table 8.13 GB Day visitor activities for 2012, resembling NT visits (Adapted from Visit England et al., 2013)

Fuel efficiency of cars

The DfT (2013) reported an increasing number of motorists using cars capable of greater fuel efficiency, with a growth in the number of smaller-engine cars also subject to lower rates of Vehicle Excise Duty. Over the period 1995/97 to 2012, the number of car/van journeys undertaken fell by 6 per cent with passenger car trips also reducing by 11 per cent. There was a slight increase of 2 per cent in the use of public transport but mainly in London. Car occupancy was higher for holiday/day trips with two occupants per vehicle, than for commuting/business. The government's *The Carbon Plan* (HM Government, 2011) set out the UK's strategy for making a transition to a low carbon economy while maintaining energy security, with the aim of minimising costs to consumers. According to the report, transport emissions in the UK in 2011 were approximately the same as in 1990, with a growth leading up to 2007 explained by an expanding economy and increased transport demand; then followed by a decline resulting from improvements in new cars' efficiency and an increased uptake of bio-fuels. The global financial crisis in 2007/08 also partly accounted for this decline in transport emissions. The DfT report continued by saying that these trends in fuel efficiency of new cars, bio-fuels and low-emission technologies such as plug-in hybrid technologies, would contribute to a projected fall in average emissions from new cars by approximately one-third by 2020; with subsequent environmental benefits such as improved local air quality and reduced traffic noise.

These initiatives, despite falling short of the expectations of environmental NGOs/charities such as the Green Alliance, Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE), Campaign for Better Transport (CBT), WWF and Friends of the Earth, nevertheless have

made a contribution towards reducing greenhouse gas emissions from car travel and, it is suggested, are moving in the right direction. The CBT for example (CBT, 2011), have campaigned vigorously for improving public transport links through Local Sustainable Transport Funds (CBT, 2014) and earlier, proposed a Carbon Reduction Fund to strengthen the DfT's transport policy in cutting emissions (CBT et al., 2009). The Green Alliance was generally critical of senior UK politicians' commitment to the country's environmental policies (Green Alliance, 2013b); although on this occasion, the National Trust did not appear as a co-author. Despite the seemingly intractable environmental issue of car travel for the National Trust, it might be that a 'technical fix' (Houghton, 2004) moderates the situation in the long term.

The Trust's transport strategy and travel behaviour

As discussed in Chapter 6, the Trust's energy policy prioritises a reduction in energy consumption complemented by the phasing-in of renewable energy sources. The reporting of environmental performance in annual reports has so far centred on the energy and conservation performance of its properties. Transport issues occupy the Trust's concerns over certain planned sections of the planned HS2 railway impacting on its properties and nearby communities. In contrast for example, the CBT's response to HS2 was more critical of the DfT's projected reduction in carbon emissions: 'just a 1% drop from motorway traffic' (CBT, 2011).

The survey for this research showed that improving health and fitness and reducing one's CO₂ footprint were likely to be the strongest motivators for visitors to consider greener transport alternatives to the car. Bamberg et al. (2007) also found that pro-environmental behaviour could be motivated by self-interest, such as improving fitness, as well as pro-social motives and concern for species or whole eco-systems. Bamberg & Möser

(2007) reached a similar conclusion. Furthermore, a ‘supportive public opinion climate’ was seen to help the effectiveness of measures targeting individual behavioural change (Bamberg et al., 2007). Grob’s (1995) earlier study on ‘green drivers’ versus ‘traditional driver’ found that open-mindedness and recognition of environmental problems were the most important characteristics of green drivers. Anable’s (2005) study of 666 visitors to National Trust properties in the north-west of England pointed to the charity’s shortcomings in a deeper understanding of the characteristics of its car-borne visitors. Her conclusions suggested environmental psychology and environmental ethics have a role to play in explaining visitors’ attitudes and motives towards transport choice.

Being one of the few studies in the tourism-transport literature carried out on the Trust, Anable’s research also bore some similarities with the present study. Her research aimed to identify the characteristics of different groups of National Trust visitors with varying motivations to use alternatives to the car, thus leading to effective solutions for different situations. Starting with the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), Anable decided that additional factors were needed to give deeper insight into travel behaviour, namely: one’s prevailing moral norm; environmental attitudes, worldview and knowledge; efficacy; identity (behavioural norm); and habit. Without discussing the full article, Anable’s research usefully identified six visitor segments, each with a breakdown of characteristics and potential intervention policy options to influence a modal switch.

Lumsdon et al. (2006) also reached a similar conclusion from their study of modal shift with day visitors using the Greater Manchester Area’s Wayfarer ticket, which designed to encourage access to the countryside using public transport.

One of Dickinson et al.’s (2010: 488) conclusions from their research into the concept of ‘slow travel’, as an alternative to air and car travel in Europe, was that there was

a perceived need for 'clear scientific messages to raise public awareness. People are concerned, but uncertain, and there is currently much scope for prevarication'. Guiver's (2007) discourse analysis on perceptions of using buses and cars partly corroborated the survey's findings that visitors preferred to continue using their cars for reasons of flexibility, the facility to travel longer distances, and with public transport viewed as offering limited alternatives. However, in Guiver's study, car travel was also associated with problems of congestion and carbon emissions, although, interestingly, congestion was seen as an impediment to the journey, not the result of the journey. These, and other studies, pointed to a wide literature base which informed the survey.

Carbon off-setting

Voluntary carbon off-setting (VCO) is a further aspect associated with travel behaviour. Mair (2011: 216) defined VCO as '... the purchase of carbon credits and allowances over and above mandatory requirements set out by the Kyoto Protocol'. Tourism/VCO research (Becken, 2004; 2007; Gossling et al., 2007; Mair, 2011), has been directed at off-setting air travellers' journeys, probably explained by this sector's large contribution to greenhouse gases: UNWTO-UNEP-WMO (2007) estimated that aviation accounted for 40 per cent of global domestic and international tourism GHG emissions and 2 per cent of global emissions. Few studies on VCO have investigated leisure road transport. It should also be noted that a strand of literature focused on the uncertainties and inconsistencies of methodologies of a wide range of on-line carbon calculators giving inconsistent results, such as Padgett et al. (2008) and Filimonau (2011). Gössling et al. (2007: 241) went further, when they claimed: '... it is unclear whether voluntary carbon offsets could make a significant contribution to making tourism more sustainable'. They projected that an

increase by at least a factor of 400 was needed to achieve a 10 per cent reduction in aviation emissions.

Despite these uncertainties there has been a proliferation of on-line carbon calculators (Filimonau, 2011) and 'carbon footprint' has become a ubiquitous term (Fry, 2008). Car-borne travel to National Trust properties is almost certain to remain the dominant transport choice for visitors. As the survey indicated, practical, instrumental reasons deter car users from considering alternative transport modes; and most research seems to suggest that it would be challenging to alter these behavioural traits. Acknowledging some uncertainties with methodologies and published results, carbon offsetting nevertheless might be an option worth exploring by the National Trust. Filimonau's (2011) study of fifty on-line calculators indicated that a few were certainly worth considering (Carbon NZero from New Zealand and Cool Climate from the USA). Two internet sites were visited for this study: first, Transport Direct Information (2014), which is also cited in the Trust's Handbook for exploring alternative transport to the car; and secondly, Climate Care (2014), which includes a useful calculation of the cost of the offset (£0.31 for a 100-mile journey is an example). Climate Care's proceeds are channelled to an 'energy efficiencies and renewable portfolio', which funds emissions reduction across the developing world. With an ageing population (ONS, 2011), day visitors travelling further by car for journeys between 11 and 100 miles, the distance accounting for the highest proportion of CO₂ emissions, and with an increase in visits to rural locations (Visit England et al., 2013), it is suggested that the National Trust can expect to receive more car-borne visitors in the coming years. Carbon-offsetting might have a role in contributing to the culture change in travel behaviour desired by the charity, even if only to alleviate the environmental conscience of some visitors. This might reinforce the concept of

‘environmental philanthropy’ (Greenspan et al., 2012), based on people giving time and money through environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS) in support of environmental issues.

Environmental attitudes

For the survey, the five National Trust properties were selected to represent different types of estates across the West Midlands region. Some differences in respondents’ answers were noted, falling into two locations: firstly, The Weir and Clent Hills, exemplifying gardens and open countryside; and secondly, Moseley Old Hall, the Back-to-Backs and Charlecote Park representing buildings of varying design and location. In summary, visitors to gardens and open countryside displayed a stronger biospheric, pro-environmental approach to a range of environmental propositions; they attached more importance to the responsibility of the Trust and similar organisations in responding to climate change; they took a more critical view on the government’s approach to reducing the UK’s CO₂ emissions; and they conveyed a sense that, despite its diverse character, on balance tourism was seen as potentially damaging to climate change.

Bamberg & Möser (2007) saw pro-environmental behaviour as a combination of self-interest and a concern for other people, the next generation, or whole eco-systems. As they explained, researchers who viewed pro-environmental as pro-socially motivated (more altruistic) usually referred to Schwartz’s (1977) Norm Activation Model; whereas self-interest attracted rational choice models such as Ajzen’s (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour. Stern (2000) developed a theory that linked three aspects of behaviour: value theory, norm-activation theory, and the so-called New Environmental Paradigm (Dunlap et al., 2000). Schultz et al. (2004) argued that the type of concern individuals developed over environmental issues was connected with the extent to which the person believed s/he felt

part of nature, reflecting a connectedness for which philosophers such as Leopold (2003) have argued. It was mentioned at the start of the chapter that socio-demographic profiling was commonly used for research into environmental policy insights. Chapter 3 referred to Corner & Randall's (2011) observation that social marketing strategies were popular amongst both governmental and non-governmental organisations in seeking to influence pro-environmental behaviour and engage the public on climate change (for example DEFRA, 2008b); and that targeting specific social groups may be more effective than targeting individuals. The survey revealed that when compared with other segments, female under-45 year-olds demonstrated the strongest inclinations towards pro-environmental behaviour and a sense of personal moral responsibility towards climate change. More than other age groups, the 30-64 year-olds believed the government could do more to tackle climate change, and attached the most importance to individual and collective (community) action. Visitors over the age of 44 showed most affinity with the idea of nature having equal rights to humankind. These findings show some consistency with other research in identifying visitor segments through which environmental messages may be promoted.

Chapter summary

The chapter's purpose was to discuss the empirical findings of data collected from a questionnaire survey across five National Trust properties in the West Midlands. The survey aimed to capture visitors' characteristics (age, gender, and membership/or not); their travel behaviour; attitude towards alternative transport to the car if applicable; and their views on a range of issues associated with climate change, the environment, and the responsibilities of the National Trust and the government in tackling climate change. The results of the survey have been discussed in detail making reference where appropriate to the literature on the motivation for pro-environmental behaviour.

The final part of the chapter offered some policy insights for the National Trust derived from the survey's findings. First, the survey pointed to a number of aspects related to travel behaviour. A long-standing issue with public transport links to rural areas was evident, a policy area where the Trust, realistically, can only hope to continue to lobby government for improved funding and infrastructure. Although in the future, improvements and innovation in car design and fuels will help to reduce vehicular carbon emissions, it is certain that the Trust will continue to experience car dependency with its visitors: possibly more so, given an ageing population and health issues associated with mobility and fitness. The survey showed that most visitors who use their car, despite passenger sharing, are reluctant to consider alternative transport for what are, realistically, practical reasons and beyond their control. Initiatives such as voluntary carbon off-setting, already familiar to some air passengers and the tourism industry, might contribute to the Trust's quest for bringing about a culture change in travel behaviour. Even a rough estimate of the quantity of carbon emissions produced by car-borne visitors to National Trust sites over a year has shown how much potential there is to reduce the charity's carbon footprint. The second area for policy insights is environmental attitudes. Consistent with other research, this survey showed there to be a link between people's attitude towards the natural environment and their immediate surroundings: a connectedness with nature. This could have implications for the way the National Trust chooses to communicate environmental messages to its members, visitors, supporters, and as yet unreached audiences. The charity's current promotion of the outdoors could serve to promote an awareness of nature and humankind's responsibilities to the planet. Consistent with other research, this study revealed particular visitor segments that may hold potential for being targeted and/or reinforcing climate change messages that may contribute to a cultural change in travel behaviour.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The conclusion is structured into four sections. First, the research questions, findings and emerging issues related to climate change policy are summarised in order to review the project's purpose and outcomes. Although each chapter has been summarised throughout the thesis, and notwithstanding some overlap in places, this first section provides a continuous account of the study's outcomes. Second, the project's relationship with the existing literature is reviewed, leading to a consideration of its place in sustainable heritage tourism research. Following this, the methodology is evaluated for its achievements and limitations. The fourth and final part of the chapter considers policy implications for the National Trust and opportunities for further research in the topic area. Finally, a concluding statement will review the outcome of the overall aim of the thesis and its research questions.

Summary of research questions, findings and emerging issues

The study set out to explore the contribution of climate change policy and practice to sustainable heritage tourism, focusing on the National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland. From the mid-20th century, climate change science became increasingly accepted although, until the 1970s, overshadowed at times by meteorology. By the late 1980s, the politicisation of climate change was evident, leading to the creation of international organisations such as the IPCC. Parallel developments took place with the emergence of the sustainable development concept since the early 1970s at the onset of the 'modern environmental era' and the creation of UNEP. These events led to a growing multi-

disciplinary canon of literature that addressed the many facets of climate change. To name a few: continued publications in the natural sciences; the uncertainties surrounding the science; policy-making at international and national levels; behavioural aspects; risk management; ethical questions; and the economics of climate change.

By the mid-1980s, tourism literature started to address climate change, predominantly associated with impact studies: the impact of climate change on tourism, but soon, research developed into tourism's impact on the environment. This two-way approach framed many studies during the 1990s. Latterly, tourism research has explored areas such as the industry's energy consumption as well as tourists' attitudes to transport, principally aviation, as the main contributor of GHGs in the transport sector. In the mainstream tourism literature, heritage tourism was identified as a sector that had so far paid little attention to sustainable tourism and climate change research. In contrast, and in parallel, climate change was a well-discussed concept in the sustainable tourism literature although its relevance has been questioned by some, notably Weaver (2011). Against this background, the literature on climate change, heritage tourism, and sustainable tourism was reviewed. The selection of the National Trust as a case was discussed in Chapter 1; but briefly, little attention had been paid to tourism and conservation studies related to the voluntary or third sector, thus reinforcing the choice of the National Trust as a worthy case study. The literature review developed further multi-disciplinary avenues and these eventually crystallised into the study's interpretive framework. There were six research questions organised into two principal lines of inquiry: the development of a climate change policy at the Trust; and how it is perceived by a cross-section of staff and visitors.

1) Using predominantly secondary sources, the project examined how a climate change policy evolved within the National Trust, looking at how the charity responded to

developments in macro environmental and climate change policy and its subsequent involvement in both macro and meso policy zones. The study also sought to examine how and why the charity developed its climate change policy in response to these external influences, and identify its form and function. The first line of inquiry continued by briefly reviewing the charity's first hundred years, but, of more relevance, developments over the past twenty years that have witnessed a gradual culture change towards a more open, populist, professional and technocratic organisation; although some commentators continue to associate the charity with its patrician roots. A review of the internal re-organisations, professional development of its management, and reform of governance, showed that the Trust's actions closely followed contemporary leadership and management practice. The Trust viewed these changes as an upheaval for its several thousand staff. Further moves towards decentralisation and empowerment through the *Going local* strategy were seen to be largely supportive in conjunction with centralised targets, although the reporting of environmental performance has not yet reached the level of depth and detail that is customary in reporting and assessing financial performance. In the last three years the charity's climate change policy has gradually become part of its energy policy. The Trust, however, is sometimes seen as a controversial organisation when it comes to climate change, such as when it appears to take a protectionist stance in the siting of off-shore but particularly on-shore wind farms (BBC, 2014b). This may have implications for some aspects of climate change policy, as discussed in the next section. Although the first line of inquiry set out to examine climate change policy, associated tourism issues emerged from the research such as the authenticity of heritage being compromised by commodification.

2) The second line of inquiry explored staff and visitor perceptions of climate change and associated environmental issues and charity's responsibilities in tackling climate

change. This was planned as a natural succession to secondary source findings. The main aim of the staff interviews and the volunteer survey was to explore views on these issues and the management of climate change throughout different levels within the charity. Findings indicated some differences in opinion. At the operational level for example, a few managers did not readily identify with a separate, visible climate change policy, but readily associated any such policy as being part of the charity's performance-driven energy policy. At property level, consistent with the ethos of decentralisation and empowerment introduced as central policy, these arrangements were seen largely by staff as conducive to managing climate change at the local level. In most cases, the imposition of centralised targets was seen as supportive for localised management. Criticisms that some aspects of sustainable development were nebulous were echoed at all levels of staff interviewed; most agreed though with the concept's principles and its relevance to the Trust's core purpose.

Interviews conducted with senior staff reinforced the notion of climate change policy as a strategic necessity if the charity is to protect its assets and to bring the issue further into the public policy arena by working in partnership with other ENGOs and charities, and communicating to the public through example, rather than campaigning on the science and impacts of climate change. This approach was consistent with the charity's original statement of intent drafted in 1998. At the operational level, managing the business and conservation work of individual properties during extreme weather conditions became a reality in terms of financial costs and the impacts on the physical fabric of the site, and the subsequent need for intensified conservation work. Two dilemmas became apparent: first, the conflict of trying to meet energy reduction targets against the operational needs of catering for increased numbers of visitors; and second, the long-standing problem of reliance on car-borne transport to properties, which could cause traffic management

problems in addition to environmental impacts. Despite the challenges of a) in some instances, attracting visitors to more remote, rural locations; and b) managing increased visitor numbers, at the operational level, managers agreed that increased tourism was necessary for funding important conservation work, which in turn led to opportunities to communicate the importance of adaptation and mitigation work. Some interviewees supported the idea of the Trust becoming more of a campaigning organisation on environmental issues, perhaps reminiscent of the charity's founding era. At a more senior level however, the importance of managing the charity's assets and its reputation received priority. A few volunteers were quite outspoken in their views of climate change and the Trust, suggesting that the issue was exaggerated or that it was not a priority for the charity; or that there was no climate change policy. However, the research found most volunteers to be moderately concerned about climate change and supportive of the Trust's role, while also believing the government should increase its efforts in tackling the issue: broadly in line with the results from the visitor survey. Volunteers supported the idea of a team approach for communicating environmental issues, but were not very enthusiastic about the idea of discussing them with visitors on an individual basis.

Insight to visitors' views on climate change and associated issues was considered an important part of this research. In 2014, the Trust's membership stood at just under 4 million (much larger than all the UK political parties' membership combined, as the media frequently reports) and aims to reach 5 million by 2020. In 2012/13, the Trust estimated that 239 million visits were made to its sites. The charity's original statement of intent on climate change made clear its commitment to communicating to the public what it saw as a serious environmental threat to its assets as well as wider society. This was recently reiterated by the most recently appointed Director-General, Helen Ghosh. The results of the

visitor survey were reported at length in the previous chapter; however, a few points are worth re-stating. Car-borne travel, mostly sharing journeys, remains the preferred mode for the majority of visitors, principally for practical reasons; and most visitors stated they would not consider using an alternative, greener form of transport. Most visitors to properties showed moderate concern for the environment and supported the Trust's role in tackling climate change. Women aged 30-44 appeared to be the most pro-environmental visitor category. The majority of visitors to properties were people aged 45 years and above. Overall, visitors' awareness of climate change measures that were undertaken by the Trust covered the spectrum of adaptation and mitigation initiatives. On a range of climate change and associated environmental issues, there were few differences shown between members and non-members, except that members attached more importance to reducing their carbon footprint as a reason for not using the car; and non-members were more critical of the government's approach to dealing with climate change. Overall, the survey found visitors to be conservatively pro-environmental in their approach to climate change, broadly consistent with selected national surveys on environmental attitudes. Visitors generally appreciated the role of conservation in adapting to climate change. Most visitors felt that they had a personal moral duty to reduce their carbon emissions, and that the government should be taking further action in addressing climate change.

The project's sixth research question sought to consider to what extent climate change policy contributes to sustainable heritage tourism through the case of the National Trust. This is considered at the end of the chapter, in conjunction with a review of the study's overall aim and outcomes; in the meantime, the research has highlighted two main issues related to climate change and sustainable heritage tourism.

Issue 1

The National Trust's 2005 Statement of Intent declared: 'The Trust will be proactive in raising awareness of climate change and in seeking to influence people's behaviour, internally and externally, individually and corporately'. The research has shown that when it comes to going public on certain issues, the Trust's usual default position is to promote its cause where it sees a direct threat to its assets and core purpose, as has been the case over the past two years in its response to the government's proposed National Planning Policy Framework, and HS2. This is to be expected, given its statutory purpose and custody of assets worth over £1 billion, a large proportion of those assets being funded by private donations and membership subscriptions. It is mooted that the following factors may renew pressure for the charity to become more of a campaigning organisation on issues such as climate change: a target membership of 5 million by the year 2020; and a workforce that is likely to continue to grow as the charity's activities expand, and which may begin to question the charity's willingness to campaign on environmental issues and the country's response to climate change.

The research has examined the Trust's intention to be proactive in raising awareness of climate change and in seeking to influence people's behaviour. Adaptation to climate change at various sites is reported widely in the charity's public domain. Much publicity is given to the charity's energy policy and low-carbon projects. Communicating messages through the charity's practical measures in fulfilling its core purpose is an effective strategy. The first issue therefore, concerns the Trust's potential role as a more active campaigner on climate change: whether it views this as an extension of its commitment to raise awareness. This revives a question the Council asked itself as far back as 1919: how much *should* the

Trust be a campaigning body? At the 2006 AGM climate change was referred to as being probably the charity's single greatest challenge (National Trust, 2006a). It could be that in future years demand surfaces from the membership as well as the charity's workforce for a more public stance on the issue. It is very likely that the Trust will continue its advocacy with other ENGOs and charities, and at the government's invitation, to respond to national, EU and international policy/initiatives. The question is: will the Trust become more outspoken on wider environmental issues such as climate change?

Issue 2

In the absence of major investment to improve public transport networks and infrastructure for rural areas, it is virtually certain that visitors to National Trust properties will continue to rely on car transport. Even if public transport improvements, particularly in rural parts of the country do materialise, research suggests that car dependency will remain. The study found little evidence of progress being made on the Trust's proposed Visitor Travel Plans introduced in 2005, with such a scheme relying on public transport networks. Carbon pathways analysis indicated that passenger car travel accounts for about a half of the UK's transport emissions. Despite leisure car travel for day-trips associated with National Trust-type activities being a relatively small proportion of all car travel in this country, and notwithstanding improvements to engine design and fuel efficiency leading to projected decreases in car emissions, there is a case for continuing the effort to reduce car travel to the charity's properties. Since at least the 1990s, the Trust has been concerned about the congestion and pollution caused by vehicular traffic, but schemes to ban cars from sites have been limited and only where practical alternatives are available. The National Trust Handbook gives details of alternative transport links available through certain websites; and

local connections, including the Sustrans national cycle routes that run close to properties. The second issue, therefore, is that the research confirms visitor car-borne travel to properties remains a dilemma for the Trust, and can be seen as the weak link in the charity's sustainable heritage tourism profile. Research shows that there is a range of personal motives to explain why people prefer to use their cars for commuting, business trips and leisure. Furthermore, with an ageing and less mobile population (over-weight trends, type 2 diabetes, for example) car dependency is likely to remain, if not increase. In this respect at least, it might be said that the odds are stacked against the National Trust in trying to bring about a culture change in travel behaviour. How much of its resources are the Trust prepared to commit in an effort to bring about a culture change in travel behaviour, something the charity has been striving to achieve over the past ten years, and to what extent does it believe this to be a realistic goal?

The study's place in the literature

The literature surrounding heritage tourism, sustainable tourism, and tourism-climate change studies developed multi-disciplinary themes that became the research's interpretive framework discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. This part of the Conclusion highlights the research's place in the wider literature.

The first point to make, one that may seem obvious, is that by the very nature of its activities, the National Trust represents heritage tourism in many respects, yet has received scant attention in the tourism literature. The charity works on a timescale of 'in perpetuity'. The inter-generational nature of heritage tourism was emphasised by authors such as Tunbridge & Ashworth (1996: 1); Nuryanti (1996: 249); Herbert (1997: xi); Graham et al. (2000:11); Timothy & Boyd (2003: 2); as well as English Heritage (2008: 71). Nuryanti also

considered it important to convey the significance of a heritage site in addition to its physical conservation. Both the National Trust and English Heritage promote their sites as 'special places', and a continuous theme in the presentation of National Trust sites has been to highlight the distinctiveness of individual properties. Poria et al. (2006) drew attention to how a site's attributes and heritage presented are implicitly linked to the visitor's perception of personal heritage. 'Legacy tourism', a sub-set of heritage tourism that identifies with a visitor's interest in their personal heritage (McCain & Ray, 2003) was encountered during the fieldwork, notably through the visitor survey at the Birmingham Back-to-Backs. The study identified with several other themes consistent with the heritage tourism literature, but not directly related to climate change, as with issues of authenticity and commodification of heritage (Boorstin, 1964/1973; MacCannell, 1973; Lowenthal, 1985; Wright, 1985; Hewison, 1987; Cohen, 1988; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Buzinde & Santos, 2009), and the notion that tourism is able to frame history ideologically and reshape culture to its own requirements (Bandyopadhyay et al., 2008). This resonates with the Trust's current practice of 'bringing properties to life' resulting in some accusations of 'disneyfication' reflecting the post-modern tourism narrative (Uriely, 1997).

Sustainable tourism was central to this study. The literature highlighted its provenance in sustainable development, a notion that was viewed with uncertainty and even scepticism by some interviewees as well as commentators such as Cope (1995). Baker's (2007) belief that the strength of the concept of sustainable development lay in its flexibility seemed to have the most utility for the National Trust's activities. Achieving a balance of tourism and conservation was found to be an ongoing issue for the Trust, but, as the findings indicated, the charity viewed the two activities as inter-dependent. This reflected a persistent theme in the sustainable tourism literature, that the real challenge is in controlling the

volume of tourism, in other words, maintaining an acceptable level of mass tourism (Wheeller, 1991; 1993; 1994; and Butler, 1999). Although Wheeler and Butler referred to *mass* tourism, nevertheless, the principles accord with the Trust's experience of a growth in visits to its properties. The literature indicated that sustainable tourism was prone at times to green rhetoric, where tourism products such as 'eco-tourism' had in effect become a disguise for perpetuating the economic benefits of mass tourism (Wheeller, 1993). This underlined the role of sustainable tourism indicators so that progress in sustainable tourism could be measured, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The approaches put forward by Gössling et al. (2002) and Roberts & Tribe (2008) were considered relevant in looking at the ways the Trust could develop its monitoring. The first was the idea of a destination being assessed for its ecological footprint; and the second, a set of indicators that could be adapted for the individual organisation.

This led to a strand of literature that promoted the benefits of local stakeholder involvement and empowerment in sustainable tourism policy-making advocating a 'bottom-up approach' (Cole, 2006; Waligo et al., 2013; Albrecht, 2013; Graci, 2013). This recent research suggests a growth area that reflects the Trust's current *Going local* strategy. Nine members' resolutions were submitted for the Trust's AGM in November 2014, one of them being on 'coastal properties, climate change and community consultation' (National Trust, 2014f). The resolution sought to reinforce the involvement of 'local property owners, occupiers and businesses at every stage' (ibid), particularly where the local management lived outside the immediate area and/or whose responsibilities related more to animal and plant life rather than farms or buildings. The Board recommended the membership to vote against this resolution because, whilst it strongly supported the principle of working closely at the local level, it considered the proposal for a national framework of consultation as

unnecessary and potentially bureaucratic, ultimately being counter-productive to the Trust's ability to fulfil its core purpose. This resonates with the contemporary literature on stakeholder involvement.

The literature showed that, to date, climate change had represented only a small part of the tourism literature, much of it examining the impacts of climate change on destinations (ski resorts and small-island-states in particular); aviation (the largest emitter of GHGs for tourism activities); and tourist behaviour associated with carbon emissions, and measurements of energy consumption by tourism businesses. Two leading authors in this field were Stefan Gössling and Susanne Becken. Their research was particularly relevant for the promotion of mitigation measures to counteract GHG emissions in terms of understanding tourist behaviour and measuring energy consumption and GHG emissions. Janet Dickinson's research on the other hand, was directed more at domestic tourism, the National Trust's *modus operandi*. Her work on patterns of car travel and behaviour, local public transport issues, and the psychology of transport mode choice, was linked closely to the study's findings. Dickinson et al. (2004), one of the few studies conducted on the National Trust, showed similarities with the present study, where it was shown that the relatively remote locations of the Trust made it difficult to reduce car dependency; furthermore, that an ageing population, though good for business, was likely to fuel extra demand for car travel; although shorter journeys might offer more scope for alternative travel, but only if local provisions and conditions were suitable. Their research also acknowledged the economic objectives of tourism, and how a balanced approach should be sought in seeking to suppress car travel. Reference has also been made to Anable's (2005) psychographic analysis of National Trust visitors, where potential was shown for cultivating behavioural/attitude change through targeting particular visitor segments.

In tracing the evolution of the Trust's climate change policy in relation to wider developments in environmental public policy, contextualisation was achieved through policy studies, both generically (Rhodes, 1997; Marsh, 1998; John, 2003; Parsons, 2005; Stewart, 2009) and in tourism-related work (Hall & Jenkins, 1995; Tyler & Dinan, 2001a; 2001b; Kerr et al. 2001; Pforr 2005; 2006; Stevenson et al 2008). Although most of the aforementioned tourism research was directed at public agencies such as tourist boards and local authorities, the literature examined the policy-making process by focusing on networks and partnerships, a process the National Trust undertakes in its policy advocacy with public agencies such as English Heritage (Stonehenge for example), charities such as the RSPB, and the Green Alliance. These aspects of policy-making were discussed in the context of macro and meta levels, which reflected the Trust's advocacy activities. Part of the interpretive framework utilised environmental ethics and environmental psychology to explain the various facets of pro-environmental behaviour. Examples of leading authors from these disciplines and other literature themes used in the study are included in Appendix 4.10.

Evaluation of the methodology

The study's methods extended over a period of some seven years involving many avenues of research, out of which three main conclusions emerged. Firstly, using mixed methods of qualitative interviews and quantitative questionnaire surveys proved largely successful in gaining two different perspectives of climate change issues and policy. The interviews with senior managers and other staff provided sufficient material to assess the climate of opinion about climate change at the Trust. Although twelve one-to-one interviews yielded plenty of data, it was disappointing that certain key people at the Trust were not available for

interview, or, in some cases, did not respond to repeated requests. The survey of visitors to National Trust properties adequately covered the research areas of travel behaviour and environmental attitudes. The response rate for both the visitor survey and the volunteer survey exceeded expectations. However, some minor shortcomings were evident in the design of the visitor survey questionnaire, despite several versions being trialled for a pilot survey. One example was the misunderstanding of the phrase 'return trip'. In retrospect, and despite repeated attempts at clarifying and re-phrasing during the pilot phase, the nine attitude statements on climate change and environmental issues, were, perhaps, too open to interpretation by the respondent; and could have been condensed and/or simplified.

The second point to make concerns the use of statistics with the visitor survey. As the responses gained momentum from the five sites, it became clear that the large sample size provided opportunities for using the inferential statistical techniques such as Chi-square analysis and ANOVA. With a smaller sample size, the data might have been limited to using descriptive statistics, because there would not have been large enough sample sizes to conduct tests with the independent variables (age, gender, membership). It was stressed in the Introduction and Chapter 8 that this part of the research did not set out to produce statistical generalisations, but nevertheless took the opportunity to maximise opportunities to analyse data from a large sample (N=847). The unexpected large response rate underlined the benefits of combining different methods of collecting responses from questionnaire surveys. Anable's (2005) mail-back technique proved to be a tried and tested method.

The third point relates to the use of secondary sources. The nature of the topic required wide exploratory reading, and in hindsight, some of the early stages of the research process extended the boundaries too wide. For example, although it was considered relevant to gain an understanding of climate change science, it was not necessary to write a full

chapter on the subject (subsequently not included in the final thesis). Reading the literature on climate change policy led to other areas such as the risk and uncertainty surrounding climate change and how Integrated Assessment Models (IAMs) gradually became more sophisticated in arriving at climate change impact projections. A sizeable tranche of literature on risk analysis was consulted and although providing much insight and interest had to be excluded. In retrospect then, the development of the interpretive framework could have been more focused. The project's secondary sources for the empirical work in Chapters 5 and 6 relied heavily on material sourced from annual reports and AGM minutes, for reasons already explained. To begin with, this was considered to be a limitation, but as the research developed it became evident that these documents proved to be valid for portraying events at the Trust over a period of some fifty years; although potential bias and subjectivity in the construction of these public documents was duly recognised. The value of on-site visits to the charity's archives department was fully appreciated when a selection of internal reports and memoranda on the subject of climate change became available. Without access to these, acquiring the details of the Trust's involvement in external affairs might not have been possible.

Policy implications for the National Trust and opportunities for further research

Communicating climate change messages

The Trust's stance on its campaigning role with regard to climate change issues was the first main issue that arose from the research. It has been suggested that demand for the charity to take a more active role may surface from a growing membership as well as a large, professional workforce, including up to 70,000 volunteers. Communicating the risks of climate change to wider society was established as one of the priorities in its climate change policy. The research suggests this aspect of the policy could be reinforced. Consistent with

other research, the project found differences among visitors according to their age and gender with regard to the strength of their pro-environmental attitudes. The National Trust, therefore, might consider exploring effective methods of communicating environmental messages to different segments of its supporters and wider audience. The visitor survey found for example, that older male supporters tended to show less inclination towards pro-environmental attitudes. In this respect, some of the environmental psychology literature used in the interpretive framework for this thesis could have potential for designing any communication strategies aimed at climate change awareness. Recent research (Corner & Randall, 2011) has pointed to some limitations in targeting individuals through social marketing campaigns, but suggests that there is potential in looking to promote dialogue with social groups and amongst UK charities through the use of on-line social networking. During the course of writing this thesis it was observed how the Trust became more accessible through its website and contemporary social media channels. There may be a further opportunity to capitalise on its social media proficiency in reaching target audiences, as the Trust strives to reach minority or new audiences: ‘disabled people, city dwellers, young people and members of minority ethnic communities’ (National Trust, 2013d: 31).

A further point relates to volunteer workers. The volunteer survey found that despite fairly neutral feelings about engaging visitors on a one-to-one basis with issues such as climate change, volunteers indicated their support for working in teams on projects. This may be worth considering as a trial exercise, but would obviously depend on the support of volunteers which, the study has suggested, would not be unanimous. Furthermore, the interviews conducted for the survey made clear that the Trust did not favour lecturing to its supporters. Recent research (Greenspan et al., 2012) into the notion of ‘environmental philanthropy’, which suggested that volunteering could be viewed as a way of reinforcing

pro-environmental behaviour, merits exploration. The National Trust's working holidays are a prime example of this practice.

Car travel to properties

The second issue mentioned emerging from the project concerns car travel to properties. This has been a long-standing concern for the Trust in terms of congestion and pollution, but little reference has been made to direct links with climate change. Consistent with other research,

the study found the continued reliance on car journeys to properties to be the weak link in the charity's sustainable tourism profile. The research has shown that this appears to be an intractable problem, despite isolated examples of car-free access where local conditions permit. In line with other environmental charities and NGOs, the However, it might be said that rural areas will remain difficult to access without a car and research has shown that people will continue to prefer this mode of transport for a variety of motives. This study has speculated that with an ageing and less mobile population, and increased membership, the Trust will experience increased car travel in years to come. Improved fuel efficiency, alternative fuels, and 'cleaner engines' in car manufacture, to some extent may provide a 'technical fix' to the problem.

However, in pursuit of the Trust's stated aim to bring about a culture change in visitor travel, the charity might consider other methods to reinforce this task, in addition to the existing transport information websites supplied to visitors. In Chapter 8 it was mooted that giving visitors the opportunity to off-set their carbon emissions from car travel although

not automatically leading to a reduction on car use, might nevertheless raise awareness of sustainable tourism objectives and appeal to a visitor's 'feel good factor' or social altruism; and possibly reinforce connectivity with nature (Schultz et al., 2004). Such an initiative might bring the Trust some positive publicity but equally could be open to criticism as a form of green rhetoric (Wheeller, 1991; 1993). The Trust would also need to consider whether the costs and operational requirements of such proposal would be counter to its primary purpose of conservation. Carbon-offsetting though, this research suggests, is a practice that is conducive to sustainable tourism and has application for the voluntary heritage sector, presenting opportunities for innovation and research.

Reporting on environmental performance

More of a subsidiary issue that emerged from this research was an observation that the reporting of the Trust's environmental performance in its annual report is limited to the headline targets achieved in energy reduction and the Conservation Performance Indicator. This is not to devalue the relevance and interest this information gives to the charity's readership. This research suggests the Trust's 'credentials' as a sustainable heritage tourism organisation could be better publicised by providing more comprehensive data about its environmental performance (a comparison with English Heritage's format was referred to in Chapter 2). Detailed indicators such as those used by Roberts & Tribe (2008), shown in Appendix 2.1, could be adapted for some properties on a trial basis. Realistically, such an undertaking would incur extra costs, not least in bureaucracy, training and time; and arguably could be seen to distract property managers from their operational responsibilities in managing conservation and tourism. Nevertheless, from this research's perspective, it could be a process worth consideration as well as leading to research opportunities. The content of social data reported by the charity is a related issue referred to in Chapter 5.

Presently, the social element of the Trust's TBL performance is reported as annual updates on staff satisfaction and visitor ratings. The Public Services (Social Value) Act 2012 required public sector agencies to consider how the service they procured could bring added economic, environmental and social benefits. Although the National Trust is not a public agency, it is suggested that a more inclusive approach to reporting social value is a process that would engage stakeholders and supporters of the Trust. One avenue could be the response of members, visitors and supporters to a series of statements designed to capture and measure the impact of the Trust on people's general well-being and approach to life; rather than being limited to satisfaction ratings. Previous comments made about bureaucracy, costs, and deviations from the charity's core purpose would need to be taken into account.

Participation in National Trust policy-making

In Chapter 7, the results of the exploratory survey with Council members and the Board of Trustees, although based on only a small number of interviews, suggested that policy-making in the charity was seen by some senior members as a 'top-down' process and that 'grass-root' opinions have no influence in the charity's policy-making. A review of the Trust's history has shown how on occasions, grass-root pressures have brought about change through the convening of EGMs. But these are rare. Property managers came across as reasonably satisfied working within the structure and expectations of centralised policies, even though a few managers did not immediately identify with a single, discernible climate change policy. However, the volunteer survey indicated that only 40 per cent of respondents felt connected with issues communicated by Heelis, and less than two-thirds saw the National Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change. Although only a small sample of volunteers (139 out of approximately 60,000), the

survey's results point to a) some degree of remoteness in how the charity's centralised policies are perceived by volunteers; and b), opportunities for volunteers' experiences, ideas and skills to contribute to policy-making through forums at individual properties as well as the local community, seen as empowerment: considered an important element in policy-making for sustainable tourism.

Concluding statement

Scott (2011) believed that climate change was the 'new strategic reality' for businesses, governments and NGOs; and Dickinson (2010) said there was a present need for public engagement with climate change in an effort to bring about behaviour decisions that could lead to a lower carbon future for tourism. An examination of the National Trust's climate change policy: its inception, implementation and impact on staff, volunteers and visitors in the context of wider environmental issues, has shown that heritage tourism has many strengths to contribute to sustainable tourism through consideration of climate change issues, but also a few vulnerable areas. Its strengths are well-placed within the field of environmental ethics where the idea of stewardship of the natural and built environments and inter-generational equity both serve to underline the importance of adapting to the perceived physical threats of climate change. Furthermore, particularly in the case of the natural environment, many heritage sites provide natural defences to climate change such as in the case of forests as carbon sinks. There are also opportunities to capitalise on natural resources in the production of renewable energy sources (wind; wood; tidal power; latent heat from sea water; solar energy). In turn, these can focus on mitigation measures such as developing energy policies. Heritage tourism has the potential to capitalise on these assets in

communicating what it considers to be important environmental messages (climate change is a case) to its audience. However, achieving sustainable heritage tourism requires a comprehensive, holistic approach, and whilst the aforementioned supply-side factors offer plenty of strengths, there is a danger that demand-side considerations of visitor travel and environmental behaviour may undermine good practice. This study has highlighted some of the imbalances between conservation and access inherent in sustainable heritage tourism. Climate change policy, driven by the twin strategies of adaptation and mitigation, can help to redress this imbalance.

POSTSCRIPT

During the final stage of completing this study, the National Trust introduced its new 10-year strategy *Playing our part* (National Trust, 2015c). On the day of its official launch, 23rd March, the Director-General Dame Helen Ghosh was interviewed on the BBC's Today programme (BBC, 2015) during which she talked about how the Trust was responding to the challenges of climate change:

‘... now, the main challenge to our conservation purpose is the destruction of habitats of wildlife ... precious species in 60 per cent decline ... two causes: intensive land management ... for the future, and we see this on our coastline, in our countryside, even in our houses, climate change, we think, is the big threat to us’. (National Trust, 2015c).

The interviewer, John Humphrys, suggested that perhaps visitors should stop travelling to the Trust's properties in their cars in order to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Helen Ghosh conceded that car-borne travel was inevitable but, where possible, the charity worked with local public transport providers to encourage alternative transport options. She continued by reiterating the Trust's targets on renewable energy sources (50 per cent of sources by 2050) and achieving energy efficiencies (20 per cent reduction). Asked whether this would make a difference, the Director-General affirmed the charity's practice, consistent with this study, of communicating through example as the preferred strategy for promoting messages about climate change and the environment. She maintained that the large and diverse scale of the Trust's activities meant that it *could* make a difference by ‘showing people what *good* looks like’ (emphasis added). Furthermore, she added, working with partners such as the RSPB, other landowners, and ‘big business’ was seen as a natural collaborative practice for the charity.

The press highlighted the National Trust's aim to protect the countryside and reverse, what the charity believed to be damaging effects of years of intensive farming and destruction of wildlife, where the countryside will be 'nursed back to health' (Harvey, 2015). The current emphasis on the outdoors reflects the efforts made during Angus Stirling's tenure in the 1980s (Chapter 5), when the charity sought to engage itself more fully in environmental public policy on matters related to agriculture and the countryside, shortly before climate change made its appearance in the Trust's policy-making arena. It is perhaps symbolic for this study that on a recent visit to Midlands properties, the Director-General viewed the solar eclipse on 20th March from the top of the Clent Hills. Staff reported that the location was well-attended by visitors; many of whom would have travelled by car.

Appendix 1.1

The National Trust for England, Wales and Northern Ireland Heritage assets as at 2012/13 (National Trust, 2013d)

The National Trust protects and preserves:

Over 200 historic houses
47 industrial monuments and mills
12 lighthouses
35 public houses
The sites of many factories and mines
19 castles and chapels
57 villages
25 medieval barns

The total reinstatement value of the NT's historic buildings is £5.9 billion.

709 miles of coastline
610,000 acres of land

NT land is designated at many levels including Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty (AONBs) and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs).

The classification of land and water is as follows:

	Acres
Let estate	339,142
Commons	101,503
Woodland	40,636
Moors	26,942
Bodies of water	16,316
Parks and gardens	10,233
Other*	16,766

*Other includes visitor attractions, National Trust-managed agricultural land, and non-agricultural land such as grazing, scrub and saltmarsh.

Update for 2015 (National Trust, 2015c)

257,082 hectares (635,265 acres) of land
775 miles of coastline
Over 500 historic houses, gardens and parks, ancient monuments
76 nature reserves
149 museums and 83,000 collections
400 factories and mines (including two gold mines)
61 pubs and inns
4.2 million members
60,000 volunteers
10,000 staff
1,800 agricultural tenancies

Appendix 2.1
Environmental sustainability indicators (Roberts & Tribe, 2008)

Sustainable tourism indicator	Performance indicators	Possible targets
Environmental awareness & management	Presence of policy statement Actual EA (environmental assessment) conducted Membership in environmental scheme Steps taken to rectify any environmental problems identified	Environmental policy statement which shows adherence to sustainable tourism policy Undertake environmental assessment Management supportive of Policy
Energy efficiency	Energy conservation plan Energy consumption monitored Energy conservation measures	Develop energy conservation plan Use of energy saving devices Monitoring energy use at all facilities Develop appropriate strategies and/or alternatives for the management of energy resources Staff and customers informed of the benefits of energy efficiency
Water efficiency and monitoring	Water conservation plan Scheduled water consumption monitoring Water conservation measures	Develop water management plan Develop maintenance plan for checking and repairing all plumbing fixtures and storage tanks frequently Monitor water quality Promote water conservation among staff and guest
Recycling and reuse	Type of waste most generated Per-cent of materials recycled or reused	Formal or informal recycling policy System to deal with recyclable or reusable waste
Solid waste management	Solid waste management plan Systematic disposal of degradable and non-degradable waste in a way that is environmentally-friendly and non-polluting	Develop SWM Plan Collection, storage and disposal of waste in conformity with legislative requirements Participate in community clean-up activities
Sustainable tourism indicator	Performance indicators	Possible targets
Waste water management	Waste water management plan	Develop waste water

	<p>Attitude to waste water management</p> <p>System of waste water disposal</p> <p>Management system for accidental discharge of sewage</p>	<p>management plan</p> <p>Proper collection, storage and disposal of waste water</p> <p>Waste water treatment plants operating properly</p>
Pollution effects management	<p>Hazardous waste management plan</p> <p>Deliberate action taken to reduce pollution levels</p>	<p>Develop hazardous waste management plan</p> <p>Knowledge of known and potential pollutants</p> <p>Use of cleaners and disinfectants with < 0.5% phosphates</p>
Visual pollution (conformity to local vernacular)	<p>Planning permission obtained</p> <p>Conformity to local vernacular</p>	<p>Planning approval obtained prior to building construction</p> <p>Maintenance of traditional development patterns</p> <p>Design and planning of physical structures conforming to established guidelines and cultural themes</p>

Appendix 3.1

Proxy indicators of climate-related variables (Pittock, 2007: 28)

Indicator	Property measured	Time resolution	Time span	Climate-related information obtained
Tree rings	Width, density, isotopic ratios, trace elements	Annual	Centuries to millennia	Temperature, rainfall, fire
Lake and bog sediments	Deposition rates, species assemblages from shells and pollen, microfossils, charcoal	Annual	Millennia	Rainfall, atmospheric water balance, vegetation type, fire
Coral growth rings	Density, isotope ratios, fluorescence	Annual	Centuries	Temperature, salinity, river outflows
Ice cores	Isotopes, fractional melting, annual layer thickness, dust grain size, gas bubbles	Annual	Millennia	Temperature, snow accumulation rate, windiness, gas concentrations
Ocean sediment cores	Species assemblages from shells and pollens, deposition rates, isotopic ratios, air-borne dust, pollen	Usually multi-decadal or centuries	Millennia	Sea temperatures, salinity, acidity, ice volumes and sea level, river outflows, aridity, land vegetation
Boreholes	Temperature profile	Decades	Centuries	Surface air temperature
Old groundwater	Isotopes, noble gases	Centuries	Millennia	Temperature
Glacial moraines	Maximum glacier length	Decades	Centuries to millennia	Temperature and precipitation
Sand dunes	Orientation, grain size	Centuries	Millennia	Wind direction and speed, aridity
Coastal landforms	Ledges, former beach lines, debris lines	Decades to centuries	Decades to centuries	Former sea-level, tropical cyclones
Documentary evidence	Reports of extremes, harvests, dates of break-up of river or lake ice	Annual	Centuries to millennia	Temperature, precipitation

Appendix 3.2

Emissions scenarios of the Special Report on Emission Scenarios (Houghton, 2004: 117)

A total of 35 scenarios were developed, based on four different ‘storylines’ driven by population change, socio-economic development and technological change:

<p>A1 Storyline A future world of very rapid economic growth, a global population that peaks in mid-century and declines thereafter, and the rapid introduction of new technologies. Major underlying themes are convergence among regions, capacity building and increased cultural and social interactions, with a substantial reduction in regional differences in per capita income.</p>	<p>B1 Storyline A convergent world, with the same global population peaking in mid-century but declining thereafter as in the A1 story line, but with rapid change in economic structures towards a service and information economy, with reductions in material intensity and the introduction of clean and resource-efficient technologies. The emphasis is on global solutions to economic, social and environmental sustainability, including improved equity, but without additional climate-related initiatives.</p>
<p>A2 Storyline A very heterogeneous world in which the underlying theme is self-reliance and preservation of local identities. Fertility patterns across regions converge very slowly, resulting in a continuously increasing population. Economic development is mainly regionally oriented and per capita economic growth and technological change more fragmented and slower than other story lines.</p>	<p>B2 Storyline A world in which the emphasis is on local solutions to economic, social and environmental sustainability. There is a continuously increasing global population but at a rate lower than in A2, intermediate levels of economic development and less rapid and more diverse technological change than in the B1 and A1 storylines. B2 is also oriented towards environmental protection and social equity, but with more focus on local and regional levels.</p>

Appendix 4.1

Secondary data categories

Some 600 sources were used for this study broken down as follows:

Textbooks	84	15%
Peer-reviewed articles in journals	313	52%
Government and NGO documents	73	11%
National Trust documents	96	16%
Media (newspaper; radio)	24	4%
University research/conference reports	8	1%
Web-site sources	5	1%
<u>Total</u>	<u>603</u>	<u>100%</u>
Currency:		
Pre-1994	56	10%
1994-2003	175	29%
2004 onwards	370	61%
<u>Total</u>	<u>601</u>	<u>100%</u>

The breakdown of disciplines for peer-reviewed articles was as follows:

Climate change/environmental science/ policy/ environmental economics/energy studies	73	23%
Environmental psychology/sociology/social studies	25	8%
Tourism/leisure/transport/heritage	181	59%
Management studies	21	6%
Voluntary sector/NPO	13	4%
<u>Total</u>	<u>313</u>	<u>100%</u>

Appendix 4.2

Climate Change Policy Questionnaire – Board of Trustees/Council – Summer 2010

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in my research on climate change policy at the National Trust. A pre-paid reply envelope is attached for ease of return.

1. Please indicate your membership of the Board/Council: Please place **X** in box

Trustee	
Council Member	
Both	

2. Please state your area of expertise/organisation:

3. Do you see climate change as an environmental issue for the National Trust?

A	Yes, the most challenging environmental issue that the Trust has faced to date	
B	Yes, but the threats of climate change have been exaggerated	
C	I have no particular view on this	
D	No, climate change does not present any environmental threat to the National Trust	

4. Please state your own opinion on the following statements about policy-making at NT:

(Please circle **O** your answer)

Disagree ←————→ Agree

A	The NT's strategic plan is based on policy development	1	2	3	4	5
B	At the National Trust, policy development is more a case of 'top-down' as opposed to 'bottom-up'	1	2	3	4	5
C	National Trust policy is shaped by the Council	1	2	3	4	5
D	Policy should be in place before strategy	1	2	3	4	5
E	Council's role is more of a guardian/advisor to the Trust rather than a decision-maker	1	2	3	4	5
F	At NT, the Senior Management Team is the main shaper of policy development	1	2	3	4	5
G	The Board of Trustees is the most senior decision-making body at the National Trust	1	2	3	4	5
H	'Grassroots' opinions and values of members and visitors do not influence policy development at the Trust	1	2	3	4	5
I	Running the Trust requires more 'government' than 'governance'	1	2	3	4	5

5. In which year, and why, would you say the National Trust started to address climate change as an environmental issue?

Year:

Why?

6. Below are several reasons why the National Trust may be addressing climate change. In considering the Board/Council's response towards climate change, please rate the importance of each reason.

1 = Least importance 2 3 4 5 = Most importance

(Please circle **O** your answer)

Least ←————→ Most

A	NT has a moral duty to protect the environment	1	2	3	4	5
B	Energy cost savings for the Trust; and other economic considerations	1	2	3	4	5
C	Educating members, visitors and staff about climate change issues	1	2	3	4	5
D	Mitigation: to reduce the NT's carbon footprint from its properties and visitors	1	2	3	4	5
E	In response to government action e.g. Climate Change Act 2008; Stern Review 2007	1	2	3	4	5
F	Encouraging local (property level/community) participation on environmental issues	1	2	3	4	5
G	In response to the findings of Advisory Panels	1	2	3	4	5
H	As an exemplar of good practice for the government, tourist boards and environmental organisations	1	2	3	4	5
I	Promoting Sustainable Tourism	1	2	3	4	5
J	As part of Sustainable Development	1	2	3	4	5
K	Public relations	1	2	3	4	5
L	In response to scientific evidence that human activity is very likely linked to accelerated global warming	1	2	3	4	5
M	Protecting places for people to enjoy	1	2	3	4	5
N	Adaptation to climate change: conservation management of the Trust's natural and built assets	1	2	3	4	5
O	To influence people's pro-environmental behaviour	1	2	3	4	5
P	In response to environmental initiatives undertaken by the Trust's regions and properties	1	2	3	4	5
Q	Part of the global effort to tackle climate change	1	2	3	4	5
R	In keeping with the Trust's ethos and vision	1	2	3	4	5

7. For each Advisory Panel listed below, please rate the relevance of the climate change issue to the Panel's work.

1 = Not relevant 2 3 4 5 = Very relevant

(Please circle **O** your answer)

Not relevant \longleftrightarrow Very relevant

A	Archaeology	1	2	3	4	5
B	Architecture	1	2	3	4	5
C	Arts	1	2	3	4	5
D	Commercial	1	2	3	4	5
E	Gardens and Parks	1	2	3	4	5
F	Land Use & Access	1	2	3	4	5
G	Learning	1	2	3	4	5
H	Nature Conservation	1	2	3	4	5

8. Below is a list of external organisations who all claim to be concerned about climate change. Please indicate the extent the Board/Council has, to date, networked/consulted with each organisation on climate change matters.

1 = Lowest 2 3 4 5 = Highest level of contact

Don't know (Please circle **O** your answer)

\swarrow X \searrow Lowest \longleftrightarrow Highest

A	UK Govt Depts – DEFRA; DCMS; DECC - Energy & Climate Change		1	2	3	4	5
B	Visit Britain		1	2	3	4	5
C	UK Regional Development Agencies		1	2	3	4	5
D	UK Regional Tourist Boards		1	2	3	4	5
E	UK Local Authorities		1	2	3	4	5
F	Environment Agency		1	2	3	4	5
G	Environmental organisations such as WWF, RSPB		1	2	3	4	5
H	Environmental campaigners such as Greenpeace, Friends of The Earth		1	2	3	4	5
I	Natural England		1	2	3	4	5
J	English Heritage/Cadw		1	2	3	4	5
L	UK Sustainable Development Commission		1	2	3	4	5
M	National Farmers Union		1	2	3	4	5
N	International organisations such as the World Conservation Union and UNESCO (World Heritage)		1	2	3	4	5
O	UN World Tourism Organisation		1	2	3	4	5
P	The Carbon Trust		1	2	3	4	5
Q	UKCIP (UK Climate Impacts Programme)		1	2	3	4	5
R	<u>Your own organisation</u> – please state:		1	2	3	4	5

9. To what extent do you agree with the following statements associated with climate change?

1 = Disagree 2 3 4 5 = Agree

(Please circle **O** your answer)

Disagree ←————→ Agree

A	The Trust must be prepared to sacrifice some of its properties and land in response to climate change	1	2	3	4	5
B	Environmental policy-making is enhanced by the NT actively networking with external organisations	1	2	3	4	5
C	The scientific evidence for human activities accelerating global warming is compelling	1	2	3	4	5
D	Responding to climate change is really about sustainable development	1	2	3	4	5
E	Fundamentally, the Trust's response to climate change is one of risk assessment	1	2	3	4	5
F	The natural environment has equal rights to those of human beings	1	2	3	4	5
G	Accelerated global warming does not justify reducing car and air travel	1	2	3	4	5
H	Altruism is the strongest force that drives the National Trust's response to climate change	1	2	3	4	5
I	The most effective way to educate people about climate change is to tell them what they <u>should</u> be doing, rather than show them what they <u>could</u> do	1	2	3	4	5
J	Networking with external organisations is not necessary for the Trust to develop effective climate change policy	1	2	3	4	5
K	Sustainable Development is really more of a mantra than a practical strategy	1	2	3	4	5
L	Environmental policy is best implemented throughout the NT using a devolved approach	1	2	3	4	5
M	The NT website climate change campaign is more about PR than getting people to change their behaviour	1	2	3	4	5
N	The most effective way to promote pro-environmental behaviour is to 'go local': through involvement of local communities and properties	1	2	3	4	5
O	Global warming is not linked to human activity	1	2	3	4	5
P	The National Trust could be more proactive in raising awareness of climate change	1	2	3	4	5
Q	Environmental policy is best implemented through a centralised approach	1	2	3	4	5
R	Restricting/discouraging private vehicular (car) access to properties is unrealistic	1	2	3	4	5
S	The National Trust has a climate change policy	1	2	3	4	5

Thank you very much for taking the time to complete my questionnaire – John Floy – UCB

Appendix 4.3 (Example)

Climate Change Survey – Charlecote Park, 2012

Hello, I'm researching into climate change and attitudes to travel and the environment. I wonder if you would be willing to take part in a survey? Thank you very much. All data will remain anonymous.

John Floy, Part-time PhD candidate, Centre for Urban & Regional Studies, University of Birmingham

1) How often do you visit Charlecote Park? (✓ ONE)

Daily/few days a week		C1	A few times year		C4
A few times a month		C2	Once a year		C5
Once a month		C3	Once every few years		C5A
			First visit		C6

2) Is your visit to Charlecote Park: (✓ ONE)

A return trip, being the <u>main purpose</u> of today's visit?		C7
A return trip, being <u>part of other planned activities</u> e.g. touring, shopping?		C8
En-route and part of a tour; staying in different accommodation tonight?		C9

Please state main purpose of your visit:

3) How far have you travelled to get to Charlecote Park? (✓ ONE)

Within approximately 5 miles of home/start point		C10
Between approximately 5 and 25 miles from home/start point		C11
Over 25 miles from home/start point		C12

Visitor from outside UK?(✓) Yes Country?

4) How did you travel to Charlecote Park today? (✓ ONE)

Car		C14	Coach tour		C18	Rail + taxi		C22
Bicycle		C15	Motorbike		C19	Rail + bus		C23
On foot		C16	Rail + on foot		C20	Taxi		C24
Bus		C17	Rail + bicycle		C21	Other:		

IF you DID travel by CAR today, please continue and answer Qs 5-8

IF you DID NOT travel by CAR, please go straight to Q9

5) Is today's car journey:

Just by yourself? c25 Shared with someone else/group? c26

6) Today you travelled by CAR but would you consider using an alternative mode of transport e.g. rail, bus, bicycle or on foot for your next/similar visit? (✓ ONE)

Yes Maybe c28 No c29

7) If you answered “Yes” or “Maybe” to Q6, please rate the importance for EACH of the following reasons for yourself (5 = most/very important; 1 = not important).
 (You don’t need to rank e.g. 51324) Please circle your answer

Savings on travel costs	5	4	3	2	1	C30
Reducing my personal carbon footprint	5	4	3	2	1	C31
Personal health and fitness e.g. walking/bicycle	5	4	3	2	1	C32
Supporting local economy e.g. local bus service	5	4	3	2	1	C33
Social reasons e.g. make new friends; contacts	5	4	3	2	1	C34

OR

8) If you answered “No” to Q6, please rate the importance for EACH of the following reasons for yourself (5 = most important; 1 = not important). Please circle your answer
 (You don’t need to rank e.g. 51324)

Distance too long/challenging or unsafe road conditions	5	4	3	2	1	C35
Health/mobility considerations	5	4	3	2	1	C36
Carrying family/extra passengers/equipment	5	4	3	2	1	C37
Lack of public transport networks / limited service	5	4	3	2	1	C38
Flexibility e.g. time, other tasks and journeys	5	4	3	2	1	C39

9) Please tell me how much you agree/disagree with these statements about climate change and the role of the National Trust: Please circle your answer
 (5 = Agree; 4 = Slightly agree; 3 = Not sure; 2 = Slightly disagree; 1 = Disagree)

Global warming has become the greatest environmental threat facing the planet	5	4	3	2	1	C40
We all have a personal moral duty to reduce our carbon emissions to help reduce global warming	5	4	3	2	1	C41
Human contributions to causing global warming (e.g. industrialisation) have been exaggerated	5	4	3	2	1	C42
We should view the natural environment as having equal rights to humankind	5	4	3	2	1	C43
A radical rethink of government policy is needed if the UK is to reduce its carbon emissions significantly	5	4	3	2	1	C44
Collectively, individual lifestyle changes/local action will make a significant difference in reducing carbon emissions	5	4	3	2	1	C45
Organisations such as the National Trust have an important role to play in tackling climate change on all fronts	5	4	3	2	1	C46
Conservation of natural and built heritage helps to address the impacts of climate change	5	4	3	2	1	C47
Tourism harms the environment and therefore does not help us in trying to tackle climate change	5	4	3	2	1	C48

10) Are you aware of any measures that the National Trust is taking in response to climate change? It could be something you noticed on your visit today. IF YES: Please tell me briefly (bullet points) below:

11) If you don’t mind, please give me a few details about yourself:

Male c49 Female c50 1st 3 letters/digits of your postcode:

Age: 15-29 c51 30-44 c52 45-64 c53 65&over c54

Are you a National Trust member or volunteer? If Yes, please tick (✓) → c55

Appendix 4.4
National Trust Volunteer Survey Spring 2013 – Climate Change

Hello, I am writing a thesis on the Trust’s policy and practice towards climate change and I am particularly interested to gain the views of volunteers who work at XXXXX. If you have the time, I should be most grateful to receive your comments – a pre-paid envelope is supplied. All data will remain anonymous. Thank you very much for your participation. *John Floy, University College Birmingham.*

1 Please tell me in which area you work: 2 How long have you been a volunteer at XXXXX?

3 Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:
(5 = Agree; 4 = Slightly agree; 3 = Not sure; 2 = Slightly disagree; 1 = Disagree) Please circle/tick your response

1	Tourism is harmful to conservation work	5	4	3	2	1
2	Global warming is a very real threat to civilization	5	4	3	2	1
3	I have a moral duty to reduce my carbon footprint	5	4	3	2	1
4	Nature has equal rights to humans	5	4	3	2	1
5	The UK government should be doing more to tackle climate change	5	4	3	2	1
6	The National Trust has an important role to play in getting people to think about pro- environmental behaviour	5	4	3	2	1
7	Conservation work helps to reduce the impacts of climate change	5	4	3	2	1

4 Not wishing to be too intrusive, it would help my research if you could please give a few details about yourself: (tick/write in box):

Male Female In which era you were born: 1920-45 1946-64 1965-80 1981+

5 Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

		Agree	←————→			Disagree
1	I look for opportunities to talk about environmental issues with visitors	5	4	3	2	1
2	I respond well to a teamwork approach when working on projects/ new initiatives here	5	4	3	2	1
3	I consider myself to be knowledgeable on environmental issues	5	4	3	2	1
4	I feel connected to issues coming from the Trust’s central office (Heelis)	5	4	3	2	1

6 Please use the space below (continue on back page if you wish) to record any additional comments about how National Trust is responding to climate change.
Thank you very much again for your time.

Appendix 4.5

14th May 2010

Trustee/Member of Council
The National Trust
Heelis
Kemble Drive
Swindon
SN2 2NA

Dear Sir/Madam

Thesis on Climate Change and the National Trust

As a National Trust member and a lecturer at University College Birmingham, I am currently writing a doctoral thesis on climate change policy and practice associated with heritage tourism. I am basing my research on the National Trust as I believe it to be one of the best, if not the best exemplar of heritage tourism. Before focusing my research on the West Midlands region I plan to gain an insight into environmental policy-making at the Trust's highest level.

I would like to ask whether you would consider taking part in my research by completing the attached questionnaire. I wish to gain the maximum response rate possible from Trustees and Council members in order to ensure a diversity of experience, skills and expertise will yield meaningful data. Anonymity will of course be assured when I write up the results. I attach a business reply envelope for your convenience. I understand that the Council will be meeting at the end of June and I see this as an opportune moment for your participation, or whenever is convenient.

The potential adverse effects of accelerated global warming are widely publicised. In tourism education, much attention has been paid to air travel, travel behaviour and energy consumption. Relatively little research has been undertaken on environmental policy-making in heritage tourism. By researching into climate change policy and practice at the National Trust, I aim to raise the profile of the Trust in tourism-climate change literature and further educational links between the Trust and University College Birmingham (my employer), in addition to the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of Birmingham (with whom I am registered for my research degree).

I should be most grateful for your participation in this research project; and on completion, I would be more than happy to share my findings with you.

Yours sincerely

John Floy
j.floy@ucb.ac.uk

Attached: Questionnaire and business reply envelope

Appendix 4.6

12th May 2010

Head of XXXXXXXX
The National Trust
Heelis
Kemble Drive
Swindon
SN2 2NA

Dear

Thesis on Climate Change and the National Trust

As both a National Trust member and a lecturer at University College Birmingham, I am currently writing a doctoral thesis on climate change policy and practice associated with heritage tourism. I am basing my research on the National Trust as I believe it to be an excellent case study for heritage tourism and the Trust will yield rich data for my thesis. My purpose in writing to you is to request an opportunity to interview you on environmental policy-making matters at the national level – before I then turn my attention to the West Midlands region. I am interested in exploring the rationale, policy drivers, consultation and networking that explain the Trust's response to climate change. If at all possible, I would also be interested in gaining access to any key documents (policy, reports, and minutes) – obviously within acceptable privacy limits.

I began my thesis in 2006 and to date have received valuable assistance from the West Midlands regional offices. I now plan to extend my research to Heelis. To this end, I should be grateful if you would consider this request. If favourable, I would be looking towards the end of June/early July (or whenever convenient) to make a visit to Heelis to interview a few senior personnel in addition to yourself.

In the meantime, I look forward to hearing from you, and remain:

Yours sincerely

John Floy

j.floy@ucb.ac.uk

Appendix 4.7

NT West Midlands Visitor Numbers 2011/12

Attingham Park	327,733	Kinver Edge and Rock House	12,759
Attingham: Cronkhill	NR	Kinwarton Dovecote	NR
Baddesley Clinton	175,445	Letocetum Roman Baths	NR
Benthall Hall	7,262	Middle Littleton Tithe Barn	NR
Berrington Hall	73,705	Morville Hall	689
Biddulph Grange Garden	84,118	Moseley Old Hall	27,731
Birmingham Back-to-Backs	32,583	Packwood House	84,828
Brockhampton Estate	56,571	Rosedene	416
Carding Mill Valley	28,461	Shugborough Estate	Staffs CC
Charlecote Park	144,860	Sunnycroft	18,137
Clent Hills*	1,000,000	Town Walls Tower	NR
Coughton Court	98,013	Upton House and Gardens	103,580
Croft Castle and Parkland	88,004	The Weir	23,991
Croome	134,065	Wichenford Dovecote	NR
Cwmmau Farmhouse	600	Wightwick Manor & Gdns	64,763
Dudmaston Estate	55,725	Wilderhope Manor	867
Farnborough Hall	5,132		
The Fleece Inn	NR		
The Greyfriars	13,528		
Hanbury Hall	122,050		
Hawford Dovecote	NR		
Sub-total	2,447,855	Sub-total	337,761
		Total	2,785,616

Note: 2011/12 visitor numbers were extracted from the 2011/12 Annual Report for properties receiving 50,000 or more visitors in a year. Visitor numbers for properties with less than 50,000 visitors were supplied by the Regional Office.

NR = Not Recorded

Five properties surveyed September 2012 – February 2013: Visitor population 11/12:



Moseley Old Hall	27,731	
The Weir	23,991	
Clent Hills*	1,000,000	(Estimated*)
Charlecote Park	144,860	
Back-to-Backs	32,583	
Estimated total population	1,229,165	

*Clent Hills visitors estimated to be “almost a million” – Royale, J. (2008) *Local Walks*, Worcester News, 20/10/08

Country Manager estimated 250,000-750,000 visits based on car parks, car occupancy, repeat visits – but not taking into account unrecorded walkers/cyclists/horse-riders.

Appendix 4.8

FIELDWORK LOG

Date	Contact/Role/Location	Method	Subject
14/11/07	Director/Heelis	Unstructured interview	Background to climate change policy at NT.
20/03/08	Regional Manager	Informal discussion	Background to NT current strategy, governance, organisational structure, communication themes.
22/08/08	Regional Manager	Informal discussion	Research tools: thoughts on postal survey and site surveys.
30/10/09	Regional Manager/Director	Informal discussion	Research tools: postal survey (not recommended); site survey (recommended – interest expressed); suggested contact: Environment Group for WMs NT.
05/02/10	Regional Manager	Informal discussion	Discussion about pending group interview with Environmental Group.
17/02/10	Environment Group for WMs NT (6 participants)	Group interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; conservation and access.
25/05/10	Council Member	E-mail	Views on role of Council, post-2005 re-organisation.
15/07/10	Director/Heelis	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; governance; sustainability.
15/07/10	Director/Heelis	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; role of external affairs directorate.
15/07/10	Trustee	Semi-structured interview	Background and role of Trustees in policy-making; environmental issues including climate change.

20/07/10	Director/Heelis	Structured e-mail interview	Climate change policy-making; governance; sustainability. (As per Peter Nixon).
July 2010	Board of Trustees/Council	Structured questionnaire survey	Roles of Trustees and Council; climate change policy-making; external relations; environmental values.
July/Aug 2010	Archives	Documentary search	Copies of AGM minutes, annual reports 1998 onwards (mostly on-line)
09/09/10	Archives	Documentary search	AGM minutes, annual reports 1986-1997; policy documents relating to CC
17/09/10	Archives	Documentary search	AGM minutes, annual reports 1986-1997; policy documents
23/09/10	Archives	Documentary search	AGM minutes, annual reports 1986-1997; policy documents relating to CC
18/01/11	Archives	E-mail inquiry	NT publications: peer-reviewed literature
04/02/11	Regional Manager	Informal discussion	Update on research; discussion on approaching new regional director and chairmangoing local strategy; merger of NT and West and East Midlands.
11/04/11	Regional Director	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of region; going local strategy.
15/04/11	Regional Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.

06/09/11	Trustee	Structured e-mail interview	Background and role of Trustees in policy-making; environmental issues including climate change.
07/10/11	Archives	Documentary search	AGM minutes, annual reports 1970-85; policy documents relating to CC
August 2012	Pilot visitor survey – Clent Hills 41, Hanbury Hall 9; n = 50	Structured questionnaire	Face-to-face / self-completion in situ
Sept 12 to Jan 13	Visitor survey Moseley Old Hall, The Weir, Clent Hills, Charlecote Park, Back-to-Backs; n=847	Structured questionnaire	Face-to-face / self-completion in situ/mail-back
08/03/13	Property Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.
18/03/13	General Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.
28/03/13	General Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.
25/04/13	Manager/Heelis	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy; environmental affairs.
25/04/13	Archives	Documentary search	Annual reports 1960-90; environmental affairs.
May 2013	Electronic survey: volunteers N = 139	Structured questionnaire	Environmental attitudes; role of NT in tackling climate change; role of volunteers.

24/06/13	General Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.
13/08/13	Property Manager	Semi-structured interview	Climate change policy-making; sustainable development; governance; role of regional external affairs; going local strategy.
13/08/13	2 Gardening staff + 9 volunteers (all areas)	Group interview	Environmental attitudes; tackling climate change; volunteers and policy-making.

Summary:

12 interviews

2 group interviews

2 e-mail interviews

6 archive records visits

8 Council/Trustees questionnaires

847 visitor questionnaires

139 e-questionnaires

Appendix 4.9

ATTENDENCE AT CONFERENCES, WORKSHOPS AND LECTURES

Date	Organiser/venue/event	Key speakers*/Subject
05/12/07	Culture West Midlands, Birmingham. Climate Change Symposium	Professor John Thornes, University of Birmingham. How the WMs 'culture business' should mitigate and adapt towards climate change; how climate change works.
28/01/08	Engineering & Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC) & Sustaining Knowledge for a Changing Climate (SKCC), West Bromwich.	Claire Walsh & Jim Hall, School of Civil Engineering and Geosciences, Newcastle University. Climate change: linking adaptation and mitigation strategies; government planning for CC strategies; natural and built environments.
30/01/08	University of Birmingham. Seminar: Politics experts, and publics: the case of climate change	Dr. Reiner Grundmann, School of Languages and Social Sciences, Aston University. 'Knowledge politics' – understanding the development of climate change politics at international and national levels.
19/02/08	University of Birmingham, School of Biosciences, Centre for Environmental Research and Training. CERT 2008 Lecture: Climate change in an uncertain world.	Professor Sir Brian Hoskins Climate change science; climate projection models; uncertainties; economics.
12/03/08	University College Birmingham. Lecture: Sustainable hospitality and tourism	Peter Braithwaite, Director, ARUP.
16/07/08	Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), London. How politically acceptable is personal carbon trading?	Matthew Lockwood, IPPR; Polly Toynbee, The Guardian; Richard Starkey, Tyndall Centre. Research findings from members of the public and other stakeholders on the concept of personal carbon trading (PCT).
22/09/09	The Tourism Society and the Royal Geographical Society, RGS, London. Tourism and climate change	Dr. David Viner, British Council; Professor Geoffrey Lipman, Advisor UNWTO; Ufi Ibrahim, WTTC. Overview of issues; domestic and international case studies; mitigation and adaptation of CC impacts on tourism.
25/11/09	Bournemouth University, International Centre for Tourism & Hospitality Research, International Forum on Sustainability, Poole. Climate Change and Tourism: Challenges posed by the global economic crisis.	Professor Adam Blake, BU; EmmaWhittlesea, South West Tourism; Dr. Ishwaran Natarajan, UNESCO ; Dr. Luigi Cabrini, UNWTO ; Dr. Murray Simpson, University of Oxford; Dr. Susanne Becken, Lincoln University, New Zealand. Tourism, economic crisis and best practices; United Nations' responses and initiatives; emerging techniques and research implications.

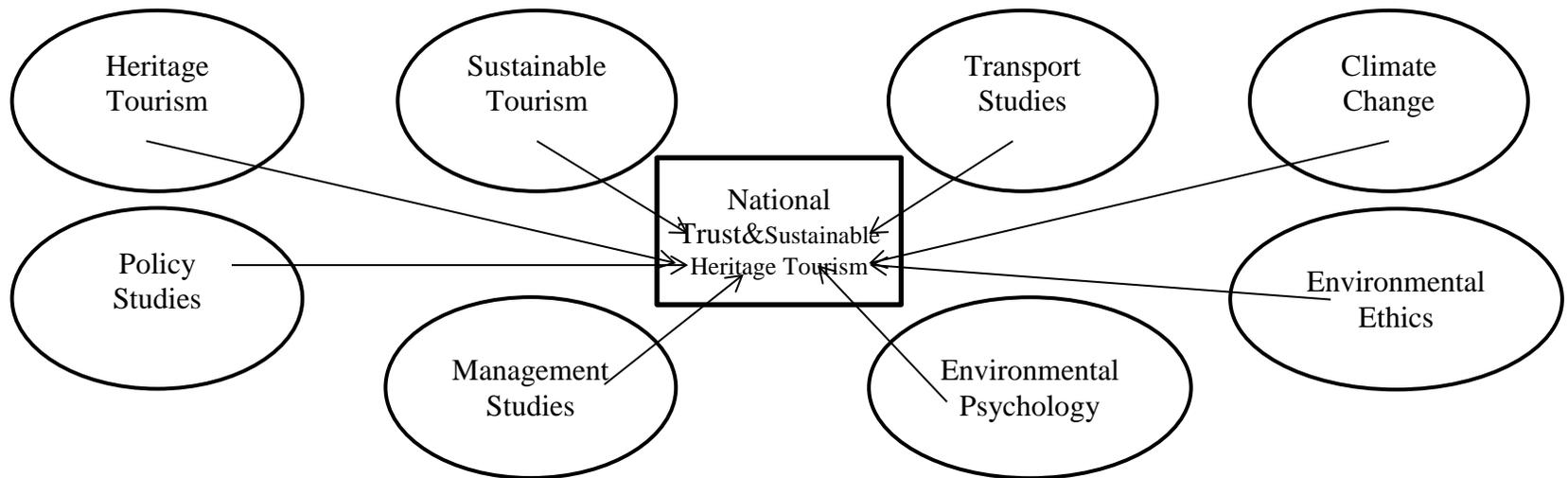
*Speakers are a sample – to reflect leading institutions.

Appendix 4.10
Framework of main themes/concepts used for discussion

Theme/Concept	Authors (sample)	Key contribution
Inter-generational nature of heritage	Nuryanti (1996); Graham et al. (2000); English Heritage (2008)	National Trust's core values
Commodification of heritage; nostalgia; authenticity; post-modern tourism	Lowenthal (1985); Hewison (1987); Buzinde & Santos (2009); Timothy & Boyd (2006); Cole (2007)	Current NT strategy of bringing properties to life; authentic visitor experience
Balance of conservation and tourism	McKercher et al. (2005)	Expanding visitor numbers encroaching on NT's core conservation work
Supply and demand of heritage tourism	Poria et al. (2001); Weaver (2011a)	Interpretation and management of the NT's visitor experience
Sustainable tourism principles	Lane (2009a; 2009b); Gössling & Scott (2012); Wheeler (1991; 1993; 2004); McKercher (1993); Hunter (1997); Roberts & Tribe (2008); Cole (2007); Graci (2013)	Assessment of the NT's activities within the boundaries of sustainable development and sustainable tourism; triple-bottom-line performance; empowerment of local communities
Sustainable tourism and climate change	Gössling et al. (2008); Hall (2009b); Weaver (2011b); Scott (2011)	Sustainable tourism's contribution in mitigating the effects of climate change: NT's role
Sustainable tourism and pro-environmental behaviour	Antimova et al. (2012); Kim (2012); Peeters (2013); Bramwell & Lane (2013)	Promoting 'environmentally-friendly' behaviour as part of sustainable tourism practice at the NT

Theme/Concept	Authors (sample)	Main contribution
Climate change science and uncertainties	IPCC (2013); Houghton (2004); Rayner & Malone (1998); van Asselt (2001)	General perceptions of climate change; scientific background
Climate change as a global and local issue	Sovacool & Brown (2009); Mazmanian (2013)	NT's policy of communicating the risks of climate change
Climate change and the non-substitutability of natural capital	Neumayer (2007); Hawken et al. (2010); Porritt (2007)	NT's statutory purpose: preserving the natural environment
UK climate change policy	Bowen & Rydge (2011); UK government reports	NT's role in environmental public policy at the macro level
Environmental non-governmental organisations, charities, and public agencies' climate change debate	Lockwood (2013); Green Alliance publications; Hudson (2002); Balassiano & Chandler (2010); Albrecht (2013)	NT's role in environmental public policy at the meso level
Climate change and energy consumption by tourism	Becken et al. (2001; 2002; 2003a; 2003b); Gössling et al. (2002; 2005)	NT's energy policy
Travel and leisure behaviour	Chenworth (2009); Dickinson & Peeters (2014); Steg et al. (2001); Klockman & Matthies (2004); Anable (2005); Kattiyapornpong & Miller (2009); Dickinson et al. (2004; 2010; 2013); Gronau & Kagermeier (2007)	Psychological motivation for transport modes; social representation theories; concept of time planning for leisure; gender and age; public transport
Governance and empowerment	Jepson (2005); Spear (2004);	NT's recent constitutional reform and further decentralisation towards a culture of empowerment
Measuring performance	Moore (2000); Norman & MacDonald (2003), Stoddard et al. (2012)	NT's use of TBL measurement based on sustainable development

Theme/Concept	Authors (sample)	Main contribution
Leadership and management	Measures & Bagshaw (2009); Jaakson (2010); Desmond, 2010; Chocqueel-Mangan, (2010); Antonakis & House (2014); Dionne et al. (2004)	NT's adoption of contemporary management practice; elements of transformational leadership at the NT
Policy studies	Hall & Jenkins (1995); Marsh (1998); John (2003); Parsons (2005); Pforr (2005); Stewart (2009)	Contextualising NT's contribution to macro and meso policy-making
Environmental values; public values; environmental ethics	Shrader-Frechette (1985); Naess (2003); Macbeth (2005); Holden (2009)	Providing insights into environmental values held by the NT and its visitors
Environmental psychology	Schwartz (1994); Stern et al. (1995); Stern (2000); Dunlap et al. (2000); Bamberg & Möser (2007)	Providing possible explanations for travel behaviour and environmental attitudes revealed in the study's findings



Interpretive framework summarised

Appendix 5.1

Key developments in the National Trust 1895-present day

(Source: Annual Reports, Newsletters, AGM Minutes; Heritage Literature)

<u>Era and Leadership</u> (Chairman/Director-General - 1970 onwards –years of office rounded-up)	<u>Key developments</u>
1894-1919	1894: Octavia Hill, Robert Hunter, Canon Rawnsley conceive NT at Grosvenor House, London. 1895: ‘The National Trust’ is incorporated. 100 members; 5 acres of land; 1 full-time staff. 1907: National Trust Act – founding statute. Founding era: small membership, limited funds but influence in high places. 1919: 2 nd NT Act (powers of leasing granted).
1920-39	Aftermath of WW1: break-up of land ownership, high rate of death duty, agricultural depression. Drain on NT funds to maintain/acquire properties. Conservative PM Stanley Baldwin promotes spiritual values of rural life. Preservation has priority over access. 1937 Country Houses Scheme 1937 + 1939: 3 rd and 4 th NT Acts: <i>quid pro quo</i> with endowment and relief from death duties; preservation extended to contents – boost for conservation. Growth of membership: 1925: 850 to 1935: 4,850.
1940-66	During WW2 advisory committees and area offices established. Early 1950s: increasing importance of area offices supported by volunteers; small central office in London. 1953: 5 th NT Act – powers of investment extended. Rapid post-WW2 growth in membership: 1945: 7,850 1955: 55,658; 100 full-time staff; 41,000 acres. 1956 Nichols Committee and 1958 Kinnear Committee lead to establishment of regional committees, replacing local committees; first push towards decentralisation. Growing popularity of the Trust. Visitors more mobile with car ownership. The ‘tourism issue’ arrives: conservation vs. access. 1965: Enterprise Neptune launched.

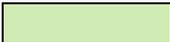
<p>1967-85 1970: Antrim/Winniffrith 1971-73: Antrim/Bishop 1974-77: Antrim/Boles 1978-83: Gibson/Boles 1984-85: Gibson/Stirling</p>	<p>1967 EGM: <u>Rawnsley affair</u> sparked off by Enterprise Neptune. Trust criticised for lack of democracy and being out of touch. Leading to: 1968 Benson Report – Council determines policy; half of Council to be elected; further decentralisation through regions. Formalised in: 1971: 6th NT Act. 1970s: expanding membership and staff numbers, volunteers. Educational arm develops; young people. 1975 membership: 539,285. 1,146 full-time staff; 68,000 acres. 1980 membership: +1 million. By 1981: +1 million members. 1982 EGM: <u>Bradenham affair</u> – leasing of land in Chilterns to MOD. Led to: 1983 Arkell Committee – relationship between members and Council; and: 1984 Hornby Committee – looks at distinction of work and responsibilities between committees and staff.</p> <p>Balance of power begins to shift from voluntary committees to salaried staff. NT involvement in countryside and heritage legislation</p>
<p>1986-96 1986-90: Jenkins*/Stirling Dame Jenifer* 1991-94: Chorley/Stirling 1995-96: Chorley/Drury</p>	<p>1990: +2 million members; 78,000 acres. Hunting debate dominates a number of AGMs, a divisive issue, leading to: 1993 Oliver Report inquiring into the fairness and fitness for purpose of the NT – “... if it ain’t broke, don’t fix it”. Next year: 1994 EGM: <u>Deer hunting issue</u> and questioning the rural values of the NT. Led to a push for more communication and openness with membership. NT broadens its involvement in external affairs – the countryside, environmental protection, EU agricultural policy, enjoyment and access to the countryside, co-operation with other environmental agencies and NGOs. First appearance of strategic planning coincides with aftermath of early 1990s economic recession. Trust becomes much more public in its involvement with national debate on countryside and heritage. 1995: Centenary year. Continued tensions between tourism and conservation.</p>

<p>1997-2002 1997-2000: Nunneley/Drury 2001-02: Nunneley/Reynolds</p>	<p>NT responds warmly to some of New Labour’s initiatives e.g. Regional Development Agencies, QUANGOs such as Natural England (now English Nature), devolution – Welsh Assembly. NT pressures for reform of EU Common Agricultural Policy – to recognise importance of environmental management. Pressure from farm tenants for more influence in shaping national policy. NT lobbies government for more support for rural economies; agriculture is a dominant issue during these last few years of the 20th century; plus: added problems with outbreak of BSE and swine fever. Idea of ‘statement of significance’ for properties introduced to promote distinctiveness and visitor enjoyment. Continued professionalization and modernisation of the Trust’s management. 1998: first National Strategic Plan launched. 2000: Organisational Review initiated (under Drury). 2000-01: Foot and mouth crisis. 2000-02: re-organisation – sweeping rationalisation – reduction in regions, establishment of centralised directorates, amalgamation of 4 country-wide offices to become merged into one centralised HQ (what became Heelis, in Swindon, in 2005). 2001: Risk Management introduced via Charity Commission’s Statement of Recommended Practice (SORP). 2002: 3 million members.</p>
<p>2003-12 2003-08: Proby/Reynolds 2009-12: Jenkins*/Reynolds *Simon Jenkins</p>	<p>2003: <u>Launch of new core purpose</u>: “to look after special places for ever, for everyone”. 2003: Blakenham Report – governance structure reformed, creating a new 12-member Board of Trustees; Council now takes on an advisory role; formalised under the Charities (National Trust) Order 2005. 2005: New HQ opened: Heelis in Swindon. Following a challenging financial position in the early 2000s, a range of targets are introduced – financial, staff performance and training, conservation performance; tighter budgetary control; membership recruitment targets; visitor satisfaction surveys; staff satisfaction surveys – the era of accountability leads to</p>

	<p>a stronger financial position by 2008. NT lobbies government on the importance of heritage. 2007: <i>Our future: join in</i> launched; emphasis on connectivity with membership and the wider public. 2008: approximately 3.5 million members. 2009: <i>Going local</i> launched, leading to further re-organisation empowering property managers, and with the regional function becoming more supportive and consultative; creation of 40 general managers. 2009-12: NT strategy delivered through 4 themes. 2008-09 financial crisis/economic recession – NT experiences boom year in membership growth and visits to properties – the idea of ‘staycationing’ takes hold. 2010 onwards: big push on ‘bringing properties to life’ through visitor involvement; local food/sustainability campaigns; high profile lobbying on amending coalition government’s proposals for planning reform. NT properties receive increasing coverage through media and film industry. 2010: No. of English regions reduced from 9 to 6; making a total of 8 (including Wales & N.Ireland). 11 Country and Regional Committees are replaced with 8 Country and Regional <u>Advisory Boards</u>. Senior Management Team renamed as <u>Executive Team</u>. 2011: 4 million members; +5,000 staff; 630,000 acres. 2012: Fiona Reynolds to step down at the end of 2012 to take up post as Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge.</p>
<p>2013 onwards</p> <p>2013-14: Jenkins/Ghosh</p> <p>2014 - Parker/Ghosh</p>	<p>2013/14: NT voices its concerns, via petition, over the government’s proposed National Planning Framework; submits recommendations for altering the proposed route of High Speed Railway 2 in order to protect Hartwell House; makes clear, its concerns over the potential impacts of fracking.</p> <p>2013: Helen Ghosh succeeds Fiona Reynolds as Director-General. 2014: Tim Parker succeeds Simon Jenkins as Chairman.</p>

Appendix 6.1

Climate change-related environmental issues and other related environmental issues emerging from National Trust public domain 1970-2014

 Climate change mentioned directly/strong connection.

Year Chair/DG	AGM Minutes	Annual report/review	Newsletter	Prominent NT documents associated with climate change / Website	Prominent international / UK Govt initiatives associated with climate change
1970/71 Earl of Antrim/ Sir John Winnifrith	Enterprise Neptune; Farne Island seals: culling		(75 th anniversary of the Trust); “The NT believes most strongly that there is an urgent need for the state to step up the search for possible ways of reducing the damage being done to our environment ... In other words, the Trust believes that a fundamental reappraisal of priorities is needed ... above all ... conservation costs money” (p.1); “but everyone’s future well-being [is at stake]. Even economists are opening their eyes. The alarm clock has sounded” (Jacquetta Hawks).		Earth Day – 1970 – beginning of ‘modern environmental era’; European Conservation Year; European Conservation Conference Strasbourg Feb 1970
1971/72	Farne Island seals:		On the newly formed		Climatic Research Unit

Antrim/ FA Bishop*	culling Siting of 'The Third London Airport' at Foulness		Department of the Environment: "we now have a single point of communication for any representation we might wish to make" (p.1)		at University of East Anglia established in 1971 (claims to be the oldest such institution)
1972/73 Antrim/ FA Bishop			(1972 Finance Act: relief from Estate Duty and CG Tax, but VAT introduced); in 1969, the Countryside Commission had asked the Trust for advice on designating Country Parks.		1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment – Stockholm ; United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) created by UN General Assembly in 1972.
1973/74 Antrim/ FA Bishop	Enterprise Neptune		Tree-planting: Trust favours 18 th century tradition of planting broad-leaved hardwood species		Year of the tree
1974/75 Antrim/ JD Boles*	Enterprise Neptune; (Economic recession: inflationary effects)		Enterprise Neptune		Sandford Principle 1974 – where conservation and access conflict, conservation takes priority
1975/76 Antrim/ JD Boles	Enterprise Neptune; Farne Island seals: culling				World Tourism Organization launched – 1975
1976/77 Antrim/	Enterprise Neptune				

JD Boles					
1977/78 Antrim/ JD Boles			('Upstairs/downstairs' theme meets with interest at Uppark)		
1978/79 Lord Gibson*/ JD Boles	Coastal oil pollution: spillage from tankers; Enterprise Neptune; (Press the government to regulate inflation)				
1979/80 Lord Gibson/ JD Boles	Increasing visitor numbers: more acute problems in conservation – timed ticketing; (Continued concern about inflation and VAT rise: 20% increase in admission prices!); Enterprise Neptune				First World Climate Conference, organised by the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO) – 1979. WMO World Climate Programme launched
1980/81 Lord Gibson/ JD Boles	Enterprise Neptune; Opposition to Stansted Airport because of threat to Hatfield Forest				
1981/82 Lord Gibson/ JD Boles	Overcrowding at properties: timed ticketing to try and strike the right		(Trust's one millionth member)		

	balance between conservation and access; Enterprise Neptune; (Inflationary effects: NT has £0.5 million deficit in 1980)				
1982/83 Lord Gibson/ JD Boles	Enterprise Neptune; (EGM 1982: lease of Bradenham Estate to MOD – inalienability)		(1982 EGM on Bradenham and principle of inalienability)		
1983/84 Lord Gibson/ JD Boles	Acid rain – need for continuing research and vigilance, but: “The Trust is not a research organisation and will rely on others doing this work and reaching conclusions” (p.19); (Arkell Report 1983 commissioned by the Council))		(Arkell Report: the 1971 NT Act ensured a democratically chosen Council)		
1984/85 Lord Gibson/ Angus Stirling*	3 threats to Trust: road schemes, oil drilling, erection of aerials and radio masts; concern at erosion and degradation of top soil and landscape in				

	Lake Distict				
1985/86 Lord Gibson/ Angus Stirling	(Benson Committee 1968 leading to NT Act 1971)		Re-launch of Enterprise Neptune		1985 Vienna Convention on on the Protection of the Ozone Layer
1986/87 Dame Jennifer Jenkins*/ Stirling					
1987/88 Jenkins/ Stirling	Aftermath of October 1987 Great Storm; integrative land management				'Brundtland Report' <i>Our Common Future</i> – the report of the World Commission on Environment and Development -1987 (Sustainable development); 1987 Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer
1988/89 Jenkins/ Stirling	Enterprise Neptune: 500 th mile				WMO/UNEP Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change established – 1988 Toronto Conference 1988 PM Margaret Thatcher's

					environment 'conversion' speech 1988
1989/90 Jenkins/ Stirling	Environment going to the top of the political agenda	Chair's preface: "How the environment is protected and cared for has recently become an issue at the front of many people's minds"; "climatic warming and pollution of the atmosphere" (D-G, 1989 AR).	NT's position on lobbying on environmental issues		
1990/91 Jenkins/ Stirling	Enterprise Neptune: 25 th year – the NT's most sustainable acquisition programme	Trust part of review body – DoE – impact of tourism on the environment; unprecedented change in Europe ... pressures of tourism, climatic change ... Trust seeks to be fully involved with its European colleagues; Trust's Environmental Audit set up March 1990 – to include transport, energy conservation, renewable energy	Enterprise Neptune; global warming; pollution of the sea; acid rain; impact of tourism		IPCC First Assessment Report – 1990; <i>This Common Inheritance</i> HM Govt (1990) Second World Climate Conference
1991/92	Issues for 1990s –				

Lord Chorley*/Stlg	includes the growth of tourism				
1992/93 Chorley/ Stirling			Rising sea levels – work with the Countryside Commission		United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC) signed - 1992; UN Conference on Environment and Development (known as the Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro – 1992
1993/94 Chorley/ Stirling		1 st mention of “sustainable development”; Council formally adopts a statement on energy policy; references to energy mainly = savings on costs	Coastal protection; NT cannot operate alone on these issues	Medium Term Plan 1993/4 to 1997/8 Ch.4: The Trust’s wider concerns – Environmental Practices Adviser appointed; 1 st mention of an energy policy	
1994/95 Chorley/ Stirling	Roads: threat to NT properties (but not in context of climate change)		Energy under the spotlight		<i>Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy</i> (1 st); HM Govt (1994) UNFCCC enters into force
1995/96 Chorley/ Martin Drury	(Centenary year) Members’ resolution: car-borne access to NT	Energy conservation measures; alternative transport schemes			IPCC Second Assessment Report - 1995; 1 st UNFCCC Conference of the

	properties – reduce current 90% of car journeys to 60% by 2020; carried				Parties (COP1) in Berlin; UK Biodiversity Action Plan
1996/97 Charles Nunneley*/ Drury	Members' resolution: NT to support all-party Road Traffic Reduction Bill – “that growth in transport pollution should be arrested and reversed as quickly as possibly”; D-G: “the issue of transport was one of the greatest dilemmas of our time. The Trust could play its part but real change would require a massive national effort and fundamental change in culture”.		Green space for Londoners – Osterley Park 153 acres; transport debate but <u>not</u> linked to climate change – threat of road building to countryside and its properties		COP2 Geneva; UK Climate Impacts Programme (UKCIP) established in 1996
1997/98 Nunneley/ Drury	Chairman's report – “the Trust had been working hard to raise the Trust's profile as an organisation that	Trust has been working to develop green transport initiatives	Wind power and AONBs; opposition to Manchester airport's second runway; Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro – NT's role in	'The National Trust Management Board – Climate Change' + a further paper addressed to Properties	COP3 – Kyoto Protocol - 1997; DoE Planning Policy Guidance Note (PPG7) – 'The Countryside,

	was active in the protection of the environment ... the new government (Labour) had provided the Trust with many opportunities to become involved and to bring its influence to bear on the government's policy development process ..."		conservation of bio-diversity	Committee, Executive Committee and Council - by Head of Nature Conservation and Environmental Practices Adviser; also 'The National Trust – Climate Change' – media briefing;	Environmental Quality and Economic Development'; UKCIP established - 1997
1998/99 Nunneley/ Drury		Role of renewable energy discussed with government ministers	1 st climate change article by NT's Environmental Practices Adviser	National Strategic Plan, March 1998-February 2001: statement of environmental principles	COP4 Buenos Aires
1999/00 Nunneley/ Drury			News: green energy article	NT Annual Archaeological Review 1999-2000 – <i>Shifting Sands</i>	COP5 Bonn <i>A better quality of life – strategy for sustainable development for the United Kingdom (2nd)</i> HM Govt (1999)
2000/01 Nunneley/ Drury		Members' resolution: the NT to become a peat-free organisation (i.e. to	1 st separate section as 'Climate Change' under 'Our work as an Environmental		COP6 The Hague; <i>Climate Change: The UK Programme</i> DETR

		protect land and carbon sinks); carried	Organisation' – regional studies on likely effects, focus on reduction in fossil fuels, publication of 'A Call for the Wild'		(2000)
2001/02 Nunneley/ Fiona Reynolds*	Member's question: bus services to properties and green transport alternatives; the Trust would be introducing a cycling strategy				IPCC Third Assessment Report - 2001; COP7 Marrakesh Accords; UN International Year of Volunteering
2002/03 Sir William Proby*/ Reynolds			Climate change article – impact on gardens	The Impact of Climate Change on Gardens: NT – RHS - UKCIP	COP8 New Delhi; 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development – Johannesburg
2003/04 Proby/ Reynolds	D-G refers to the Trust being active on issues such as aviation and energy				COP9 Milan; First WTO International Conference on Climate Change and Tourism – Djerba, Tunisia – 2003
2004/05 Proby/ Reynolds		Under 1 st strategic aim 'show leadership in the regeneration	Opposition to Stanstead Airport expansion – Hatfield Forest; MORI		COP10 Buenos Aires

		of the countryside': "... and develop Neptune's role in response to new evidence of the changing pressures on the coast from climate change and development"; 04/05 Annual Review – 'Responding to climate change' – Neptune and Westbury Court Garden in Gloucestershire	poll – climate change is a threat to the countryside.		
2005/06 Proby/ Reynolds	D-G mentions Neptune's 40 th anniversary and the challenge of climate change; members' resolution – travel to properties - follow-up from 1995 – climate change issue is shared by everyone, what would the Trust and its members do to lead the way and set	D-G: celebrating Neptune's 40 th : "And this work will never end, as climate change makes Neptune's mission ever more challenging"; under Trustees' Report – plans for 2004-07 – "celebrate our coast and develop the role of the Neptune Coastline Campaign	Impact of climate change on wildlife; climate change article on coastal erosion and rising sea levels – NT Head of Sustainability and Environmental Practices	'Nature and the National Trust' (new statement of the Trust's wildlife policy)	Kyoto Protocol enters into force; COP11 Montréal and the First Meeting of the Parties (CMP1) to the Kyoto Protocol; <i>Securing the future: delivering UK sustainable development strategy (3rd)</i> HM Govt (2005)

	an example for others to follow? (defeated)	in response to new evidence of the changing pressures on the coast from climate change and development”; under ‘Leadership in the regeneration of the countryside’ – NT’s ‘Nature and the National Trust’ – “... if the future of wildlife in this country is to be secured against the threats, including climate change ...”; 05/06 Annual Review – 2-page feature on climate change and the Cornish coast			UK Sustainable Development Commission established.
2006/07 Proby/ Reynolds	Chairman’s remarks: the effects of climate change are one of many challenges facing the NT; a member expressed his concern at the lack of government leadership and inconsistent policies over CO2 emissions	Under ‘Leadership in the regeneration of the countryside’: “In 2006, we published the next stage of our analysis of the possible impact of climate change on the coastline in ... ‘Shifting Shores’”	Climate change article – how the NT is monitoring and responding to climate change issues – Chair of NT Climate Change Impacts Group; ‘Green News’ – water shortages	‘Shifting Shores’ (Welsh coast)	COP12 and CMP2 to Kyoto Protocol - Nairobi; <i>Stern Review on the Economics of Climate Change</i> HM Treasury (2007) <i>Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy</i> Council of the European Union (2006)

	and urged the Trust to take the lead – Trust agreed it should demonstrate and champion the climate change issue				<p><i>Climate Change The UK Programme</i>(HM Govt, 2006)</p> <p><i>I will if you will Sustainable Development Commission & National Consumer Council</i> (2006)</p> <p><i>Climate Change 1995: Economic and Social Dimensions of Climate Change</i> IPCC (2006)</p>
2007/08 Proby/ Reynolds	Member: should the NT prioritise funding of environmental and counter climate change initiatives instead of preservation of antiquities? NT: a key element of its new strategy was the reduction in the Trust’s environmental footprint.	Trustees’ introduction: “We have established a new way of measuring how conservation is improving at our properties and begun an ambitious environmental audit which is enabling us to reduce our environmental footprint”; 1 st aim – Engaging our supporters – ‘green living’; 2 nd aim: To increase investment	Climate change on camera – first photographic exhibition in UK: ‘Exposed! Climate Change in Britain’s Backyard’; News: NT opposes Stanstead Airport’s second runway, one reason being climate change	<p>‘You, Me and the Climate’ (with the support of Defra)</p> <p>‘Green Spaces – Measuring the benefits’ (University of Essex, commissioned by the Trust)</p>	<p>IPCC Fourth Assessment Report - 2007; COP13 and CMP3 to Kyoto Protocol - Bali (Road Map); UK Climate Change Bill 2007; Second WTO International Conference on Climate Change and Tourism – Davos, Switzerland – 2007;</p> <p><i>PSA Delivery Agreement 27: Lead the global effort to avoid dangerous</i></p>

		in conservation, and to set and deliver ever-improving conservation and environmental standards – ‘Addressing our environmental footprint’; key performance indicators: “we are developing a carbon indicator for the whole Trust which we will report on in future years” (p.34)			<p><i>climate change</i> HM Govt (2007):</p> <p><i>Meeting the Energy Challenge</i> HM Govt (2007a)</p> <p><i>Planning for a Sustainable Future</i> HM Govt (2007b)</p>
2008/09 Proby/ Reynolds	Chairman’s introduction: increasing influence of climate change was affecting properties ... flooding at Calke Abbey and Blickling Hall; members’ resolution: that the Trust’s governing body ensures sustainability is central to all the Trust’s decisions – the need for urgent action needed in	‘Greening our great estates’ – Wallington Carbon Footprint Project; under 2 nd strategic aim – ‘Encouraging greener living’; June 2008 – Big Switch project – energy-saving light bulbs	Climate change articles – peat deterioration – loss of carbon sinks; water shortages; NT’s green year includes climate change and its Great Green Leap Day; Big Green Days Out	‘From Source to Sea’ – NT’s role in managing the nation’s water	<p>COP14 and CMP4 to Kyoto Protocol - Poznan; 2008 UN International Year of Planet Earth;</p> <p>HM Govt (2008) <i>UK Climate Change Act</i></p> <p><i>A framework for pro-environmental behaviours</i> DEFRA (2008)</p> <p><i>Adapting to climate change in England: A framework for action</i></p>

	response to effects of climate change; Director of Conservation summarized Trust's measures; carried				DEFRA (2008) <i>Carbon Pathways Analysis</i> DfT (2008) <i>Adapting to climate change in England</i> DEFRA (2008); <i>Climate Change Adaptation and Mitigation in the Tourism Sector</i> UNEP; University of Oxford (2008)
2009/10 Sir Simon Jenkins/ Reynolds	Member: could the Trust produce a separate report on target for reducing fossil fuel use rather than including it in the overall conservation performance indicator?	Under 2 nd aim: reference to 'Conservation Performance Indicator', 50% cut in use of fossil fuels by 2020, land management	Energy article (Copenhagen climate change summit approaching) – NT's dependence on fossil fuels, car journeys, farming practices – but provides carbon sinks in return; article on 2009 floods in the Lake District – sustainable approach to flood-risk management; 3-year partnership with Npower.	Energy report: 'Grow your own'	COP15 and CMP5 to Kyoto Protocol - Copenhagen; World Climate Change Conference 3 <i>The Road to Copenhagen</i> DECC (2009) <i>Low Carbon Transport: A Greener Future</i> DfT (2009) <i>Consultation on the Draft Order to Implement the Carbon Reduction Commitment</i> DECC

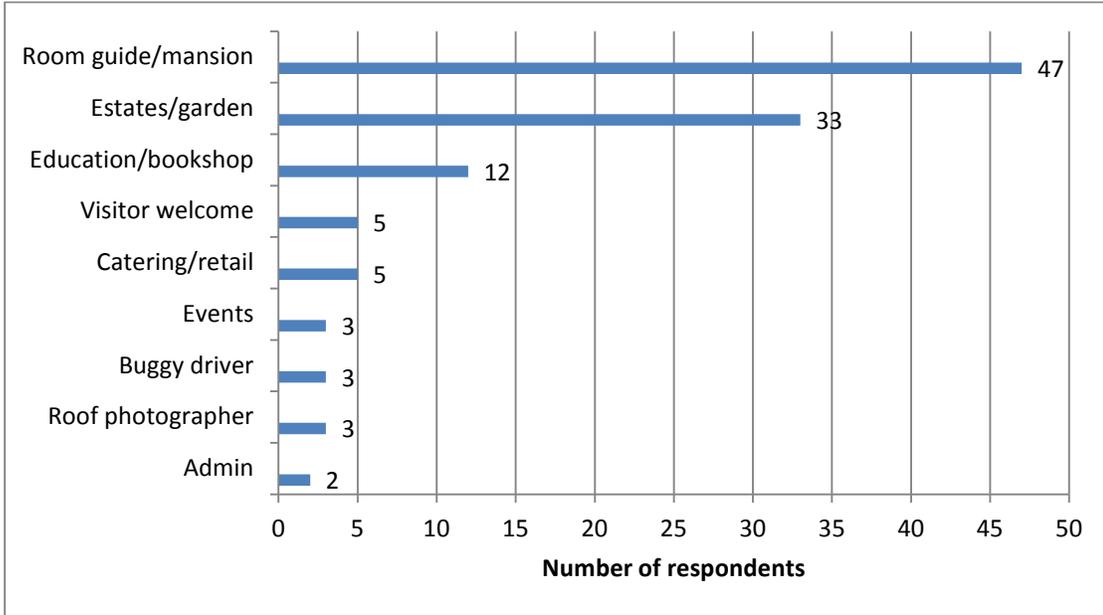
					(2009)
2010/11 Jenkins/ Reynolds			Green touch – Chirk Castle, Wrexham – solar power; NT wins Tourism Society’s 2009 annual award; article on trees – climate stability;	‘Land: fit for the future’	COP16 and CMP6 to Kyoto Protocol - Cancun Agreements; 2010 UN International Year of Biodiversity; <i>Climate Change Plan</i> DEFRA (2010) 2010 ; <i>The Natural Choice: Securing the value of nature</i> DEFRA (2011). <i>The Future is Local</i> SDC (2010). <i>The Last Parliament</i> Green Alliance (2010)
2011/12 Jenkins/ Reynolds			Introductory offer – NT Green Energy in partnership with N Power.		COP17 and CMP7 to Kyoto Protocol – Durban <i>Is localism delivering for climate change?</i> Green Alliance (2011a) <i>Climate science explained</i> Green Alliance (2011b) Sustainable Development Commission

					dismantled by coalition government. <i>Mainstreaming sustainable development – the Government’s vision and what this means in practice</i> Defra (2011)
2012/13 Jenkins/ Ghosh	Members’ questions: 1)Climate change and long term planning for conservation work; car-borne transport? 2)Public transport at the most popular times of the year?		Spring 2012: 100 th anniversary of Octavia Hill’s death: outdoors, nature etc. NT’s position on govt’s planning reforms – green belt.		COP18 and CMP8 to Kyoto Protocol - Doha <i>Fresh thinking</i> Green Alliance’s strategy 2012-15.
			Spring 2012: low carbon village (Coleshill); local food production		
2013/14 Jenkins/ Ghosh Parker/Ghosh				Fracking debate	<i>Reducing the UK’s carbon footprint</i> Committee on Climate Change (2013) COP 19; COP 20

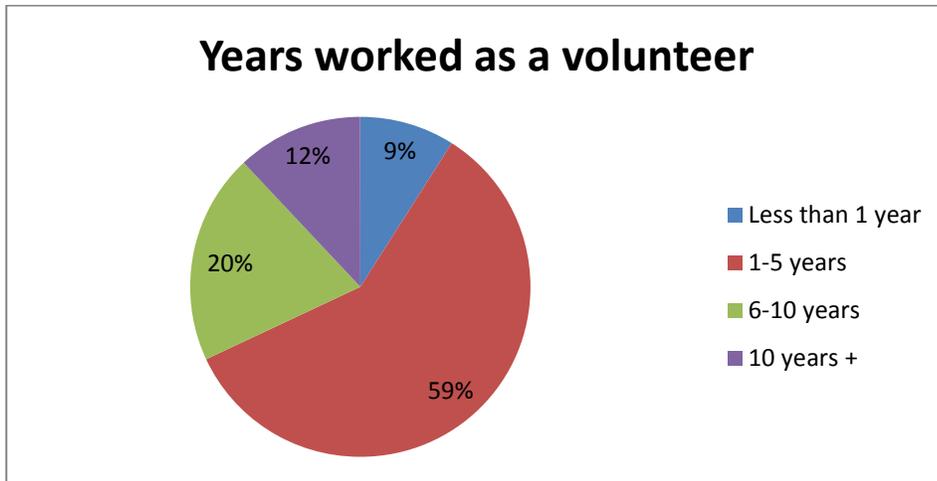
Appendix 7.1

Volunteer Survey Results; N=139

Question 1



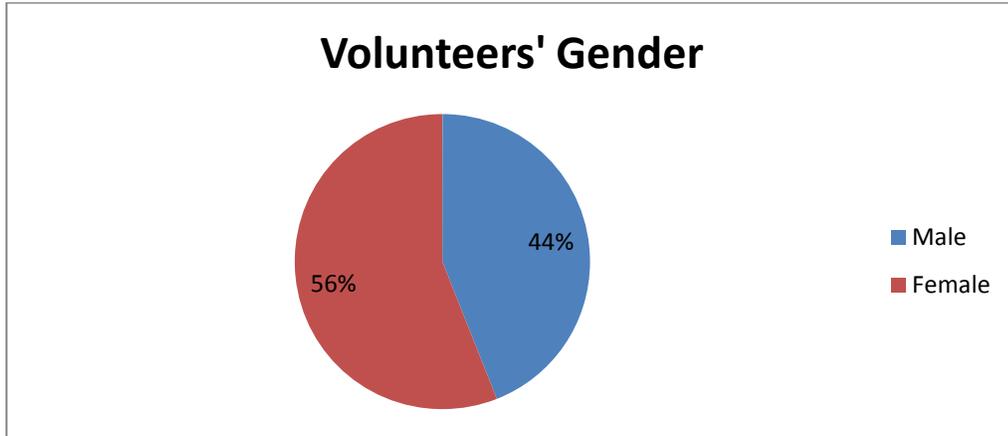
Question 2



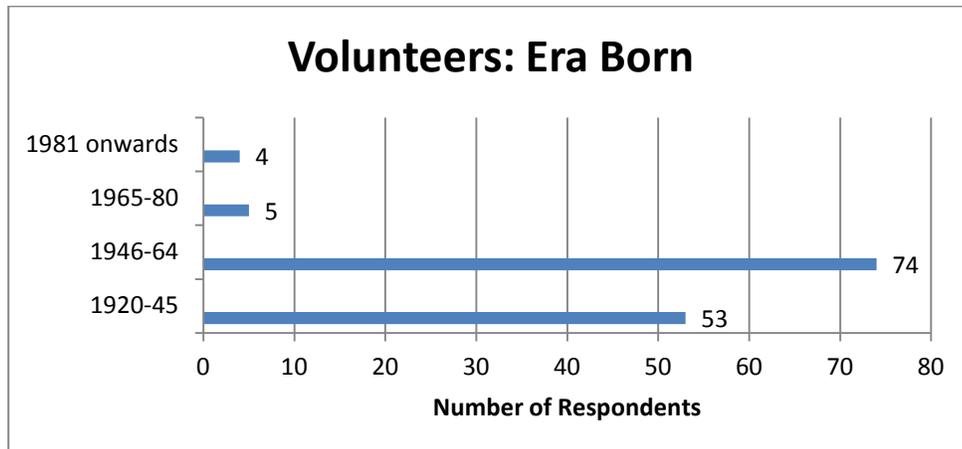
Question 3

Statement	N	Agree/ Slightly	Not Sure	Disagree/ Slightly	Mean Score
Tourism is harmful to conservation work	136	27%	11%	62%	2.24
Global warming is a very real threat to civilisation	136	67%	16%	17%	3.86
I have a moral duty to reduce my carbon footprint	136	81%	7%	12%	4.15
Nature has equal rights to humans	136	81%	6%	13%	4.15
The government should be doing more to tackle climate change	136	75%	12%	13%	4.02
NT has an important role in getting people to think about pro-environmental behaviour	136	84%	8%	8%	4.29
Conservation work helps to reduce the impacts of climate change	136	68%	24%	8%	3.92

Question 4



Question 5



Question 6

Statement	N	Agree/ Slightly	Not Sure	Disagree/ Slightly	Mean Score
I look for opportunities to talk about environmental issues with visitors	136	45%	13%	42%	2.91
I respond well to a teamwork approach when working on new initiatives/projects	136	91%	7%	2%	4.50
I see the Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change	136	64%	20%	16%	3.74
I feel connected to issues coming from the Trust's Central office (Heelis)	136	40%	30%	30%	3.11

Question 3: Differences amongst gender and era born amongst volunteers

(Agree = 5; Slightly agree = 4; Not sure = 3; Slightly disagree = 2; Disagree = 1)

Statement	Male N=60	Female N=76	ANOVA <0.05	1920- 45 N=53	1946- 64 N=74	ANOVA <0.05
	Mean	Mean	ANOVA	Mean	Mean	ANOVA
Tourism is harmful to conservation work	2.18	2.36	0.43	2.35	2.20	0.53
Global warming is a very real threat to Civilisation	3.73	3.96	0.30	3.98	3.83	0.52
I have a moral duty to reduce my carbon footprint	3.88	4.38	0.01	4.17	4.09	0.72
Nature has equal rights to humans	4.00	4.27	0.17	4.24	4.14	0.64
The government should be doing more to tackle climate change	3.81	4.18	0.08	4.11	3.98	0.56
NT has an important role in getting people to think about pro-environmental behaviour	4.18	4.38	0.24	4.44	4.25	0.28
Conservation work helps to reduce the impacts of climate change	3.75	4.06	0.09	3.98	3.93	0.80



Significant at $P = < 0.05$

Question 6: Differences amongst gender and era born amongst volunteers

(Agree = 5; Slightly agree = 4; Not sure = 3; Slightly disagree = 2; Disagree = 1)

Statement	Male N=60	Female N=76	ANOVA <0.05	1920- 45 N=53	1946- 64 N=74	ANOVA <0.05
	Mean	Mean	ANOVA	Mean	Mean	ANOVA
I look for opportunities to talk about environmental issues with visitors	3.18	2.70	0.05	3.17	2.81	0.15
I respond well to a teamwork approach when working on new initiatives/projects	4.51	4.50	0.93	4.48	4.52	0.72
I see the Trust as a leading example of how an organisation should respond to climate change	3.53	3.90	0.07	3.92	3.70	0.30
I feel connected to issues coming from the Trust's Central office (Heelis)	2.91	3.27	0.07	3.36	2.97	0.07



Significant at $P = < 0.05$

Question 7

Some additional comments on the National Trust and climate change

- 1) No Wind Farms
- 2) It would be good to hear what the policy is now and what they are doing in each venue
- 3) As far as I am aware, the Trust has no specific policies with regards to climate change. Trust properties could distribute leaflets to visitors advising how they could contribute to using less energy. Insulating houses, driving hybrid/electric cars, turning down the thermostat and putting on a pullover, etc. etc.
- 4) There is a conflict between conservation and "authenticity" which is not satisfactorily resolved at; the desire for authenticity led to destructive work in (e.g.) the stables yard; this has to be better balanced
- 5) Planting trees and using solar energy where possible
- 6) Climate change is a complicated subject and requires a fundamental re-think of our society values and consumerism; tinkering around the edges may make us feel better but will make little difference; i.e. if we take into account how much we have laid off our manufacturing emissions to overseas suppliers our carbon footprint is still rising quite sharply!
- 7) Instead of pulling down the weir ... which runs through the property, install a hydro-electric generator. You might have to raise the weir slightly but the power generated could be a good example for others to copy and in the long run save money
- 8) Not sure. They are probably responding more to general environmental rather than specifically climate change issues
- 9) Encouraging cycling to properties. Using locally sourced produce in the cafe. Using more native species of plants. I don't receive the policies etc. from head office so can't say if I feel "connected" to them or not
- 10) The trouble with climate change initiatives is they cost so much and the Trust finds it very difficult to secure funding to implement them. I have mentioned, in the past, on several occasions that electricity could easily be generated at ...by installing a water wheel in the river at the weir. I have been told that (we) can't afford it. I understand that money is tight and that a very large sum is being spent on the new roof but if the Trust is really keen to do it's part in helping climate change this is one small way of helping, not only that it would cut down on the electricity bills

11) I remember visiting the Centre for Alternative Technology about 20 years ago and thinking how fantastic their approach to sustainable technology was; they are only one centre. If the Trust were to replicate even minor change what a huge impact we would have on emissions

12) The study and use of the good practices of land management that were used by previous generations are still being used by the Trust today. Including: the use of natural products to control pests both inside buildings and in the parkland, the maintenance of land use and animal husbandry using traditional methods which support the wild life in the area. Also used are hedge laying, coppicing, and clearing of non indigenous species of trees (if not of significant historic relevance to the property) and replanting with indigenous species, farming on small scale using the best practices of organic farming, culling of deer to maintain healthy populations, and the culling of squirrels to protect trees from ring barking

13) Public transport initiatives should be encouraged for access to trust properties from conurbations - public subsidy would be justified

14) Certainly they have invested in fuel economy devices and use wood in fuel burners, where appropriate

15) I enjoy the volunteering as it puts me in contact with people from all age groups and life experience. The opportunity to work outdoors as part of a team is extremely gratifying. It is always nice to see that you can make a difference

16) I believe so-called climate change is a naturally occurring cyclical process and we make far too much fuss about it, Government and the NT use the term for their own agendas e.g. political power and a nice way of advertising

17) Climate change can create too many mythical targets at a cost to the global economy that is far more damaging e.g. wind farms and the lack of nuclear power

18) As I'm not a person who agrees with this whole thing of man-made climate change, I'm probably not the best person for your survey. As someone who has studied archaeology and whose wife has studied geology, I look at a much bigger picture and see our climate changing over millennia. I consider us to be still emerging from the "little ice age"

19) I see very little to make me believe the National Trust is responding to climate change

20) I am unaware of the NT's response to climate change. I am aware that they were very late and unsuccessful in responding to the threat to ... and that they did not support residents of ... in trying to prevent further building on the valley floor within the AONB. This is an on-going concern. If the NT wishes members and local people to support them, then it needs to be reciprocated when the organisation is approached to support legitimate concerns about

building on green spaces very close to NT land, especially when such building would be detrimental to tourism in the area

21) I find the climate change debate to be a red herring. The world has never had a climate that has stayed static. Change is the only constant we have. The NT cannot do anything to alter the climate. Activities/ actions that the NT put in to place regarding Man Made Climate Change are more about good PR for the Trust, not actions that will alleviate climate change in the future. The NT should be learning to live with the effects of a none static climatic environment and putting into place actions that will allow the Trust to function in whatever climate we get. Humans, nor the NT have a huge effect on our climate when compared with nature

22) The climate is definitely changing but since I am unclear as to exactly what is causing it to change then it is difficult for me to have a view on how effective NT steps are. My only comment would be that if the step also saves money e.g. re-using rainwater, then it is good

23) I hope the Trust will seriously investigate alternative sources of energy in the near future and perhaps look to working with other bodies on possible education programmes in this area

24) It could do a lot more, but how changes to older buildings, i.e. fitting with solar panels electricity/heat, as a visual aspect seems to prevent this important benefit. How many NT prop: have wind turbines? More encouragement for people to visit the various sites by bike/walk/bus rather than building bigger car parks

25) I feel that ... could do far more to reduce their carbon footprint. Any advances in doing so always appear to be constrained by the fact that the money "needs" to be spent elsewhere. I believe that the Welsh properties have done some excellent work recently and it would be good to see this mirrored just across the border

26) I agree with the Chairman's views on Wind Farms. The 'managers' of the National Trust as an elitist, 'precious' organisation has little understanding of the needs and views of the majority of the population. The NT underestimates the potential of human understanding and ability to adapt to new situations. The major threat to the conservation of the environment is by those who underestimate the potential for innovation and resourcefulness

27) I think that the National Trust has an open book when it comes to responding to climate change. The visitors coming to National Properties appreciate the countryside and the historical aspect of the properties which they make an effort to come and see and source information relating to the National Trust; they have a thirst for conservation and protecting it and I believe they are clued-up with regards to the dangers of climate change and its future

effect. This means that the National trust can feed their existing knowledge and awareness of the results of climate change with any information possible - spreading the word! This obviously relates to the properties and grounds too and the approach which the National trust adopts to this change

28) The Trust desperately needs more cash to tackle Conservation and hence changes in the climate. They must do research into new methods of disposing of waste product and fully utilising the resources that are abundant on NT properties (Wood Chip burners etc.). New methods to tackle old problems will be the key to the future

Appendix 8.1

Visitor survey Quantitative data

Property	Face-to-face approached	Face-to-face responses n	Face-to-face response rate %	Mail-back issue target	Mail-back issue actual	Mail-back responses n	Mail-back response rate %	Total sample n	Overall response rate %
Back-to-Backs	n/a	n/a	n/a	500	500	227	45	227	45%
Charlecote Park	125	119	95	200	200	101	50	220	67%
Clent Hills	140	138	98	200	200	100	50	238	70%
Moseley Old Hall	n/a	n/a	n/a	500	136	44	31	44	32%
The Weir	66	66	100	200	52	52	100	118	100%
Total	327	323	98%	1600	1088	524	48%	847	59.85%

Table 8.1.1

National Trust (West Midlands) visitor survey response rates

1st September – 1st March 2013

Question 1	MOH		TWR		CLH		CHP		B2B		Aggregated	
How often do you visit this property?	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daily/few days a week	0	0	1	1	17	7	2	1	4	2	24	3
A few times a month	4	10	6	5	42	18	8	4	4	2	64	7
Once a month	2	5	3	2	13	5	3	1	0	0	21	2
A few times a year	3	6	24	21	88	37	32	15	2	1	149	18
Once a year	2	5	4	3	23	10	7	3	4	2	40	5
Once every few years	9	21	8	7	17	7	28	13	21	9	83	10
First visit	23	53	72	61	37	16	140	63	192	84	464	55
N/%	43	100	118	100	237	100	220	100	227	100	845	100
Question 2												
Is your visit to this property:												
Return trip: main purpose of the visit?	26	74	55	51	192	86	116	55	67	40	456	61
Return trip being part of other plans?	7	20	32	30	29	13	56	27	69	41	193	26
En-route, part of a tour?	2	6	20	19	2	1	38	18	32	19	94	13
N/%	35	100	107	100	223	100	210	100	168	100	743	100
Question 3												
How far travelled to get to the property?												
Within 5 miles from start point	12	29	24	21	113	48	21	10	29	13	199	24
Approximately 5-25 miles from start	21	50	56	48	97	42	85	39	80	36	339	41
Over 25 miles from start	9	21	36	31	24	10	110	51	114	51	293	35
N/%	42	100	116	100	234	100	216	100	223	100	831	100
Question 4												
How did you travel to this property today?												
Car	40	93	114	97	216	92	194	88	90	38	654	77
Bicycle					7	3	1	1			8	1
On foot	3	7	1	2	12	5	1	1	9	4	26	3
Bus									20	8	20	2
Coach tour							23	10	8	3	31	4
Motorbike					1						1	-
Rail/foot									80	34	80	9
Rail/bicycle									1	1	1	-
Rail/taxi									11	5	11	1
Rail/bus									14	6	14	2
Taxi									2	1	2	1
Other			2	2								
N/%	43	100	117	100	236	100	219	100	235	100	848	100

Table 8.1.2

5-Property visitor survey – categorical data

Legend: MOH (Moseley Old Hall) CHP (Charlecote Park) CLH (Clent Hills) TWR (The Weir) B2B (Back-to-Backs)

(Continued on page 356)

Question 5													
Is today's car journey:													
Just by yourself?	4	10	11	10	14	6	16	9	3	3		48	7
Shared with someone else/group?	36	90	103	90	202	94	171	91	90	97		602	93
N/%	40	100	114	100	216	100	187	100	93	100		650	100
Question 6													
Travelled car: consider alternative mode?													
Yes	5	12	5	5	30	14	11	6	36	37		87	14
Maybe	4	10	12	10	53	24	37	18	30	31		136	20
No	31	78	98	85	134	62	148	76	31	32		442	66
N/%	40	100	115	100	217	100	196	100	97	100		665	100
Question 11													
Male	11	25	57	50	113	48	102	47	82	39		365	45
Female	32	75	57	50	120	52	114	53	129	61		452	55
N/%	43	100	114	100	233	100	216	100	211	100		817	100
Age 15-29	0	-	0		44	19	8	3	8	3		60	7
Age 30-44	15	35	8	7	64	27	28	13	24	11		139	17
Age 45-64	20	47	53	46	100	42	106	49	107	48		386	46
Age 65 and over	8	18	54	47	29	12	75	35	85	38		251	30
N/%	43	100	115	100	237	100	217	100	224	100		836	100
National Trust member or volunteer - Yes	36	84	109	92	78	33	185	84	153	67		561	66
National Trust member or volunteer - No	7	16	9	8	160	67	35	16	74	33		285	34
N/%	43	100	118	100	238	100	220	100	227	100		846	100

Table 8.1.2 (continued)

5-Property visitor survey – categorical data

Legend: MOH (Moseley Old Hall)

CHP (Charlecote Park)

CLH (Clent Hills)

TWR (The Weir)

B2B (Back-to-Backs)

Variable	N	Mean	StDev	SE Mean	95% CI	
C30	213	3.131	1.489	0.102	2.930	3.333
C31	210	3.390	1.294	0.089	3.214	2.566
C32	209	3.612	1.311	0.090	3.433	3.791
C33	207	3.126	2.962	0.206	2.720	3.531
C34	206	2.048	1.232	0.085	1.879	2.217
C35	392	3.801	1.502	0.075	3.651	3.950
C36	388	1.948	1.438	0.073	1.804	2.092
C37	385	2.815	1.667	0.085	2.648	2.982
C38	386	3.792	1.476	0.075	3.645	3.940
C39	396	3.863	1.491	0.074	3.716	4.011
C40	843	3.716	1.168	0.040	3.637	3.795
C41	843	4.200	1.028	0.035	4.130	4.270
C42	839	2.798	1.351	0.046	2.702	2.885
C43	837	3.971	1.125	0.038	3.895	4.047
C44	834	3.977	1.068	0.037	3.904	4.049
C45	837	3.814	1.148	0.039	3.736	3.892
C46	843	3.826	1.110	0.038	3.751	3.901
C47	840	3.763	1.132	0.039	3.686	3.839
C48	839	2.661	1.159	0.040	2.583	2.740

C30	Savings on travel costs	5	4	3	2	1
C31	Reducing my personal carbon footprint	5	4	3	2	1
C32	Personal health and fitness e.g. walking/bicycle	5	4	3	2	1
C33	Supporting local economy e.g. local bus service	5	4	3	2	1
C34	Social reasons e.g. make new friends; contacts	5	4	3	2	1

C35	Distance too long/challenging or unsafe road conditions	5	4	3	2	1
C36	Health/mobility considerations	5	4	3	2	1
C37	Carrying family/extra passengers/equipment	5	4	3	2	1
C38	Lack of public transport networks / limited service	5	4	3	2	1
C39	Flexibility e.g. time, other tasks and journeys	5	4	3	2	1

C40	Global warming has become the greatest environmental threat facing the planet	5	4	3	2	1
C41	We all have a personal moral duty to reduce our carbon emissions to help reduce global warming	5	4	3	2	1
C42	Human contributions to causing global warming (e.g. industrialisation) have been exaggerated	5	4	3	2	1
C43	We should view the natural environment as having equal rights to humankind	5	4	3	2	1
C44	A radical rethink of government policy is needed if the UK is to reduce its carbon emissions significantly	5	4	3	2	1
C45	Collectively, individual lifestyle changes/local action will make a significant difference in reducing carbon emissions	5	4	3	2	1
C46	Organisations such as the National Trust have an important role to play in tackling climate change on all fronts	5	4	3	2	1
C47	Conservation of natural and built heritage helps to address the impacts of climate change	5	4	3	2	1
C48	Tourism harms environment = not help us tackle climate change	5	4	3	2	1

Table 8.1.3 Mean and standard deviations for travel and environmental attitudes
Total sample: one sample T-test C30-C48 = Highest scorer

Question 2	MOH	TWR	CLH	CHP	B2B	Total	Chi-square p value
Is your visit to this property:							
Return trip: main purpose of the visit?	26	55	192	116	67	456	
Return trip being part of other plans?	7	32	29	56	69	193	
En-route, part of a tour?	2	20	2	38	32	94	
Total	35	107	223	210	168	743	0.001
Question 3							
How far travelled to get to the property?							
Within 5 miles from start point	12	24	113	21	29	199	
Approximately 5-25 miles from start	21	56	97	85	80	339	
Over 25 miles from start	9	36	24	110	114	293	
Total	42	116	234	216	223	831	0.001
Question 5							
Is today's car journey:							
Just by yourself?	4	11	14	16	3	48	
Shared with someone else/group?	36	103	202	171	90	602	
Total	40	114	216	187	93	650	0.258
Question 6							
Travelled car: consider alternative mode?							
Yes	5	5	30	11	36	87	
Maybe	4	12	53	37	30	136	
No	31	98	134	148	31	442	
Total	40	115	217	196	97	665	0.001
Question 11							
Male	11	57	113	102	82	365	
Female	32	57	120	114	129	452	
Total	43	114	233	216	211	817	0.014
Age 15-29	0	0	44	8	8	60	
Age 30-44	15	8	64	28	24	139	
Age 45-64	20	53	100	106	107	386	
Age 65 and over	8	54	29	75	85	251	
Total	43	115	237	217	224	836	0.001
National Trust member or volunteer - Yes	36	109	78	185	152	561	
National Trust member or volunteer - No	7	9	160	35	74	285	
Total	43	118	238	220	227	846	0.001

Table 8.1.4
Travel behaviour – All properties (Chi-square @ 95% confidence)

The Chi-square tests show that, with the exception of sharing car journeys, all aspects of travel behaviour, gender, age, and membership of the National Trust were unique to each property; in other words, there was an association with statistical significance (95%).



Significant at $P = < 0.05$

Travel attitudes/Environmental attitudes	Moseley Old Hall			The Weir			Clent Hills			Charlecote Park			Back-to-Backs			Aggregated		
	N=43			N=118			N=238			N=220			N=227			N=846		
	Gnd	Age	NT?	Gnd	Age	NT?	Gnd	Age	NT?	Gnd	Age	NT?	Gnd	Age	NT?	Gnd	Age	NT?
<u>Reasons for not (or possibly not) using car:</u>																		
Savings on travel costs	#	#	#	0.398	0.436	#	0.121	0.477	0.855	0.180	0.001	0.724	0.311	0.295	0.952	0.091	0.351	0.487
Reducing my personal carbon footprint	#	#	#	0.042	0.464	#	0.013	0.009	0.858	0.764	0.574	0.000	0.024	0.210	0.481	0.002	0.035	0.009
Personal health and fitness	#	#	#	0.770	0.908	#	0.219	0.020	0.428	0.753	0.402	0.550	0.637	0.070	0.957	0.910	0.718	0.088
Supporting local economy	#	#	#	0.331	0.524	#	0.018	0.090	0.523	0.416	0.000	0.708	0.570	0.500	0.174	0.162	0.001	0.589
Social reasons	#	#	#	0.456	0.180	#	0.283	0.655	0.765	0.527	0.131	0.373	0.969	0.841	0.804	0.182	0.569	0.024
<u>Reasons for continuing to use car:</u>																		
Long distance/challenging road conditions	#	#	#	0.109	0.156	#	0.096	0.609	0.107	0.540	0.018	0.450	0.286	0.421	0.732	0.040	0.345	0.106
Health/mobility	#	#	#	0.995	0.238	#	0.569	0.142	0.014	0.351	0.493	0.047	0.891	0.906	0.237	0.784	0.101	0.144
Carrying family/passengers/equipment	#	#	#	0.228	0.001	#	0.451	0.786	0.359	0.784	0.169	0.125	0.116	0.044	0.426	0.776	0.001	0.066
Lack of/limited public transport	#	#	#	0.512	0.023	#	0.308	0.263	0.242	0.323	0.645	0.847	0.264	0.572	0.322	0.635	0.953	0.158
Loss of flexibility	#	#	#	0.907	0.080	#	0.239	0.277	0.924	0.687	0.048	0.554	0.077	0.001	0.341	0.644	0.002	0.675
<u>Environmental issues/role of NT:</u>																		
Global warming greatest environmental threat	#	#	#	0.068	0.264	#	0.001	0.034	0.417	0.970	0.986	0.432	0.234	0.141	0.406	0.003	0.111	0.523
Personal moral duty to reduce CO2	#	#	#	0.029	0.275	#	0.025	0.200	0.163	0.966	0.204	0.265	0.007	0.113	0.645	0.001	0.004	0.502
Human contributions CO2 exaggerated	#	#	#	0.060	0.729	#	0.822	0.074	0.668	0.372	0.313	0.134	0.516	0.001	0.140	0.400	0.001	0.211
Nature has equal rights to humans	#	#	#	0.331	0.283	#	0.937	0.070	0.475	0.589	0.094	0.500	0.265	0.674	0.093	0.631	0.013	0.650
Radical rethink of UK govt.	#	#	#	0.208	0.468	#	0.080	0.00	0.05	0.97	0.00	0.05	0.114	0.142	0.29	0.061	0.00	0.03

policy needed to ↓ CO2								7	2	8	6	4			3		1	1	
Individual/local action is effective for reducing CO2	#	#	#	0.007	0.426	#	0.001	0.009	0.213	0.665	0.988	0.099	0.009	0.008	0.392		0.001	0.001	0.229
NT has an important role to play in reducing CO2	#	#	#	0.383	0.331	#	0.008	0.349	0.651	0.155	0.282	0.001	0.014	0.673	0.730		0.001	0.871	0.145
Conservation helps address impacts of climate change	#	#	#	1.000	0.464	#	0.116	0.214	0.259	0.132	0.127	0.087	0.010	0.597	0.161		0.003	0.828	0.477
Tourism harms environment; not help climate change	#	#	#	0.358	0.104	#	0.757	0.742	0.906	0.341	0.326	0.002	0.416	0.872	0.258		0.113	0.772	0.575

Legend:

Sample size too small for tests

Values in italics = p < 0.05 although some samples too small for generalising

Gnd Gender

Age Categories included: 15-29; 30-44; 45-64; 65+

Values in italics = p < 0.05

NT? National Trust member/non-member

Agg Aggregated value for all 5 properties; n=846

Table 8.1.5

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of travel and environmental attitudes amongst 5 West Midlands National Trust properties at 95% confidence level

Travel attitudes/Environmental attitudes		<i>P < 0.05</i>
<u>Reasons for not (or possibly not) using car:</u>	(Excludes)	
Savings on travel costs	(The Weir)	0.068
Reducing my personal carbon footprint	(The Weir)	<i>0.029</i>
Personal health and fitness	(The Weir)	<i>0.001</i>
Supporting local economy	(The Weir)	0.289
Social reasons	(The Weir)	0.001
<u>Reasons for continuing to use car:</u>		
Long distance/challenging road conditions	(Back2Backs)	0.326
Health/mobility	(Back2Backs)	0.117
Carrying family/passengers/equipment	(Back2Backs)	<i>0.001</i>
Lack of/limited public transport	(Back2Backs)	0.200
Loss of flexibility	(Back2Backs)	<i>0.003</i>
<u>Environmental issues/role of NT:</u>		
Global warming is greatest environmental threat		0.209
Personal moral duty to reduce CO2		0.099
Human contributions to CO2 emissions have been exaggerated		0.963
Nature has equal rights to humans		<i>0.050</i>
Radical rethink of UK government policy needed to reduce Co2		<i>0.001</i>
Individual/local action is effective for reducing CO2		0.122
NT has an important role to play in reducing CO2		<i>0.003</i>
Conservation helps address impacts of climate change		0.127
Tourism harms environment; does not help tackling CC		<i>0.001</i>

Values in italics = $P < 0.05$

(Excludes) = properties with disproportionately small sample size e.g. $n < 30$ are excluded

Table 8.1.6
Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of travel and environmental attitudes
Five West Midlands National Trust properties at 95% confidence level
Cross-property (excluding Moseley Old Hall)

	Y x N	Yes/Maybe	No
<u>Environmental issues/role of NT:</u>		N = 222	N = 439
Global warming is the greatest environmental threat	<i>0.050</i>	3.811	3.617
Personal moral duty to reduce CO2	0.179		
Human contributions CO2 have been exaggerated	0.116		
Nature has equal rights to humans	0.842		
Radical rethink of UK govt. policy needed to reduce CO2	<i>0.010</i>	4.104	3.861
Individual/local action is effective for reducing CO2	<i>0.007</i>	3.901	3.671
NT has an important role to play in reducing CO2	0.427		
Conservation helps address impacts of climate change	<i>0.018</i>		
Tourism harms environment; not help tackling climate change	<i>0.035</i>	2.793	2.588

Values in italics $P = <0.05$

Table 8.1.7
Analysis of variance (ANOVA) of environmental attitudes amongst car travellers: yes/maybe change mode vs.
will not change mode
Properties amalgamated

Gender/age	MOH Total	MOH NT	MOH (NT)	TWR Total	TWR NT	TWR (NT)	CLH Total	CLH NT	CLH (NT)	CHP Total	CHP NT	CHP (NT)	B2B Total	B2B NT	B2B (NT)	Aggregated NT	Aggregated (NT)
Male 15-29	0			0			20	2	(18)	4	3	(1)	4	3	(1)	8	20
Male 30-44	5	3	(2)	3	2	(1)	32	7	(25)	13	10	(3)	9	3	(6)	25	37
Male 45-64	5	3	(2)	26	25	(1)	44	15	(29)	50	42	(8)	33	25	(8)	110	48
Male 65+	1	1		28	27	(1)	17	9	(8)	35	33	(2)	37	27	(10)	97	21
Female 15-29	0			0			22	6	(16)	3	2	(1)	4	4		12	17
Female 30-44	10	10		5	3	(2)	31	9	(22)	15	10	(5)	15	7	(8)	39	37
Female 45-64	15	13	(2)	25	23	(2)	55	21	(34)	57	50	(7)	67	46	(21)	153	66
Female 65+	7	6	(1)	26	26		10	3	(7)	37	32	(5)	40	29	(11)	96	24
N	43	36	(7)	113	106	(7)	231	72	(159)	214	182	(32)	209	144	(65)	540	270

Notes:

*Amalgamating categories produces variant sample sizes due to non-responses in each category.

Values in **bold** = most frequently occurring gender at property.

(NT) = Non-member.

Table 8.1.8

5-Property visitor survey: visitor profile – age, gender, member

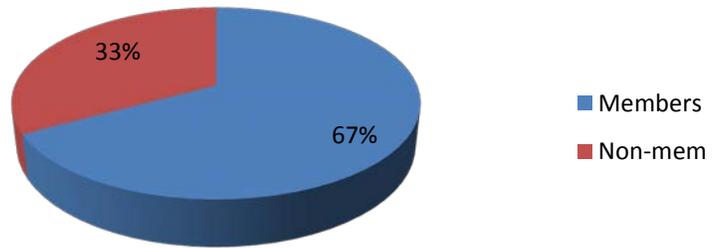
N=81

Question 1	F45-64 NT		All 15-29		Aggregated	
	N=153		N=57		N=846	
How often do you visit this property?	N	%	N	%	N	%
Daily/few days a week	2	1	3	5	24	3
A few times a month	8	5	8	14	64	7
Once a month	1	1	5	9	21	2
A few times a year	18	12	14	24	149	18
Once a year	6	4	5	9	40	5
Once every few years	14	9	5	9	83	10
First visit	104	68	17	30	464	55
N/%	153	100	57	100	845	100
Question 2						
Is your visit to this property:						
Return trip: main purpose of the visit?	58	45	43	84	456	61
Return trip being part of other plans?	46	35	7	14	193	26
En-route, part of a tour?	26	20	1	2	94	13
N/%	130	100	51	100	743	100
Question 3						
How far travelled to get to the property?						
Within 5 miles from start point	23	15	15	27	199	24
Approximately 5-25 miles from start	62	41	34	62	339	41
Over 25 miles from start	65	44	6	11	293	35
N/%	150	100	55	100	831	100
Question 4						
How did you travel to this property today?						
Car	119	76	49	87	654	77
Bicycle	1	1			8	1
On foot	4	3	2	4	26	3
Bus	3	2	1	2	20	2
Coach tour	9	6			31	4
Motorbike					1	-
Rail/foot	16	10	3	5	80	9
Rail/bicycle	2	1			1	-
Rail/taxi	1	1	1	2	11	1
Rail/bus					14	2
Taxi					2	1
Other						
N/%	155*	100	56	100	848	100
Question 5						
Is today's car journey:						
Just by yourself?	6	5	3	6	48	7
Shared with someone else/group?	114	95	47	94	602	93
N/%	120	100	50	100	650	100
Question 6						
Travelled car: consider alternative mode?						
Yes	13	11	6	12	87	14
Maybe	25	20	14	28	136	20
No	84	69	30	60	442	66
N/%	122	100	50	100	665	100

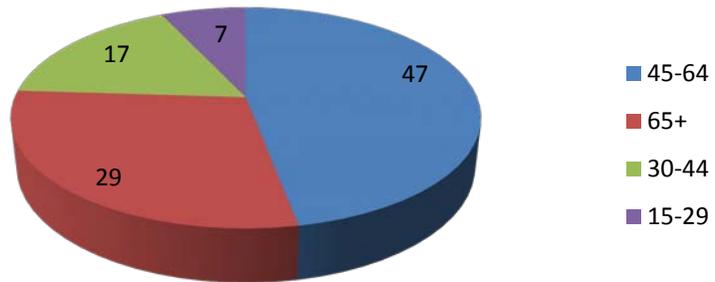
*Note: one or two samples were recorded as using 2 modes of travel

Table 8.1.9
Travel behaviour Female members 45-64 year-olds x All 15-29 year-ol

Membership overall %



Age groups overall %



Gender overall %

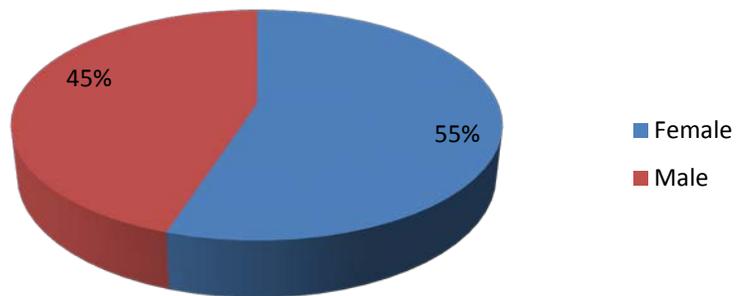


Figure 8.1.1
Membership; Age; Gender
Overall

Appendix 8.2

Visitor survey Qualitative data

Moseley Old Hall qualitative data (n=43)
 Members n=36; non-members n=7

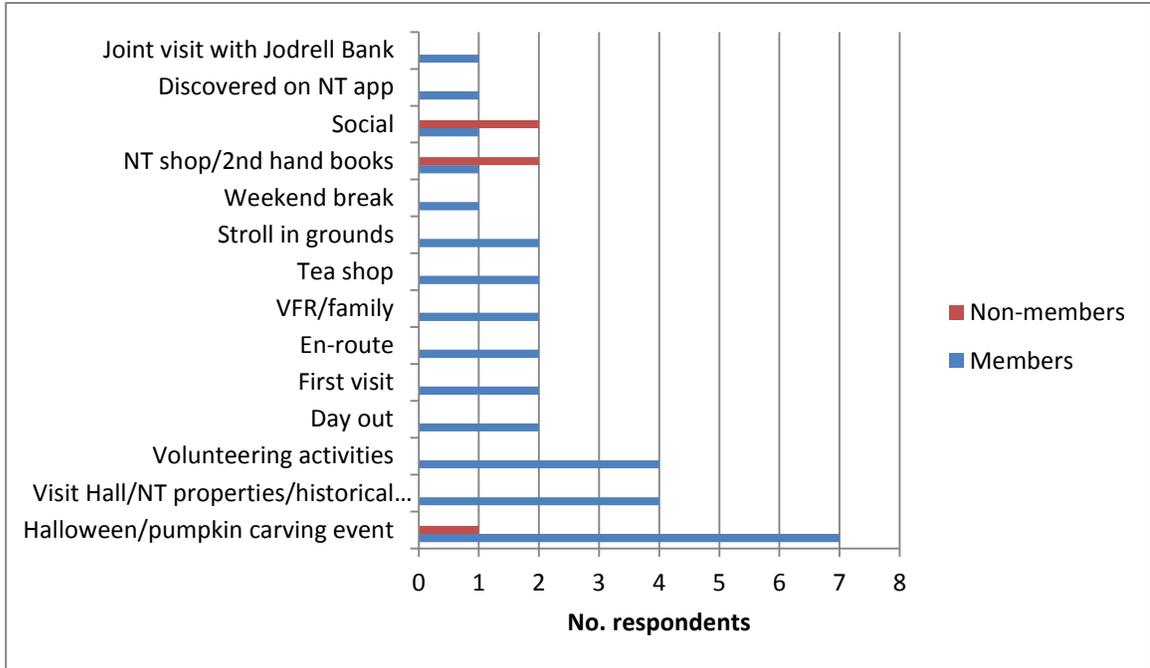


Figure 8.2.1: MOH Main purpose of visit (members vs. non-members)

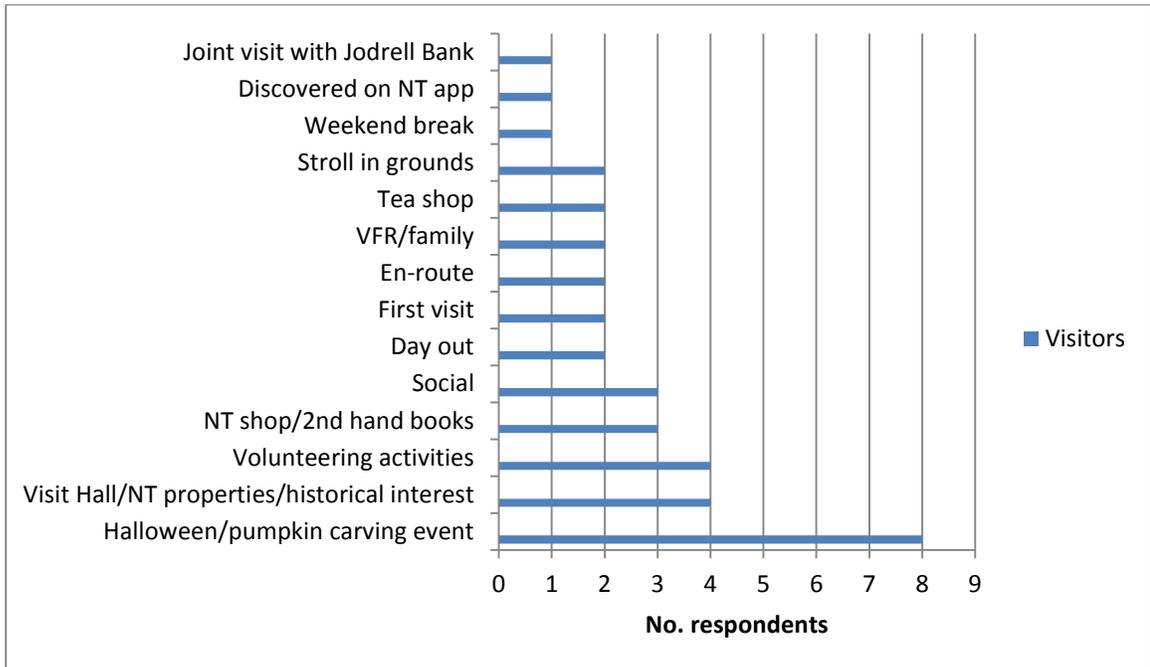


Figure 8.2.2: MOH Main purpose of visit – all visitors

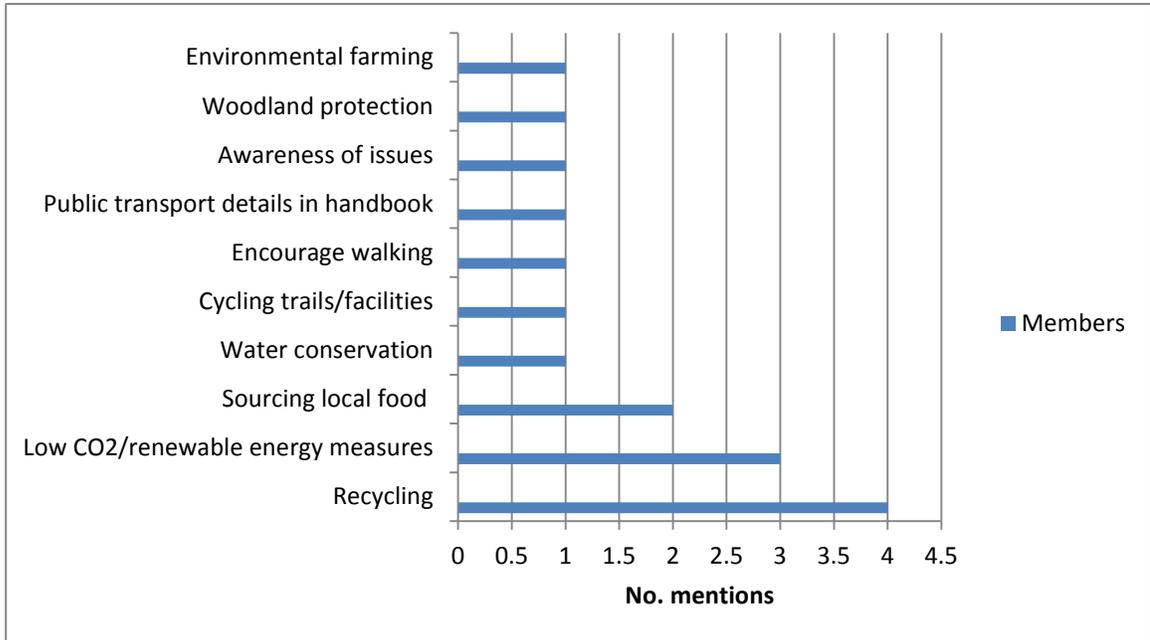


Figure 8.2.3: MOH Awareness of measures to combat climate change (members only)

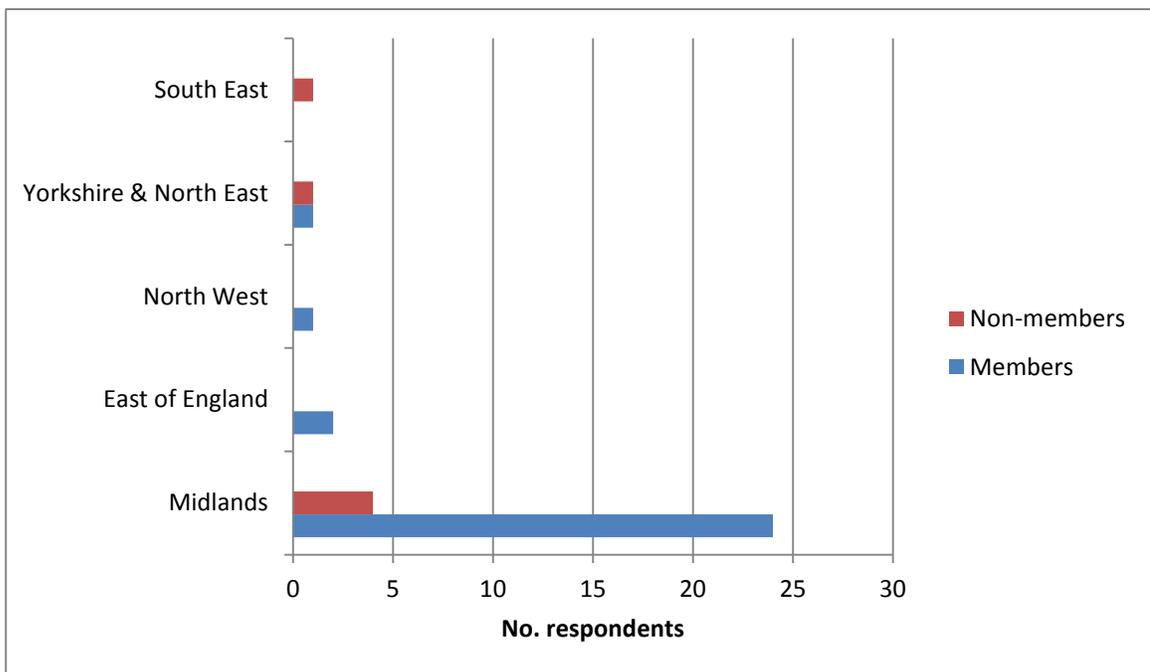


Figure 8.2.4: MOH Members vs. non-members postcodes

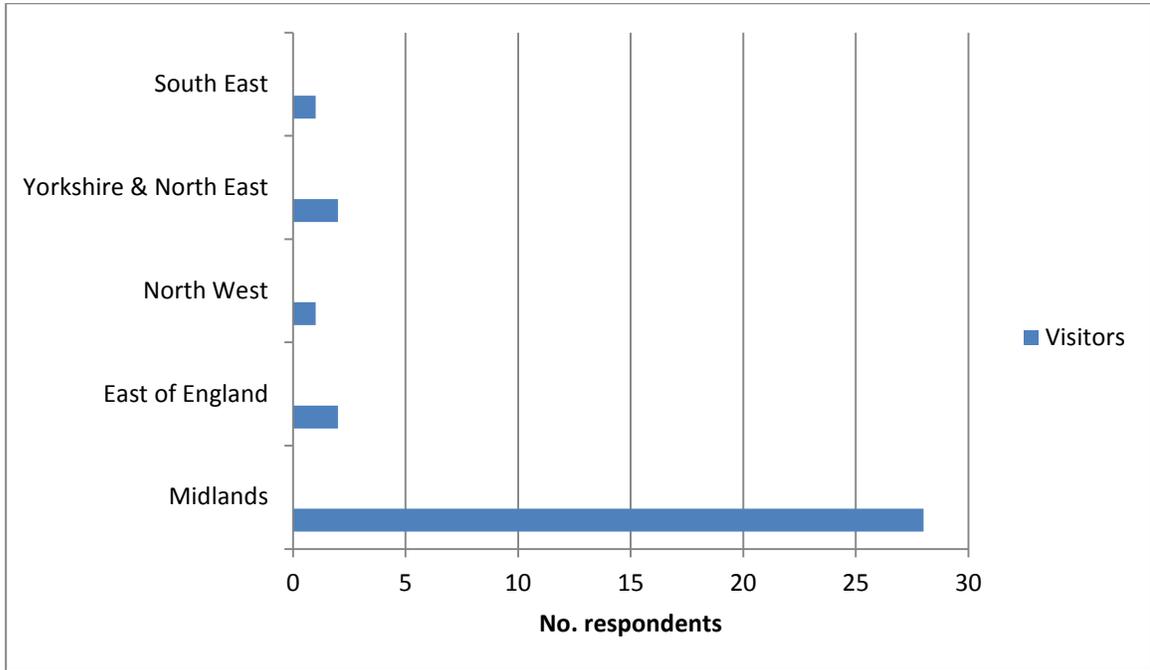
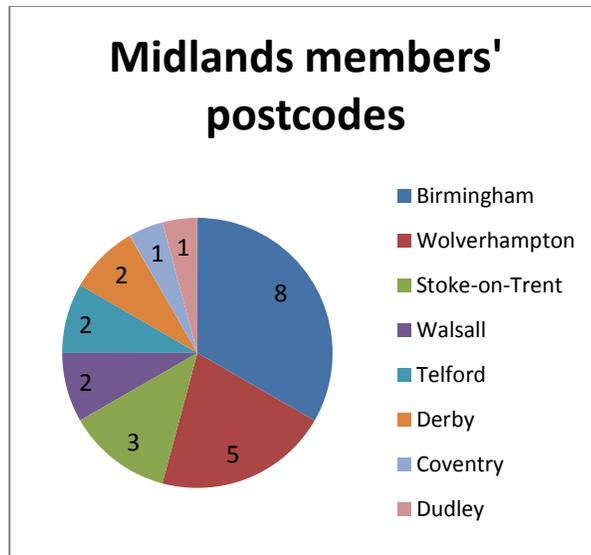


Figure 8.2.5: MOH All visitors' postcodes



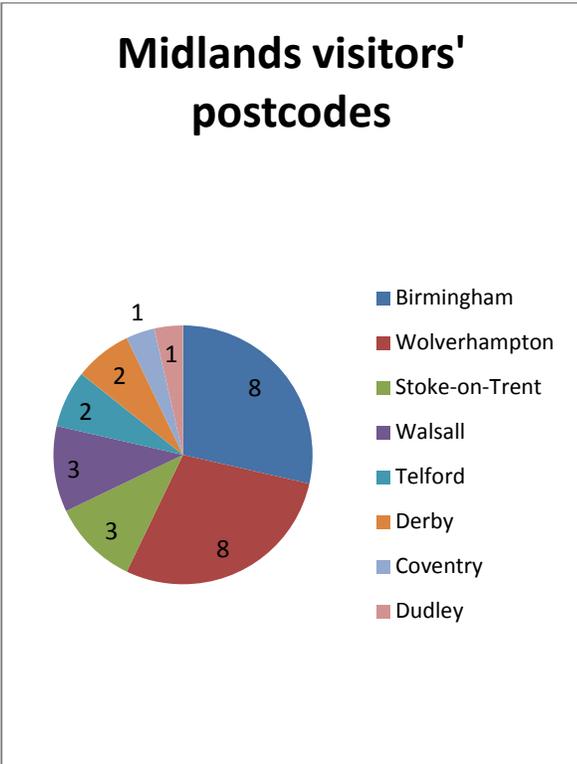
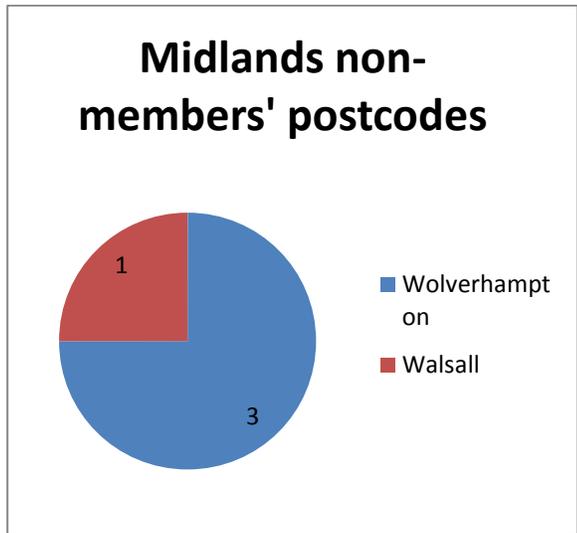


Figure 8.2.6: MOH Midlands visitors' postcodes

Additional comments from MOH questionnaire

Q6 - Too far off bus route, too much to carry.

(Member)

The Weir qualitative data (n=118)

Members n=109; non-members n=9

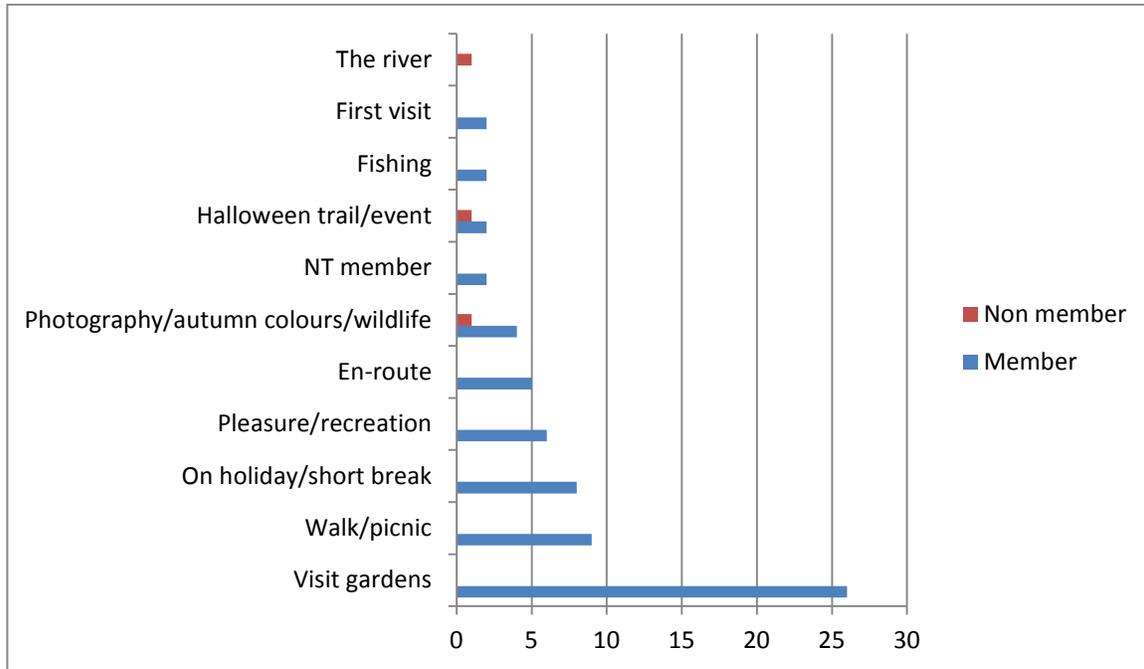


Figure 8.2.7: TWR Main purpose of visit (members vs. non-members)

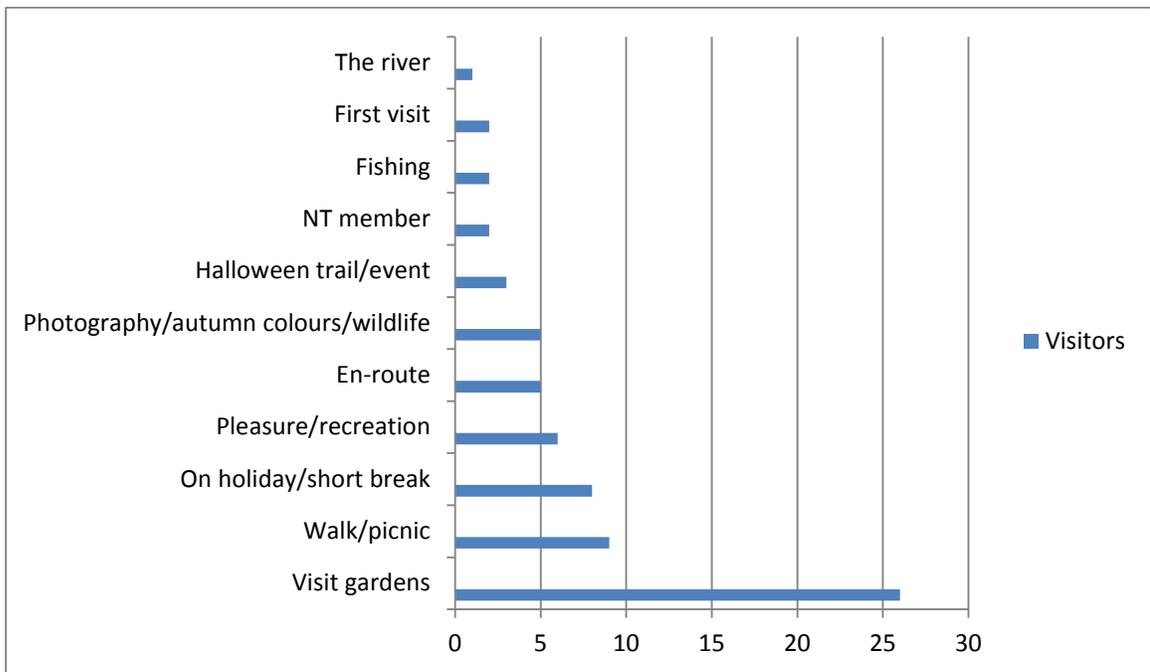


Figure 8.2.8: TWR Main purpose of visit – all visitors

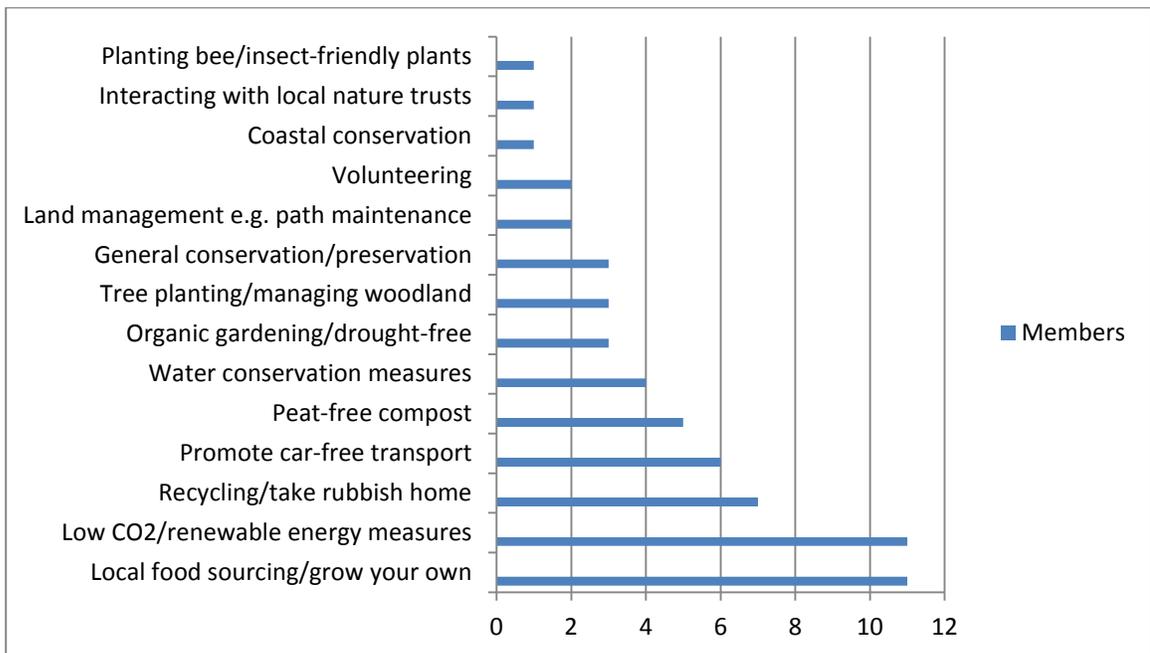


Figure 8.2.9: TWR Awareness of measures to combat climate change (members only)

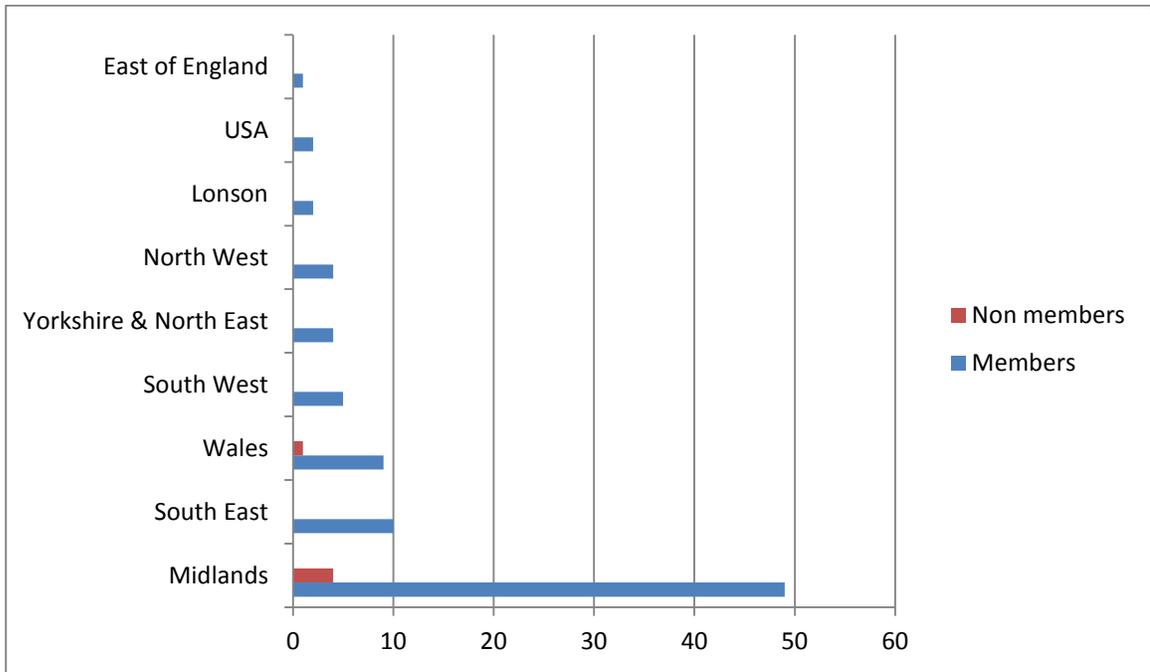


Figure 8.2.10: TWR Members vs. non-members postcodes

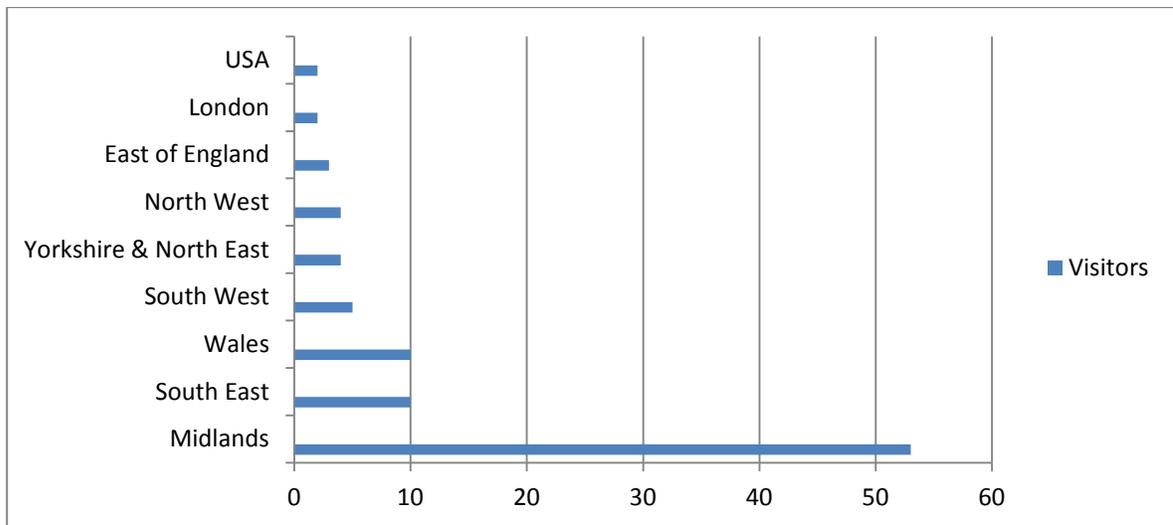


Figure 8.2.11: TWR All visitors' postcodes

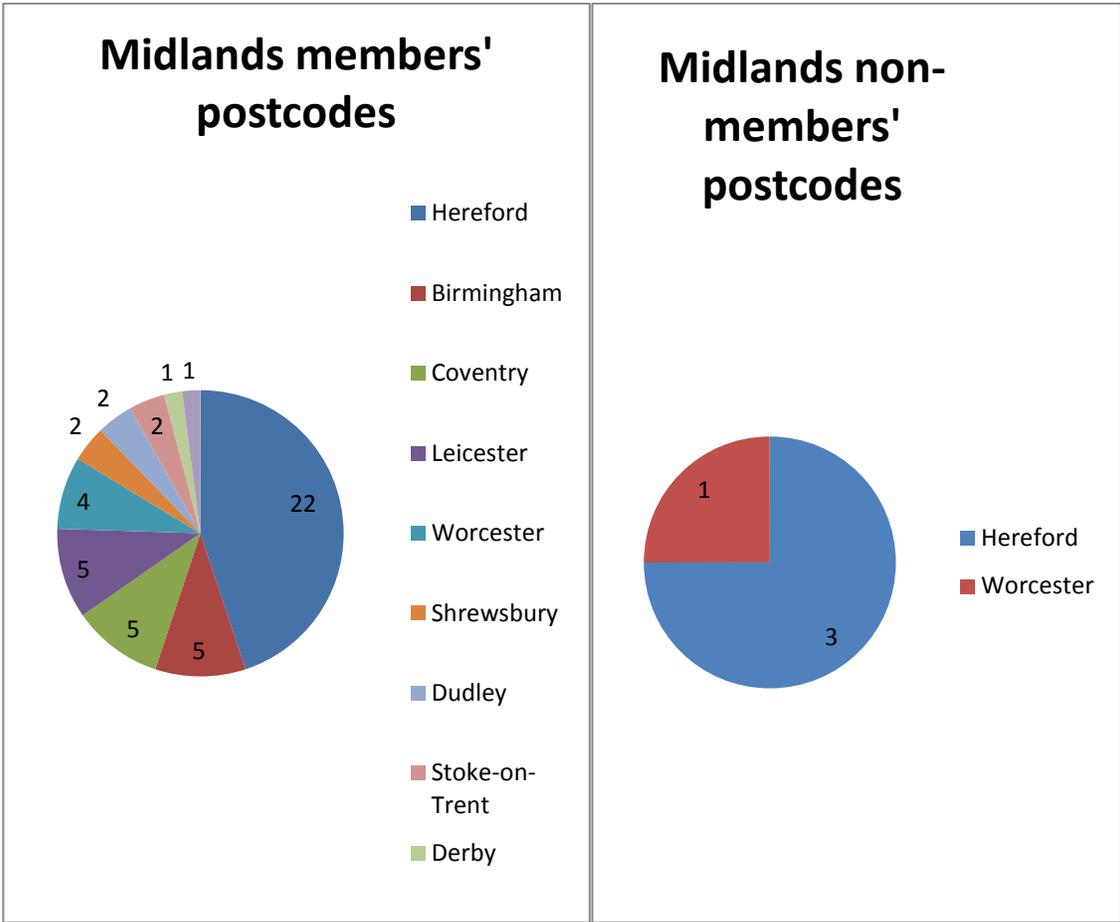


Figure 8.2.12: TWR Midlands visitors' postcodes

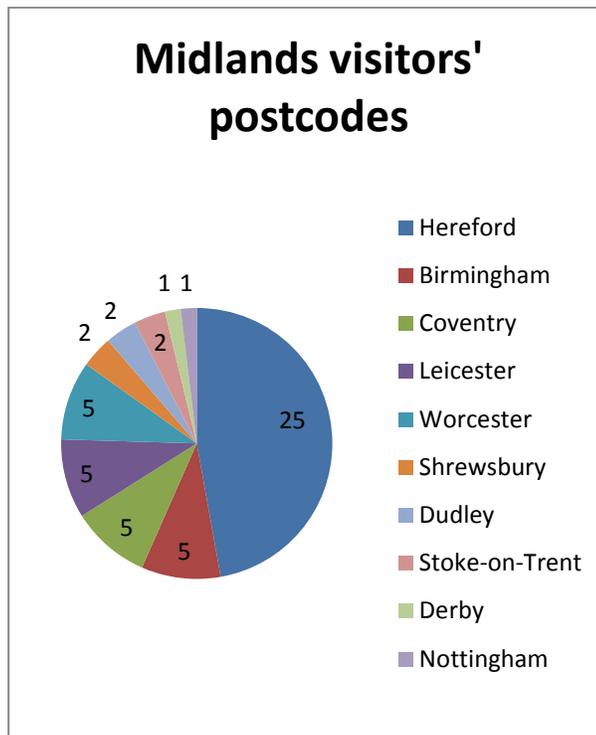


Figure 8.2.13: TWR Midlands visitors' postcodes(contd)

Additional comments from TWR questionnaire

C29: Too dangerous to cycle.

C29: No transport to the weir.

C35: I am a keen and regular cycle rider; routes to weir too dangerous [45-64 yrs].

While industries pour CO₂ out, our puny efforts are useless and are only delaying the inevitable extinction of humans who are only a small part of life.

C40: Not as threatening as warfare! Or unimpeded development in the 3rd world, habitat/forest destruction. C45: tourism where? Harmful to the Antarctic for e.g. but often beneficial in UK to attract visitors to nature reserves that may otherwise have been built on.

C45: Individual/local action can be effective, but it has to be global

C46 - NT should set an example.

The NT and Scottish NT should object to the development of wind farms and turbines as they create more damage to the environment than any other form of renewable energy.

Head gardener: effects of climate change: maintenance; trees dying; broad beans: no black flies, no aphids; the NT not sure itself on climate change, e.g. planting Mediterranean plants; there should be more of opening up a debate amongst the gardeners; seasonal changes: hot spring

led to plants appearing early and then finishing early e.g. snowdrops, daffodils, bluebells, shorter season; floods in summer; later leaf fall leads to work being condensed into November and December, late autumn, e.g. clearing leaf fall for health and safety (tripping over roots, slipping etc.); some changes "unheard of" to date.

Clent Hills qualitative data (n=238)
Members n=78; non members n=160

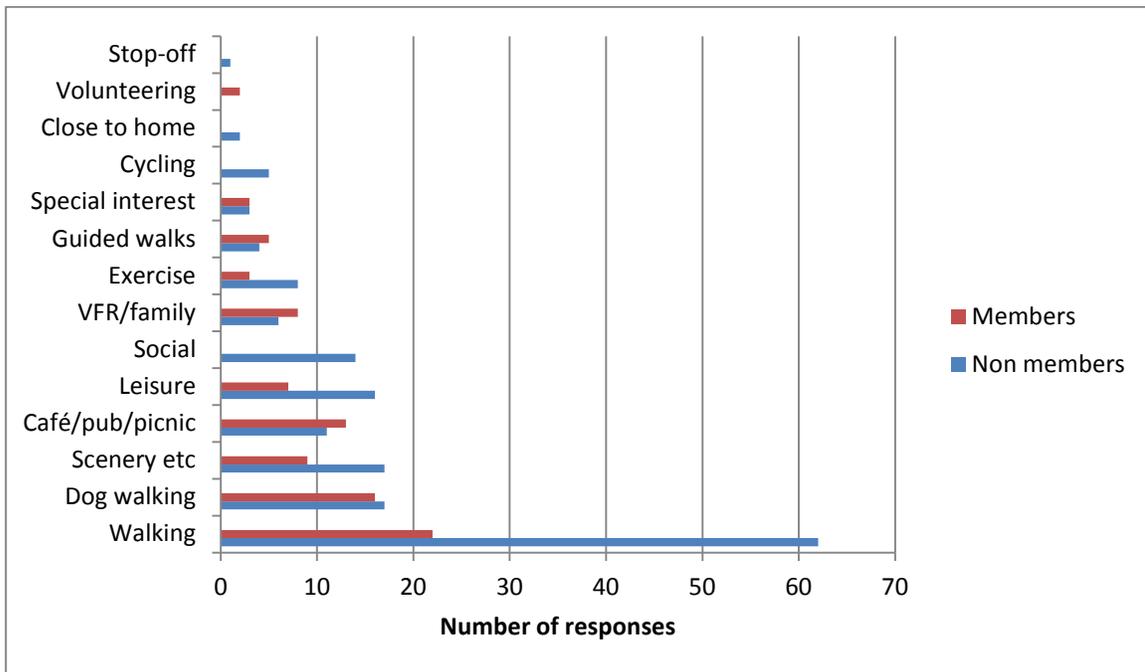


Figure 8.2.14: CLH Main purpose of visit (members vs. non-members)

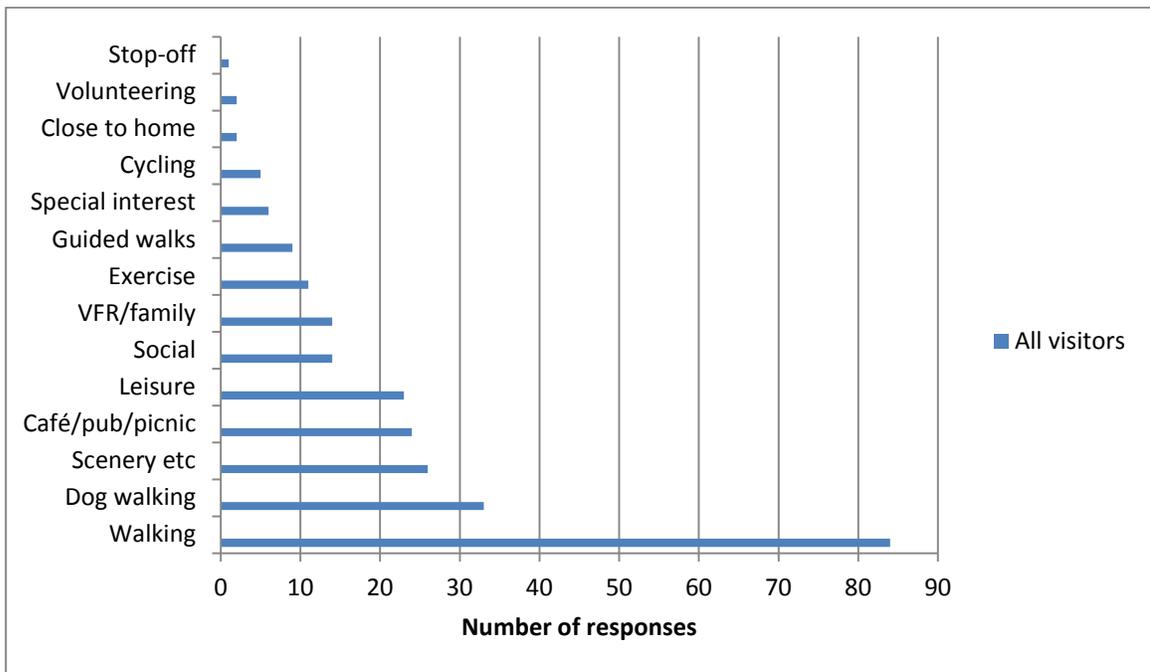


Figure 8.2.15: CLH Main purpose of visit – all visitors

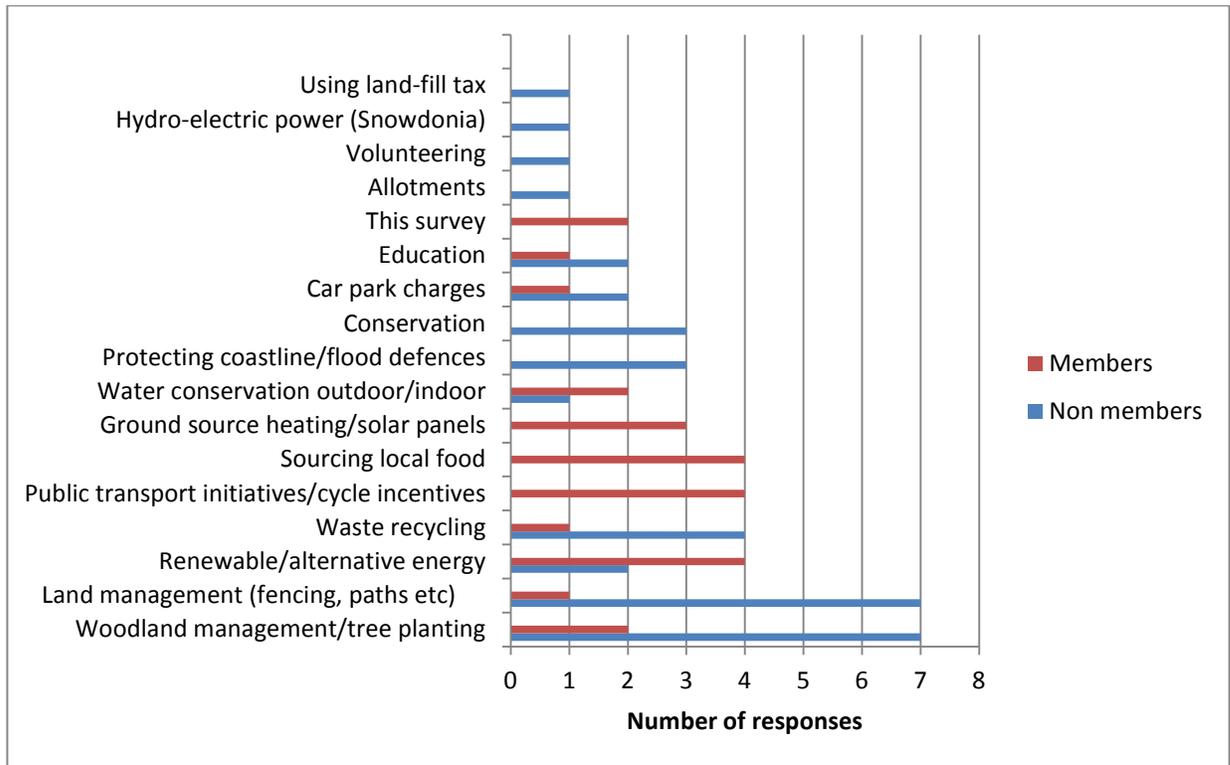


Figure 8.2.16: CLH Awareness of measures to combat climate change (members vs. non-members)

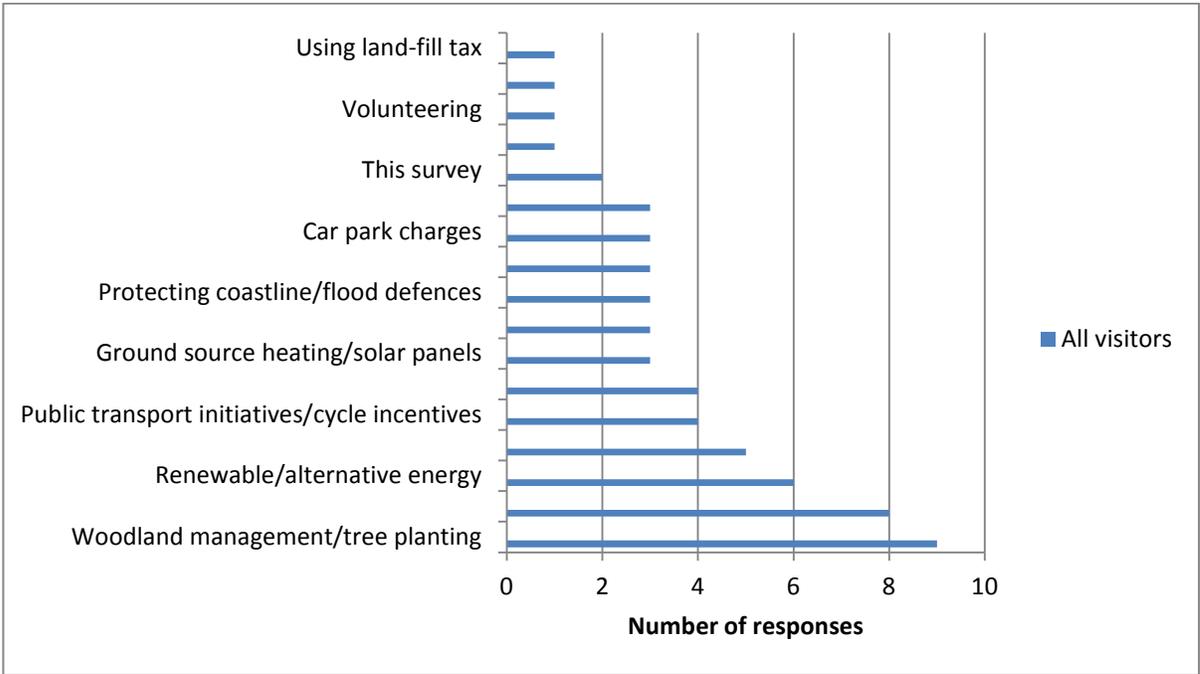


Figure 8.2.17: CLH Awareness of measures to combat climate change (all visitors)

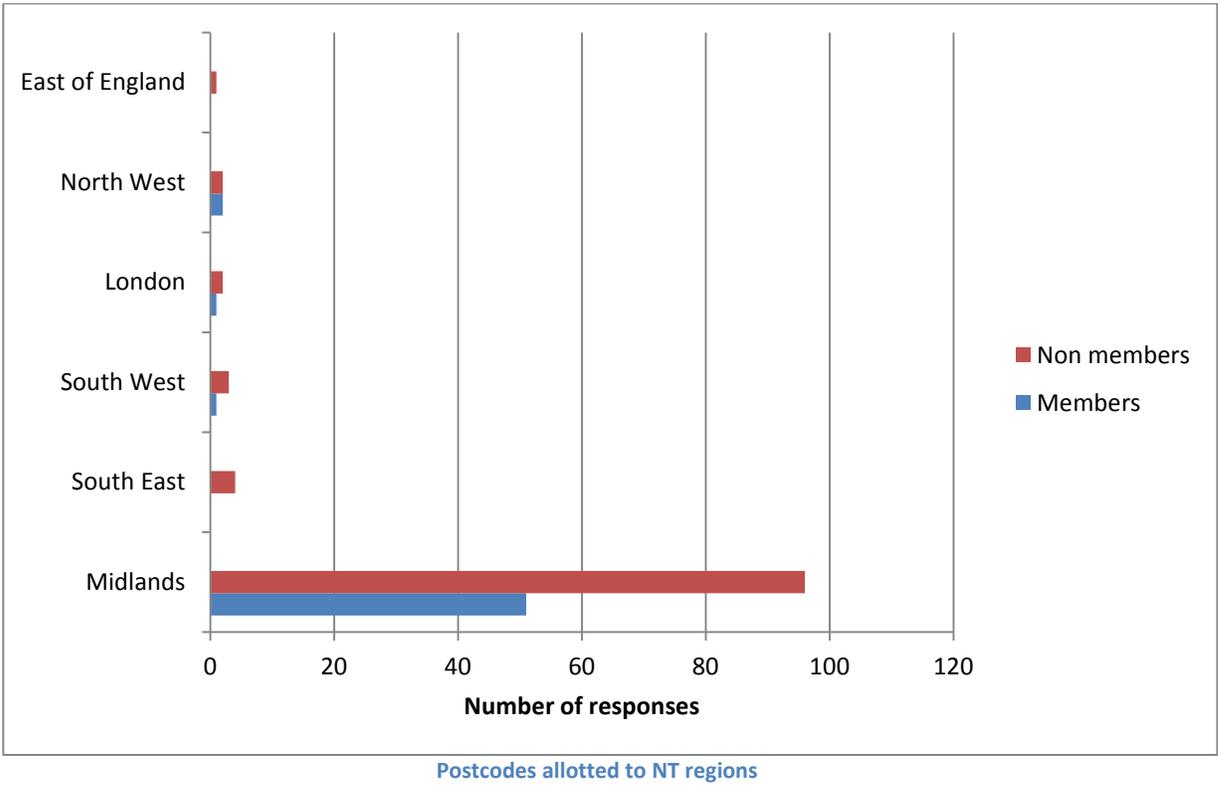
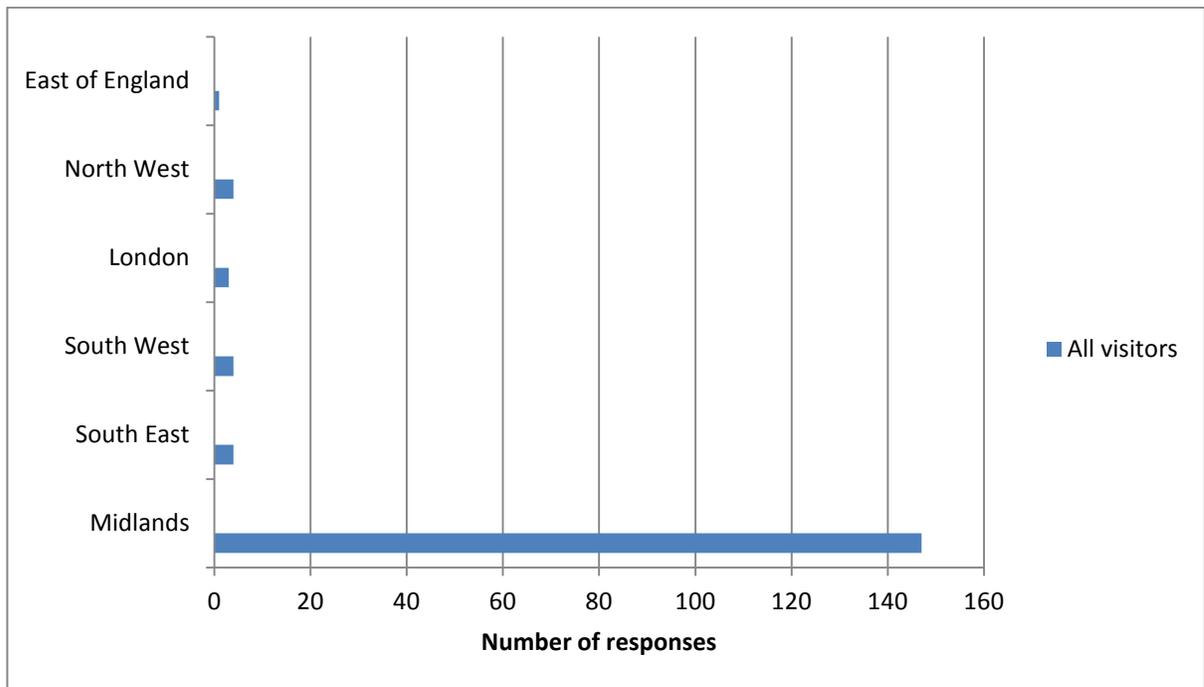


Figure 8.2.18: CLH Members vs. non-members postcodes



Postcodes allotted to NT regions

Figure 8.2.19: CLH All visitors' postcodes

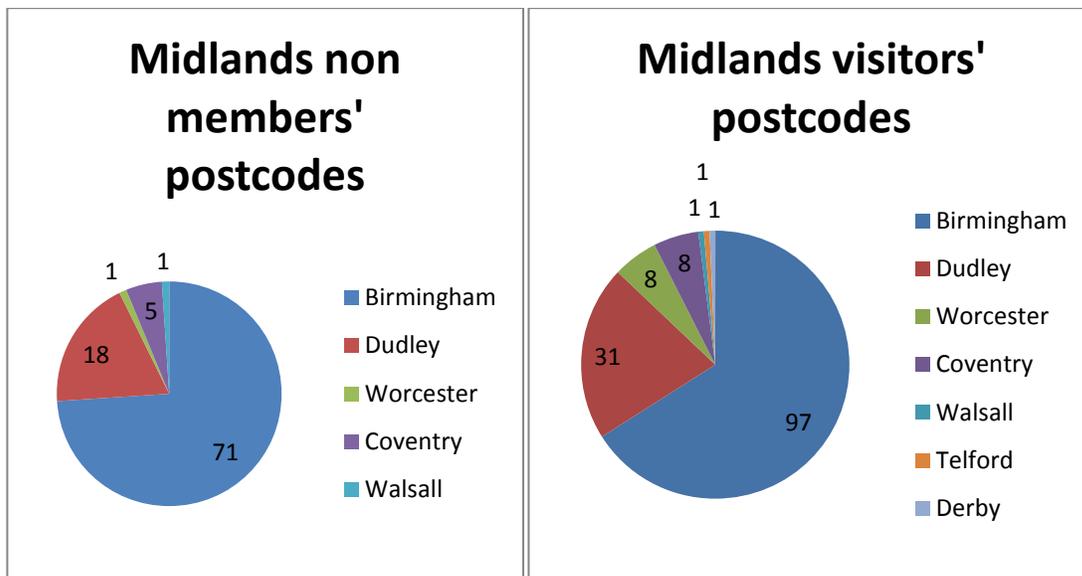


Figure 8.2.20: CLH Midlands visitors' postcodes

Additional comments from CLH questionnaire

C38: One member lamented the passing of the Midland Red bus service (member)

C40: "The planet is OK. It's the human race that's the threat!" (member)

C48: Some tourism does harm the environment; sustainable tourism is increasingly popular
(member)

C28/29: If there were a railway station in Clent, then yes, would consider alternative to car.
(non member)

Charlecote Park qualitative data (n=240)
Members n=185; non members n=35

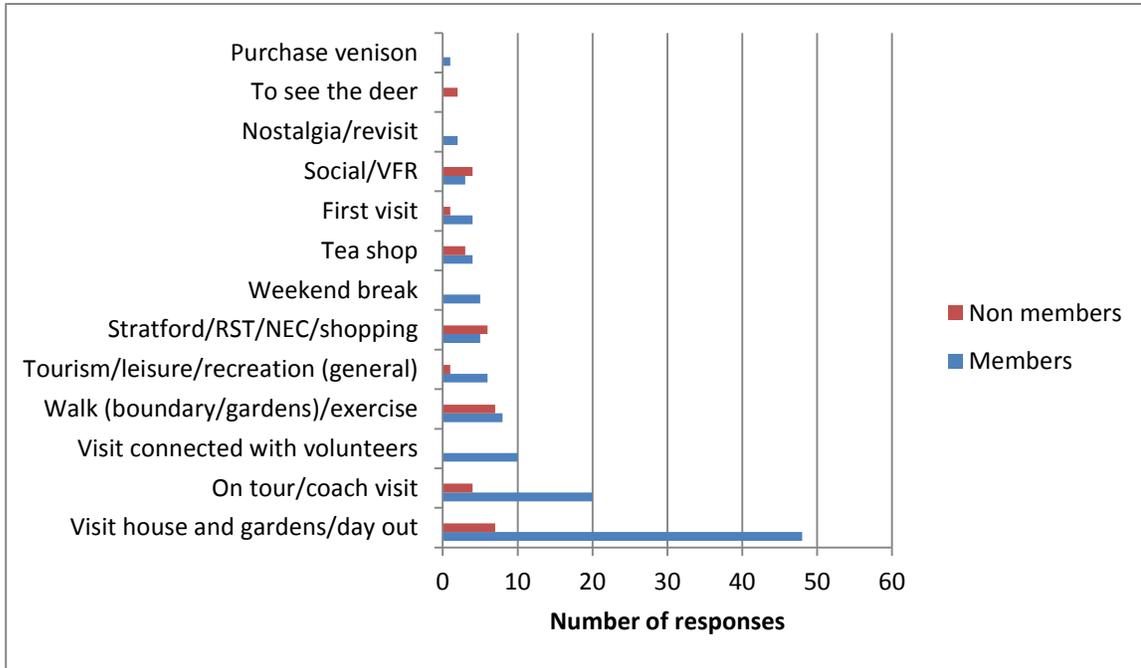


Figure 8.2.21: CHP Main purpose of visit (members vs. non-members)

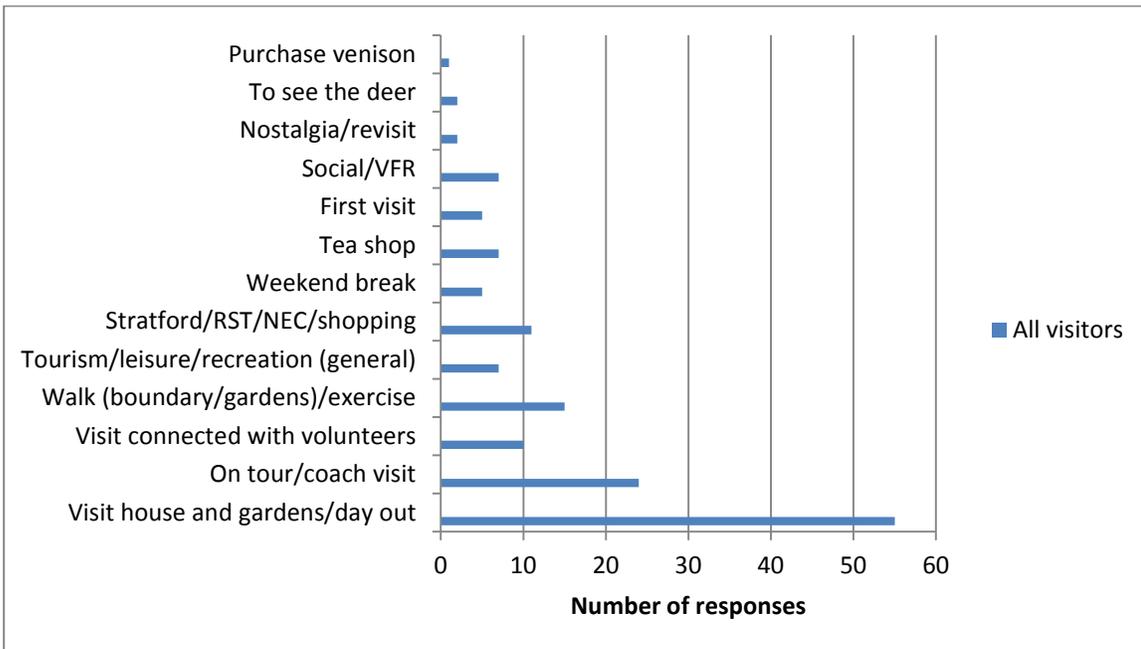


Figure 8.2.22: CHP Main purpose of visit – all visitors

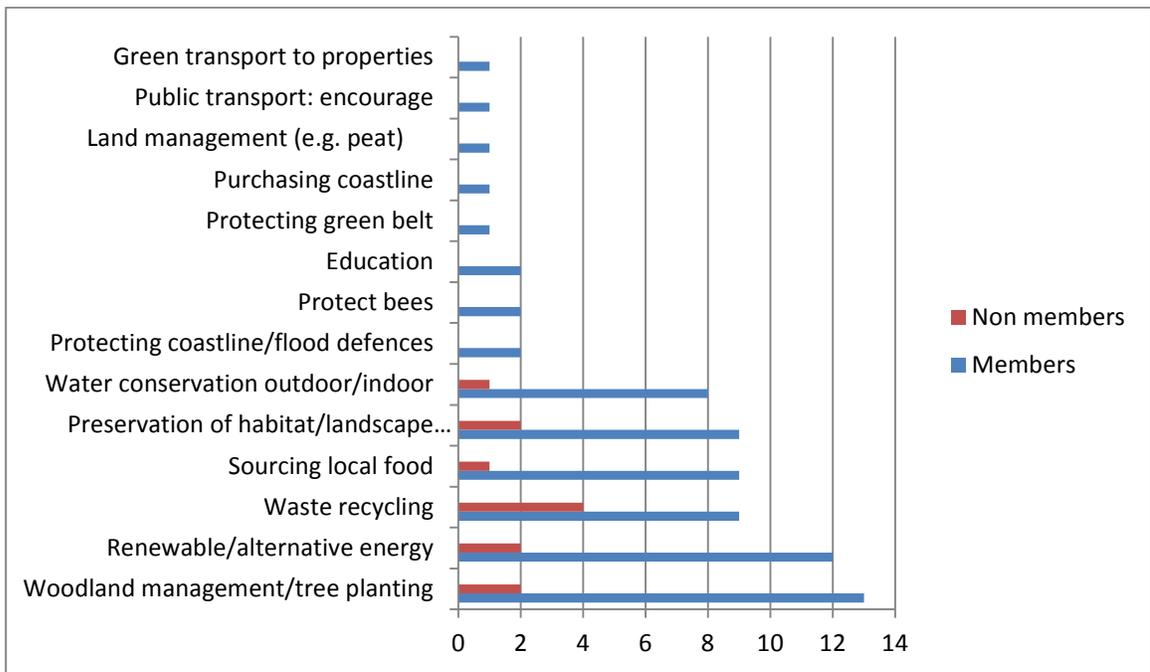


Figure 8.2.23: CHP Awareness of measures to combat climate change (members/non members)

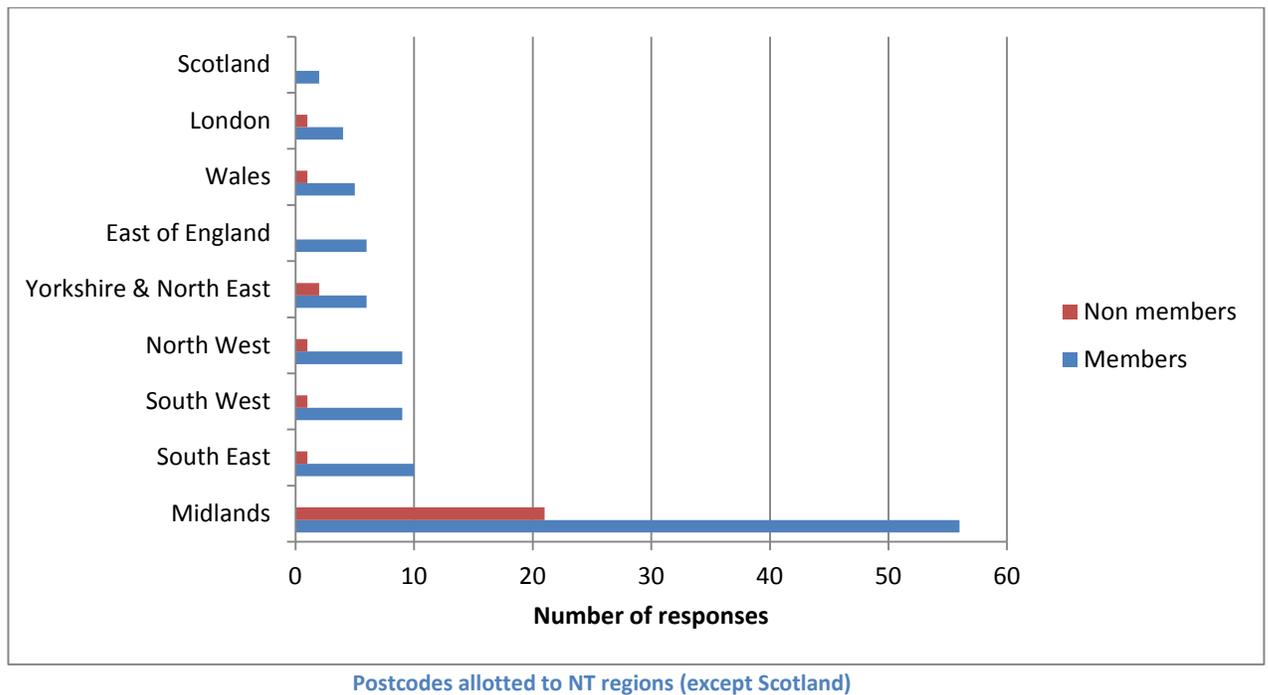
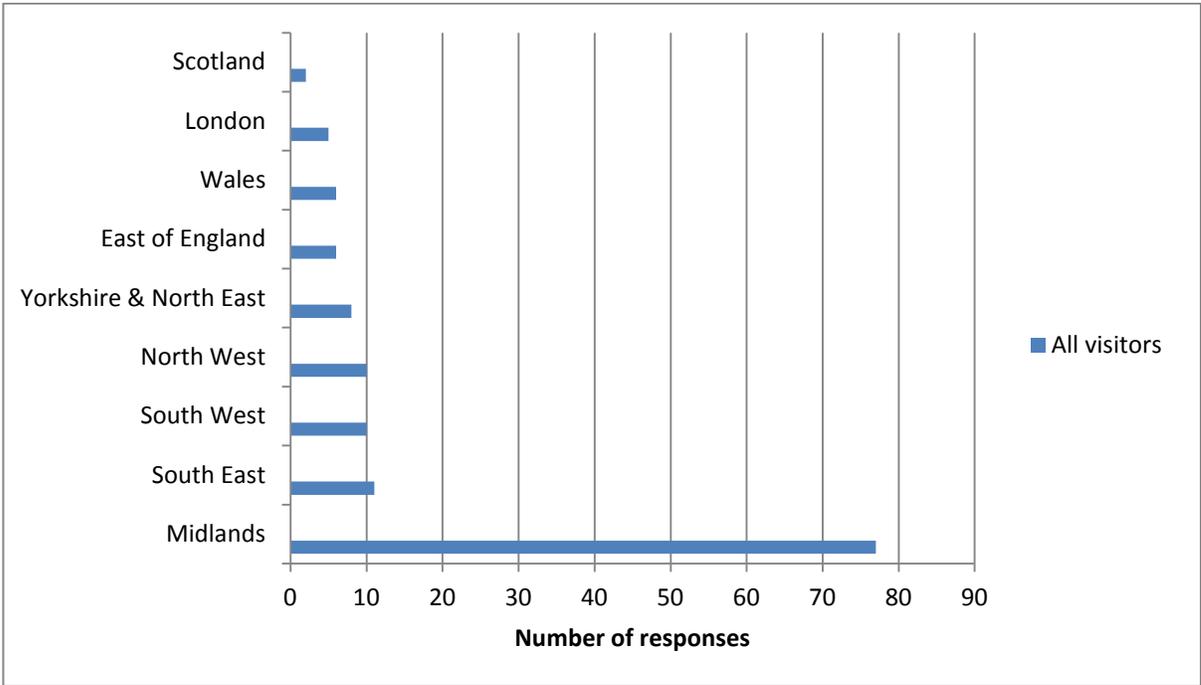


Figure 8.2.24: CHP Members vs. non-members postcodes



Postcodes allotted to NT regions (except Scotland)

Figure 8.2.25: CHP All visitors' postcodes

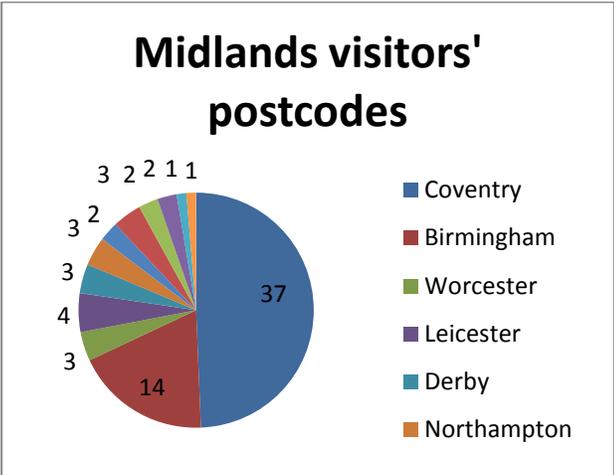
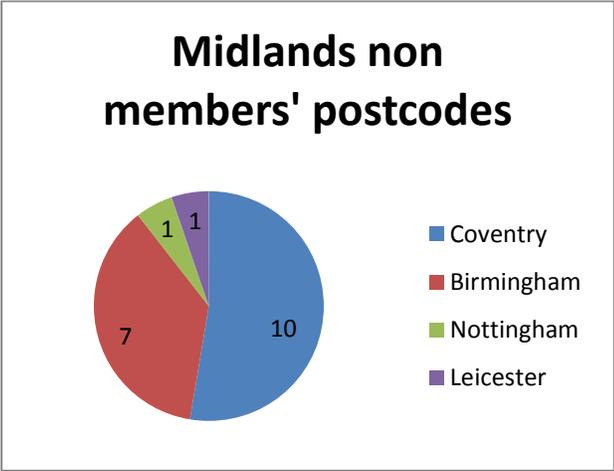
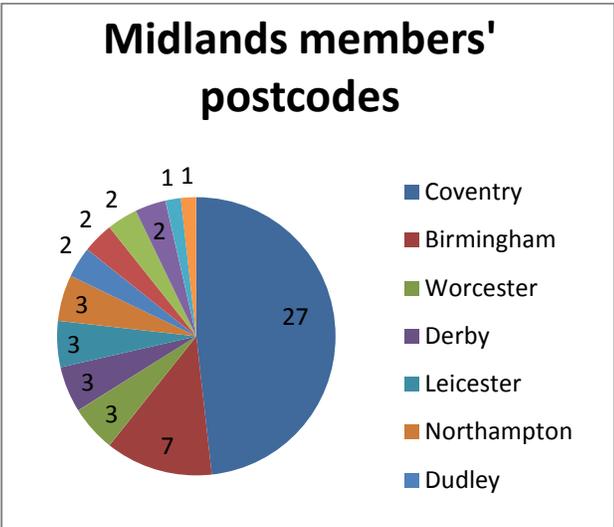


Figure 8.2.26: CHP Midlands visitors' postcodes

Additional comments from CHP questionnaire (all from members)

- C33: Less frequent bus services from Leamington on a Sunday
- C42: The bigger issue is climate change from developing nations; India; China
- C44: Train networks are important; the government is too concerned about “doing business”
- C46: NT’s main role is heritage; NT has an educational role; setting an example

Back-to-Backs qualitative data (n=227)
Members n=153; non-members n=74

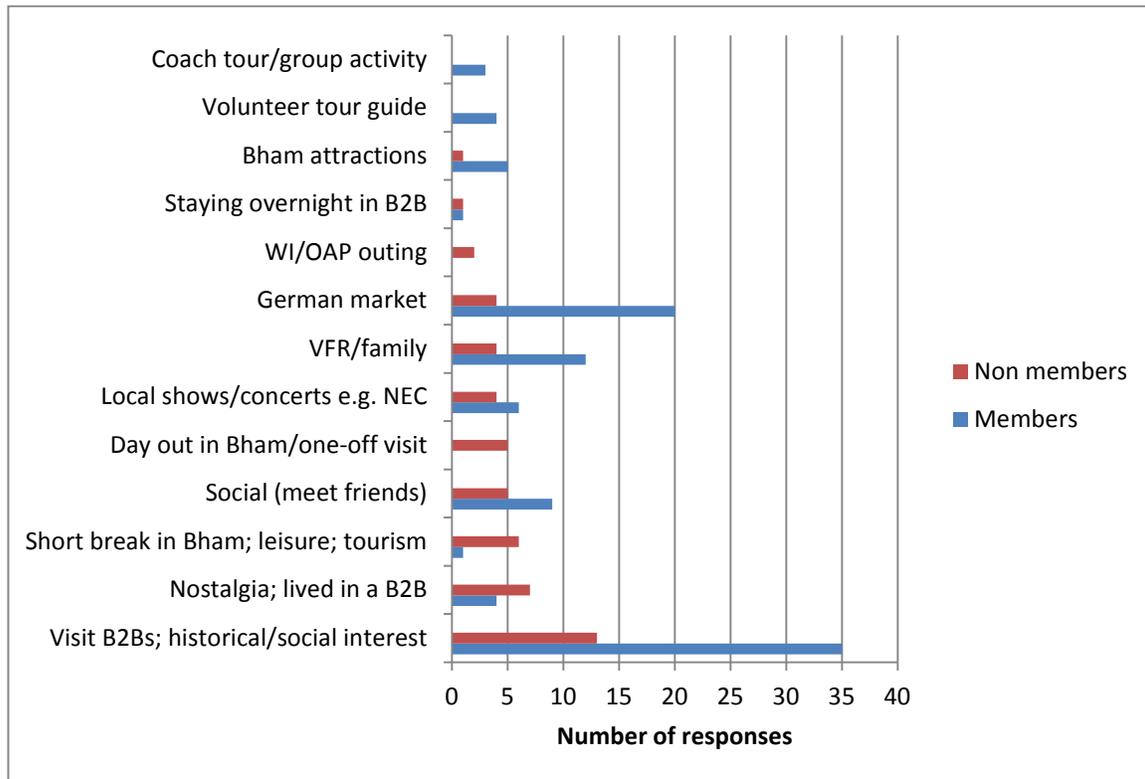


Figure 8.2.27: B2B Main purpose of visit (members vs. non-members)

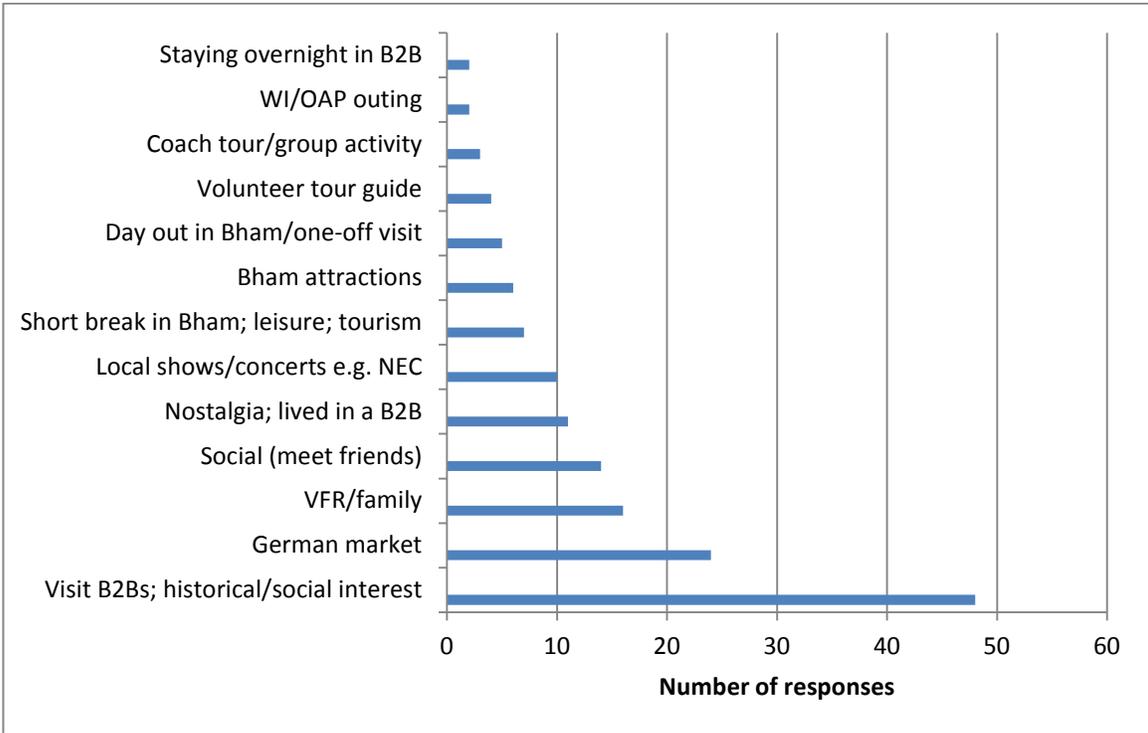


Figure 8.2.28: B2B Main purpose of visit (all visitors)

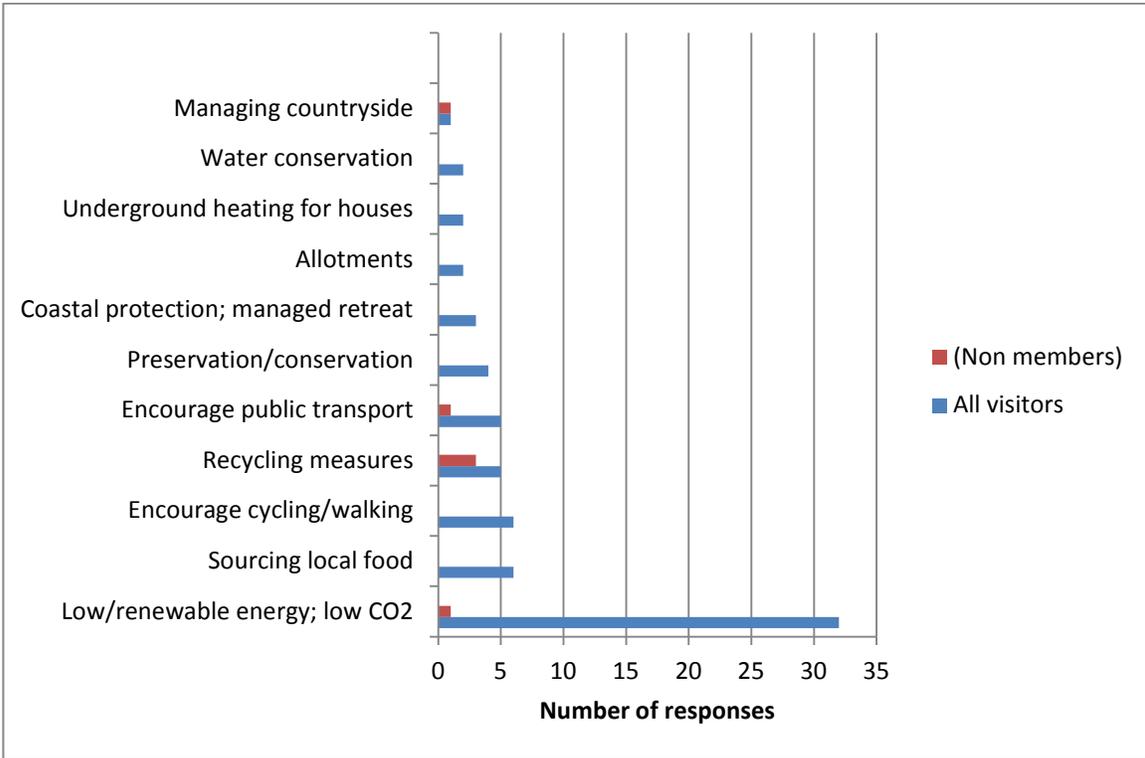


Figure 8.2.29: B2B Awareness of measures to combat climate change (all visitors/non-members)

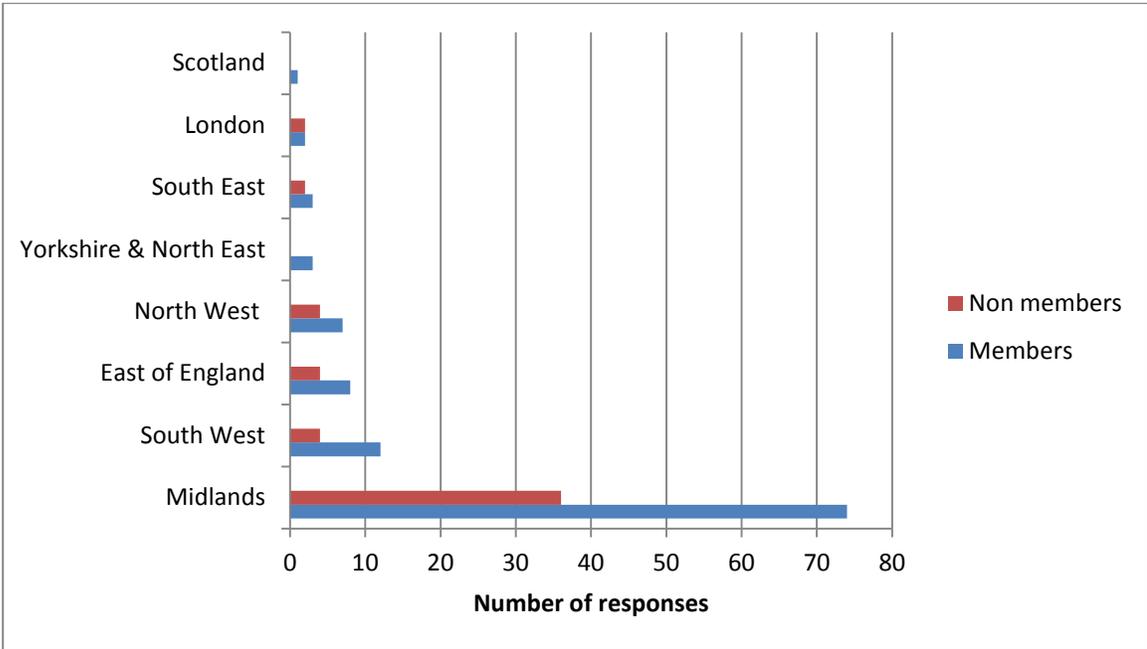


Figure 8.2.30: B2B Members vs. non-members postcodes

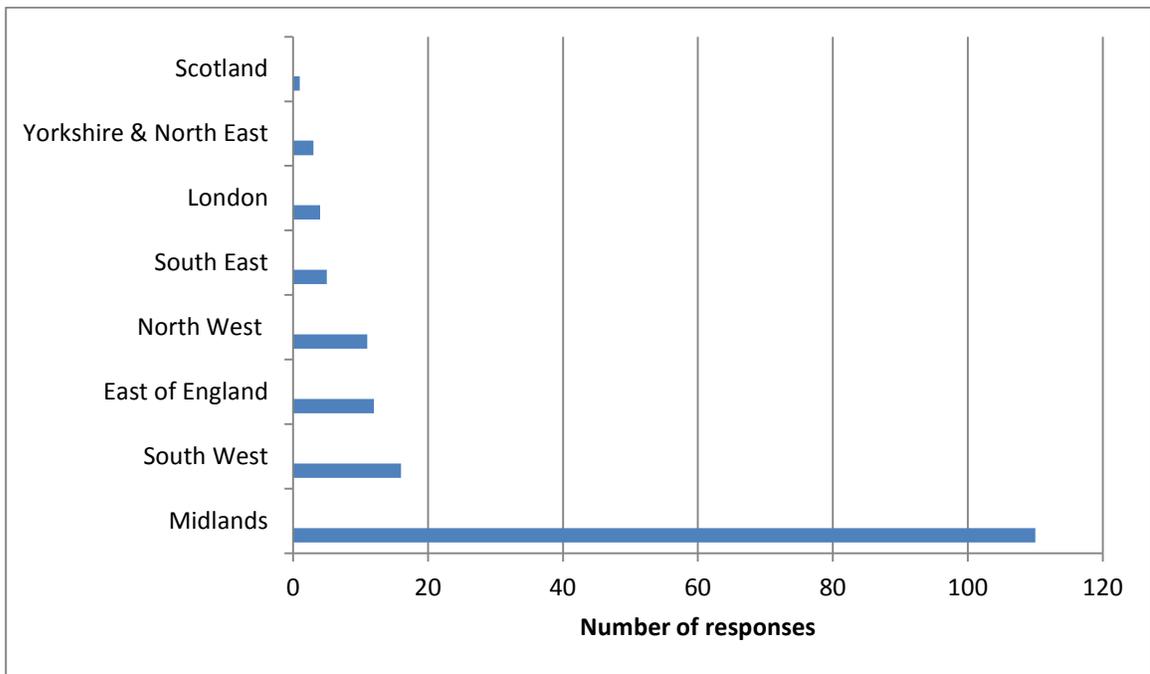


Figure 8.2.31: B2B All visitors' postcodes

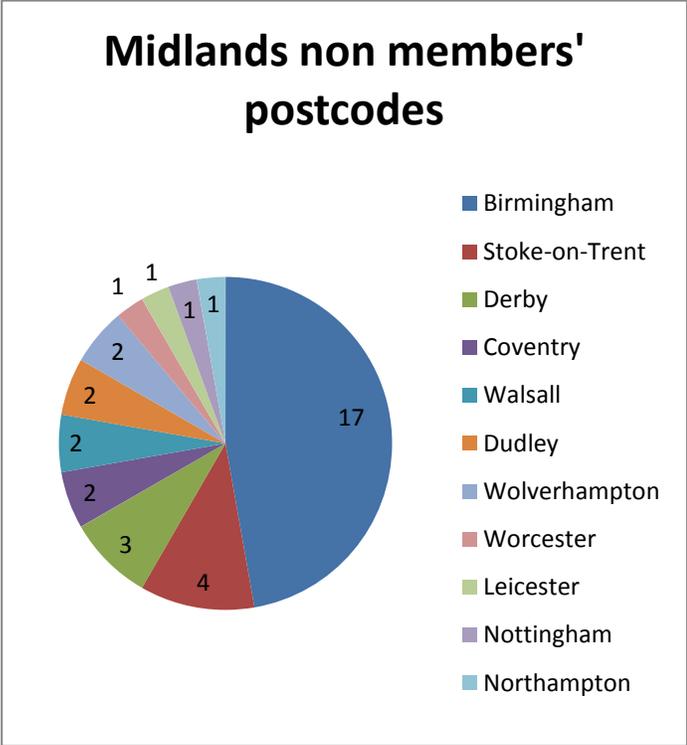
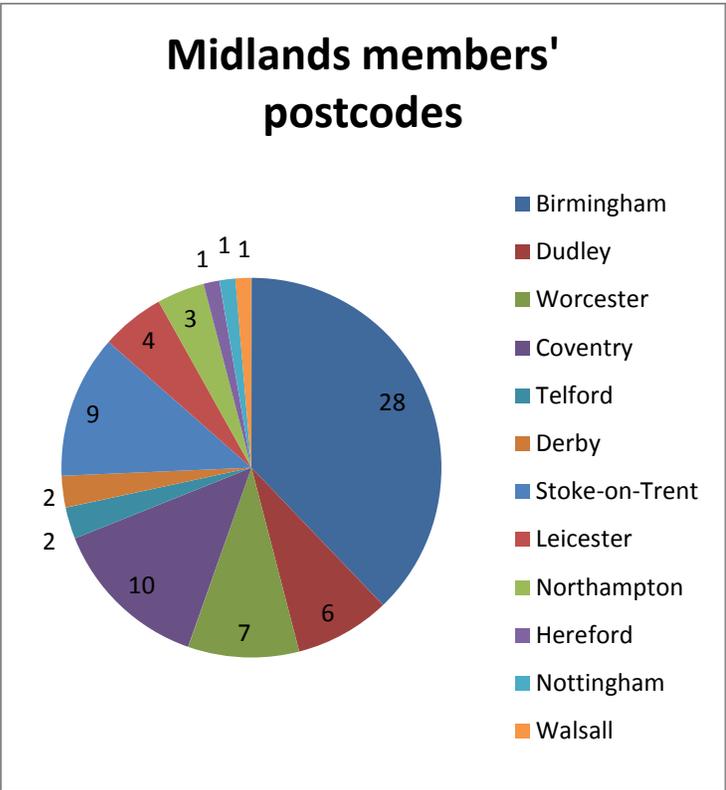


Figure 8.2.32: B2B Midlands visitors' postcodes

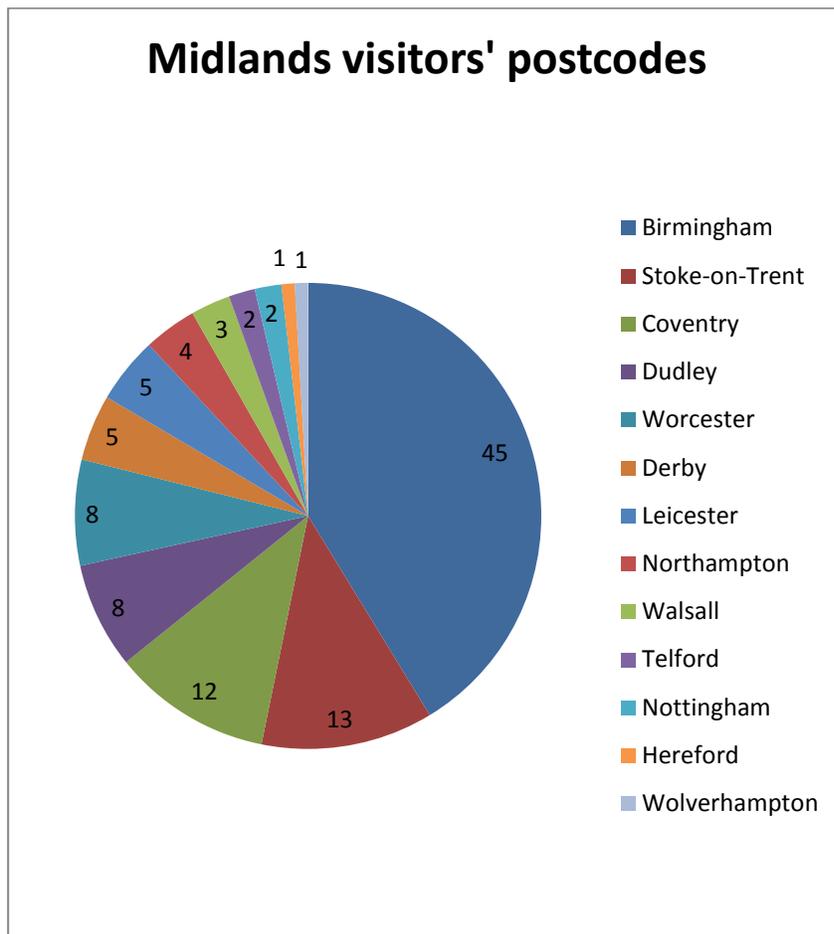


Figure 8.2.33: B2B Midlands visitors' postcodes (All)

Additional comments from B2B questionnaire

Members

Climate change goes in cycles; river thames has frozen before; high temps have also occurred; floods.

C27: Drove to Ledbury station; train to new street; walk and bus to jewellery quarter; taxi to back-to-backs.

C27: Bus service from home is hourly and does not connect with train where going. When returning late at night there is a poor bus service needing a 1.5 mile walk in the dark. We would have used a

taxi if car not available. Q7: used public transport for convenience, not for "green" reasons. Driving into and parking in Bham and other major cities is not easy and best avoided!

C27: Rail (you have to get to the train station first!) Q7: none of these; it's just easier to park the car at station than try to negotiate Birmingham.

C48: it depends what you mean by "tourism"; if you mean air travel then yes; but choosing to visit NT places in UK is a better option.

Non-members

Q4: coach National Express.

C28: but only in the unlikely event of there being convenient, cheap, local transport and not as in this case - a multi-stage, expensive journey that would have meant we wouldn't have come at all.

C44: UK has a responsibility, but the rapidly developing countries in SE Asia, India, Russia and Brazil as well as the USA lag far behind W.Europe and have a much larger impact. Working in isolation is fruitless although well intentioned.

C48: Sustainable tourism can help inform and educate on many issues including environmental ones.

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