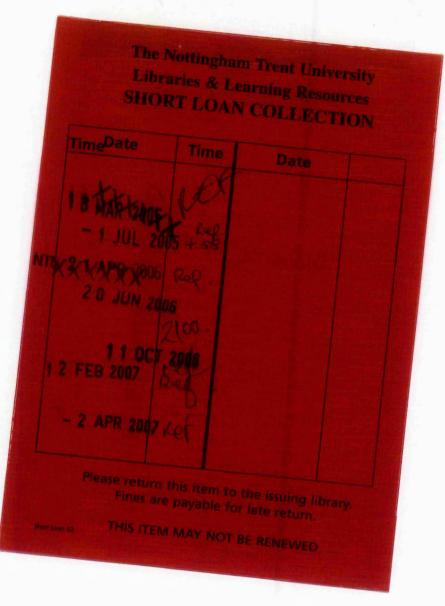
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ALTERED IMAGES? THE CASE OF THE CULTURAL TOUR ROUTE

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ABSTRACT

Organised tours are one of the main ways that tourists experience cultural destinations. They are often described as 'a destination bubble', conveying a sense of isolation rather than involvement. The extent to which tour participants interact with and learn about destinations is not well understood, although the acquisition of knowledge is frequently cited as significant in peoples' decisions to travel by this mode. This research investigates cultural tour participants' experiences, and specifically addresses the extent to which participants' images of their destinations change or remain unaltered after their visit, and whether satisfaction from a tour can be linked to the degree of informal learning gained about the route.

The concepts of tourism and cultural tourism are explored; definitions of 'culture' and theories on how culture is used, transformed and 'consumed' by tourists, are presented. The nature of the 'cultural route' is examined and two principal types are distinguished: those from antiquity, and tour routes operating in cultural destinations. The organised cultural tour, its origins and development are explored.

The empirical research was developed from environmental psychology, employing route mapping to elicit information about tour members' knowledge before and after touring. Judgement and convenience-based sampling were used to select a cultural destination and Ireland was chosen because it presented elements common to many non-specialised tour itineraries in Europe. A multi-method approach combined qualitative and quantitative techniques in the analyses of cognitive maps, and triangulated the findings with those from focused interviews and participant observation.

The study successfully accomplished its objectives in finding that tourists' images changed in magnitude as the tour had enforced already well-defined images. In particular, tour members' knowledge of places positioned sequentially along a route tended to increase. The research has contributed significantly to the understanding of tourists' map formation processes and it was found that information sources are particularly important, although information about a destination may be stored in people's memories regardless of whether they have actually visited that destination. Indirect sources of information were not usually supplemented by new sources acquired at tour destinations. The thesis concludes by exploring the implications of the primary findings for academic study and the management of the cultural tours sector.

ii

TO MY PARENTS, JOHN AND HILARY, WHO INTRODUCED ME TO THE WONDERS OF TRAVEL

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The empirical research could not have been undertaken without the co-operation of so many participants, in Ireland and elsewhere in the world, all of whom must sadly remain anonymous.

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CONTENTS

Abstract	i-ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Contents	v-ix
List of appendices	x
List of figures	xi
List of tables	xii
CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION	
Exploring Cultural Tourism	1
Cultural Tours and the Tour Experience	3
The Study	6
The Structure of this Work	7
<u>CHAPTER 2 – TOURISM AND CULTURE</u>	
Defining Tourism	9
The Role of Tour Operators	14
Cultural Tourism	16
Analysing Cultural Tourism	22
Cultural Consumption	23
Consumption as manipulation	25
• Fulfilling a dream	26
Consumption of Tourism	28
<u>CHAPTER 3 – CULTURAL TOURS AND THEIR ROUTES</u>	
Introducing Cultural Routes	32
Cultural landscapes	33
Cultural Routes	34
• Classification and definition	34
• A wider perspective	36
Management and design strategies	38

v

Cultural resource management sector	38
Tourism sector	40
• Non-specialised cultural tour routes	40
 Special interest itineraries 	41
 Destinations' themed routes 	42
The Cultural Tour	44
• Early forms of group travel	44
• Escorted package tours	46

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOUR EXPERIENCE

Exploring the Experience of Tourism	51
Exploring the Tour Experience	53
Destination itineraries	54
Satisfaction measurement	55
Dis/confirmation models	56
Pictorial studies	59
Behavioural and ethnographic studies	59
Key Findings from Previous Research	62
• Factors promoting or influencing the tour experience	62
Research methods	65
Destination Image	67
• The destination bubble	68
Route Maps	69

<u>CHAPTER 5 – RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY</u>	
Research Objectives	74
Research Design	74
Sampling	80
Collection Methods	80
• Interviews	80
Participant observation	81
• Pre-tour and post-tour surveys	83
The Study Area	86

vi

and the second se

- A ...

CHAPTER 6 – EXPLORATORY RESEARCH: THE INTERVIEWS

Explo	ratory Research	91
•	Aims and objectives	91
Intervi	iews	92
•	Aims and objectives	92
•	Methodology	92
•	Analyses and findings	94
	Introducing the informants	94
	Ireland's cultural environment	98
	Ireland's cultural routes	106
	Images of Ireland	112
	Managing Ireland's cultural resource	118
	Irish itineraries	122
	Concluding the interviews	133

<u>CHAPTER 7 – EXPLORATORY RESEARCH: PARTICIPANT</u> <u>OBSERVATION</u>

Participant Observation135• Aims and objectives135• Methodology136Contexts and settings137Actors and actions138Analyses and Findings138

CHAPTER 8 – EXPLANATORY RESEARCH: THE SURVEY

The Survey	146
Aims and objectives	146
Methodology	146
Response Rates	148
Analyses and Findings	149
Map components	152
Sample profile	154
Motivations	156

• Aggregate and individual content analyses	157
Editing and coding	159
• Descriptive findings from the survey	160
• Testing for significant relationships	161
• Assessing the strength of the relationship	163
• Altered images?	167
• Thematic analyses	172
Cultural attractions	172
Historic buildings and monuments	173
Art galleries and museums	174
Sacred sites	174
Literary heritage	175
Performing arts	176
Traditional life	177
Crafts and shopping	178
Music and dance	179
Indigenous people	181
Natural landscape	185
Cultural landscape	188
Social relationships	192
Affective associations	193
Participant-researcher relationship	195
The mapping task	196
• Factors influencing the map formation process	197
Information sources	197
Social and exploitation preferences	205
The ability to drive	206
Gender	208
Age	209
Satisfaction ratings	210
• Explaining the image formation process	213

CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSIONS

The Contribution of this Work	
Methodological contributions	217
Key findings	219
Altered images and the destination bubble	219
Understanding route map formation	223
Factors influencing the map formation process	225
Outcomes of the tour experience	227
Appraising the Research Process	231
Implications for Future Research and Practice	232

REFERENCES APPENDICES

LIST OF APPENDICES

- 1 Interview Schedule
- 2 Tour Routes in Ireland
- 3 Heritage Sites in Ireland
- 4 Observation Checklist
- 5 Profile of Tour Members
- 6 Pre-tour Questionnaire
- 7 Post-tour Questionnaire
- 8 Route Maps depicting Points
- 9 Route Maps depicting Lines
- 10 Route Maps depicting Areas and Non-spatial Representations
- 11 Route Maps from the Independent Sample
- 12 Reasons for Eliminating Questionnaires from the Analyses
- 13 Case Summaries of Symbols from the Route Maps

LIST OF FIGURES

- 2.1 The Components of Tourism
- 2.2 The Cultural Tourism System
- 2.3 Cultural Tourism Resources
- 4.1 The Potential Contribution of Tour Guides to the Touristic Experience
- 5.1 The Tour Image Formation Process
- 5.2 The Research Design
- 5.3 Sampling Frame for Participant Observation
- 5.4 Tourism Regions in Ireland
- 7 Tour Participants' Spatial Behaviour
- 8.1 Participants' Occupations
- 8.2 Participants' Motivations
- 8.3.1 Correlation Coefficients from the Aggregate Sample
- 8.3.2 Correlation Coefficients from the Individual Sample
- 8.4.1 Correlation Coefficients from the Aggregate Sample without the Outlier
- 8.4.2 Correlation Coefficients from the Individual Sample without the Outlier
- 8.5.1 Pre-tour and Post-tour Images from the Aggregate Sample
- 8.5.2 Pre-tour and Post-tour Images from the Individual Sample
- 8.6.1 Information Sources from the Aggregate Sample
- 8.6.2 Information Sources from the Individual Sample
- 8.7 Attributes that were not Sufficiently Provided on Tour

LIST OF TABLES

- 5.1 Sampling Frame and Tour Arrivals for the Survey
- 5.2 Overseas Tourists: regional numbers and revenue 2000
- 5.3 Regions Visited: overseas tourists visiting cultural sites 2000
- 7.1 Distinct Behaviour Patterns found during Participant Observation
- 7.2 Pre-formed Affinity Groupings found during Participant Observation
- 8.1 Sampling Frame showing Paired Responses from Individuals
- 8.2 Types of Map Component
- 8.3 Unused and Newly Introduced Symbols

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the key areas of literature pertaining to this research and consider how they have shaped and focused the investigation. The main issues and areas of the work are briefly reviewed and the study is placed within its wider context. The aims of the research are established and the structure of the thesis presented.

Exploring Cultural Tourism

There is considerable academic and professional interest in cultural tourism (for example, Fladmark 1994; Robinson, Evans *et al.* 1996; Walle 1998; Robinson, Long *et al.* 2000) yet despite this, there is confusion surrounding the concept (Hughes 2000). The terms 'arts tourism', 'cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism' have been used interchangeably to refer to tourism which includes visits to historic buildings and sites, museums and art galleries, the theatre and a variety of other attractions (see for instance Ashworth 1992; Prentice 1993; Yale 1997; Millar 1999). Defining cultural tourism' and 'culture' (Richards 1996; Towner 1997; Chapter 2). Culture can be used to describe the active cultivation of the mind, which might include an appreciation of the 'high arts' (Williams 1981; Clarke 2000). Some of the earliest forms of tourism, such as religious pilgrimages and the Grand Tour, depended on this developed notion of culture which still inspires the packaging of cultural tours today (Towner 1996; Clarke 2000; Chapter 3). However, a search for culture can also be described as a quest for a particular way of life or a lived reality (Clarke 2000). As Clarke comments:

'Culture is seen as including the cultural activities of everyday life. It celebrates high art forms equally alongside the valuing of popular cultural forms. It is the characteristic colour of a living society' (*ibid*, 26).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

This indicates that culture is not necessarily a static concept, but that it is composed of a number of processes, such as those involved in constructing ideas and the experience of daily life, and the products of those processes, including buildings, artefacts, art and customs. Thus, cultural tourism is not simply about the acts of visiting sites and monuments, but also experiencing different ways of life. Both of these activities will almost certainly involve the collection of knowledge and information (Richards 2000). With this in mind, Richard's defines cultural tourism as:

'The movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards 1996, 24).

Despite the difficulties surrounding the definition of cultural tourism, there is considerable support for the idea that cultural tourism is one of the largest and fasted growing segments of global tourism (Zeppel and Hall 1992; Bywater 1993; Richards 2000). The World Tourism Organisation suggests that some 37% of international trips are in some way connected with culture, and Richards (2000) argues that this reflects an expanding market and product-base. However, Hughes (2000) questions whether there is sufficient evidence to determine whether cultural tourism is in fact growing, suggesting that the influence of culture on the appeal of tourist destinations may appear to have become greater because of its increasing use as a marketing tool (*ibid*; Zeppel and Hall 1992). Moreover, he suggests:

'It may not be productive to consider cultural tourism as a single entity given the diversity of activities within it. It may be more productive, at least initially, to isolate components of cultural tourism for the purposes of study' (Hughes 2000, 111).

Despite the range of activities and objectives labelled under the term, and the difficulties surrounding its analyses, most attempts at defining cultural tourism agree that it consists of the consumption of culture by tourists (Richards 1996; Clarke 2000; Chapter 2). Yet, the term 'cultural tourist' is applied regardless of tourists' interests in culture; all who visit a site building or event are frequently classified under that heading, even though their visit may be

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incidental or even accidental (Hughes 2000, 119), rather than 'intentional' as Richards suggests (Richards 1996, 24; above). Consequently, research into this field, clearly needs to treat the individual segments of cultural tourism and their markets separately, and to identify tourists' specific and more general motivations for experiencing culture.

Cultural Tours and the Tour Experience

Organised tours are one of the main mediums by which tourists experience cultural destinations. They are often characterised as the epitome of 'the destination bubble', a concept that is used to convey a sense of physical and cultural isolation as well as the way in which tourists create meaning through their social integration to the tour group (Schmidt 1975; Gorman 1979; Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998; Chapter 4). Tours are typically seen as tourist enclaves (Graburn 1978; Weightman 1987), and tour groups as principally sociable in nature (Gorman 1979; Schuchat 1983). It is therefore ironic that a 'seeking' motive is frequently significant in peoples' decisions to travel within the cultural tours segment. Several studies have demonstrated that the acquisition of knowledge about a destination is more important than social interaction on sightseeing tours (Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Geva and Goldman 1991; Duke and Persia 1996; Chapter 4).

This study has focused on a number of key areas within several different disciplines. One of the central themes has been the evaluation of organised tours, consisting of a small but diverse body of literature exploring the quality of the tour experience. These cover a wide range of disciplinary influences, especially those from sociology and psychology; anthropology, geography and economics. The approaches include: service-based and product-based satisfaction measurement (Geva and Goldman 1991; Hughes 1991), expectation and satisfaction measurement (Thomson and Pearce 1980; Whipple and Thatch 1988; Geva and Goldman 1989; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Duke and Persia 1994; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994; Yang 1995; Duke and Persia 1996) supplemented by observation (Quiroga 1990); and an evaluation using pictorial images of the tourist setting (Chadee and Mattsson 1996). While these evaluations focus on tour members' motivations, expectations, and experiences, they do not enable a comprehensive understanding of tourists' engagement with

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their destinations, nor an assessment of whether their images of destinations have changed or remain unaltered (Chapter 4).

It emerged from the review of the tour participant attitude studies that motivations and satisfaction varied according to tour segment and context (i.e. whether non-specialised or niche-based). It was therefore decided at an early stage to refine the focus of this study to non-specialised tours of cultural destinations, known as 'cultural tours' for an international market (Stebbins 1996). The concept of 'cultural tour route' was later defined through a series of focused semi-structured interviews to describe the external tour environment (Chapter 3 and 6).

Like many service-based industries, tour operators tend to rely on rudimentary satisfaction measurements to evaluate product performance levels. Meanwhile, the majority of academic studies have focused on comparisons between customers' expectations and satisfaction with service and product attributes. While the first approach is both difficult to access and of questionable academic utility, the second forms a consensus that the predominant reason for satisfying experiences from cultural tours is the provision of adequate information about the visited destination (Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Geva and Goldman 1991; Duke and Persia 1996). Authors highlighting the inadequate provision of information from cultural tours suggest that either cultural factors in producing higher expectations than held by their hosts (Duke and Persia 1994; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994) or pre-defined affinities, i.e. travelling companions (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991), may be important mediators in the degree of final satisfaction (Quiroga 1990). While it seems that the study of participants' knowledge acquisition is fundamental to developing an understanding of the dynamic experience of the cultural tour, it was clear that this aspect could not be considered in isolation from other potentially influential factors and this influenced the decision to incorporate an exploratory phase into the research design (Chapters 5, 6 and 7).

As the review of the literature on tour quality revealed a deficit in knowledge regarding the actual consumption processes associated with organised tours, other related bodies of literature were consulted. The first of these was the emergent literature on destination itineraries (Forer

and Pearce 1984; Weightman 1987; Mings and McHugh 1992; Dahl 1999; Oppermann 2000). However, it was revealed that like the research into tourism's promotional literature (Goodhall and Bergsma 1990; Holloway and Robinson 1995; Dann 1996; Dann 2000), these works tend to provide insights into the operators' perceptions of destinations, rather than providing customer-focused evaluations (Oppermann 1995; Chapter 4). Secondly, the concept of consumer behaviour was examined. This is frequently defined as the activities involved in obtaining, consuming and disposing of products and services (Moutinho 1987; Mowen 1995; Swarbrooke and Horner 1999), and the image that a tourist has of a destination will determine the first of these. According to Crompton (1979), the image of a tourist destination is the collective sum of a tourist's beliefs, ideas, impressions, and expectations. The central part of the process of consumer behaviour is the direct experience of a destination and this is likely to provide the bulk of the tour experience (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998). Many studies have used the analogy of a tourist or environmental 'bubble' to describe this temporal and spatial span, enforcing the idea that this is a 'black box' in terms of academic understanding of the consumption processes involved (*ibid*; Chapter 4).

The literature review revealed that an investigation of tourists' understanding of transient destination images made the concern one of environmental cognition (Evans 1980; Spencer and Blades 1989). This field is extremely fertile in methods to elicit both recall and/or recognition of environments (Moore and Golledge 1976). The review focused on the approaches assessing the responses of travellers as they move across a landscape (e.g. (Appleyard and Lynch 1964; Carr and Schissler 1969). Of these, it became apparent that the technique of cognitive mapping, while having an extensive theoretical and technical grounding in environmental psychology (Lynch 1960) and human geography (Gould and White 1974) had been relatively unexplored in the field of tourism. Exceptions were found in a small body of literature that had investigated tourists' spatial learning in unfamiliar environments (e.g. (Pearce 1977a; Walmsley and Jenkins 1992; Page 1997). It became clear that cognitive mapping and a form of this technique known as 'route mapping' (Pearce 1981), offered the potential to investigate the information received by tourists from their destinations and for developing an innovative strategy to evaluate their tour experiences. Moreover, it was discovered that these techniques had never been used to explore the perceptions of tourists

traversing large-scale environments in commercially organised groups (*ibid*; Chapter 4). It was therefore decided that this study should aim to make a contribution to this body of literature, to the management and evaluation of organised tours, and to the subject of destination image, by exploring participants' images of their touring environments in cultural destinations by using the technique of route mapping (Chapter 4, 5 and 8).

The Study

The original aims of this study were three-fold:

- To identify factors affecting the quality of tourists' experiences of organised tours;
- To identify and assess current approaches used to explore customers' images of touring environments and their levels of satisfaction;
- To develop a strategy to evaluate the tour experience from a customer-focused and a process-based perspective.

The project began with the broad objective of investigating the experience of touring, aiming to assess whether current approaches used to evaluate tour satisfaction were meaningful from the customer's perspective. However, in the light of the literature review, the research objectives were refined to explore the effects of touring environments on participants' experiences, with specific aims to address the extent to which participants' images changed or remain unaltered after directly experiencing tour routes and whether satisfaction from a tour can be linked to the degree of informal learning.

The conceptual basis for the empirical research was developed from an extensive literature on environmental cognition, which specifically included cognitive and route mapping (Evans 1980; Zeisel 1990). This approach was used to model the process through which individuals perceive their touring environments (Chapter 5). Pre-tour and post-tour surveys employing route mapping were used to elicit information about tour members' knowledge of their destinations (Chapter 8). An explanatory research strategy employed a multi-method approach combining qualitative and quantitative techniques in the analyses of the route maps (Chapter 8). The findings were triangulated with those from focused interviews with elite informers

(Chapter 6) and participant observation on a scheduled tour (Chapter 7), both undertaken during an exploratory phase of the research. While environmental psychology provided the methodological means to conduct the fieldwork, additional literature from cultural studies (Storey 1999) and cultural geography (Jackson and Thrift 1995)¹ provided additional theoretical insight into the processes involved in cultural consumption (Chapter 2 and 9).

The Structure of this Work

This section introduces each chapter, detailing its contribution to the study. The thesis takes a logical approach to examining the literature: tourism, cultural tourism, and cultural tour routes are considered, before different approaches to the study of the organised tour experience are reviewed.

The aim of Chapter 2 is to frame the study in the context of the cultural tourism sector in Europe. Definitions of 'tourism' and 'culture' are presented, and theories which provide insight into how culture may be used, transformed or 'consumed' by tourists, are reviewed. The nature of tourism and the role of tour operators are explored. Chapter 3 examines the 'cultural route', and two principal types are distinguished: those from antiquity, and tour routes operating in cultural destinations. The organised cultural tour, its origins and development are introduced.

Chapter 4 reviews previous approaches to the study of tour members' attitudes towards travel. The processes involved in tourists' destination image formation, and their consumption experience during a tour are examined. The field of environmental cognition and the technique of route mapping are introduced.

The research design is explored in Chapter 5, and the conceptual and methodological approach which is drawn from environmental psychology, is presented and justified. The multi-method

¹ Geographers have contributed to the literature on 'seeing places' and injected a serious concern for space, place, and the landscape into the study of production and consumption, acknowledging our increasingly mediated understanding of the natural world. For a detailed review of geography's contribution to the study of consumption see Jackson and Thrift (1995).

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research design and the sampling strategies are critically evaluated, and the study area used in the empirical research, is introduced.

The exploratory phases of research employing focused interviews with elite informants and participant observation on a scheduled tour are detailed in Chapters 6 and 7. The explanatory methodology combining qualitative and quantitative techniques in the analyses of route maps, and the triangulation of the findings from these different methods, are drawn together in Chapter 8.

In Chapter 9, the thesis is concluded. The key findings of the research are discussed in reference to the literature. The original contribution of this work is highlighted and the research process appraised. The thesis concludes by considering implications for the academic study and the management of the cultural tours segment.

This chapter has introduced the thesis by identifying the key areas of literature pertaining to this research from both tourism and environmental psychology sources. This serves to place the study within its wider context. The aims of the research have been established, and a working definition of cultural tourism introduced. The structure of the thesis has been presented. The following chapter begins the in-depth review of the literature, by considering the literature pertaining to tourism and culture: the contexts of this research.

CHAPTER 2

TOURISM AND CULTURE

This chapter will begin by exploring the concept of tourism; it will then outline key issues relating to the supply and demand of cultural tourism, revealing how the lack of a consensus regarding the term inhibits a full understanding of this sector. This may be remedied, it is suggested, by focusing on individual market segments and their products. Definitions of 'culture' relevant to the study of tourism are presented, and different theories, which help to explain how cultural objects, products and experiences may be used, transformed, or 'consumed' by tourists, are then explored.

Defining Tourism

Most attempts at defining tourism have revolved around the definition of the tourism user, the so-called 'tourist'. However, the tourist can be described differently: as guest, customer, passenger, visitor, client, and so on. In 1937, the Council of the League of Nations defined a tourist as a person who travels for twenty-four hours or more outside their normal country of residence, therefore excluding domestic tourism (Sharpley 1996). More recently, internationally agreed definitions of tourism have facilitated the collection of statistical information about aspects of tourism supply (including natural and cultural resources) and service infrastructure, and the demand for tourism, represented by tourist behaviour and the use of facilities and services (European Commission 1995). These operational definitions identify the potential for tourists to have been motivated by more than simply the desire for a holiday. For example, directly following World Tourism Organisation recommendations, the British Government suggests:

'Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes' (Department for Culture 1998, 5).

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According to this definition, tourism requires a degree of mobility, involving the temporary movement of people outside their 'usual environment' for purposes including leisure and holiday, profession and education, visiting friends and relatives, pilgrimage, or health. For statistical purposes, these motivations are typically categorised as separate 'market segments' *(ibid)*.

It has become increasingly apparent that 'tourism', which includes tourists' motivations, their uses of places and their activities there, and 'leisure', a 'state of being' resulting from discretionary time when people may freely choose how to occupy themselves, actually overlap (Sharpley 1996, 20). Despite this new awareness, statistical surveys usually treat these groups independently, with tourism figures excluding leisure day visits and *visa versa (ibid)*. Moreover, within the context of most destinations and tourism sectors (such as 'cultural tourism'), it is often impossible to distinguish between the activities undertaken and the resources and facilities used by, for example, local people at leisure and relatives returning 'home' as tourists (European Commission 1995). In these cases, so-called 'usual environments' may be interwoven with tourist environments both physically and psychologically, and tourism may not necessarily entail much 'travel' at all.

Taken from another perspective, tourism may involve a series of activities and interactions with host environments, rather than travel away from everyday environments. The United Nations thus defines tourism as:

'The sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the interaction of tourists, business suppliers, host governments and the host communities in the process of attracting and hosting these tourists and other visitors' (Council of Europe 1996, 15).

Focus here is on the tourism setting: the destination; although again, any distinction between the activities undertaken by tourist and by host leisure seeker or 'other visitor' seems to be rather vague. This may in part be attributed to the fact that touristic activities frequently involve acts of 'consumerism', described by Bocock (1993) as the phenomenon where 'consumption rather than production becomes dominant, and the commodity attains the total

occupation of social life'. The term 'consumption' has traditionally been used to describe the using up of material and the products of industry or ingesting of food (AlSayyad 2001), although it is also used to describe both the using and purchasing of objects, the experience of objects, as well as their mental transformation into imagery (see *Cultural Consumption*, below). Sharpley (2001) suggests that the practice of consumption may assume a leading role in people's lives where for example, consumer goods and services are widely available, the range is ever increasing, 'leisure shopping' is popular, and advertising is pervasive. The object of consumption in tourism is usually related to a tourism environment or the products of that environment, whether novel or familiar (for a more detailed discussion see *Cultural Consumption*, below).

In an attempt to clarify the seemingly intangible relationship between the tourists and the environments of tourism, Pearce (1982, 98-99) suggests:

'Any environment which fosters the feeling of being a tourist is a tourist environment. Such environments can exist either in one's home town or the other side of the world, provided they engender the necessary feelings associated with the tourist role'

He further highlights the significance of scale in exploring the notion of tourist settings, remarking that on the one hand, whole continents can be conceptualised as tourist destinations, while on the other regions and local areas, and even specific sites may be identified.

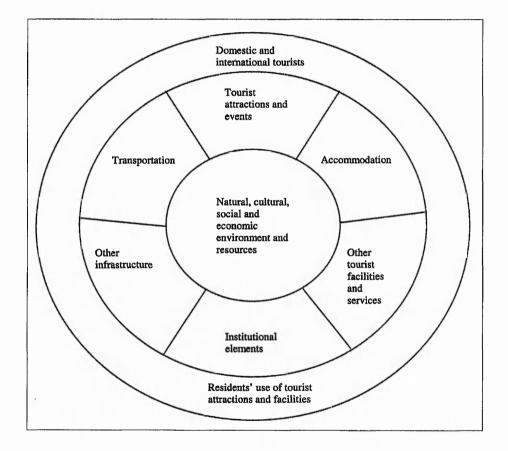
In addition, travel can be represented with spectacular realism through the moving images of cinema, television, video and multi-media. Such landscape images are consumed, and for some years now it has been possible to experience tourism visually without the need to travel at all. Multimedia offers the prospect of simulated or even virtual travel, a 'vehicle' which permits tourist experience (Rojek 1998). However, developments in communications and media technology do not seem to have lessened the demand for travel; indeed, such technologies can heighten awareness of the possibilities, creating a desire to experience places and pleasures of the journey first hand (Aitchison *et al.* 2000).

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Tourism is a multi-sectoral activity involving both physical and institutional elements. These components exist within a framework of domestic and international tourist markets, as well as local residents' use of attractions, facilities, services and infrastructure. All of these in turn relate to the natural, built, social and economic environments and resources (Figure 2.1)².

Figure 2.1 The Components of Tourism

(after World Tourism Organisation 1993)



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² Although Figures 2.1 and 2.2 are helpful in that they demonstrate the extent of tourism and cultural tourism, they are slightly misleading as they suggest that the cultural environment of a destination is separate from other sectors of tourism. In fact the cultural environment may be integral, for example to the accommodation sector, especially if it is locally owned and operated (See *Cultural Tourism*, below).

Writing over a quarter of a century ago Turner and Ash (1975) named tourists the 'Golden Hordes'. It has recently been suggested that tourism has now reached a 'Platinum Stage' (Gartner and Lime 2000, 7). Receipts from tourism continue to show impressive gains³ and percentage increases of tourism volume grew by an estimated 7.4% in 2001 (World Tourism Organisation 1999; World Tourism Organisation 2001)⁴. It seems that people are finding more ways to spend money while they travel, and that the industry is finding more ways to entice them to spend. To this end, tourism remains an activity that primarily benefits developed countries; for example, travel to Europe from North America and *vice versa* accounts for over three quarters of all travellers and tourism receipts (*ibid*)⁵.

Consequently, it is increasingly realised that tourism is primarily a consumption activity (Gartner and Lime 2000); in its simplest sense this may be understood as the constant purchasing of goods and services while travelling either on business or for pleasure. Some writers believe that tourists are automatically in 'consumptive mode from the very beginning of their trip' (*ibid*, 6), although the full nature of this process remains unclear (see *Cultural Consumption*, below). Certainly, new 'consumption centres' are being built and older industrial cities are being re-designed for this purpose. Moreover, while many European cities can rely upon their historical development as an attraction, increasingly new consumption resources (for example, malls) are being added to the mix of what is already available for tourism. These can support single purpose touristic activities, such as shopping (*ibid*), or a combination of retail and cultural pursuits (Real 2000). As noted by Shields (1992), the spaces in which consumption takes place have evolved in recent years, whereas previously spheres of activity would be separated into culture, economy and religion, new cultural forms are emerging that combine leisure and commercial sites. These include refurbished and converted buildings, former 'back stages' of earlier commercial or production activities:

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

³ Worldwide tourism receipts have increased to US\$476 billion from US\$221 billion ten years ago, an increase exceeding 100% (World Tourism Organisation 1999).

⁴ These figures were recorded before the terrorism attacks on North America on September 11th 2001, which affected tourism worldwide. However, according to the WTO, recovery is already underway and the industry is expected to regain pre-crisis levels by the latter part of 2002 (World Tourism Organisation 2002).

⁵ Approximately 79% of all travellers and 78% of all tourism receipts (World Tourism Organisation 2002).

'Everyday shopping activities are foregrounded as if on a theatre stage, to be observed by passers-by who may vicariously participate in the bustle and lively activity of consumption without necessarily spending money. Attention wavers from rational economic activities: the site hosts a scene in which at least some of the people take the opportunity to elaborate more complex social behaviours, to engage in more roles, even to contest the economic rationale and rationalised norms of the site. Hence the genesis of a site of cultural change, of social experimentation, a theatre of everyday life' (*ibid*, 6-7).

The Role of Tour Operators⁶

Cavlek (2000) suggests that the most distinctive characteristic of modern tourism is the socalled 'mass' participation by tourists. Meanwhile, Raymond Williams, Marxist and father of 'cultural studies' asserts that, 'there are in fact no masses; there are only ways of seeing other people as masses' (1963, 289, cited in Storey 1999, 34). It is important to distinguish between so-called 'mass' consumption and 'mass' production, including the use of objects or services that are mass-produced. Tour operators facilitate pre-arranged forms of travel, which may indeed attract large numbers of tourists, and they act as intermediaries or as 'links' between the tourist, the destination, and its cultural resources (Figure 2.2). Swarbrooke (1999, 276) argues that because tour operators provide this association, they are 'the key element in the tourism system'. Organised trips that follow predetermined and detailed programmes involving several services, are commonly called 'travel packages' (Vellas and Becherel 1995). Tour operators develop packages that are sold in advance, either through their own distribution outlets or through travel agents (retailers). Together, they are responsible for about 25% of all world tourism travel (World Tourism Organisation 1999). In 1998, tour operators enabled about 160 million international tourism journeys (Cavlek 2000). European tour operators account for around 50% of all package tourism in the world (ibid).

Although traditionally, tourism businesses have been small-scale and independently owned and operated, more recently some sectors, including tour operations, have merged to form

⁶ For an in-depth consideration of the supply and management of tour operations see Laws (1997).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

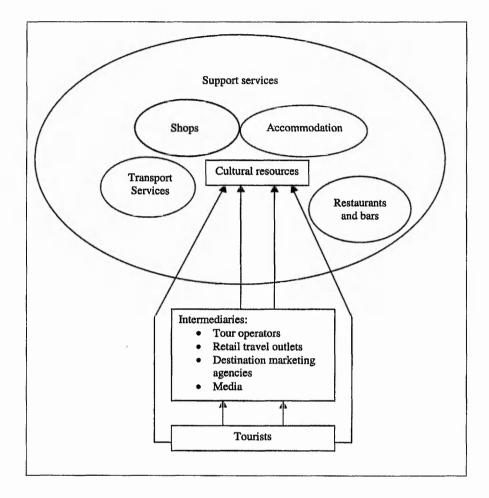
larger corporations (Gartner and Lime 2000). Partnerships have been formed through strategic alliances, which have allowed consolidation without the risk and cost involved in outright acquisition (Gamradt 1995). Cavlek (2000) suggests that this significant trend is an inevitable response to the global processes affecting world economies. Competitive advantage may be gained by merging with or purchasing companies that deliver different components of the whole tourism product (*ibid*). There is incentive for collaboration where, for example, destination areas and organisations bring together knowledge, expertise, capital and other resources. Different types of tourism partnerships include, bi-lateral or multi-lateral strategic alliances developed for purely commercial purposes (for example, airline, hotel industries), as well as those involving a range of stakeholders, perhaps with different interests and objectives (Long 2000)⁷. Commentators have also claimed that the broadly based ownership of tourism polices can bring about empowerment and equity and an enhanced tourism product at a local level (Bramwell and Lane 2000). Consolidation appears to have some advantages, in that economies of scale can offer services at reduced prices, matching consumers sensitivities to costs, which according to Cavlek (2000) is a key characteristic of tourism's current climate. However, in contrast, consolidation may eliminate product lines and so limit consumer choice (Gartner and Lime 2000).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

⁷ Borrowing from Martinez (1994), Timothy (2000) identifies different levels of partnership illustrated by a fivepart typology. These include, alienation where no partnerships exist; coexistence involving minimal levels of partnership; cooperative partnerships characterised by initial efforts to solve common problems; collaboration partners actively seeking to work together and agree to some degree of equity in their relationship; and finally integrated partnerships are described as those that are, 'functionally merged [and] each entity willingly waives a degree of its sovereignty in the name of mutual progress' (*ibid*, 2000, 23). However, it seems that vertical and horizontal integration together, are relatively rare in tourism collaboration (Bramwell and Lane 2000).

Figure 2.2. The Cultural Tourism System

(after Swarbrooke 1999)



Cultural Tourism

Defining cultural tourism has proved extremely difficult, not least because of the ambiguities associated with the concepts of 'tourism' and 'culture' (Richards 1996; Towner 1997; see *Defining Tourism*, above).

Williams (1981) notes that culture can be used to describe the active cultivation of the mind, which might include an appreciation of the 'high arts': classical music, classical architecture, opera, ballet and classical forms of representational art. Some of the earliest forms of tourism (for example, religious pilgrimages and the Grand Tour, see Chapter 3) depended on these

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

highly developed notions of culture, which still inspire the packaging of cultural tourism by companies offering guided trips to understand the past (Towner 1996; Clarke 2000). Williams (1981) further defines culture as: a developed state of mind, as in a cultured person; the process of this development, as in cultural interests and activities; and the means of these processes, as in the arts and intellectual works. However, he also describes a search for culture as a quest for a particular sense of life or a lived reality. Drawing from his work, Clarke suggests:

'Culture is seen as including the cultural activities of everyday life. It celebrates high art forms equally alongside the valuing of popular cultural forms. It is the characteristic colour of a living society' (Clarke 2000, 26).

Culture can thus be viewed as comprising what people think (for example, attitudes, beliefs, ideas and values) and what people do (such as, normative behaviour patterns or a way of life) (Littrell 1997). This suggests that culture is composed of both processes (such as those involved in constructing ideas and the experience of daily life), and the products of those processes (including buildings, artefacts, art and customs). Therefore, cultural tourism is not simply about the acts of visiting sites and monuments, but can also involve experiencing the ways of life of the people in the areas visited. Furthermore, these activities will almost certainly involve the collection of knowledge and information (Richards 2000). Richards defines cultural tourism as:

'The movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards 1996, 24).

He suggests that to some extent, the development of cultural tourism has paralleled the democratisation of both culture and tourism during the last century (Richards 2000). In the past, tourism was the preserve of the cultured elite, for whom travel was a means of accessing the classical culture essential to a well-rounded education (Towner 1996, Chapter 3). During the 20th century, the number and range of people who could travel grew, transport

infrastructures were enhanced, and distinct segments of interest emerged (Weiler and Hall 1992), including an interest in heritage and the arts (Zeppel and Hall 1992). The distinctions between culture and tourism in the 21st century have subsequently become less clear, and for some authors tourism has itself become a form of culture (Urry 1994; Rojek and Urry 1997). Urry (1994, 234) notes, 'tourism is no longer a differentiated set of social practices with its own and distinct rules, times and spaces'. In other words, the differentiation between tourism and other practices has become less apparent, and tourism has merged into places and social activities that were previously considered separate from tourism (Real 2000; Chapter 2). Sharpley (2000, 382), even suggests 'that people are tourists most of the time and that tourism has simply become cultural'.

Culture can represent a significant element of a place's identity and it is unique to each destination. MacCannell (1976) and others have pointed out that tourism has become a collection of signs or commodities and consists of sign creation as well as sign consumption. 'Cultural markers' include folk law traditions, festivals, languages, and cuisines, and these can be seen as commodities by local producers (Lowe and Ray 1998). Cultural attractions, events and festivals are primary means of capturing tourism market share, and cultural products are increasingly offered through specialist and generalist tour operators (Richards 2000).

Currently, there is considerable support for the idea that cultural tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing segments of global tourism (Zeppel and Hall 1992; Bywater 1993; Richards 2000). The World Tourism Organisation suggests that some 37% of international trips are in some way connected with culture, and it has been argued that this reflects both an expanding market and product-base (Richards 2000):

'Cultural tourism consumption is no longer restricted to 'serious' and purposeful visits to revered cultural sites, but has also become part of the 'atmosphere' of places, to be soaked up by tourists and residents alike' (Richards 2000), 187; c.f. Stebbins 1996).

According to Britton (1991), the demand for cultural tourism can be linked to the amount and quality of cultural capital that a particular destination has. This provides the raw material for

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

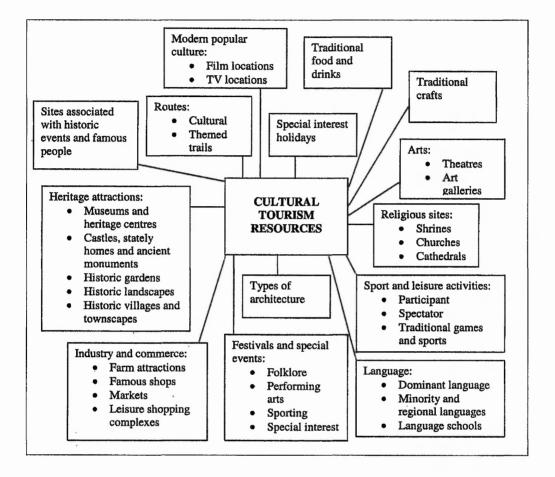
cultural intermediaries (including tour operators) to develop products for consumption (Figure 2.2, above). Richards (2000) suggests that producers occupy a key position in the cultural tourism system, not only because they provide a link between the tourist and destination, but also because they determine which products are fashionable, and which will be offered on the market. Cultural capital is thus converted into economic capital by designing products with high symbolic value for consumption. This forms the basis for 'commoditisation', the process of making something into an object of consumption, by attributing value beyond its use value, through marketing, image making, entrepreneurial activity, and so-forth. Arguably, the focus of consumption is on the value of the object, culture, or place, whereas the focus of consumption is on the value to the consumer. It has long been recognised that commodities, whether goods or services, embrace a meaning beyond their economic exchange or use value (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Appadurai 1986; Sharpley 2000):

'The utility of goods is always framed by a cultural context, that even the use of the most mundane objects in daily life has a cultural meaning...material goods are not only used to do things, but they also have a meaning, and act as meaningful markers of social relationships' (Lurry 1996, 11).

The range of cultural resources and cultural characteristics available to commoditisation, and which can contribute to the attractiveness of a tourism region, is almost limitless, as they may be continually produced (Ritchie and Zins 1978; also see Figure 2.3, below).

Figure 2.3 Cultural Tourism Resources

(after Swarbrooke 1999)



Cultural products are becoming increasingly popular with policy makers and marketers; in particular 'cultural distinctiveness' is seen as a strength in local and national tourism development strategy (English Tourism Council 2000, 49). Cultural products are often seen to be synonymous with quality products and are thought to appeal to niche-markets (Ray 1997; Ibery and Kneafsey 1998)). Moreover, culture and heritage have been specifically used in destination repositioning strategies aimed at high spending visitors (e.g. Phillips and Turbridy 1994).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

The use of cultural tourism in rural development has evolved on the basis that the exploitation of place-specific resources can be used to generate locally based economic activities. These may relate to employment opportunities where local people have unique skills, such as the ability to speak a local language, in-depth knowledge to act as guides and local craft and culinary skills. Cultural tourism is said to provide opportunities for creative artists, naturalists, linguists, crafts people, and local historians, and raise local self-confidence and vitality (Ray 1997). This contrasts with view that tourism represents a threat to the survival of local communities, bringing with it international consumerism and the risk of cultural homogenisation or 'McDonaldisation' (Ritzer 1993). In fact, because the cultural tourism product and service is place-specific, it has the potential to put local actors in 'control' (Lowe et al. 1998). 'Control mechanisms' may include the manufacturing of experiences for the tourist ('pseudo-events'), leaving the 'authentic' local culture free from being inundated or commodified by tourism. According to Ray (1997), identities that are more 'authentic' are thereby maintained for internal use. In her study of Foxford, Co Mayo, Kneafsey (1998) also recognises that local communities can retain a deep sense of place which remains outside the usual expectations of tourists.

Ironically cultural resources may be in a minority in their place of origin, as in the case of 'Celtic' or Gaelic music, or the Irish Gaelic language (Gaeilge) which although having a wide following on a global scale (Edwards 1994 cited in Ray 1998, 12), often trades on its vestigial symbolic value outside of Gaeltacht areas of Ireland.⁸ In the case of Scottish Gaelic, overseas diasporas outnumber the active learners of the language in Scotland (for example, 50% are in North America compared to 35% in Scotland). Language learning therefore forms a specialist type of cultural tourism (McCrossan 2001) and language tourism can help to ensure the continuity of an indigenous language (Denvir 2001). In Ireland, strategic initiatives are being developed at quasi-governmental level, including Údarás na Gaeltachta (the Gaeltacht areas

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⁸ Gaeltacht designated areas, in which Irish is the everyday spoken language, are mainly found along the western seaboard and in the south of Ireland (Stocks 2000).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

as very different holiday destinations because of the Irish language and the distinctive culture and ethos of the Gaeltacht, as reflected in its music, song and dance⁹.

Analysing Cultural Tourism

Despite the obvious popularity of cultural tourism in terms of both demand and supply, there is a deficit of knowledge about cultural tourism and cultural tourists. This may be attributed to the sector's rapid evolution. As Richards (2000, 187), points out:

'In the rush to jump on the cultural tourism bandwagon...the potential negative consequences of this type of tourism are often overlooked, and the needs of the cultural tourists themselves are often ignored'.

The sentiment is echoed by Swarbrooke (1999, 306), when he notes that cultural tourism is often mistakenly assumed to be 'sustainable'. In fact, many cultural sites are poorly managed and over-used (Shackley 1998). Local people and even local governments may have little control over tourism processes, and traditional cultures can be 'fossilised' for their nostalgic qualities which are unattractive to local inhabitants who favour development (Swarbrooke 1999, 331).

Hughes (2000) argues that despite considerable academic and professional interest in cultural tourism (for example, Fladmark 1994; Robinson, Evans *et al.* 1996; Walle 1998; Robinson, Long *et al.* 2000) there is still confusion surrounding the concept, and it difficult to determine actual trends. Hughes (2000) questions whether the current structures for analysing cultural tourism are adequate, and suggests that there is even insufficient evidence to determine whether cultural tourism is growing. It seems possible that the influence of culture on the appeal of tourist destinations may appear to have become greater because of its increasing use as a marketing tool (*ibid*; Zeppel and Hall 1992). He suggests, while focusing on the performing arts:

⁹ For example, see GaelSaoire, holidays in the Gaeltacht (http://www.gaelsaoire.ie).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

'It may not be productive to consider cultural tourism as single entity given the diversity of activities within it. It may be more productive, at least initially, to isolate components of cultural tourism for the purposes of study' (Hughes 2000, 111).

The terms 'arts tourism', 'cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism' have been used interchangeably to refer to tourism which includes visits to historic buildings and sites, museums and art galleries, visits to the theatre and to a variety of other attractions (see for instance, Ashworth 1992; Prentice 1993; Yale 1997; Millar 1999). Significantly however, the term 'cultural tourist' is applied regardless of tourists' interests in culture; all who visit a site building or event are frequently classified under that heading, even though their visit may be incidental or even accidental (Hughes 2000, 119). Consequently, there is a need to focus on the relationships between tourism and culture, and to identify so-called 'market(s)' more closely. This might be achieved as Hughes suggests, by focusing on individual art and entertainment forms and events (*ibid*).

Despite the range of activities and objectives labelled under the term 'most attempts at defining cultural tourism agree that it consists of the consumption of culture by tourists' (Richards 1996, 19). It is well documented that culture and cultural products become objects of consumption (Clarke 2000). However, there are different theoretical perspectives on exactly how this occurs, and these will now be explored.

Cultural Consumption¹⁰

The term 'consumption' has traditionally been used to describe the using up of material or food, and the products of industry (AlSayyad 2001). It has also come to be understood as meaning wasteful expenditure and to imply decay, especially of the body by disease. A metaphysical understanding of consumption was introduced through Urry's 'tourist gaze' (Urry 1990; Urry 1994), a process by which tourists seek authenticity and truth in places away from their own everyday life. However, as AlSayyad (2001, 4) notes 'this gaze is not the same everywhere, and its spatial dimension changes from place to place'. Consequently, the process

¹⁰ See Storey (1999), for an extensive review of this topic.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

by which tourists engage with their host environment (and are engaged by it) requires special attention. AlSayyad uses the term 'engazment' to describe a process through which the gaze transforms the material reality of the built environment into cultural images. The term consumption is used here to describe both the material using and purchasing of objects and their mental transformation into imagery. Consumption is inherently related to 'consumer behaviour', which in the context of tourism, is the process of engaging with a destination and its products, before, during and after a visit, and this forms the basis for the discussion in Chapter 4, *The Tour Experience*.

Following one of the key definitions provided by Raymond Williams (*Cultural Tourism*, above), Storey (1999) refers to consumer culture as the dynamic practice of using commodities. To him, people create culture by engaging in everyday life, and therefore, cultural consumption is not simply the using of something already identified as culture or cultural, but it also produces culture. Seen from this standpoint, culture is made by the active combination of the products from cultural industries and their appropriation by consumers (*ibid*). However, levels of engagement with commodities, including cultural destinations, may vary according to the individual and activity. For example, on the one hand, some tourists may appear to 'passively consume' cultural landscapes on a guided tour; Dann (1999, 168), even proposes that:

'Tourists visit the signified vantage points of designated places, realising that there is nothing in between. They are transported to a destination through the periphery to the center and, in the very act of being carried, they reject travel. For them, it is a meaningless exercise to gaze out of a vehicular window, since there is only emptiness to behold. Instead, tourists chatter, read their guidebooks, or else simply fall asleep through boredom. As mob-ile, tourists constitute a sense-less mob'.

On the other hand, forms of tourist activity may be perceived as comprising a more active involvement with cultural materials, which may in the process, create new cultural meanings, as for example, during a language-learning holiday (Storey 1999).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Consumer culture is frequently seen as directly related to the mass production of goods and services for purchase and consumption, with the producers being able to dictate styles, taste and fashion (Featherstone 1990; 1991). There is a need for commodities to appeal to the widest possible market, and 'high' and 'low' forms of culture are merged, their cultural value tending towards the lowest common denominator. The dominant role of the producer therefore leads to a diluted and homogenous cultural product (*ibid*).

Consumption as manipulation

The view that cultural consumption is best understood as a form of manipulation has specific conceptual roots, in which the term 'culture industry' is used to designate the products and processes of a mass culture. These are marked by cultural homogeneity and predictability, for example, film, radio, magazines and other media are seen as uniform and identical (Adorno and Horkheimer 1979, cited in Storey 1999, 19)¹¹:

'As soon as the film begins, it is quite clear how it will end and who will be rewarded, punished, or forgotten. In light music [popular music], once the trained ear has heard the first notes of the hit song, it can guess what is coming and feel flattered when it does come'.

Adorno *et al.* further suggest that under the regime of the culture industry there is little room for imagination or reflection (Adorno and Horkheimer 1977). In effect, the outcomes of consumption are determined by production: products are tailored for consumption by the masses, and largely determine the nature of that consumption (Adorno 1991, cited in Storey 1999, 19).

Proponents of this view suggest that the culture industry essentially discourages the 'masses' from thinking beyond the present, and that cultural consumption is a form of social control:

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

¹¹ Storey (1999) draws from 'The Frankfurt School', the name given to a group of German intellectuals associated with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt, was established in 1923. Following the coming to power of Nazism in Germany in 1933, the Institute moved to New York, becoming a temporary part of the University of Columbia. The experience of life in the United States is thought to have had a profound impact on the School's thinking on the production and consumption of culture.

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26

'The irresistible output of the entertainment and information industry carry with them prescribed attitudes and habits, certain intellectual and emotional reactions which bind the consumers more or less pleasantly to the producers...The products indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is immune against its falsehood...it becomes a way of life' (Marcuse 1968, cited in Storey 1999, 20).

The function of the culture industry is therefore to organise leisure time in the same way as capitalist industrialisation has organised work time: 'work under capitalism stunts the senses; the function of the culture industry is to continue the process' (Storey 1999, 20). As a result, daily life is dull and promotes a search for escape, but leaves little energy for real escape: the demands of authentic culture. Instead, refuge is sought in forms such as popular music, the consumption of which is always passive, and confirms the world as it is (ibid).

This production-led approach to cultural consumption has been criticised because it encourages a detailed understanding of the workings of production, while suggesting that only a cursory glance will be adequate to understand the practices of consumption (*ibid*). While there can be no doubt that culture industries seek to manipulate and exploit consumers, it is not necessarily total nor always does it involve the manipulation of passive subjects. The situation is in reality, rather more complex, firstly because consumption always occurs in a cultural context i.e. a social space often containing other people and other commodities; and second, consumers come to acts of consumption with a history of other acts of consumption which may influence their behaviour (ibid).

Fulfilling a dream

An alternative view of cultural consumption is provided by Featherstone (1990). This focuses on 'the emotional pleasures of consumption, the dreams and desires which become celebrated in consumer culture imagery (ibid, 5). In this case, cultural consumption is viewed as the 'fulfilment of dreams', as a search for pleasurable experiences and as a means of escaping from the ordinary and the mundane.

Similarly, Campbell (1987), who offers a detailed theory of contemporary cultural consumption, suggests that there is a significant difference between seeking pleasure in what is known to provide pleasure, to seeking it in what has yet to be experienced, through imagination:

'The capacity to gain pleasure from self-constructed, imaginative experience crucially alters the essential nature of all hedonistic activity' (*ibid*, 85).

He goes on to say that imagination does not have a significant role in activities that have already been experienced because the nature of the anticipated pleasure is already known. Moreover, the expectation of pleasure triggers desire, but what one 'expects' to enjoy is mainly what one 'remembers' enjoying. In contrast, novel objects and activities may be regarded with suspicion, as their potential for pleasure is as yet unknown. If the product is capable of possessing unknown characteristics (for example, 'difference'), then it is open to the pleasure seeker to imagine the nature of its gratifications and thus becomes an occasion for daydreaming. According to Campbell (*ibid*), imagined pleasures may be added to those already encountered and a greater desire is experienced for the unknown than the known. The introduction of daydreaming thus strengthens desire and helps to make desiring itself a pleasurable activity. However, he suggests that the actual experience of consumption will usually fail to match the imagined experience, and a gap is produced between anticipation and 'reality'. Hence:

'The essential activity of consumption is thus not the actual selection, purchase or use of products, but the imaginative pleasure-seeking to which the product image lends itself' (*ibid*, 89).

According to this viewpoint, new commodities for cultural consumption are required to maintain the cycle of anticipation and disillusionment which drives the desire to consume. Campbell's argument is a refutation of claims that modern consumerism is evidence of materialistic desire:

'Their basic motivation is the desire to experience in reality the pleasurable dramas which they have already enjoyed in imagination, and each 'new' product is seen as offering the possibility of realising this ambition' (*ibid*, 89).

Seen from this perspective, the key to understanding modern cultural consumption is in the continual dynamic integration between anticipated experience and actual experience, and the profound desire to close the gap between the two. Additionally, Campbell acknowledges the ways in which advertisers may attempt to fuel this process, but rejects the view that they can in any way control the cycle of longing. He recognises that 'advertisers [may] make use of the fact that people day-dream, and indeed feed those dreams' (*ibid*, 91), but insists that day-dreaming is in any case endemic to modern societies.

Consumption of Tourism

Turning now to the tourism literature, it can be seen that the consumption of tourism is considered to be a hugely complex process; it is 'discretionary, episodic, future orientated, dynamic, socially influenced and evolving' (Pearce 1992, 114), and 'saturated with cultural meaning' (Sharpley 2000, 387). Despite this, the consumption of tourism has tended to be oversimplified in the literature by a variety of tourist typologies that typically follow a continuum from mass-package through to explorer-independent tourists (Poon 1993). Much research into tourist-consumer behaviour has not allowed for the fact that any single tourism product may be consumed in as many ways as there are tourists. Therefore, while it is unrealistic to attach stereotypical labels to specific 'types' of tourism and tourists, focus on the consumer culture of tourism adds an extra dimension to aid the understanding, knowledge and prediction of tourist behaviour (Sharpley 2000).

A production-led approach to tourist consumption seems to have been favoured by some authors (e.g. Richards 1996; Richards 2000; *Cultural Tourism*, above). Cavlek (2000) indicates that historically, this approach has particular relevance in the initial phases of package tourism, when, for example, tour operators were largely able to control the development and style of consumption. However, as noted by Storey (1999), this view has been criticised for its limited understanding of the practices of consumption (above). Others

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

29

have argued that consumption in tourism has developed from a producer to a consumer-led mode, and that today the industry has had to become increasingly responsive to the changing demands of consumers (Cavlek 2000; Sharpley 2000).

Certainly, in recent years, it seems that the practice of consumption has been facilitated by socio-economic factors, including the greater number of, and faster access to, goods and services (*Defining Tourism*, above). Consumption has assumed a dominant and significantly more complex role than simple utilitarian needs. People now consume goods and services for a variety of reasons, for example, as a means for compensating for the loss of traditional social markers and cultural identities (Short 1991). Although the consumption-mode is evidenced within the context of tourism, where producers are sensitised to the changing needs and demands of the tourist-consumer, little attention has been paid to the ways in which consumer culture in general influences or is related to the consumption of tourism (Sharpley 2000). Much contemporary consumer behaviour research is concerned with the symbolism of consumption, and how consumption conveys information to others about self-image (*ibid*). There are a number of ways in which meaning is transferred through consumption. Such actions in tourism include the purchase of souvenirs, sending postcards, taking or showing holiday photographs, and even 'gazing' selectively at the destination landscape (e.g. Markwell 1997; Hichcock et al. 2000). Importantly, 'a given consumption object... is typically consumed in a variety of ways by different groups of consumers' (Holt 1995, 1).

Tourism is an important medium through which destinations are encountered and understood (Hughes 1998). Such understandings may change as tour itineraries form well-trodden routes and bring less existential forms of travel (Cohen 1979). The existing cultural and physical characters of places are reshaped by touristic activity (Hughes 1998). However, almost since the inception of modern, organised tourism, the extent to which these consumed places and cultures are 'authentic' has been disputed, for as tourist 'sights' their descriptions may deny the depths of their cultural and political origins (*ibid*; MacCannell 1973; Hughes 1998). Boniface and Fowler (1993) point out that insensitive interpretation for tourism can homogenise and corrupt culture. Boorstin, an early and influential writer on the subject,

denounced the ubiquity of tourism for the masses as an example of the adaptation of 'real experiences' into superficial 'pseudo events':

'All over the world now we find these "attractions" – of little significance for the inward life of a people, but wonderfully saleable as a tourist commodity' (Boorstin 1964).

The idea that culture is consumed by tourists 'drenched by commodity fetishism' has frequently been articulated by observers of tourist behaviour (Selwyn 1996, 15). In particular, the 'commoditisation' of social and ritual events was originally thought to lead to an erosion of their cultural meaning (Greenwood 1978). In contrast to this, Cohen has argued that cultural productions for tourists may in fact 'acquire new meanings' that supplement more traditional values (Cohen 1988). Earlier, MacCannell (1976) had viewed the tourism attraction as being imbued with meaning specifically through tourist consumption. Richards (1996) takes this further arguing that tourism has become 'one of the most powerful modern traditions' where attractions are themselves pivotal cultural experiences. Urry (1994) states that tourism is culture, and in the new culture of tourism, areas such as theme parks, heritage attractions and literary landscapes have been specially designed to assist tourists in their search for meaning (Richards 1996). Other writers have acknowledged that tourists on organised tours can express interest in many dimensions of their host cultures and societies, even adopting certain behaviours, such as enacting traditional rituals, in their attempts to experience culture directly (Selwyn 1996). Increasingly sophisticated tourist expectations are clearly emerging in the cultural segment of the organised tours markets (Hughes 1991).

Recently Prentice has attempted to conceptualise the consumption of cultural tourism as 'a process of co-operation between facilitators (for example, tour operators) and consumers (i.e. tourists)' (Prentice 1999). To be useful in theoretical and practical settings, he stresses the need for the simultaneous requirement of both etic and emic approaches (the most common definition for these being the 'outsider' versus 'insider' view (Headland 1999), thus linking academic discourse to the perceived realities of tourists (Prentice 1999). However, until now, research into the consumption of tourism has typically been 'tourism centric' and uni-

dimensional, as it has tended to consider tourism largely in isolation from other forms of consumption. As a result, an extensive literature exists on why people consume tourism (i.e. tourist motivational studies (e.g. Ryan 1991; Ryan 1995), but substantially less research has been undertaken into how tourism is consumed (Sharpley 2000). There is clearly a need for empirical studies which dissect the process of cultural consumption by tourists in their settings, specifically those that bring the tourist as the consumer, sharply into focus (Selwyn 1998). Robinson *et al.* (2000) acknowledge that there is a practical need to understand tourist cultures and the meanings that people bring to and take away from their travel experiences, as such an understanding is important both in management and marketing terms.

This chapter has revealed the wide range of interpretations associated with the concept of cultural tourism, and the difficulties associated with the study of the consumption of culture by tourists. It has further suggested that many of these definitional problems can be remedied by focusing research upon an individual area of cultural tourism. The next chapter explores the development and complexities of one such area, the cultural tours segment, together with its destination setting, the cultural tour route.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL TOURS AND THEIR ROUTES

'The landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it' – *Landscape: politics and perspectives* (Bender 1993, 3).

This chapter begins by defining the concepts of 'cultural landscape' and 'cultural destination' for the purposes of this research, before it considers the notion of 'cultural route' from different perspectives, including tourism and resource-based. It explores various management strategies, and distinguishes between two principal types of cultural route formation: those from antiquity, which have made a significant impact on societies, and 'tour routes in a cultural destination', both of which are tourist attractions. The chapter then introduces the concept of the organised cultural tour, and briefly outlines its origins and development in Europe.

Introducing Cultural Routes

This section begins by identifying the broader concepts of cultural landscape and cultural destination, before it considers the notion of 'cultural route' Different strategies that are implemented by three principal players involved in the management of cultural destinations, National Tourism Organisation's (NTO's), tour operators, and cultural resource managers, are identified. In addition, it examines the implications for those rarely involved directly with decision-making in the management process: tour participants and local communities. Two basic types of cultural route formation are defined:

- those from antiquity, whose cultural worth is intrinsically related to exchanges and journeys, and have made a significant impact on societies (UNESCO 1994) and,
- those which may also be described as 'tour routes in a cultural destination', but possess the same qualities as those above, indicating that they are also of universal cultural worth.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

It discusses why these different origins (the former relating to an incalculable range of human activities and the latter motivated, to some extent, by tourism) are inextricably linked, particularly as both types are tourist attractions.

Cultural landscapes

The term 'landscape' combines 'land' with a word of ancient Germanic origin, the verb 'scapjan', which became 'schaffen' in German, meaning 'shape' in English (Haber 1995, 38). Shaping the land can be done by natural agents or forces resulting in a 'natural landscape' or by humans who create a 'cultural landscape', although not always intentionally (*ibid*). The traditional view taken in cultural resource management, essentially advocates the objective listing of component parts of cultural and historic environments, as the precursor to the development of conservation strategies. For example:

'An efficient protection requires that the resource and its value are precisely described, so that owners and regulators know where they stand' (Jacques and Fowler 1995, 416).

However, Platcher and Rössler (1995) suggest that intangible factors such as beliefs can also shape perceptions about a landscape:

'A cultural landscape is a complex phenomenon with a tangible and an intangible identity. The intangible component arises from ideas and interactions which have an impact on the perceptions and shaping of a landscape' (ibid, 15).

This view accords with that of Tuan (1979), a cultural geographer, who sees a cultural landscape as a mental image of space as well as a physical place:

'Landscape, like culture, is elusive and difficult to describe in a phrase. What is culture and how does one delimit a culture area? The contents of culture can be itemized, although if one is meticulous the list threatens to grow to interminable length. Culture is not such a list. Landscape, likewise, is not to be defined by itemizing parts. The parts

34

are subsidiary clauses to an integrated image. Landscape is such as image, a construct of the mind and of feeling' (*ibid*, 89).

By extension, it may be suggested that virtually all landscapes have cultural associations because they have been affected in some way by human interaction. Taking this definition, cultural landscapes are therefore landscapes showing evidence of cultural or human intervention. In the context of tourism, cultural landscapes may be more appropriately termed 'cultural destinations', in other words, they are cultural landscapes that are inhabited or visited by tourists.

Cultural Routes

Classification and definition

'The World Heritage Conference's acknowledgement of the concept of routes is an important step forward on the path to recognition of the diverse nature of mankind's heritage' (UNESCO 1994, 6).

One specific merit of this broadening of the World Heritage Committee's remit is the cultural recognition of nomadic communities. Whilst the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) acknowledge that countless kinds of spacio-temporal routes have influenced societies, they recognise, that for management purposes at least, they do not all have the same value:

'Cultural worth can be measured by the dynamics (commercial, philosophical, religious) which it may have generated or favoured (transfer of goods, knowledge, know-how), and by the symbolic significance it represents for anyone using it (or for anyone who many have used it, or for anyone referring to it)' (*ibid*, 6).

Well-known examples of cultural routes include the Odyssey, the silk route, the salt route, the rum trade route, the spice trade route, the waggon trail, the pilgrim's way to Santiago de Compostela, the *hadj* pilgrimage to Mecca, the slave route, the crusades, Hannibal's alpine crossing, Napoleon's route, and Roman ways. World Heritage appraisal arranges these routes

by type, such as religious events (pilgrimages, crusades), trade activities (silk, salt, spices), military campaigns (crusades, Hannibal's alpine crossing, Napoleon's route), as well as intercontinental rallies like the rum race and the Paris-Peking rally. A further distinction is made between routes that describe specific moments or events, and those repeatedly travelled; the former are not considered for World Heritage status. Other qualities of a cultural route include its impact on society by either strengthening cohesion and exchange, or signifying aggression $(ibid)^{12}$

Within this framework, social impact is the key to assessing cultural value. 'Universal cultural worth' indicates trans-national impact, whereas influence that is more limited may be of national or local significance. On this basis, World Heritage listings would include routes which combine 'exchanges and journeys', and exclude those that are limited to representing 'a physical way used for travelling': consequently, Roman ways would not be classified under the idea of routes, although they could still be included on the basis of their architectural or technological interest *(ibid)*.

Cultural routes have spatial, temporal and cultural characteristics, and a role or purpose. Components marking out these routes have left their physical imprint in the landscape, in the form of architectural remains, for which designation affords recognition and protection. Nevertheless, cultural routes are not limited to the elements making up their material way:

'We have to add to this aspect of specific interactions between human groups over and beyond political barriers. This does not only include the objects, products, or the results of direct exchange...themselves, but also any indirect, subsequent products, which often have more important cultural consequences, such as the introductions of Buddhism into China. Consequently, the acceptance of routes as part of World Heritage should generate significant and varied research work in this field to bring out all different dimensions and the impact they may have had on the peoples and cultures involved' (*ibid*, 9).

¹² Also see Council of Europe (1999; 2002).

T. Oliver, 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Moreover, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) identities that the concept of 'cultural route' or 'cultural itinerary':

' Refers to a value set whose whole is greater than the sum of its parts and that gives it its MEANING' (ICOMOS 1998, 2).

A wider perspective

Accepted literally, emphasis on cultural movement (nomadic societies, slave trade, pilgrimages) seems justified in defining the appropriate constituents of a 'cultural route' of any value, since:

CULTURAL+ROUTE = PHYSICAL MANIFESTATION OF TRANSIENT PEOPLE

This view has received academic endorsement (see Tom O'Grady, Chapter 6) and begs the question, 'Do historic and contemporary routes taken by 'touring cultures' qualify for this term, particularly if their destination is rich in cultural heritage? (c.f. Rojek and Urry 1997). The intention here is to illustrate that even defined in its purest form, the term 'cultural route' is ambiguous. Furthermore, many of the qualities and criteria listed by UNESCO (above) are applicable to routes of cultural significance that are beyond the scope of World Heritage listings at present (for example, tour routes that take in a destinations' cultural highlights, see below).

Broadly speaking, the term 'cultural route' is accepted and used by the European tourism industry, particularly by tour operators and commercial heritage enterprises (e.g. Jimmy Magee, Heritage Island, Chapter 6). Moreover, it has become a fashionable product, and in this context, the term is understood to mean 'cultural itinerary'¹³. For the purposes of this research, 'cultural tour' can be described as a mobile experience of a cultural destination(s) or product, usually by land or water, along trajectories that link cultural attractions.

¹³ Based on the author's experience, particularly at European tourism and travel trade fairs in 1998-9, where around 100 exhibitors were asked for promotional information on 'cultural routes'.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

National and regional cultural resource managers and planners tend to describe and develop tour routes, with arguably greater emphasis on a destination's inherited culture or on the depth of time represented by the attractions. The terminology used to describe these designed routes includes 'heritage trails' (e.g. Dublin Tourism 1998), 'Circuit du patrimonie' (e.g. Leon 1999), 'Time Trails' (English Heritage 1999), and more specialist 'Route Historic des Ducs de Normandie' (La Demeure Historic/ Caisse National des Monuments Historiques et des Sites 1998). 'Heritage trails' also feature in destination marketing literature (e.g. Barbosa 1998). Their diverse nature makes it difficult to generalise, although this type of facility, or indeed product, is likely to appeal to visitors with sufficient access and time, and are therefore unlikely to include those on organised tours whose free time may be limited (Chapters 4 and 8). Nevertheless, 'heritage trails' can be based on cultural routes of great antiquity and significance and can attract a whole range of operators, and engender a diversity of cultural tour products, including those which are highly commercialised. For example:

'This is without doubt, the most travelled route in Alentejo. Elvas, the fortified city, is a traditional gateway into the country. Evora, since it was classified by UNESCO as a World Heritage site, has entered the world's guidebooks for cultural tourism...these cities have always marked the routes into and out of Spain...there is a growing number of people who wish to know more' (Barbosa 1998).

To summarise, both cultural resource managers and the tourism industry use the term 'cultural route' to describe a physical way representing specific cultural attributes or associations. These include material qualities, such as regular use combining 'exchanges and journeys'. However, perhaps of greater cultural significance are the less tangible impacts of cultural routes: the strengthening of cultural contact (cohesion or aggression), and their effects. The term is additionally used by the tourism industry to describe tour routes linking cultural attractions (see below). Many popular tour routes possess some or all of the qualities attributed to cultural routes, suggesting that the term is widely used. 'Heritage trails' are cultural itineraries, that are perhaps principally designed and aimed at the independent traveller, but are by no means used exclusively by them. However, it is important to recognise that routes and trails, that are designed by the resource management sector or by local or regional

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

planners may have a different emphasis and sets of objectives to those developed by the tourist industry. This issue is discussed in more detail below.

Routes that are managed or designed by players in all relevant sectors fall into two broad categories. Most well-known of those formed in antiquity, and traditionally the most 'highly valued', are World Heritage routes (above). Designated for management purposes, they inherently attract tourism, which reinforces their cultural value, and ironically, often increases visitor management problems, such as over-crowding (Hewison 1992). A second group of cultural routes includes those which have evolved historically or have been created more recently to promote cultural tourism, or to encourage visitors into regions or to properties.

Management and design strategies

Cultural resource management sector

In this category, designed routes are frequently termed 'themed trails' or 'heritage trails'. Silbergh *et al.* (1994, 123) define:

'A theme trail is a route for walking, cycling, riding, driving or other forms of transport that draws on natural or cultural heritage of an area to provide an educational experience that will enhance visitor enjoyment. It is marked on the ground or on maps, and interpretive literature is normally available to guide the visitor'.

English Heritage (a national, parliament-mandated organisation charged with the protection of English historic environments) has developed forty-five 'Time Trails', to encourage visits to a succession of properties managed by them (English Heritage 1999). These routes are a good example of routes developed more generally in Europe by the cultural resource sector, which frequently possess similar attributes. For example, trails are usually contained within a region, although they may vary in scale and the suggested mode of travel, and are based on one or a number of themes. For example, in the case of the 'Time Trails': the theme 'Fire' is linked to an otherwise random selection of sites in the East Midlands; the route from Stonehenge to Salisbury, promotes a selection of sacred sites spanning some 5000 years; 'King Arthur' is the

famous figure linked to a walking route around Tintagel; and the themes 'pilgrims and pubs' are combined to attract visitors onto a route from the Cotswolds to Somerset.

Encouraging the dispersal of visitors over wider landscapes surrounding well-known cultural sites, is increasingly used to help alleviate visitor pressure. It is a strategy which is currently being implemented at, for example, Stonehenge and Brú na Boinne¹⁴. Wall (1997) notes that although linear resources tend to concentrate visitors, they do not concentrate them to the same extent as resources that are focused at a single point, because a line is two-dimensional and encourages some dispersal. However, the themed trails-approach by English Heritage actively encourages visitors to the World Heritage sites of Bath, Stonehenge, and Tintagal, which already experience significant visitor over-crowding (Shackley 1998). However, these trails also promote less well-known sites, and encourage overnight visits, thereby bringing the economic benefits of tourism into the wider community (*ibid*).

The Countryside Agency, formerly the Countryside Commission, a statutory body that aims to conserve and enhance rural areas (Countryside Commission 1988, cited in Silbergh *et al.* 1994, 126) note:

'The route should not merely consist of linked rights of way but offer a theme, for example an historic route, or geographical feature or link obvious attractive destinations. Rivers, canals and the coast have special potential.'

In addition to helping to link sites, the adoption of themes is a well-known interpretive technique which is designed to simplify sometimes complex subject matter, making it relevant to visitors (Tilden 1977; also see Goodey 1974).

Regional examples of themed routes have evolved from academic and administrative research primarily for designation purposes, and emphasise the potential benefits of trails to local communities. For example, 'Circuit du patrimonie industrial dans le Cher' (Leon 1999) aims to enhance tourism and promote the local amenity of the region. The strategy has used a theme

¹⁴ Also see Council of Europe (1992).

that reflects local values (i.e. the industrial heritage) of the region, and it has identified other themes that attract visitors, including some impressive architecture. The route is consequently of intrinsic cultural worth and helps to retain and conserve the cultural character of the area. Interpretative provision at selected less well-known sites, is aimed to encourage visitors to follow a selection of prescribed routes. Sponsorship from contemporary industry is encouraged, and an emphasis on amenity for the local community includes the use of some of the monuments for other purposes, such as the display of art exhibitions *(ibid)*.

Another regional example is 'La route du feu' in La Region Wallonne, which follows the natural route of La Mense River, which is functionally related to, and physically and conceptually, links the attractions. One advantage of selecting an abstract theme such as 'fire' is that in terms of function and date, a wide-range of sites may be included in the route or trail. In this case, sites range in date from prehistoric to relatively modern times (Closset 1998). Unlike the previous example (above), the project seems to have also benefited from tourism consultancy, enabling the identification of target markets (for example, schools) and their expectations, apparently without compromising academic rigor. The scheme has helped to boost the local economy, creating three new permanent jobs and 8 million BEF annual profits (Jean Defer, pers com.).

Tourism sector

Non-specialised cultural tour routes

In Europe, many cultural tour routes have had a long history, for example, beginning as the favoured destinations of royalty, and subsequently becoming popular elements of 'The Grand Tour' (see *Cultural Tours*, below). One example, the Ring of Kerry, favoured by Queen Victoria in the nineteenth century, is still a principal tour route in Ireland (Chapters 6 and 8). This persistent tradition can create significant visitor over-crowding and tour management problems, resulting from competition for parking spaces at viewpoints and refreshment venues.¹⁵

¹⁵ Participant observation (May 1999).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Cultural itineraries can be historically imposed, although their subsequent development will relate to a range of other factors, such as the availability and quality of tourism infrastructure, including hotels and services; political barriers and national boundaries; and the presence of cultural attractions. Attraction diversity is significant, as it will enable a cultural tour to be of sufficient general interest and therefore likely to appeal to a broad range of participants (Oppermann 1995). Secondly, it helps to prevent fatigue and boredom.¹⁶ The cultural attractions that are included in a tour itinerary will depend upon the cultural content and characteristics of the cultural destination itself. For example, so-called 'popular culture' features regularly in tours of Ireland, and opportunities to experience traditional lifestyles may include a staged Ceilidh, a ride on a jaunting car, or a visit to a folk-park, and so-forth (Chapters 5 and 8). In Italy, cultural itineraries are likely to be more focused on 'high culture', including the leaning tower of Pisa, St. Peter's Square and Basilica, Rome, St Mark's Basilica, Venice and Michaelangelo's David, Florence.

Cultural tour routes will usually include a variety of cultural 'highlights', including some sites of international renown and status (for example, Newgrange, or the leaning tower of Pisa). These sites may be embedded in the identity and image of a destination. While highlights can be broadly representative of a destination's cultural attractions, they may not necessarily represent its contemporary culture. Tracts of landscape link attractions, and these may be described in marketing literature as 'scenic highlights', which can be spatially undefined areas of natural beauty, or which are associated with the life or works of famous, and often literary cultural or political figures (e.g. 'Shakespeare Country', 'Herriot Country', 'Catherine Cookson Country', 'Bronte Country'). Perhaps more frequently, the landscape between places on a route is not considered by operators to be relevant to the cultural experience of that destination.

Special interest itineraries

Special interest itineraries are fundamentally different from the general cultural itineraries described above, because as the name suggests, their aim is to attract specific markets

¹⁶ Based on interviews conducted in April-May 1999, see Chapter 6.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

(Wainwright 1989). For example, a Bulgarian operator specialising in cultural heritage tours notes that their aim is to attract:

'Independent minded - small groups...young at heart, following professional, educational or hobby interests in the field of culture, history, art' (Sunshine Tours 1998)

Unlike cultural tourists for whom the 'cultural' motivation may be incidental (Hughes 2000) (Chapter 2)¹⁷, tour participants undertaking this type of tour may have specific cultural interests, be of a similar age, and have other socio-demographic factors in common (Boyan Manev, Sunshine Tours, pers com.). Special interests can include special cultural events (Graulich 1998). Richards (1996) makes a distinction between general and specific cultural motivations, although without focusing upon a specific tourism context, this concept can be misleading and overly simplistic (Chapter 2).

Destinations' themed routes

'Travellers of the new millennium along the itineraries of places of worship can combine the tradition of pilgrimage with modern tourism. The tourist and the pilgrim share the aspect of travel, movement in space and time. But while the tourist moves towards anything that is distant or different from his daily life, the pilgrim journeys towards the sacred place, the core of his spirituality' (Po Valley art cities circuit 1998).

Pilgrim routes in European tourism represent opportunities for the development of tour routes based on both a cultural theme and particular events. Recently, pilgrim routes have become a popular subject for 'event' marketing by destinations, because of their association with the new millennium, and in remembrance of the first Christian Jubilee when a network of roads and tracks led pilgrims to Rome. Examples of such routes marketed by destinations include, 'Vie dei Romei' (Ravenna Tourist Service 1997), Romei, literally "those heading for Rome" (Peretta 1997), trans-national routes, such as 'La Via Francigena (a project realised by ENIT

¹⁷ Supported by participant observations (May 1999; see Chapter 6).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

the Italian State Tourist Office, inter-regional and inter-regional co-operation (Stopani 1997; Instituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato 1998). The new millennium has afforded many marketing opportunities:

'The circuit of the Art Cities in the Po Valley shows itineraries among places of worship to allow today's travellers to rediscover both the art of the past and the authenticity of religious significance that made this art possible' (Po Valley art cities circuit 1998).

Specific holy events have been associated with the new millennium and emphasised at wellestablished pilgrim destinations. For example, during 1993, a Holy Year (instigated by Pope Callixtus II in 1119), seven million people visited Santiago de Compostela, one hundred thousand of which did so by travelling 'The way of St James', designated World Heritage status in 1993, and First European Cultural Itinerary by the Council of Europe (Concello de Santiago/Depatmento de Turismo, 1998).

Building on the experience from 'The way of St. James', a new initiative is currently being developed through the co-operation of eight Regional Tourism Organisations, and local communities, across central and southern Spain: a route based on the internationally renowned literary character 'El Cid' (Exca. Diputacion de Burgos 1998). In contrast to examples cited above (e.g. Closset 1998; Leon 1999), this is being aimed at an international market, and it will be inter-regional in scope. The development process appears to have involved intensive dialogue and research. The principal objective was to establish 'authentic routes' though academic research. At the time of writing this chapter, discussions were ongoing with local communities, often located in remote upland regions, about the potential of their resources for tourism. Apparently, communication has been facilitated by the relatively small populations in these regions, and there appears to be overwhelming support for this rural development initiative (Enrique Perez Ruiz Burgos, Patronto de Turismo, pers com.; Exca. Diputacion de Burgos 1998).

Cultural routes in European tourism constitute the material basis for a diverse range of attractions for a heterogeneous market, and their evolution and development as tourism products is equally varied. In the case of non-specialist cultural tours, many itineraries are based on traditional routes and highlights, although these resources can easily become over-commercialised, because of the large numbers of users drawn to a narrow strip of land (Wall 1997). Whilst a full and varied itinerary reaches a wide audience and may maintain participants' interest, it excludes potentially more satisfying experiences tailored, to individual or other significant needs, such as interacting with local communities (Hughes 1991).

Cultural routes in European tourism may follow linear landforms such as a coastline or river, or transportation corridors. Both are routes along which visitors are channelled though narrow strips of land. The spatial characteristics of an attraction (for example, whether it is linear, or nodal and focused on one place) will help to determine visitor behaviour and management strategies (Wall 1997). The above discussion has served to illustrate that a cultural route can constitute a cultural resource, an attraction, a product, or an experience, depending upon the perspective of the stakeholders involved in its use and development.

The Cultural Tour

Turning now to a key medium through which tourists experience cultural routes: the organised cultural tour. This section will begin by setting the modern tour into context by giving a very brief outline of the historical development of group travel.

Early forms of group travel

The idea of taking pleasure in the journey itself might have seemed strange to someone undertaking travel in Europe three of four centuries ago (Aitchison *et al.* 2000). The old spelling '*travaile*' indicates an association between movement, hard work and physical discomfort (Wallace 1993, cited in *ibid*, 29). In medieval times, non-secular forms included travel to holy shrines, taken as an act of devotion, penance, or perhaps a search for knowledge and understanding. Pilgrimages were essentially journeys to sacred places, 'the fundamental conception is always in the idea that the deity resides or exercises some peculiarly powerful influence in some definite locality' (Hill 1965, 4), although as Aitchison *et al.* (2000) point

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

out, Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* suggests that this spiritual journey had not been without its worldly distractions. Pearce (1977b) sees the legacy of the medieval pilgrimage for modern travel as three-fold: it created a sublime goal at the end of the journey; the essentially spiritual nature of pilgrimage elevated the importance attached to travelling; and the collection of items (i.e. souvenirs) to demonstrate their achievements and that the journey had been successful.

According to Craik (1997), by the 16th century, a secular version of travel became known as the 'Grand Tour', and this 'moving academy' became an important source of prestige and social capital. Many writers have made the analogy between the modern cultural tour and the Grand Tour of previous centuries (e.g. Boniface and Fowler 1993; Burns and Holden 1995; Davidson 1998), where *noblesse* experienced the cultural highlights of European destinations after long preparatory periods at home. The modern role of tour guiding certainly seems to have had its roots here, since the most satisfactory method of travelling was under the direction of a vetturino, who acted as guide and courier (Hibbert 1987). Their role was intermediary between traveller and innkeeper, and they 'offered themselves to strangers of quality to serve as guides in surveying the curiosities of the place' (*ibid*, 161). Some participants were probably seeking status (Boniface and Fowler 1993), yet as Ryan (1991) suggests, these early tourists' motivations are now commonly perceived as education and selfenlightenment. The repercussions of the Grand Tour had an incalculable influence upon the cultural history of Europe, influencing artists and architects of the time, such as Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, Robert Adams and John Nash (Pearce 1977b). However, some have questioned the merits of the tour as an educational experience, and according to Ryan (1991, 44), the highlight for many young men may have been the hedonism of Venice ('the brothel of the eighteenth century') rather than the educational qualities of Classical Rome (*ibid* 1991, 44). It is thus not easy to make a clear distinction between these earlier forms of group travel that predominantly followed cultural itineraries and modern forms of cultural tourism and consumption, in which notions of pleasure and recreation are integral (Chapter 2). Several concerns such as relaxation and enjoyment, spiritual transcendence, education and culture appear to be present in modern travel. Moreover, in the past, the boundaries between work, pleasure and travel often seem indistinct, and this can be true today, particularly for those who have highly mobile and complex lifestyles (Aitchison et al. 2000).

Escorted package tours

So-called 'mass' travel began in C19th with the entrepreneurial activities of Thomas Cook, Rieser, and Stangen (Oppermann 1995), who made travel accessible to large numbers of people. Cook (in 1864) and Stangen (in1863) opened their respective travel agencies in London and Berlin offering tours to destinations often previously associated with the Grand Tour. In 1878, Stangen inaugurated an 'around the world' trip and therefore, initiated organised long-haul travel (Gunter 1982, cited in Oppermann 1995, 85). These modern educational tours were shorter than the Grand Tour (which sometimes lasted for months or even years), their members were increasingly part of the higher middle class, and tour guides lectured on attractions (*ibid*).¹⁸

The construction of national motorway networks in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, together with modern forms of transportation, enhanced the possibilities for leisure travel, particularly by increasing access to the countryside and rural cultural sites (PA Cambridge Economic Consultants Ltd *et al.* 1987). In some previously isolated regions such as the West of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, the development of air transport, fly-drive holidays, and air and coach itineraries increased inbound tourism (Aitchison *et al.* 2000). Cullen (1971) suggests that the increasingly centrifugal and dispersed pattern of travel led to a fear by some writers that this would create a unified tourism landscape. For example, in his comparison of seventeenth- and twentieth-century landscapes, he says:

'The most dramatic change is to be seen in the mobility of the individual...today...we appear to be forsaking nodal points for a thinly spread, coast-to-coast continuity of people, food, power, entertainment; a universal wasteland' (Cullen 1971, 59).

'Escorted package tours', are highly structured forms of travelling; many of the components of the tours are included in their overall ('inclusive') price. The route is pre-determined and accommodation and transportation are usually pre-booked by the operator. A tour guide, driver-guide, or tour manager, will escort tourists on a day-to-day basis, giving practical

¹⁸ For further discussions on the tour in the history of travel and tourism, see Aitchison *et al.* (2000) and Towner (1996).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

assistance as well as information about the destination (Oppermann 1995). The tour leader will make a significant contribution to the overall tour experience (Chapter 4)¹⁹. Coaches are the key mode of ground transport used to convey tourists along cultural routes (Oppermann 1995), and coach travel can be classified under a number of headings. International coach travel includes 'closed-door' tours (where one vehicle is used throughout the journey for the same group and the tour usually returns to the original point of departure. Extended tours (or coach holidays) are also a feature of domestic coach travel (Davidson 1998). Escorted tours are usually closed-door style, where a tour leader accompanies a group of tourists (who may or may not be affiliated with each other), and the approach is one of 'total service' (Hooper 1995, 69). The market segments to which coach travel appeals, or for whom it is a necessity, are far from homogenous (Oppermann 1995; Davidson 1998).

In recent decades, the tours market has diversified, with an increasing customisation of tours and an expansion in special-interest tours and operators (Sheldon 1986; Reimer 1990). Another facet is tour packages for 'independent' rather than group travellers, which may also include 'tailor-made' itineraries. As noted in Chapter 2, tour operators play an intermediary role between the customer and the destination, and essentially 'bundle attractions in such a way that users perceive the sum to have more value than the parts' (Oppermann 1995, 87). As mediators, tour operators are significant in the destination image-building process (Reimer 1990), a theme to be considered in detail later on in this thesis (see Chapters 4-8). However, operators have been criticised for their inadequate understanding of their customers' demands and may, for example, simply copy itineraries from successful companies; the customer's choice can therefore become restricted and guided (Oppermann 1995).

The current level of diversification throughout the organised cultural tourism segment means that the cultural coach tour can no longer be described as the 'mass-market equivalent' of the 'up-market cruise' (as suggested by Boniface and Fowler 1993, 15). Today, prices between the two types of holiday are competitive, and a variety of 'up-market' coach tours is available, particularly in the United States (Richardson 1990). The wide-range of products available, also means that the tourists themselves are heterogeneous in character; today, coach tours seem to

¹⁹ The role of the tour guide is also considered in Chapter 4: The Tour Experience.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

attract less strictly on the basis of income (those with the lowest), profession ('housewives and pensioners') and age ('elderly couples') (c.f. Thomson and Pearce 1980). Moreover, the 'average' age for international cultural tour members is no longer above forty-six years (Quiroga 1990; Atkins 1998), as this again can vary, depending on the type of product and the destination (Richardson 1990). In recent years, operators have attempted to change the coach holiday image, and there have been advances in their quality (also see Chapter 4). However, despite this, some perceptions remain 'rooted in the era of...endless journeys to the seaside' *(ibid, 47)*.

Specific motivations will influence the tourist's selection of a cultural tour, and it is likely that these will be based on a range of practical constraints or opportunities, preconceived ideas and influences. Each tour will project a cultural image or a series of images (Chapters 4 and 5). The majority of European countries can be considered as 'cultural destinations', because of their depth of historic and artistic material attributes (e.g. Quiroga 1990); although, whether it is in fact a cultural destination for a particular tourist will depend upon their specific experiences (for example, an isolated climbing or walking holiday, may not be considered to be especially 'cultural'). However, because of their high level of cultural capital (Britton 1991), many European cities can be described as inherently 'cultural' (Chapter 2). As a consequence, many city-sightseeing tours are culturally based (Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991). Rural areas are frequently 'cultural' in character, but may also be wholly 'scenic', as for example in the case of true wilderness landscapes, where there has been no direct human intervention. However, even where destinations possess very rich and distinctive cultural attributes, scenic attractions may take president in tour itineraries, as in the case of New Zealand (Oppermann 1995), which could relate to the resource-base consisting of a pristine environment and a range of impressive natural features including, glaciers, lakes and wildlife.

Quirogia (1991) defines the cultural tour on the basis that the programme will include a combination of elements, such as sightseeing and a tour guide, within a cultural destination. However, it is likely that seeing culture will only be a part of the escorted tour experience, even in destinations that are rich in culture. In addition, the whole package will almost

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certainly include scenic highlights, entertainment, and social activities. The growth in specialinterest tourism (Weiler and Hall 1992) has meant that some tours focus on specific regions, and indigenous cultures. This type of tour is quite distinct from the non-specialised cultural tour, as specific tourist expectations might include interacting with local societies in a range of indigenous activities (Hughes 1991; *Special interest itineraries*, above). Therefore, the 'authentic' experience may be a significant determinant of overall satisfaction (*ibid*) in what could also be described as 'ethnically-based tours'. However, MacCannell's (1973) notion that travel is akin to a quest for authenticity cannot necessarily be transferred to the cultural tourism market more generally. There may be other differences between the special interest and more general tours, in that the guide may be expected to act as mediator; according to Hughes, tourists on cultural specialised tours prefer to be 'participants', rather than observers (*ibid*).

Coach travel is a neglected area of research (Dean 1993); statistical sources frequently use the blanket category 'road travel' (Davidson 1998); coach travellers are thus, a silent minority. There are exceptions, including a small body of literature exploring tour participant attitudes, and this is reviewed in the following chapter (Chapter 4) with special reference to the experience of touring. Page (1994) reveals a number of trends in coach usage with particular reference to international coach travel. He is generally optimistic about the future of coach services in Europe, although it is recognised that mergers and acquisitions may lead to a virtual monopoly of services by large operators (Richardson 1990); moreover, the affects on consumers are uncertain (Chapter 2). In addition, the growth of coach transport during the 1990s has had environmental consequences, and many day-trip destinations, such as the historic towns of Europe, have adopted restrictive policies, banning coaches from city centres, for example Canterbury, U.K. (Davidson 1998). A range of visitor management strategies to alleviate transport pressure have also been introduced (Grant *et al.* 1995), a full review of which is beyond the scope of this work.

In Europe, the concept of the route as a tourism product, and cultural tourism in general, seem to be increasingly in marketed by destinations and by tour operators. Although research is inconclusive (Hughes 2000), this may be explained in part, by an increasing demand for

special interest and cultural products and a desire for new and diverse experiences (Weiler and Hall 1992; Richards 1996). It is likely that the demand for customised and special interest tours will eventually lead to a more diversified supply of tour packages worldwide, in an environment that is already highly competitive (Oppermann 1995; Cavlek 2000). The question is whether existing cultural routes will sustain this demand, and whether alternative routes of sufficient quality and attraction can be generated. These issues cannot be addressed until there is a full understanding of what it is that cultural tourists actually consume. However, in the academic literature, little consideration has been given to the appreciation of scenes observed on route to a destination (Aitchison *et al.* 2000).

Having reviewed the notion of the cultural route and introduced the concept of the cultural tour as a medium through which the route is experienced and consumed, exploring its development and diversity, the following chapter focuses upon the consumer: the cultural tour member.

CHAPTER 4

THE TOUR EXPERIENCE

'The experience of passing through an ever-changing landscape enables the traveller to catch glimpses of places to which he or she has no lasting commitment. The journey can be regarded not simply as a means to an end but as a source of pleasure derived from a sense of freedom through travel' -

Moving Landscapes: leisure and tourism in time and space (Aitchison et al. 2000, 29).

This chapter reviews the literature evaluating tour members' attitudes towards travel, which tends to focus on motivations, expectations and experiences. It concludes that these evaluations are of limited value, as they do not enable a full understanding of tourists' levels of engagement with their host environments, nor do they assess whether or why their images may change after their visit. It then explores the processes of tourists' destination image formation, and their consumption experience during a tour. It investigates the well-documented but ambiguous concept of tourists' entrapment in a 'destination bubble'. Finally, the concept of 'route mapping' is introduced as a potentially very fruitful, but so far under-explored method in tourism research.

Exploring the Experience of Tourism

Research into the experience of tourism has tended to fall into two main categories: the sociological approach, focusing on tourists' roles in host countries, whether they form brief and intense relationships, or have prejudicial encounters with their hosts, and debates about tourists' perceptions of the authenticity of their experiences (Boorstin 1964; MacCannell 1973; Cohen 1979). These studies are interesting but essentially untestable in empirical terms (Chapter 2). The second approach relates to the psychological sphere, principally concerned with travellers' motivations including escape, relaxation, sensual indulgence, and the 'fun' aspects of travel (Raynouard 1973, cited in Pearce 1977b, 15). These have been related to an inherent desire for festive or ritual activity, especially in tourist situations in which social life is planned and organised, such as during cruises and package tours (Graburn 1978). Ryan

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

(1997) has argued that an understanding of the non-holiday aspect of peoples' lives is required in order to better understand what constitutes the 'tourist experience', in other words, the concentration on the nature of holidays can only create a partial understanding. However, in contrast it may also be argued that by focusing on the experience of tourism specifically, it may be possible to appreciate some broader aspects of contemporary society (Krippendorf 1989).

Studies based on the concept that different touristic behaviours and by extension their motivations, can differentiate between categories of tourist, frequently over-generalise. For example, the organised tourist has been characterised as the least adventurous of all types of visitor; they remain encapsulated in a vehicle or hotel complex, and adhere to itineraries fixed by their tour operators (Ryan 1991). In his frequently cited article entitled 'Why destinations rise and fall in popularity', Plog (1974) proposed a psychographic profile of tourist motivations in the form of a continuum ranging from the 'allocentric' to the 'psychocentric' tourist at the two extremes. According to Plog, the allocentric tourist sought adventure and exploration whilst the psychocentric tourist preferred organised mass tourism or package holidays to popular destinations²⁰. Building on Plog's model, Butler and Waldbrook (1991) offered a parallel continuum of tourism impacts that ranged from the low environmental, social and economic impact of allocentric travellers to the high impact of psychocentric tourists. Previously Cohen (1979) had examined the interrelation between tourists and destinations pointing out the 'drifter' would have less impact than the 'organised mass tourist'. Such assertions are now beginning to be questioned by tourism researchers contending that tourists who are constrained within the so-called 'tourist bubble' provided by the tourism operator actually inflict less impact upon local populations and landscapes than the independent traveller (Aitchison et al. 2000). Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 3, organised tours are not necessarily 'mass tourism', which is described by Poon (1993, 32) as when: 'the

²⁰ Allocentric and psychocentric classifications were first developed by Plog (1974), and based on behaviours with motivations imputed to them; he argues that there is a continuum between these types of tourists. So-called allocentrics seek new places/cultures and are prepared to take risks in their search; psychocentric tourists seek the familiar and are not risk takers. Plog suggests that these types would be drawn to particular destinations (Europe being mid-centric to psychocentric for a USA market in the original model). This has implications regarding the types of tourists that destinations attract, and there is a time element: destinations are originally discovered by allocentrics who are subsequently followed by psychocentrics.

holiday is consumed *en mass* with little regard by the tourist to place or culture'. Cultural tours tend to encounter a diverse resource-base and include many attractions sited at different locations, and therefore they do not usually conform to this label (Oppermann 1995). Meanwhile, tour members' levels of engagement with their host environments are inadequately researched to date, and this subject is explored in detail below (see *The destination bubble*, below).

While many researchers agree that tourism fundamentally involves both social and psychological experiences, the emphasis that each aspect has on tourists' behaviours is still debated (Pearce 1982). On one hand, the quality of experience is seen to be determined by individual cognitions and feelings which affect behaviour, over sociological factors, such as income and socio-economic status (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991). On the other, it has been argued that the choice of tour experience is obviously constrained or enabled by exposure to promotional factors and financial means (Burns and Holden 1995). In addition, the act of choosing a holiday signifies that a process of conditioning has begun, including the control of expectations by media inputs (ibid). Weightman (1987) suggests that a tour brochure represents the essence of the tour experience, although it is important to recognise that tour itineraries actually represent operators' perceptions of a country's tourism resources (see Destination itineraries, below) emphasising the need for further customer-focused research (see *The Tour Experience*, below). While motivations are psychological and sociological, they are also dynamic, modified by experience, and they can evolve throughout the tourism encounter (Quiroga 1990). Tourists' attitudes are probably best explored by delimiting the type of tourism experience under study (Chapter 2). However, as many people will undertake a range of different types of holiday, even in a single year, it is unwise to be overly interpretive of any one choice (Ryan 1991). Rather than forming typologies of tourists on this basis, it is more important to explore their experiences.

Exploring the Tour Experience

One of the central topics of this thesis has been the evaluation of organised tours and the study of a small but diverse body of literature within tourism and business studies exploring the quality of the tour experience. These cover a wide range of disciplinary influences, especially

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

53

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from sociology and psychology, but also anthropology, geography and economics. The predominant approaches include: service and product-based satisfaction measurement (Geva and Goldman1991; Hughes 1991), expectation and satisfaction measurement (Thomson and Pearce 1980; Whipple and Thatch 1988; Geva and Goldman 1989; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Duke and Persia 1994; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994; Yang 1995; Duke and Persia 1996) supplemented by observation (Quiroga 1990), behavioural and ethnographic studies exploring the dynamic processes of tour group function and formation (Gorman 1979; Schuchat 1983); and a remote cognitive evaluation of tour attributes using pictorial images of the tourist setting (Chadee and Mattsson 1996; see below).

Destination itineraries

Related to these studies (above), is an emergent literature on destination itineraries (Forer and Pearce 1984; Weightman 1987; Mings and McHugh 1992; Dahl 1999; Oppermann 2000). A tour itinerary includes both nodal and more spatially diffuse attractions, such as scenery, positioned in a sequence along a route. They are often well established, forming well-worn circuits or 'beaten tracks'. As discussed in Chapter 3, many itineraries in Europe can be traced back to the Grand Tour, which according to Craik (1997), began in the 16th century. However, this area is currently under researched (Dahl 1999), and left much poorer by the untimely death of one of its main contributors (Oppermann 2000). Like those of tourism's promotional literature (Goodhall and Bergsma 1990; Holloway and Robinson 1995; Dann 1996; Dann 2000), the analyses of tour itineraries tend to provide insights into the operator's perceptions of a destination and its tourism resources rather than providing contributions from customers (Oppermann 1995). Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg (1998) have suggested that the homogeny of tour itineraries requires that the operators are forced to find their competitive edge in service encounters, as it is these that differentiate one service company from another. Operators therefore see tour personnel as a strategic resource that can be used to fulfil tourists' expectations during the tour (ibid).

Weightman (1987) conducted an analysis of the structure and content of the promotional literature of thirteen tour products in India. Focusing on the interrelationships between places and people, she suggests that the landscape experiences of tourists on package tours of India

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

have little coincidence with the experiential reality of the country, as visitors are isolated and encapsulated in vehicles and hotels. Furthermore, she notes that the itineraries emphasise monuments from the past, to the exclusion of every-day events and activities of contemporary society. She concludes that tour planners who are genuinely interested in promoting international understanding should design tours which provide 'opportunities for discovering the meaning of landscape and capturing a sense of place' (*ibid*, 237). This highlights the importance of identifying, through more direct means, the levels of involvement and engagement that tour members have with their destinations.

Satisfaction measurement

One of the simplest instruments for evaluating tourists' attitudes towards services and products is the post-experience feedback form or questionnaire, which enables researchers to gauge satisfaction levels. Tour operators will often use this method when seeking to evaluate the success of a tour and to identify perceptions of tour quality. Additionally, because of the difficulties of undertaking a direct assessment, they will use measures of consumer satisfaction as an indicator of the guide's performance (Geva and Goldman 1991). Satisfaction measurement is often used by companies as a basis for providing a guide's bonus, or even their continued employment (*ibid*). However, the validity of survey instruments used by the industry may be questioned; as they are often simplistic; cover a very limited range of attributes; and are predominantly quantitative in nature. Moreover, the approach is open to considerable manipulation by both in-tour staff and operating companies²¹, and therefore the accuracy of the approach may also be doubted.

More rigorous and expansive studies have been attempted by researchers using the post-tour questionnaire (*ibid*; Hughes 1991). For example, Geva and Goldman (1991, 178) in their study of Israeli tourists visiting Europe and the United States found that 'the bond that develops between the guide and the tour participants is stronger than between them and the company'. They suggest that this is primarily due to the fact that the guide fulfils the task of providing services and also a leadership role in the touring group:

²¹ Based on this writer's personal experience of working in the tourism industry.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

'The guide plays an essential role in fostering group interaction and solidarity, providing security and protection in the face of difficulties encountered in the host country, and mediating tourist-host interaction' (*ibid*, 178).

This view is one that has found favour with a number of other writers (e.g. Lopez 1980; Cohen 1985; Quiroga 1990).

Hughes (1991) in her study of a regional cultural tour in North Queensland, found that the ability of the tour guide to provide interesting and informative commentary particularly about the indigenous cultures visited, was of particular importance in determining visitors' satisfaction with the tour. She suggests that in this case, the adequate provision of information was one of the key elements in enhancing tourists' appreciation and understanding of the hosts and destination. The tourists' expectations seem to have been quite specialised, as they desired to enhance their cultural knowledge by directly interacting with local people and experiencing their lifestyle. However, the role of the tour guide seems to have been one of 'informer', rather than 'intermediary' with focus on providing specialist historical, cultural, and environmental details of the area visited (also see, *Factors promoting or influencing the tour experience*, below).

Dis/confirmation models

Based on the long held belief that tourist satisfaction can be linked to pre-tour attitudes (Smith 1955), academic researchers have predominantly used pre-tour and post-tour questionnaires to evaluate tour quality. Research into service quality more generally, has focused mainly upon methods for monitoring operations (Schmenner 1995) and for measuring customer satisfaction from a marketing perspective (Zeithaml *et al.* 1990). This latter tradition normally measures the 'gap' between customers' expectations and perceptions of the service to provide an indication of service quality (*ibid*). In other words, expectations serve as standards with which subsequent experiences are compared, resulting in evaluations of satisfaction or quality (Parasuraman *et al.* 1985; Zeithaml *et al.* 1993). However, service *per se*, is by nature individualised and intangible, and the notion of 'quality' in service is highly subjective, having no true existence outside the customer's perception (Johns and Howard 1998).

57

Furthermore, there seems to be considerable debate about the relationship between consumer satisfaction and perceived quality, and about the appropriateness of the disconfirmation or 'gap' approach (e.g. Parasuraman *et al.* 1991). It seems increasingly certain that affective states and perceived performance during the experience are particularly significant in determining customers' satisfaction (see Chadee and Mattsson 1996).

Despite some of the limitations associated with the disconfirmation model, studies that gauge customers pre-tour and post-tour attitudes are clearly more sophisticated than simply measuring satisfaction levels. Significantly, they allow the researcher to ascertain whether tourists' attitudes have changed after their touristic experience. Studies using this approach have produced detailed information about tour members' motivations and their reasons for dis/satisfaction. For example, Duke and Persia (1996) elicited 'consumer-defined' dimensions from the North American touring market, in order to improve the validity of their survey from the consumers' perspective. In terms of pre-tour expectations, they found that participants cited itinerary issues most frequently, such as attractions, scenery, length of stops, and the role of the escort. Other aspects included social and safety features, education and adventure. In terms of their importance, value, comfort, and safety were rated most highly. After touring, the most frequently mentioned items were social and itinerary aspects, although the most important of these was the itinerary, suggesting that attitudes had changed slightly. Duke and Persia conclude from this study that tour planners should work to continually improve itineraries, as well as ensuring that personal enjoyment aspects, such as social issues, are satisfied. In another North American study, in which they compare the attitudes of foreign and domestic escorted tour members, Duke and Persia (1994) found that overseas travellers have higher expectations for comfort and value, adequate stops, and for the provision of information, than their domestic counterparts. They also suggest that the tour destination and its associated attractions determined the highest overall expectation levels, followed by attractive scenery, and sufficient stops at places.

Few studies using the survey approach have recognised the potential significance of measuring tourists' attitudes during the actual process of touring, despite identifying that tour members' expectations may evolve during this period (e.g. Geva and Goldman 1989; Hughes 1991).

However, some studies using a disconfirmation approach have focused the 'dynamic unfolding nature' of the tour and the subsequent need to measure consumers' perceptions as they develop over time (Geva and Goldman 1989, 50). Geva and Goldman (*ibid*) suggest that during the early stages of a tour perceptions are not well formed and the tour is perceived mostly in terms of one set of attributes: the ones used to compare alternative tours (i.e. the guide, the operating company, and the group). However, experience with the tour resulted in consumers forming a clearer view of the elements that make up the tour structure. They identify tourists' enhanced ability (or perhaps preference) to distinguish between separate attributes after touring, including those relating to the tour guide and the tour operator. Consequently, they found that while the success of a tour may be attributed to its personnel (as highlighted by Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998, above) the companies themselves are not necessarily accredited with the success of a tour (Geva and Goldman 1991). Geva and Goldman recognise that consumers play an active part in shaping the perceived performance of the tour, and that tour quality depends largely on tourists' motivation, initiative, ability and effort. They suggest that tourists are likely to attribute positive outcomes of touring to their own actions and failures to 'external' causes, such as the tour company. By exploring changes in participants understanding of different tour components rather than simply scoring their relative importance in tourists' overall satisfaction levels, this approach is succeeds in being explanatory.

Collectively, one of the most frequently cited ideas in the organised tours literature is that knowledge-seeking and educational aspects influence tourists' motivations for taking a tour and their reasons for stating whether they were satisfied with the experience. This is illustrated by Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) who found that knowledge-seeking, and in particular learning about the history of the destination, in this case Washington D.C., was the most significant variable determining tourists' behaviour. Furthermore, in their view, the success of the tour itinerary is of critical importance, as it will radiate positive effects to other dimensions, including social interaction (*ibid*).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

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Pictorial studies

Chadee and Mattsson (1996) took an alternative approach to surveys measuring customers' motivations and satisfaction, and instead measured people's responses to images of different tourist encounters, including a sightseeing tour. This innovative method used pictures of tourism settings in which variables that were thought to influence peoples' perceptions of the quality of the experience (for example, educational value, price, novelty, and social value) were manipulated. Although claiming that this studied service processes in a more global and dynamic way than previous methods employed by tourism researchers, the approach gauged respondents' attitudes to pre-determined images set in a laboratory, rather than identifying their 'real life' images and experiences of tourism. What is more, in their study of the perception of organised tours during their consumption, Geva and Goldman (1989; above) found that as the tour progresses the itinerary became an increasingly important factor. This finding is thought to demonstrate the significance of an individual directly experiencing the tour environment in determining their attitudes about the overall experience (*ibid*). If this is the case, then assessing an entire service setting by proxy, seems of limited value when seeking to explain the relationship between tour members and their travel setting (Chadee and Mattsson 1996).

Behavioural and ethnographic studies

A handful of behavioural and ethnographic studies employing observation techniques have been used to explore the dynamic processes of tour group function and formation (Gorman 1979; Schmidt 1979; Schuchat 1983; Quiroga 1990).

Observational techniques were first used in social science research to map people's leisure activities and experiences over sixty years ago. Previously anthropologists had used this unobtrusive method to analyse patterns of social and cross-cultural interaction, mainly in the study of non-Western cultures (Seaton 1997). Despite their inclusion in relatively recent literature (Veal 1992; Ryan 1995), observational measures have negligible status in modern tourism research. Tourism as an industry and as a discipline has instead favoured quantitative techniques that rarely capture the complexities of tourism experiences (Seaton 1997). Behavioural observation generates qualitative descriptions, and the basic tenet of qualitative

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

research is that theory develops from the observation of the actions of those under study (Hardy 1995). In tourism, the approach consists of a range of techniques including, unstructured observation; the structured recording of specific behaviours; and the electronic recording of behaviours. These are most frequently used to evaluate the on-site activities of visitors, but are often directed towards gross physical parameters, such as visitor flow patterns (Pearce 1988), rather than to understanding the nuances that users of a setting feel.

Gold (1969) identifies four roles that a researcher may assume in behavioural observation: participant, participant observer, observer participant, and observer. Zeisel (1990) distinguishes the first of these as a 'full participant' (Pearce's 1988, 'skilled informer'): those who legitimately work in a tourist setting such as a tour guide. The role is perhaps less ethical than a 'marginal participant' taking the role of another tour member, although the greater familiarity from the position of a lay-person, requires more introspection by the researcher, as observation should challenge, rather than enforce preconceptions (Hardy 1995). The other two roles, arguably maintain greater objectivity, although the 'recognised outsider' may considerably influence participants' actions, in ways that cannot be fully understood, and the 'secret observer' is by definition removed from the action, and their position raises serious ethical questions (Zeisel 1990). Hence, the latter two roles are rarely used in tourism research.

Quiroga (1990) used observation techniques in her role of tour guide in Western Europe, to supplement the information derived from surveys, and to explore group dynamics during the course of the tour. She found initially from questionnaires, that almost half the participants sited cultural motivations for taking a tour, and many mentioned cultural enrichment as significant in determining their satisfaction; high levels of satisfaction were recorded.²² Sharing the experience with others also appeared to influence the degrees of final satisfaction, and almost all (97%) of the respondents considered the guide to be indispensable in helping tourists to interact with each other. Observation helped to enhance this information by showing that the overall size of the tour group was another significant factor influencing the

²² 47.8% 'very satisfied' and 40% 'fairly satisfied'.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

formation and development of relationships, as large groups resulted in negative dynamics and high levels of dissatisfaction.

Schuchat (1983) used an ethnographic approach in her studies of North American tour groups. Citing Agar (1980), she describes ethnography as a process which is dialectic rather than linear, and 'best modeled by a pattern that is gradually discovered and interrelated with other patterns' (Schuchat 1983, 467). Using participant observation and observation as tour leader, she undertook studies in Asia, Mexico, North America and the Caribbean. Schuchat draws attention to the composition of travel parties, suggesting that couples may join tours because they need intermediaries through whom to interact with each other. She suggests that other members of the tour group may become 'surrogates' for children, fellow workers or others at home. The group provides 'safety in strange places' and this feeling of security can actually encourage a degree of exploration as it is known for example, that someone is waiting at the hotel. Schuchat recognises that tours can frequently extend into the realms of work, through the pursuit of special interests or because they are valued for their educational role:

'Although the image is often still of polyester hordes descending on out-of-fashion watering holes...the actuality is that tour groups can come in all sizes and shapes and for purposes that often involve "work" and "study" (Schuchat 1983, 465).

Schmidt (1975; 1979) uses observation in her role of travel agent trainee, and as a participant observer on guided tours, predominantly in the New York metropolitan area. She argues that guided tours function more effectively in cities and other highly structured environments, and that mechanisms are designed to integrate tourists into these environment, This includes the access to material culture by consuming and observing (for example by shopping, dining, or visiting museums). This suggestion contrasts with other work (Khuri 1968 and Ritter 1975, both cited in Quiroga 1990, 186) which suggests that it is precisely in non-structured, rural situations, that guided tours are necessary, since cultural differences may be greatest between tourists and local inhabitants in these environments.

Key Findings from Previous Research

These examples (above) serve to illustrate the range of approaches used in the study of organised tours and their participants. Both academic and commercial customer-focused tour evaluations have tended to address the service aspects of tours, although several studies have identified the itinerary as a significant variable for study (e.g. Thomson and Pearce 1980; Weightman 1987; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991). The need for careful planning of the itinerary is recognised, although details about quite how to go about this are limited (Duke and Persia 1996; Gay 1999). It seems that the itinerary becomes an increasingly important factor for participants as the tour progresses (Geva and Goldman 1989; Duke and Persia 1996), and this can be attributed to the individual directly experiencing a tour environment (Geva and Goldman 1989). In addition, the tour itinerary will help to determine participants' attitudes about the overall experience (*ibid*). Of the available studies, none appear to have seriously explored the consumption of the tour itinerary from the customer's perspective, or developed research techniques by which to do so. Moreover, there is clearly controversy about the perceived levels of involvement and engagement that tour members have with their touring environments; and the degree of influence exerted by the tour guide as well as other sources, such as promotional literature. On the one hand, tours are thought to 'integrate' tourists by providing access to material culture (Schmidt 1979) or through the provision of information (Quiroga 1990), and on the other, they are thought to encapsulate and isolate tourists in 'a bubble' (Weightman 1987; also see The destination bubble, below).

Factors promoting or influencing the tour experience

Previous studies of tour quality have identified several factors influencing tour members' reasons for selecting a tour and their subsequent levels of satisfaction with the experience. In addition to the tour itinerary (above), these include the value that tour participants place on cultural and place information (Quiroga 1990) focusing on historical dimensions (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991), or the indigenous population (Hughes 1991); the significance of the guide in providing information, and in affecting how places are experienced (above), in both structured (Schmidt 1979) and unstructured environments (Quiroga 1990). The educational benefits of tours, and knowledge-seeking more generally, are common to all the studies reviewed (particularly Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Hughes 1991; Duke

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

and Persia 1994; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994; Yang 1995; Chadee and Mattsson 1996). Several studies have demonstrated that the acquisition of knowledge about a destination is more important than social interaction on sightseeing tours (Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Geva and Goldman 1991; Duke and Persia 1996). Cultural experiences often based upon tour participants' own countries of origin, are likely to influence their expectations, and satisfaction levels (Gorman 1979; Quiroga 1990; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994). Coupled with this are the participants' own motivations, initiative, ability, and effort, which can mitigate the reduction in perceived tour quality arising from technical problems with the tour, for example, with the hotel or motor coach (Geva and Goldman 1989). Material concerns in the initial selection of a tour particularly include 'value for money' (Duke and Persia 1996). Factors, which can modify tour members' experiences, include, group dynamics (Schuchat 1983; Duke and Persia 1994) the nature of personal travelling companions (Schmidt 1979; Quiroga 1990); and whether the overall tour group was affiliated prior to touring (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991).

The role of the tour guide is particularly intriguing, and it has already formed the basis for a number of serious academic works (e.g. Lopez 1980; Cohen 1985; Pond 1993; Hounnaklang 2002). Cohen (1985) argues that the modern role of the guide consists of social mediation and cultural brokerage, the principal component of which are the leadership spheres and the mediatory sphere. The guide may also play a key role in concept formation, as information is not only passed on but also interpreted. Information may thus be subtly transformed into an interpretation of a visited site which is intended to influence the tourists' impressions and attitudes (*ibid*). Quirogia (1990) argues that the guide helps to integrate tourists through the provision of information and by physically interacting with the host environment, but they can also isolate participants from the destination by helping to facilitate interaction between group members within the internal setting of the coach. By contrast, Hughes (1991) asserts from her study of a regional cultural tour in Queensland, that the role of the guide seems to have been as an 'informer', rather than 'intermediary' with focus on providing specialist information (above).

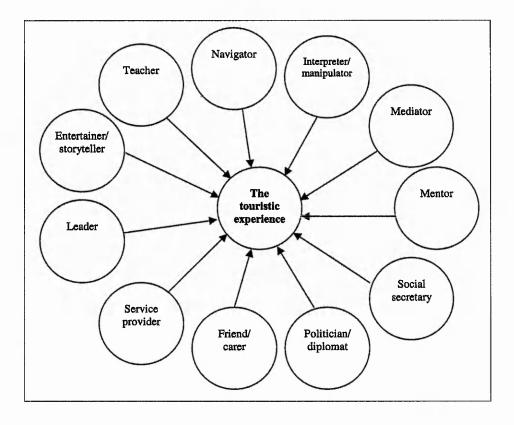
T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Meanwhile, Resinger and Waryszak (1994), in their study of pre-formed groups of Japanese tourists travelling to Australia, observe that cultural differences such as language, create a significant dependency on the guide for information. They conclude that cultural differences are also significant in producing dissatisfaction in relation to the quality of the guides' knowledge of the Australian product, compared to the high standards of precise work expected in Japan. However, in their study of tourists on a sightseeing tour, Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) found that pre-formed tour groups and conference delegates were generally less satisfied than unaffiliated tour members whose main purpose was to sightsee, thus emphasising that factors other than cultural background may be significant in creating satisfying tour experiences.

Selwyn (1996) in his observation of an Israeli walking tour (*tiyoulim*) draws attention to the influence of the guide on tour participants' experiences. In particular, he describes the concept of 'boundary hopping' that is prevalent in the presentation of the countryside, where tours involve a mixture of 'scientific' and 'magical' experiences where 'the traveller is propelled' at great speed, oscillating from one plane to the other (*ibid*, 156-157). The role of the contemporary tourist guide is complex and it has tended to receive more attention in the literature than escorted tours in general. While it is not the purpose of this thesis to explore these complexities in detail, the range of potential roles that may be undertaken by the guide are illustrated in Figure 4.1 (below). The very act of choosing a tour means that a range of different media may have already influenced tourists' perceptions of a destination (Burns and Holden 1995), and as it is shown in subsequent chapters (especially Chapter 8), the information provided by the tour guide is only one of many potential sources that can influence the tourist's overall perception of a destination. The role of the tour guide within this study is therefore considered within this broader context of influences.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Figure 4.1 The Potential Contribution of Tour Guides to the Touristic Experience (after Burns and Holden 1995)



Research methods

The tour environment is multi-faceted: it consists of internal and external spaces which coexist in time. The behaviour of tour participants will be the influenced by a number of motivations which may be continually evolving throughout the tour (Geva and Goldman 1989; Quiroga 1990). To date, a number of methods have been employed in attempts to understand this complex world of the tour experience, and of these, two which are focused on the consumer, seem to be particularly complementary (e.g. Quiroga 1990). The first of these is the pre-tour and post-tour survey, although without necessarily adhering to the theoretical baggage with which this approach is usually associated (e.g. Parasuraman *et al.* 1985). The fundamental benefit of a longitudinal approach is that measuring tourists' attitudes before and

66

after their direct experience of a destination enables change to be detected. Moreover, surveys are well equipped to measure tourists' overall satisfaction levels.

Secondly, the potential advantages of observation in contributing to the understanding of tour experiences are substantial: they provide a record of what visitors actually do, rather than what they say they do, and insight into social and cultural factors which may influence their behaviour (Pearce 1988; Zeisel 1990). One of the principal qualities of the method is that it is dynamic, as the observer is permitted glimpses in time of the life of an environment (Zeisel 1990).

To an outsider, tour members might appear to consume the external environment passively, or even 'mindlessnessly', particularly when travelling through stretches of mundane scenery (Pearce 1981; Pearce 1988). Participant observation offers a direct means to explore such assumptions. Jorgensen (1989, 15) notes that 'the methodology of participant observation provides direct experiential and observational access to the insider's "world of meaning". The access that it provides to emotional phenomena is one of its greatest strengths, for example, in a study of friendliness towards tourists, Pearce (1988) found in a thirty-day Greyhound trip across the United States, that the tourist role legitimised certain kinds of question asking.²³ However, the implicit and empathetic approach to observation has in the past resulted in an absence of standards for methodological procedures and theoretical frameworks for interpreting observations. Moreover, unfocused observation is 'opportunistic' and an undesirable method 'since it does not benefit from previous conceptual research studies and may be little more than a biased, unsubstantiated personal diary' (*ibid*, 52).

Most importantly, this review of previous studies which explore the tour experience has demonstrated that while the tour itinerary and acquiring knowledge about the destination are of critical importance in determining tour members' levels of enjoyment, the extent to which tour participants interact with and learn about these destinations is little understood. A clear gap in the literature has been identified since most customer-focused tour evaluations have

²³ Pearce subsequently found from this study that international tourists were treated hospitably (Pearce 1988).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

addressed the service aspects of tours rather than analysing the consumption of the tour route itself.

Destination image

As the review of the literature of tours revealed a need for a greater understanding of the consumption process involved in the tour experience, attention was then turned to a body of literature examining 'consumer behaviour'. This is frequently defined as the activities directly involved in obtaining, consuming and disposing of products and services (Moutinho 1987; Mowen 1995; Swarbrooke and Horner 1999), and the image that a tourist has of a destination will determine the first of these. According to Crompton (1979), the image of a tourist destination is the collective sum of a tourist's beliefs, ideas, impressions, and expectations. Tourists may perceive many images, and these can in turn influence their behaviour as consumers (Ahmed 1996). Image marketing can alter behaviour, first-time visitors often responding to more generalised images than those with a greater experience of a destination (ibid; Schreyer and Lime 1984) who develop more complex associations (MacKay and Fesenmaier 1997). For marketing purposes, the components making up the overall image of a destination are thought of as tourism products. However, tourist destinations are also subjectively valued cultural landscapes that are created and transformed by their inhabitants, as well as by their visitors (Ringer 1998; Chapters 2 and 3). It is thought that the consumption experience of these landscapes can be significantly influenced by interacting with the other consumers present (Ahmed 1996; Oliver 2001a; Oliver 2001b; see Chapter 7).

Destinations images are based on the tangible components of environments, as well as service encounters and atmosphere, which are less tangible. These images may strongly influence tourists' perceptions of quality and value (Murphy and Pritchard 2000) and evaluating tourists' perceptions of their separate elements is fundamental to understanding the formation of images (MacKay and Fesenmaier 1997; see Chapter 5). An individual's cognitive and affective images coupled with their socio-psychological motivations to travel largely appear to form their actual intention to visit (Baloglu 1999).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

68

Tourist destinations can convey powerful historical and geographical images (Ringer 1998). Even writers addressing the 'Disneyfication' of tourism landscapes have advocated the need for the identification and a respect for such places, arguing that 'improved knowledge of the nature of place can contribute to the maintenance and manipulation of existing places and the creation of new places' (Relph 1976, 44). This requires that the destination is understood in terms of both personal experiences and attractiveness (Ringer 1998).

'Through such representations, a wealth of social and psychological information, both informed and sensed, is revealed regarding the destination as attraction and habitat, and the emotional degree to which that space is individually humanised through direct experience and intimacy' (*ibid*, 5-6).

Conway and Ruddy (1999) take this idea a stage further by emphasising that while the components of an image are frequently used in tourism product positioning strategies, the tourists themselves do not visit a place with a set of objective destination features, but instead select activities and experiences to fulfil highly subjective needs.

The destination bubble

After selecting a tourism product, the central part of the process of consumer behaviour is the direct experience of a destination or multiple destinations, and this is likely to provide the bulk of the tour experience (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998). Many studies have used the analogy of a tourist or environmental 'bubble' to describe this temporal and spatial span in the consumption process (*ibid*). However, despite this wealth of interest, there is no consensus as to what is actually meant by the notion of a destination bubble, nor whether it can in be defined in spatial terms, or if it is wholly metaphysical. Smith (1978) describes it as a means of fulfilling 'social needs...thereby creating their own reality – their "tourist bubble"– of being physically "in" a foreign place but socially "outside" the culture'. Cohen suggests the bubble is an all-embracing 'tourist space'; Dumazedier refers it as a region that is "cooked" up solely for the benefits of tourists'; while Sampson discusses what happens there by referring to 'the cruise liner effect'; Farrel calls it an, 'enclave of familiarity' (cited in Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998, 151); and according to Graburn (1978) this tourist enclave is a 'home-grown

"bubble" of their [the tourists'] life style'; it gives people the confidence to travel (Hudson 1999). Hudson (1999) argues that 'bubble travel' allows the tourist to observe a foreign culture without having to become immersed in it. 'This bubble insulates the consumers from the difficult aspects of life in a foreign environment and gives them the basic confidence to travel' (*ibid*, 13). Alternatively, the 'culture bubble' can be specifically designed by operators in order to control a product or holiday experience and gain competitive advantage (Carey et al. 1997). For Hanefors and Larsson Mossberg, the bubble is not a form of manipulation, but a medium that offers tourists almost unlimited opportunities for challenging or changing the norms controlling their everyday life, and this could include assuming a new role or identity. In other words, 'the tourist is anywhere rather than somewhere, articulating his escape motives in a tourist environment – the bubble' (*ibid*, p. 151).

It appears that the destination bubble is meant to convey the sense of physical and cultural isolation, as well as the way in which tourists create meaning through their social integration to the tour group (Schmidt 1975; Gorman 1979; Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998). It therefore seems ironic, that in the organised cultural tours segment, which is often characterised as the epitome of the destination bubble, it is the 'seeking' motive that is frequently significant in peoples' decisions to travel, principally through the desire for cultural and place information. Several studies have demonstrated that for tour participants, the acquisition of knowledge about their destination is more important than any form of social interaction on sightseeing tours (Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Geva and Goldman 1991; Duke and Persia 1996; see Key Findings from Previous Research, above). This is perhaps surprising, in view of the image of the tour as a 'tourist enclave' and notions that tourists travelling in a group will necessarily desire to socialise (Gorman 1979; Schuchat 1983).

Route Maps

The investigation of tourists' understanding of transient destination images makes the concern one of environmental cognition (Spencer and Blades 1989). This field is extremely fertile in methods to elicit both recall and recognition of environments (Moore and Golledge 1976), and approaches have highlighted links between environmental legibility and attraction (Lynch

1960). A review of approaches assessing the responses of travellers as they move across a landscape focused upon the field of environmental psychology. Sometimes known as 'environmental aesthetics' or 'route perception', these studies are concerned with the patterns and structures of the environment as seen by motorists and their passengers, who are usually commuters travelling along highways or expressways. Applevard et al. (1964) asked subjects to make rapid sketches of what they perceived as they travelled over designated road sectors; subjects also recalled features along the route. Another frequently quoted work in this area is that by Carr and Schissler (1969), who examined travellers' eye movements and free recall over the same route, and reported that considerably less attention was paid to the road itself than Appleyard et al. Moreover, the amount of time that an object was observed was highly correlated with item recall and the degree of correlation among what different subjects observed was high. Both of these studies indicate that distant landmarks are not important in adults' roadside cognition (Spencer and Blades 1989). Jones (1972) studied subjects viewing sequential slides that depicted a drive along an unfamiliar but typical urban street in Los Angeles. This research, like that of Allen et al. (1978), found that proximate landmarks facilitate environmental cognition in route travel. Despite the existence of some notable research, particularly such as that of Appleyard et al. (above), this is still an under explored area of study.

Of the available approaches, it became apparent that the technique of cognitive mapping, while having an extensive literature in environmental psychology (Lynch 1960) and human geography (Gould and White 1974) has been used relatively little in tourism. A cognitive sketch map, pioneered by Lynch (1960) in the seminal work '*The Image of the City*', is the instrument by which spatial knowledge can be externalised. Existing studies in the field of tourism have mainly been used to assess tourists' spatial knowledge in relation to urban contexts (Pearce 1977a; Page 1997), assess their decision-making (Moore *et al.* 1998), and to establish the commercial viability of attractions, and to help tourists to find their way in unfamiliar environments (Guy *et al.* 1990; Walmsley and Jenkins 1992).

A linear form of the cognitive map is the strip map (Bell 1999). These have been used for many centuries, predominantly to represent routes between a place of origin and destination,

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

and a variety of which was used by the Ancient Egyptians to depict the route the dead would follow to 'the beyond' (*Yaru*) (*ibid*). In more recent times, few researchers have identified the potential that the approach has for exploring tourism, and consequently there is a deficiency in the literature, although works by Pearce (1977b; 1981) and more recently Young (1999), are notable exceptions. Pearce (1977b) pioneered a modern variation of the strip map technique in his study of American students travelling between London and Oxford, which he later termed 'route mapping' (Pearce 1981). These maps are summaries, in diagrammatic form, of travellers' memories and perceptions of sections of countryside, and the different features reported can be viewed more objectively than, for example, a synthesis of aesthetic descriptions (*ibid*). The technique was subsequently used to gain independent tourists' accounts of a touring route in North Queensland (Pearce 1981). According to Pearce, the particular emphasis that subjects gave to specific environmental categories and experiential elements (i.e. landmarks, districts, paths, texture and social activity) appears to form the basis of a route map typology reflecting individuals' different experiences of the same route (*ibid*).

By applying the concept of route maps to touring landscapes, Pearce's main contributions have been to extend the knowledge of travellers' responses as they move across large-scale environments. Studies had previously been concerned with the patterns and structures of the landscape as seen by commuters travelling along highways (Appleyard et al. 1964; Carr and Schissler 1969). Pearce was the first to apply the strip map technique systematically to tourist routes traversing large-scale rural environments (Pearce 1977b; Pearce 1981). In terms of the group tours segment, exploratory one-off studies of groups of students have been conducted in urban environments (Beck and Wood 1976a) and across a section of countryside (Pearce 1977b). There is a significant absence of its application to the commercial organised tours market (Pearce 1981). Interest in the technique has recently re-emerged in a study of naturebased tourists in Australia (Young 1999); although in this case, the degree to which respondents' perceptions where influenced by their different travel modes, a factor that is critical in determining environmental perception and experience (Canter 1977) is not taken into account. Pearce (1981) concluded from his study of independent visitors in North Queensland that route mapping has never been used to explore the perceptions of tourists traversing large-scale environments in commercially organised groups. Moreover, he

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

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suggested that it would be useful to examine some of the qualitative, experiential benefits of private leisure driving and organised tours through the same environments. It was therefore decided that this research should aim to make a contribution to this body of literature, to the management and evaluation of organised tours, and to the subject of destination image, by exploring tour participants' images of their touring environments in cultural destinations.

Pearce concluded from his work on route maps that comparative work with organised tours would assist in understanding tourists' 'response to alternative transport strategies' (Pearce 1981, 154). The different vantage points usually experienced by tourists travelling independently by car and by those in a coach, would invalidate a study that primarily compares the visual phenomena recalled by these two groups. However, a much better comprehension of tourists' environmental preferences and informal learning associated with their destinations could be obtained by focusing on the organised tours segment. Two studies have begun to explore the relationships between learning in unfamiliar environments and the sources of information used (Beck and Wood 1976b; Guy et al. 1990) although both assessed escorted tourists in a city, rather than addressing the wider cultural landscape. Despite the advances made by such pioneering works, empirical studies using the technique in the broader field of environmental psychology still face a number of challenges (Evans 1980; Kitchen 1997). Although a full review of these is beyond the scope of this work, one of the limitations of the cognitive mapping technique is that the extent to which the motivation or enthusiasm to undertake the mapping task influences the mapped representation of environmental knowledge, can not easily be determined (see Chapter 9). The technique has also been criticised for ignoring the affective dimensions in recall of places. However, Beck and Wood have demonstrated cognitive and affective image recall of tour routes using the technique of cognitive mapping (Beck and Wood 1976a), with symbols to enhance the depth of expression (Wood and Beck 1976). Thus, the technique can be used to reveal meanings that are attached to places, and great confidence is placed on the development of mapping 'languages' which can improve communication and expression of environmental experiences (ibid).

Combining findings from route mapping with those from other research methods, including closed-question survey (Chapter 8), observation (Chapter 7) and depth-interviews (Chapter 6),

should also help to verify the qualitative elements produced by the technique (Beck and Wood 1976a; Guy *et al.* 1990; see Decrop 1999a and Decrop 1999b). This parallels Echtner and Richie's (1991) recommendation for the combined use of structured and unstructured methodologies, to enable the more complete capture of the components of destination image (*ibid*). The methodological innovations made by Lynch and others over forty years ago need not be relegated to academic history, as they offer a way forward for the current interest in exploring the relationships between tourists' experiences and their environments (Pearce and Fagence 1996). The potential that cognitive mapping techniques have for tourism has not been fully realised to date (Hall and Page 1999; Oppermann 2000). This review has suggested that there is particular scope for its application in segments where gaining knowledge about the destination is an important part of the experience, although it may be less successful where the experience is more hedonistic, and where the focus is less specifically on environmental learning (Arnould and Price 1993).

Having reviewed the literature on tour experience, and evaluated the different research methods employed, this chapter has identified significant gaps in the literature relating to tourists' consumption of their tour routes. The concepts of destination image and the destination bubble have been explored, and a review of the literature on environmental cognition and cognitive mapping has identified the technique of route mapping, which has received little attention in the tourism literature to date. The following chapter focuses upon the methodology and design of the empirical research, which aims to explore the extent to which tour participants interact with and learn about their cultural routes.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

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CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter defines the overall aims of the empirical research; it then introduces the research design and methodology. It draws from work reviewed in the previous chapters, and develops a conceptual framework, drawing from the field of environmental psychology. The sampling strategies and the study area are described. The exploratory and explanatory phases of research are then outlined, and the methods of enquiry introduced.

Research Objectives

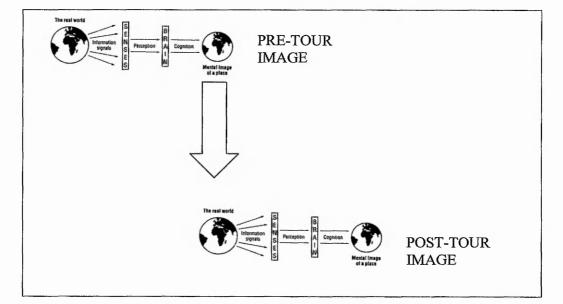
This thesis aims to explore the effects of the physical and social touring environments on tour participants' experiences. It specifically seeks to identify whether the images that participants have of cultural tour routes change or remain unaltered after their direct experiences of them. It further aims to assess whether the levels of informal environmental learning gained from a tour correlate with the degree of satisfaction experienced from it. These key objectives include that the outcomes of this study should have relevance for a wide range of cultural destinations, rather than confined to a single case.

Research Design

The conceptual and methodological basis for this tourism-based research has been adopted from the extensive literature on environmental cognition and specifically cognitive and route mapping developed in the field of environmental psychology (Evans 1980; Zeisel 1990; Chapter 4). The application of a conceptual framework from one discipline to another is known as theoretical triangulation (Hussey and Hussey 1997), although strictly this approach involves the use of multiple but independent disciplinary or theoretical perspectives to interpret a single set of information (Easterby-Smith and Thorpe 1991). In this study, the underlying theory, and the methods of enquiry (below) are drawn from the discipline of environmental psychology, which also acts as a framework for the

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

interpretation of the empirical information (Chapters 6-9). The approach has been used here to model the process through which individuals perceive their touring environments, and this interpretation underpins the methodology developed in this thesis (Figure 5.1).





No two individuals will have an identical image of the same tour environment because the information they receive is subject to mental processing. This is conditioned by the information signals received by the senses only a small number of which may be related to the knowledge, values and attitudes of the individual through the process of cognition. The outcome is the formation of a mental image of a place. These images are specific to the individual, and are used when recalling their experience of a destination, and deciding whether to visit again (Page 1997).

This process illustrates the subjectivity of image formation, and highlights the need to identify the meanings that tourists' attach to their experiences and behaviour rather than to simply count and measure their attitudes or to assess product performances (Chapter 4). Towards this aim, the research methods (below) reflect the main objective of inductively gaining qualitative information through interviews with elite informants and by participant

76

observation on a scheduled tour. These empirical studies were undertaken as a part of an exploratory research strategy designed to investigate the theme of physical and social touring environments, particularly in the context of the study destination: Ireland (below). However, the flexibility that is inherent in exploratory research (Saunders et al. 2000) does not mean an absence of direction to the enquiry; instead, the focus is initially broad and becomes progressively narrower as the research progresses (Adams and Schvaneveldt 1991).

Exploratory research can act as a useful forerunner to a piece of explanatory research (Robson 1993). Moreover, while one method may achieve a purpose efficiently and effectively, a multi-method approach should enable a multi-faceted picture of a complex environment-behaviour problem (Zeisel 1990). The findings from an exploratory phase may therefore be usefully assessed in the light of those from other methods of investigation. Triangulation (also referred to above in the context of theoretical triangulation) is the use of multiple but independent measures. The term is borrowed from the navigation and surveying sciences where a minimum of three reference points is taken to check an object's location (Easterby-Smith and Thorpe 1991). Triangulation has been fruitfully adapted to social science inquiry (Decrop 1999a; Decrop 1999b). Cambell and Friske (1959) introduced the concept as a synonym for convergent validation, and authors such as Jick (1979) refined triangulation as mixing qualitative and quantitative methods, advocating that both should be viewed as complimentary. Later triangulation received more attention in qualitative research as a way to ground the acceptance of qualitative approaches (Decrop 1999a; Decrop 1999b).

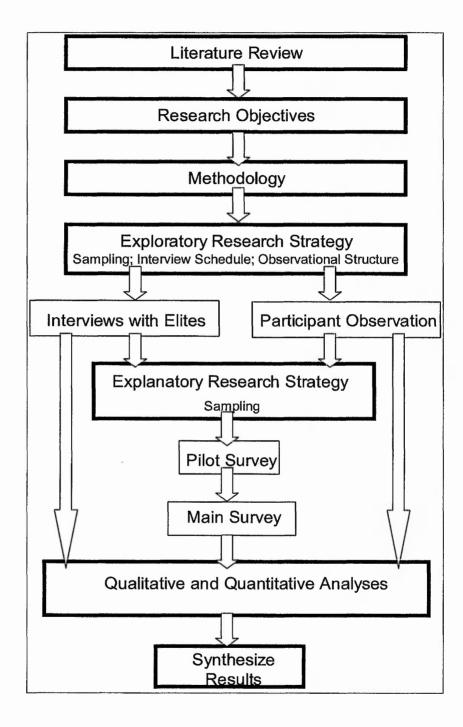
In this study, it was decided that methodological and data triangulation would be employed by comparing the findings from the mainly qualitative exploratory phase of research with those from an explanatory strategy which would illicit qualitative and quantitative information from surveying tour participants' pre-tour and post-tour images and attitudes. This explanatory phase of empirical research would seek to establish causal relationships between variables, and emphasise the relationships between variables (Saunders et al. 2000).

Two major advantages could be expected from employing multiple methods in the same study: firstly, a range of different objectives could be achieved, as it was hoped that the relative researcher-informant intimacy afforded by the interviews and participant observation would enable the definition of key issues relating to the topic of interest before embarking on the main explanatory survey phase (*ibid*). Secondly, in adopting a multimethod strategy, the aim would be to balance the strengths and weaknesses of the three approaches used and consequently to overcome inherent biases (Zeisel 1990; Decrop 1999b). The merit of a multi-method strategy is reflected by the increasing number of authors in the social sciences adopting the theory of triangulation (Bryman 1992). Despite this, the approach is rarely seen in the tourism literature, although there are a few exceptions (e.g. Hartman 1988; McIntosh 1998).

The final overall research design is illustrated by Figure 5.2 (below). This diagram shows the basic stages of this study, although it is not meant to demonstrate the complexities of forward planning, reflection, and revision that are manifest in the research process itself. In order to reflect this process accurately, the diagram would need to display a complex series of feedback loops between the different stages (Saunders *et al.* 2000). For example, the literature review has been an on-going process, as has the writing and synthesising of findings.

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Figure 5.2: The Research Design



T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

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While the analyses of the quantitative data derived from the survey phase are detailed in a subsequent chapter (Chapter 8), it was decided that much of the qualitative analyses to be undertaken in both the exploratory and explanatory phases would be thematic. This can be achieved by the researcher 'immersing' him or herself in the responses and drawing out themes reflecting both similarities and differences in the respondents' attitudes and behaviour, the aim being to gain a comprehensive understanding of the phenomena under study (Zeisel 1990). This approach was preferred to one using a qualitative software package (such as NUD*IST or NVivo), or others (such as Sphinx) which tend to treat qualitative information quantitatively. As noted by Dey, 'a computer can help us analyse our data, but it cannot analyse our data...we must do the analysis' (Dey 1993, 55). Qualitative research is concerned with the variety and strength of views on a particular topic of interest, rather than identifying representative views, or a consensus (as would be the case in quantitative analysis). Although, there are a number of different epistemologies in qualitative research, such as narrative analysis (e.g. Cortazzi 1993) or Grounded Theory (e.g. Glaser and Strauss 1967), all seek to make sense of the information produced through:

- the description of the data, which entails first breaking it down into manageable pieces;
- the categorisation or classification of the data into themes relevant to the research topic;
- seeing how the concepts which emerge interconnect, and the relate to each other;

Finally, it is important to be able to interpret and explain the information that is gathered, rather than to simply describe it (Dey 1993).

A qualitative approach is appropriate in this research because it can help to provide wideranging information on tour members and the contexts of touring; an understanding of their everyday lives and experiences; and it should enable participants to explain the meanings behind their responses, in their own words. A quantitative approach is similarly

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

valuable in this research, as it will help to establish causal relationships between variables influencing the tour experience (Saunders *et al.* 2000; also see Chapter 8).

Sampling

The selection of site and sample are crucial decisions that affect the viability of the whole study. However, selection must necessarily be undertaken within the constraints of access and practical issues (Marshall and Rossman 1989). In this study, a combination of judgement and convenience-based sampling was used to select a cultural destination from the wide range available. The Republic of Ireland (hereafter referred to as 'Ireland') was chosen because it represents a diverse cultural environment with both 'high' culture, such as the Book of Kells and Trinity College, and 'popular' elements, including traditional music and dance (see Chapter 2). Moreover, it was anticipated that by selecting tours consisting of a single rather than multiple destinations the range of factors affecting participants' responses and behaviour could be delimited. In the case of Ireland, one particular point of interest was that the country had been experiencing a period of rapid economic transition (below) and it was thought that potentially there may be some conflict between the promotion of traditional images and the realities experienced by tourists.

Collection Methods

Interviews

The methods selected for the exploratory phase of research reflect the objective of inductively gaining qualitative information from a range of actors about the cultural environment in which tours operate in the study destination: Ireland. The initial review of the study destination indicated that conflicting interests might exist between promoting and conserving Ireland's cultural heritage (see *The Study Area*, below). Consequently, it was necessary to explore this possibility through a number of interviews with expert informants (Chapter 6). As Lofland and Loftland (1995, 23) state, the aim of interviewing is to:

'Elicit rich and detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis to find out what kinds of things are happening rather than to determine the frequency of predetermined things the researcher already believes to be happening'.

Having identified a suitable destination from which the research population (i.e. the tour participants and elite informants) could be sampled, the next stage was to identify the sampling frame from which to select interviewees for the first phase of the empirical research (McDaniel and Gates 1993). Judgement and snowball sampling strategies enabled the selection of informants who were likely to hold a diversity of opinion and experience on Ireland's cultural environment and tourism. Each informant had a professional interest in Ireland's cultural environment and played a key part in the formation and/ or dissemination of images relating to Ireland's cultural environment. A number of marketing groups actively promote Ireland's cultural products overseas, among them 'Bord Fáilte' (the National Tourism Office), 'Heritage Island', and 'Dúchas' (the Heritage Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the islands). Interviewees were therefore sought from these organisations and the final sample included, Executives in Bord Fáilte's Marketing and Promotions departments and in Heritage Island who advises Bord Fáilte and specialises in the promotion of Ireland's heritage attractions; as well as two academics specialising in the study of Ireland's cultural landscapes; and a Manager of a British-based coach tours company operating in Ireland. Members of Dúchas were approached but they declined to be interviewed.

Participant observation

The next stage was to identify the sampling frame from which to select a tour for the second phase of the exploratory research: the participant observation. Principal tour operators offering itineraries to Ireland's most visited cultural and natural attractions were identified from promotional literature produced by Bord Fáilte, as well as that from national and international tour operators (e.g. Bord Fáilte 1999a). The aim was to select a cultural tour of average quality and value that might be considered to be representative of the Irish cultural tour product as a whole. For the purposes of this study, tour quality was assessed by the number and popularity of cultural and scenic attractions included in the

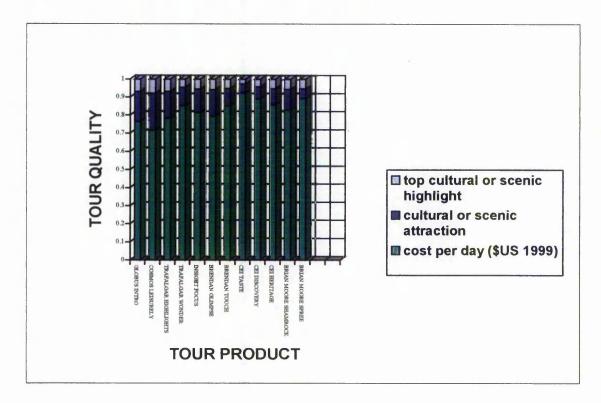
overall price, together with the standard of accommodation offered. A tour's duration could influence the nature of the population and it seemed that a relatively short itinerary of between four to twelve days would be less likely to attract repeat visitors who would be more likely to opt for longer, less well-known tour routes²⁴. However, for the practical purposes of selecting a tour within the project's budget²⁵, a provisional list of twelve tour products of eight days or less was drawn up. Figure 5.3 compares the relative number of top attractions and other tour highlights in each itinerary, to the average cost of each tour per day.

Key attractions include Dublin, the Wicklow Mountains, Glendalough, Avoca (used as the set for the popular BBC television series 'Ballykissangel'), Waterford and the Crystal Factory, Cork, Blarney Castle, the Ring of Kerry, Tralee, the Cliffs of Moher and the Burren, Limerick and Bunratty Folk Park. Many of these tours were geographically confined to the south of the country, and displayed similar tour circuit patterns, a feature which has been noted elsewhere (Pearce 1992). A scheduled seven-day tour operated by *Insight* was perceived to be 'average' in terms of quality and value for money, and was therefore selected for the participant observation. This tour included many of Ireland's key attractions (above).

²⁴ Based on observations made by this researcher while working in the tourism industry in 1997.

²⁵ A research budget was kindly made available by the Nottingham Business School, Nottingham Trent University.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University





Pre-tour and post-tour surveys

For the explanatory phase of research, this sampling frame was expanded to include all non-specialised tours for an international market with durations of between four-twelve days. Dublin was selected as the sampling site as of all the entry ports to Ireland it receives the highest volume of passengers on organised tours (Lynch 1999). The survey period was fixed towards the end of the peak-touring season (23rd-30th September 1999), and the final sampling frame included departures that were scheduled for this period.

When dealing with qualitative research, the question of sample size is an ambiguous issue, as there is a need for depth as well as breadth (Patton 1990). Nonetheless, it was decided to attempt to collect one hundred and forty responses, approximately 25% of the total population of tour participants arriving during this period, and which could be considered

²⁶ Figure 5.3 compares the relative number of top attractions and other tour highlights in each itinerary, to the average cost of each tour per day.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

to be statistically meaningful (Ryan 1995)²⁷. Tour brochures and flight timetables were consulted to ascertain the times when passengers would be most likely to arrive and transfer to their hotels (AerRianta 1999). Table 5.1 shows when each tour was scheduled to arrive in Dublin Airport during the survey period, with additional information on transfer times from the airport to hotels or on touring activities where available. This served as a general guide for approaching tourists, and enabled the targeting of under represented tours when the volume of participants became too great to administer the survey on a random first-come first-serve basis. In total, nineteen products were identified and responses were elicited from most of these; over two-thirds yielded pre-tour and post-tour responses from the same individuals (see below).

 $^{^{27}}$ Based on the average capacity of thirty participants per tour estimated from figures for that period of the 1999 season (n=570)

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University

Table 5.1: Sampling Frame and Tour Arrivals for the Survey

85

The Study Area

'Ireland offers the ideal destination for the touring holiday. Whether it's a cultural experience or just to relax Ireland has it all - *it's simply a different place to tour' – Live a Different Life* (Bord Fáilte 1999b, 1).

This section introduces the study area, and explores the background to its current status as an important cultural destination for tourism, and provides a context for the empirical research. Until recent years, Ireland has been one of the poorest countries in the European Union. It is classified as an 'Objective 1' region, which is defined by the European Commission as 'promoting the development and structural adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind' (European Commission 2001, 1). In the early 1990s, Ireland's unemployment rate reached almost 20% amongst its population of 3.5 million (Deegan and Dineen 1993)²⁸, and economic problems resulted in part from a dependence on agriculture and a high proportion of foreign-owned companies in the manufacturing sector (Sharpley and Sharpley 1997). However, during the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Ireland's tourism industry experienced a rapid expansion, mainly as the result of the high priority given to it by the government and the significant financial support from European structural funds, which amounted to over £200 million to tourism projects between 1989 and 1993 (*ibid*)²⁹.

Although Ireland was a popular destination in the 1960s, sharing the sudden increase in international tourism experienced by many destinations, the expansion did not continue and in the 1980s earnings were below those of the late 1960s. Between 1969 and 1972 visitor numbers fell by a quarter; the initial fall related to the outbreak of violence in Northern Ireland in 1969 (Gillmor 1994). But in 1987 the Irish government's 'Programme of National Recovery' set the objective of doubling the number of overseas visitors to Ireland, which was achieved by improved air access, aggressive marketing and investment incentives such as tax breaks (Sharpley and Sharpley 1997). The strategy was successful in reversing the trend in the low growth of arrivals, receipts and employment creation (*ibid*). However, there are a number of reasons why official figures should be viewed with caution, not least because the distribution of tourism in Ireland has traditionally been uneven (Figure 5.4). Dublin is a popular

²⁸ Unemployment in Dublin is now less then 4%.

²⁹ At the time of writing 1 Irish punt = 1.27 European euros.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 86

destination for short 'city breaks', and the South region has a long history of tourism (Chapter 3), traditional culture and beautiful scenery. Together these destinations attract the most visitors to Ireland and they take around 50% of the total receipts. Moreover, both regions experience negative impacts and considerable visitor management problems resulting from tourism. In recent years, areas which have already benefited from tourism have continued to experience high growth rates while other regions have tended to remain less popular (Table 5.2). The development of tourism in the poorer, rural areas such as the Midlands and Western regions (European Commission 2001), has not been achieved, although locally there have been some successful small-scale initiatives in these less profitable regions (e.g. Céide Fields, Co. Mayo, see Chapter 6).

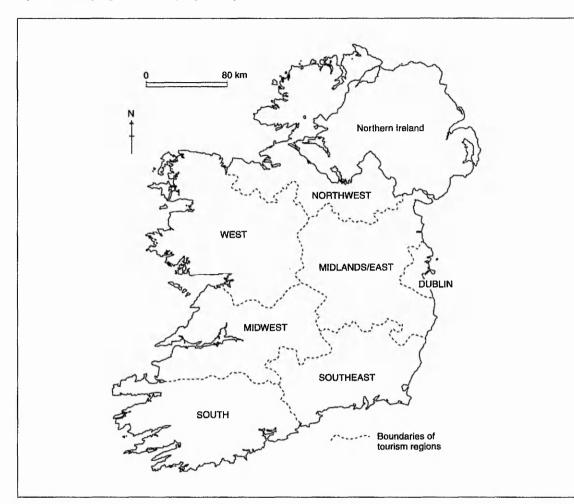
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Figure 5.4: Tourism Regions in Ireland (after Sharpley and Sharpley 1997)



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Table 5.2: Overseas Tourists: regional numbers and revenue 2000 (afterBord Fáilte 2002)

	Numbers (000s)	Revenue (Euro m)
Dublin	3,430	835.4
Midlands/East	862	256.6
South-East	1,152	220.7
South	1,766	512.6
Mid-West (Shannon)	1,128	314.3
West	1,312	401.9
North-West	607	169.3

The 1990s represented a period of change in the official promotion of Irish tourism. Much of its product strategy has become focused on cultural tourism, especially heritage rather

than performing or other contemporary arts (Bord Fáilte 1997a; Chapter 2). A national visitor attitudes survey in 2000 found that 29% of all overseas tourists visiting Ireland cited culture and history as an extremely important factor when considering Ireland for their holidays (Bord Fáilte 2001). Many of Ireland's tourism resources are based on the natural scenery and its diverse culture, although tourist attractions remain the most visible form of heritage product. There are approximately three hundred and forty fee-charging attractions and many other notable sites; those with large attendances are concentrated in Dublin and the South West (Table 5.3). The historical and cultural sites include houses, castles, monuments, museums, art galleries, heritage and interpretive centres, and there has been an investment in adding to the number of sites and improving existing facilities (*ibid*). With the help of the extensive funding from the European Union (above), Ireland's government cultivates the market principally through Bord Fáilte and protects the cultural resource through the Office of Public Works (O'Donnchadha and O'Connor 1996). Individual entrepreneurs and local communities have also become aware of this profitable source, and since 1991, many new cultural and heritage attractions have been opened. This 'explosion' has been so great that it seems an interpretative centre to interpret and adjudicate between interpretative centres will soon be needed (*ibid*). A number of marketing groups actively promote the Ireland's cultural products overseas, among them, 'Heritage Island', 'Heritage Towns of Ireland' and 'Houses, Castles, Gardens of Ireland', 'Dúchas' the Heritage Service of the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht and the islands', the Gaeltacht being areas where Irish Gaelic is spoken in everyday life (Bord Fáilte 2001, see Chapter 6).

Table 5.3: Regions Visited: overseas tourists visiting cultural sites 2000(after Bord Fáilte 2001)

Region Overseas tourists visiting cultural site	
Dublin	58
Midlands/East	17
South-East	31
South-West	53
Mid-West (Shannon)	39
West	41
North-West	14

³⁰ Figures represent the percentage of overseas tourists in each region who visited cultural sites.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 89

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Tourism standards in Ireland are controlled by the Office of Public Works and the Council for Education Recruitment and Training (CERT, the national institution with responsibility for recruitment, education and training in the tourism and catering trade; CERT 1997). This review of the study destination indicated that with such a rapid growth in tourism over the past decade, conflicting interests might exist between tourism development and the maintenance of standards, including the preservation of cultural heritage Ireland's cultural heritage. Consequently, it was necessary to explore this through a number of interviews with expert informants (Chapter 6).

The aims, objectives, methodology, analyses and findings of each phase of the empirical research, based in the study destination, are detailed in the following chapters: the focused interviews (Chapter 6), participant observation (Chapter 7) and the pre-tour and post-tour surveys (Chapter 8). The merits of these approaches have been considered in this chapter and in the preceding chapter (Chapter 4).

Having developed the overall methodology, which incorporates exploratory and explanatory phases of research as well as a multiple research methods and triangulation, the next chapter focuses on the exploratory phase of this study in detail, presenting the objectives, analyses, and findings from the first of these approaches: the focused interviews with elite informants.

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CHAPTER 6

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH: THE INTERVIEWS

This chapter details the first stage of the exploratory phase of the empirical work, presenting the aims and objectives, the analyses, and the main findings and observations from one method of enquiry: focused interviews. After expanding on the methodology presented in the preceding chapter, the findings from six interviews are presented, and then explored in relation to the literature.

Exploratory Research

Aims and objectives

The process of exploratory research can be compared to the activities of a traveller or explorer, as illustrated by a quotation from the travel writer V.S. Naipaul:

'I had been concerned, at the start of my own journey, to establish some lines of enquiry, to define a theme....If you travel on a theme... [it] has to develop with the travel. At the beginning your interests can be broad and scattered. But then they must be more focused.' (Naipaul 1989, 222).

Adams and Schvaneveldt (1991) argue that the flexibility inherent in exploratory research does not mean an absence of direction to the enquiry; instead, focus is initially wide and becomes progressively narrower as the research progresses.

As outlined in Chapter 5, the purpose of this thesis is to identify the meanings that tourists attach to their experiences and behaviour, rather than to simply count and measure their attitudes or to assess product performances, as has tended to be the case in previous studies of the tour experience (Chapter 4). While as mediators, tour operators are significant in the destination image-building process (Reimer 1990), they have been criticised for their inadequate understanding of their customers' needs (Oppermann 1995; Chapters 3 and 4). Developing itineraries for coach tourism can be an interactive process which includes the

operator and other image makers, tourism facilitators and resource controllers (System Three Scotland *et al.* 1990; Chapter 2). The methods selected for the exploratory phase of research reflect the objective of inductively gaining qualitative information from a range of actors about the cultural environment in which tours operate in the study destination (Ireland). Key approaches to conducting exploratory research include talking to experts and observing behaviour (Saunders *et al.* 2000). Findings from these approaches can then be reassessed with those from explanatory work involving survey (Chapter 8). This multimethod approach will not only help to provide an overall picture of the research topic (Zeisel 1990), but will also counter the inevitably of results being affected by the methods used. This will lead to a greater confidence being placed on the overall conclusions (Chapter 5).

Interviews

Aims and objectives

The overall aims of the interviews undertaken as a part of this study were to identify a range of in-depth opinions on Ireland's cultural environment and intrinsic tourism product: culture; to explore the meaning of the term 'cultural route' in the context of Irish tourism and examine views on the management of the cultural resource; to identify images of Ireland as a destination and overseas product; to identify attitudes towards a range of tour itineraries, and to define concepts and terms to be used in the survey phase of the empirical work (Chapter 8).

Methodology

An interview is a purposeful discussion between two people (Saunders *et al.* 2000). Focused interviews are especially suited to research that explores the reactions of individuals to particular environments (Zeisel 1990). Focused interviews are sometimes also referred to as in-depth interviews because they enable the in-depth examination of a general topic (Jones 1985). Not only are they used to reveal and understand more than simple descriptive phenomena, but also to elicit the interviewee's 'definitions of a situation', that is the meaning they give it (Zeisel 1990). One of the prerequisites for this type of interview is that the researcher defines hypothetically significant elements of the research and their meanings (*ibid*). An interview guide or schedule outlining the main areas of enquiry can be developed, since allowing a respondent to talk freely throughout an

interview is unlikely to lead to a clearly focused discussion on issues relevant to the research (Saunders *et al.* 2000). The interview guide is usually a loose conceptual map, although some authors see the development of a guide as a highly structured process, and even distinguish between the two types, the guide being a broader concept than the schedule (Maykut and Morehouse 1994).

This study employed a staged-approach to each of the six interviews. The schedule was introduced and responses were encouraged with non-directive probes (Zeisel 1990; also see Appendix 1) This was followed by a semi-structured approach using open questions and projective techniques, in which graphic representations of existing and hypothetical tour routes stimulated detailed responses (Appendices 2 and 3). Judgement and snowball sampling strategies enabled the selection of informants who were likely to hold a diversity of opinion and experience, each of whom would have a professional interest in Ireland's cultural environment They included, Executives in Bord Fàilte's Marketing and Promotions departments, and in Heritage Island who advises Bord Fàilte and specialises in the promotion of Ireland's heritage attractions; two academics specialising in Ireland's cultural landscape, and an Overseas Operation's Manager of a British-based coach tours company operating in Ireland (Chapter 5).

The perceived images of a destination will influence tourists' selection and enjoyment of it (Goodall and Bergsma 1990; Chapter 4). The interviews therefore focused on phenomena that may affect the formation of attitudes placed upon Ireland's cultural environment. Lipe (1984) identified four different types of value attached to cultural resources: economic, aesthetic, associative/symbolic and informational. Theory developed in environmental psychology conceptualises different types of environment in which to arrange interview topics. These environments are either 'abstract' or 'actual' (Zeisel 1990). Physical environments might include specific visitor attractions, places such as towns and links between places such as cultural routes. Abstract or administrative environments might include formal rules governing the use of a setting, and informal rules such as what is perceived to be appropriate or inappropriate to do there. Behavioural environments include the characteristics of people in a setting, their activities and relationships (*ibid*). Ireland's cultural environment can be divided into physical, behavioural and administrative

components. This helped to form a pragmatic framework for conducting the interviews and for developing the sampling frame (Chapter 5).

Analyses and findings

This section outlines the key responses given by the six informants. The aim is to first introduce each of the narratives in turn, which in their full-transcribed form may stand alone as personal stories about aspects of Ireland's cultural environment³¹. The selected excerpts presented here refer to key themes identified by the interview schedule (Appendix 1), or they are included because they extend the research beyond this initial guide. Each interview summary has been divided into themes relating to the key questions addressed. These include: the nature of Ireland's cultural resource and tourism products and their management; notions of 'cultural route'; cultural images; and finally, biographical aspects which may have influenced the responses.

All the interviews were tape-recorded and subsequently transcribed, although certain proper names have been either changed or omitted in order to protect the individuals' identities. The first part of each interview has aimed to explore abstract physical, behavioural and administrative aspects of Ireland's cultural environment, and the second part focuses on actual examples by using pre-prepared touring itineraries to stimulate focused discussion (Appendix 2). The opinions expressed by the informants are drawn together, similarities and differences are highlighted, and reference is made to themes drawn from the literature in preceding chapters of this thesis.

Introducing the informants

In the following section, participants introduce their specific interests in Ireland's cultural environment.

Simon Moonan – Bord Fáilte

This interview took place on 29th April 1999 in a small room in a Bord Fáilte office. Simon greeted me in the foyer.

³¹ The full interview transcriptions have not been appended, due to their length (approximately 40,000 words in total).

SIMON: 'My role within the Bord is to be responsible for research and statistics. So, the information that I would have on cultural tourism as such would be based on ascertaining the tourist's attitude to culture as both the motivating factor and their reactions to the broad culture and historic aspect of Irish tourism... I wouldn't have any specific product knowledge, or knowledge of individual cultural or historical attractions, other than what I would gain myself or be aware of myself personally... The information I have will be quite general and hopefully will give some sort of overview.'

Eileen Riordan – Bord Fáilte

The interview took place on 10th May 1999 in a conference room in a Bord Fáilte office. Eileen Riordan greeted me at the front entrance to the building.

EILEEN: 'My primary role really is to work with a number of specialist interest groups who promote their own products overseas and they have grouped together, and they contribute funding. They then get some backup, EU funding, and they promote the group overseas...they are in niche areas. I've got a group called Houses, Castles and Gardens of Ireland. Then there's Heritage Island which is more visitor attractions really. There is a group of health farms...and there is a group called Heritage Towns... We promote Ireland as a destination but we rely on a lot of these people to really highlight the interesting activities that can be undertaken while you are in Ireland. And culture and heritage are actually one of the areas that would be considered of great importance.'

Jimmy Magee – Heritage Island

The interview took place on 11th May 1999 in a small office above a busy street.

JIMMY: 'My company has a commercial interest as opposed to an altruistic interest, and as such having recognised the need for professional marketing within a particular segment of the tourism industry which

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was growing in importance to Ireland, that which was somewhat related to heritage in its widest sense.'

Jack Lawton - A Motor Coach Tour Operator in the UK

The interview took place on 27th April 1999 in a small office set within the corner of a large busy office at the Motor Coach company's headquarters.

JACK: 'We cover the whole of Ireland except Northern Ireland... We select very carefully the hotels that we use, the actual destinations, where the tour will be centred in terms of... so that we can cover as much as possible from that location and build as much into the tour. Because at the end of the day there's a lot of people out there, a lot of competitors out there, and the idea is obviously to provide value for money but also to provide something that's perhaps a little bit different to what's already been done.'

Tom O'Grady - A University in Ireland

The interview took place on 30th April 1999 in a meeting room in the university. Tom had a number of items with him, including a rolled up plan of the proposed research centre which he later showed me, and a promotional video which he gave me.

TOM: 'Well my own interest in the cultural heritage was after twenty-five years of straight academic research on the unique position which we have in Northmill, where you have very extensive hill systems, highly organised agriculture which we knew dated back to the Neolithic, so therefore the oldest field systems in Europe if not in the world. And our research showed that these were very, very extensive many, many square miles of them and they are preserved exactly as they were. I've often used the term 'slow motion Pompeii' to describe them because the bog has grown up, sealed them in and therefore not a stone has been moved in them for the last five thousand years. So there is a unique opportunity to appreciate even though its buried in bog, to appreciate that there is a

landscape there, or there is a terrain there, exactly as it was laid out five and half thousand years ago. As an academic I will have some visiting academics coming to see this, but this was in a part of North Mayo, my own area where there was no tourism. And we were sitting over... we were working on Céide Fields on the hill here mapping the walls, a very scenic location here, the road passing right on the edge of the cliff. People would... half a dozen cars in high summer would stop at the edge of the cliff, take a photograph and drive on. And they weren't aware that they'd stopped on the largest Stone Age monument in the world... And we suggested that there be a small interpretative centre built to explain this archaeological site... There is [a] very graphic, very visual geology there as well. And then as I would point out to visitors there, take a matchbox full of wet bog, you know [what] you are looking at in the geology, you are looking at the coming together of continents on this enormous scale, macro scale, and there's the largest Stone Age monument in the world. And then take a matchbox full of wet bog and there is a million bits of botanical information contained in that matchbox.'

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Mike Flynn - A University in Ireland

This interview took place on 30th April 1999. It immediately followed the interview with Tom O'Grady which had taken place in the same room.

MIKE: 'Well I suppose my interest is primarily in the archaeological aspect of that cultural heritage and I think Ireland is very important in the European context because of the wealth and diversity of the archaeological heritage that we have. I think that's something that's recognised internationally. In terms of, if you like, the visible archaeological record that Ireland has, a physical and monumental record that is probably unique with anywhere in Western Europe at the moment... I've been involved in a number of projects that are concerned with the cultural heritage. I also edited a magazine called [Name of magazine] for ten years which was very much based on trying to explore and bring to attention to a wider audience that wealth of archaeology, which of course isn't just there in the visible archaeology but also as we know through survey and excavation plots of low visibility sites as well. And maybe that's an aspect that I think that we sometimes in Ireland tend to underplay. Because we have this wealth of visible monuments... I think [we] under appreciate the wealth of archaeology that is there in the ground and is not very easy to see.'

Ireland's cultural environment

The fundamental objective of the interviews was to investigate perceptions of Ireland's cultural environment, and there seems to be a strong similarity in the views expressed by the three marketing professionals (Simon, Eileen and Jimmy). For example, Simon suggests:

'The whole area of culture and history is almost an integral part of the Irish tourist product. I mean we don't have guaranteed sunshine. We don't have any of those classic clichés. So in a sense it is very much an experiential destination. So very much, history and culture are very much a part of what Ireland offers.'

He identifies the difficulties of defining cultural tourism at an applied level, particularly in terms of tourists' activities and motivations, and this seems to be consistent with the lack of consensus found in the literature focusing on this concept (see Chapter 2).

'It's actually difficult to define as a market. You know whereas one can define the angling market or the golf market or the fishing market because they are smaller. You're into specific niche markets... I personally have always found it quite difficult in a sense when trying to define cultural tourism... I sometimes think that it's culture with a large 'C' and culture with a small 'c'... Culture with a large 'C' would be when people are specifically going to museums, art galleries, to visit Newgrange, or to go to specific cultural or historical sites with a very specific purpose... One is the sort of specific culture in terms of bricks and mortar, location,

sites that type of very tangible cultural product and the other one is very much a part of what we are. It's immersing yourself in the culture of the country which is its folklore, traditions, its habits and given that whatever... The people's spontaneity aspect is a huge part of what people get from an Irish holiday experience. And it's partly what we're trying to put into our advertising and trying to promote... It is very much all to do with immersing oneself in the culture, not standing back and looking at it but actually getting involved in it directly. So in a sense when talking about cultural tourism, I find that for me to understand it and to be able to deal with it, I do need to almost differentiate between those two. And in most of our statistical work, in most of the figures that we produce, you find that we are looking at the more tangible aspects of culture where people are physically going to visit recognisable places of 'cultural value' or 'historical value' as opposed to the more general side of the culture. Which again, in a sense I don't think you can [when you] come to a country like Ireland, and Scotland would be the same and other countries similar. I suppose a lot of northern European countries would be the same. You can't go to their culture, because of the nature of its tourism product, without being prepared to involve yourself in the local culture. If you were to try and shy away from it there wouldn't be an experience.'

Simon later re-emphasises the point about the significance of the Irish peoples' 'spontaneity'. Drawing on a piece of empirical research undertaken for Bord Fàilte (OTMI 1998):

'The people and spontaneity was the single, most unique and differentiating factor that Ireland had when compared to its main competitors. So the idea was that in developing an advertising campaign what you have to do is centre the people's spontaneity element within the art and then you add all the peripheral values to it. But in a sense most countries are offering a very similar experience... So that that was the result of this piece of research... It reinforced it and you know, the idea was to go ahead and to make sure that that core value was central to our advertising and to our brochure campaign.' Jimmy also uses the example of culture with a 'C' to illustrate his perception of the general rather than the specific motivations that influence people's decisions to visit cultural attractions:

'Instead of focusing upon the cultural tours with a capital 'C' we focus upon the broad span of tourers who may have a cultural interest. Because the same interest would not apply to wetlands archaeology as it would to a music museum or to industrial heritage such as Guinness or the old distilleries. So that you know culture *per se* although it's an umbrella term for a lot of attractions, really is divided up into lots of different segments which appeal in different degrees to different people... and of course that would influence their choosing their itinerary.'

He identifies the built heritage as being particularly important in marketing terms:

'It's what's called a built heritage as distinct from the written heritage. That is there as well and sometimes that is represented within the museums such as the Writers' Museum and things like that. But in the main we are talking about built heritage... [and this is] the aspect of Ireland that would influence the major advertisers like the Tourist Boards and the transportation, the carriers.'

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Simon notes that a high number of tourists are engaged in cultural activities in Ireland:

'You are talking about two thirds maybe of all the people who come for leisure visits to Ireland are engaging in that type of activity... It's quite difficult to divorce culture, cultural tourism from Ireland's tourism product because it seems to be endemic to it.'

However, Eileen suggests that despite the large numbers of tourists who visit Ireland, those whose specific motivation is inspired by culture are actually quite low in number:

'Of the huge numbers, there's quite a low number that would come [e]specially for Irish culture or heritage. And its all sub-divided down into little pockets but it is

She notes that segmenting the different aspects of cultural tourism is significant in part, because it helps to allocate funding:

'Funding will go to try and heighten awareness of these different aspects of culture that Ireland has really. So that more funding will go to encourage, raise your awareness of say historic sites and houses... it's really a marketing exercise... You're going to spend more on the top band then on the middle band, and the bottom band would get almost ignored.'

Those in the lower band currently include traditional crafts:

'The bottom band, I can't really remember any except to say arts and crafts...'

Eileen remarks on the popularity of modern Irish music on the international stage, comparing this to the more traditional images of culture promoted by the Irish Tourist Board:

'There is a degree of interest in traditional music, and it does kind of strengthen the Irish image abroad when people do Irish dancing or Irish music, you know, obviously. But at the end of the day the big interest is in the pop groups that I hardly know the name of (laughter)... and you know you actually get people coming because they are mad keen on Boyzone or U2, or you know, the Cranberries are kind of gods walking on stage... That's totally away now from these product groups that I'm talking about... their promotion comes from an international stage. It doesn't come from being promoted by the Irish Tourist Board in any way. That's particularly true of music culture.'

Moving now to the views expressed by Jack, who first describes the cultural environment of Ireland as a resource from which to build tour products in a highly competitive environment (above). He then names places included in itineraries produced by his company and identifies the problems associated with visiting some of these.

'We visit a number of gardens within the Republic. We also visit castles, areas that are perhaps more well-known. Perhaps the Ring of Kerry and the Cliffs of Moher, Kilarney of course. But then we tried to build more into it... Areas like the Ring of Kerry has for the moment had its day. There's not much more we can do with that. It's been saturated so we need to build more into it...' a de la constanción de constance de constanción de la constanción de la

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Jack then describes the passengers who visit cultural destinations with his company:

'Those people that go to Ireland and also go to the Continent are quite keen to do a bit of homework themselves and are quite keen to, you know, its not unusual for them to come away with a guidebook themselves. Not just buying one when they are out there but already be looking at it and looking at maps and they are very keen to learn and find out more about the place... And they will do a lot of work. They will come away with maps and they are very keen and they are very, very knowledgeable already before they've even gone and that's their way, same with Ireland that's their way of perhaps gaining more from the tour.'

And he describes other, more pragmatic reasons for taking a coach tour:

'The idea of a coach holiday obviously at the end of the day is for someone to do all the work for you. It frees up your time. You're not driving. You are actually there and you can see whatever you want to see... But at the end of the day if, I think, you're taken to somewhere, and its very difficult because sometimes we'll only give them, perhaps, because of the time allowed, we can only give them a couple of hours in somewhere...and we'll advise them perhaps on what's best to see in that time.'

In addition, on the coach tour market he says:

'It's very diverse. It's very diverse.'

Meanwhile, Tom immediately addresses the concept of 'cultural route' within the context of the cultural environment, contrasting this nomadic notion of culture to his sedentary interest, which particularly relates to North Mayo:

'The difficulty I have with what you have said so far and with the title which you are dealing with is that talking of cultural tours, talking of cultural... of routes, involves travel, involves movement. Whereas I see that the value of these things are, that the movement is to get from one sedentary position to another. It's almost like an absolute contrast between you're nomadic, I'm sedentary and my interest in culture is very sedentary whereas yours is a nomadic approach.'

Tom explicitly identifies the natural environment as being a part of Ireland's heritage. Using the example of Céide Fields, an archaeological landscape and interpretative centre, Tom describes a multi-disciplinary approach to investigating cultural areas. He also describes his personal involvement with the landscape: his own 'cultural roots'.

'What we were looking at from the beginning was diverse in that we were looking not strictly at archaeology but geology, botany as well. But we also recognised that the celebration Mayo 5000, in different ways, was a catalyst for other things to happen and this happily but totally unexpectedly... There were other ones earlier from the research like Heaney's visiting the site, Seamus Heaney visiting the site in seventy-three, I think it was, and deciding, and then writing this beautiful poem about Belderrig which is rather about my father and the way in which he had discovered these fields. There [it] is, my father had discovered them in thirty-four. He had written at the museum about them. There was a lot of people who put that particular spin on this romantic story of my taking up the research and coming back to my home place and doing all of this. That's one side of it. The other side of it is a very straight academic story of taking academic research out into mainstream industry. In this case the tourist industry. And certain marketing things as well. If you have stone walls and a bog hole and you have these all over North Mayo, that you also recognise that the bog is significant, that the geology is significant... There is no tourism industry that I know that is based on environment or that is based on archaeology, or that is based on geology, or is based on heritage. Those

are generic or abstract terms that fires no one. It has... it's meaningless. You don't go to anywhere to look at the heritage you go to look a specific named site or a particular body of material. And we recognised we had a problem because what we had were these, what are very significant from the prehistoric point of view and in the history of the routes of, our rural cultural routes if you like of these field systems. But how do you sell those to a general public and we set about what is a very straight marketing ploy of coining the name Céide Fields and a lot of people were saying "never heard of that until a few years ago". You couldn't have because it was a name we coined and its not just to describe the fields at Céide, it is to, it's a brand marketing if you like of the whole heritage, archaeology, geology, botany and natural history of North Mayo... We wanted a small interpretative centre which would have a teaching area, an area, room or two for research but also would bring in the general public. Because I see...there is a wide spectrum of interest from twenty students for ten weeks doing, with the specialist, doing pure research. And at the other end of the spectrum there is mass tourism for the two-hour visit at most, well a half-day at most. But in between there is the whole area of extra mural of deeper interest, of personal interest that should be catered for as well... Tourism people came along and said "this is fantastic, do it for two and a half million. We'll support you seventy-five per cent funding". When we had raised our quarter of it, which was very sizeable, when we had raised our part they couldn't deliver on seventy-five per cent funding. It then passed into state hands, into what was then the Office of Public Works and they designed an absolutely spectacular building which has got the gold medal³² as the top building in Ireland for ninety-two, three and four but at enormous cost. It's a pyramid shape and the ancillary buildings, which were the restaurant and the research block had to be eliminated so there was only the pyramid there. So when you visit, if you visit Céide Fields what you get, you walk and you'll see every square foot of the building for there isn't literally one square foot of office space and working space and obviously there is no classroom and there is no research area³³. That's why we had to start all over again and move five miles to the Belderrig area. And we are this week, next Tuesday we

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³² The premier award of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland.

³³ Also see <u>http://www.irelandwest.travel.ie/detail.asp?memberID=6838</u> and <u>http://www.museumsofmayo.com/ceidel.htm</u>

are going to tender on what is the incomplete part of the Céide Fields which is the small research centre which will have a community building which will be general purpose lecture hall come a dining area here but which also double as a community centre for the locality and then two small laboratories with an upstairs and this one here general purpose office and IT room in the upstairs of this here. But this is really the completion of Céide Fields.'

Tom acknowledges that the attempt to open this cultural area up to a wider public, comes from an academic domain, and that therefore, unlike many interpretive centres which might focus on attracting a 'mass' tourism market, there is a 'wide spectrum of interest'. He stresses that fundamental to the presentation of culture, is the generation of knowledge about that culture:

'The research work that is done at this centre is what will keep Céide Fields alive. As Céide Fields knowledge goes stale I am absolutely [sure], knowledge has a shelf life and knowledge goes stale the same as anything else. This may sound terrible from an academic and the purity of the university or the ivory towers that you can get in the university, but that's the way that I see it. I see that that's what happens at, let's say at this research centre is that knowledge is created, it's processed and it's flogged... Isn't that what we're all at, you know? Now using the term "manufacturing knowledge" has all sorts of (laughter)... I'd worry, but yes knowledge is created... I know that heritage in the broader sense is, you know, that we inherit both the natural and the human side and that there are the intangibles within the heritage as well. There are the intangibles of language, of place name, of all of those things that cannot be appreciated in a two hour [visit], you know, you paint with very broad strokes at a place like Céide Fields or unfortunately at the vast majority of interpretative centres... People when they are away on holidays, they visit it almost out of a sense of duty that they must look at, and is it always what they want to be, is it always what they want to be doing? You know the inevitable visit to the museum, the inevitable visit to this historic site.'

Mike identifies that the two phrases 'cultural heritage' and 'cultural environment' are used interchangeably, even in the professional arena; he says:

'I think my immediate response is that in a lot of cases, for example even professionals use those two phrases interchangeably... My reaction to the idea of heritage is that it's more about what we have inherited and environment is about, more about how we live. But I think that's a personal opinion and I think this is a problem with the two words; environment and heritage, that they are so ambiguous like landscape. That they are used and meant differently by different people in both the academic professions and certainly when you get out into the real world. The use of, the way people bandy the words environment and heritage is very varied. I suppose coming back to my interpretation I would certainly not see heritage in any sense as a passive force. And I think that's something that's, again that we need to recognise more powerfully...We're constantly, if you like, playing in the past in terms of our present day, sometimes in a sort of, what we could say, is a positive sense, sometimes in a sort of, a more questionable way I think. But ...you can never lock up heritage and say that's about the past. Heritage is about our interpretation of that past and how we use it.'

Ireland's cultural routes

The interviews revealed considerable variation in the perceptions of cultural routes; for example there is Simon's literal conception of routes which go from 'A to B' and also 'touring routes':

'I think of it physically as a cultural route of travelling [a]round but I mean it's not as literal as that is it? That's not what you mean by cultural route?... But then I wondered was I just interpreting the concept too literally. There are touring routes in the country but again now, that may be a very literal translation of what I think you mean by a cultural route. There are touring routes which by their nature would take in places of cultural interest and they would be designed such as that they would take in places. But not only would they take in places of cultural interest, they would take in major population centres and other things as well. There are clearly defined touring routes. Now if a touring route in a country like Ireland, where culture is very much a part of the experience, is by the same token a culture route I'm not sure.' He then identifies the American market as being particularly significant in the touring sector of Irish tourism, but says that:

'A lot of the tourists who come here are people who are Irish, of Irish ancestry not in any way closely related to Ireland, but have an ancestral tie with Ireland and have a very strong emotional link with Ireland and frequently are very badly informed about Ireland because they have a perception of it which is very far removed from reality'.

However, he says of the actual touring experience:

'I think its quite good. I mean its difficult to say because it really does depend, for one thing, and I don't have a tremendous amount of experience of it, but I do think the quality of guiding is extremely good in Ireland... Again in a sense I think we are of benefit just from the storytelling. People think, that you know, people love to talk, so there's an element of that. So in a sense I think that if they are travelling in an organised group tour which is properly organised, which all of them would be because they are very professional operators, and if they are going to certain sites and if they are getting the benefit of professional guidance, I think they are probably having a very good experience and probably learning a lot from it and probably find it very rewarding'. In discussing the experience further, he says:

'I mean in terms of enjoying it, there is one aspect to it, I mean one thing Ireland doesn't have are significant icons. It's one of our great failings as a tourist destination. We don't have an Eiffel Tower, we don't have a Tower of London, we don't have a Coliseum so... we don't have a "must-see" in Ireland where as a number of countries have a "must-see".'

And therefore :

'If you were to devise a tour which incorporated maybe some of the lesser known sites, would it be as satisfying? I think it would be in terms of its cultural content and in terms of its depiction of history and its depiction of heritage... I think the quality of the experience would be as good but in terms of whether it would meet their expectation that depends on what their perception is when they started out.'

Eileen also defines the route as something tangible, 'a trail you could follow around the country' with a particular theme, such as 'Christian Heritage', which would be ready-made and compiled by a tour operator, although Bord Fáilte could advise upon what would be available.

'I thought you meant when you said "routes" that you might be talking about a trail you could follow around the country. So I mean we don't have those trails laid down that we can dish out to people. There are monastic sites around and if you wanted to do a Christian Heritage trail we could put it... it can be put together. But we wouldn't have something ready made for you... We wouldn't do it but a tour operator would put it together for you, a programme for you if you wanted it put together, but the Tourist Board just says "here you are this is what is available". I suppose on the basis... you know, "go to it and we will give you as much information as we can", kind of idea.'

Jimmy relates 'cultural route' to the actual itineraries that Heritage Island publish (e.g. Heritage Island 1999) although he notes that these do not specifically relate to a 'theme':

'The actual itineraries that we publish as a guideline to prospective visitors are in fact cultural routes but they're not actually definitive to a particular theme. They're a general thing... There would be a necklace of cultural experiences, not necessarily all appealing to everybody, but it would be a melange of experiences and a guideline as to how to take them in during the course of a journey or a holiday period.'

Jack says that his company tries to provide what its clients want, although he is not really sure whether culture and history play a particularly significant part:

'That comes from trying to provide something that the client wants or we feel that they'll want... whether the culture and the history plays a particularly significant part I don't really know... I wouldn't have thought it was so much on our side but for the passenger perhaps it would be. I think what you would need to do is probably speak to a number of our passengers and perhaps also the drivers. We have some very good drivers and we have a specific driver that actually does a number of our Ireland tours and Ireland was very new to him. But now he goes away, well you know every week, every fortnight, and has become very, very, well in love with the place, totally in love with the place. So in terms of what you actually, what Ireland is about and where its culture actually comes from or what's its most important area, it would probably be one of our drivers would be the best thing to ...' and a second a second and the second and the second and a second the second as a second water as the second and

This statement seems to indicate that Jack perceives the fulfilment of the cultural experience is left to the client, and to the in-tour staff, rather then it being the responsibility of the operator. This confirms, but also extends findings from the literature review in Chapter 4, suggesting that in-tour staff may be used to obtain a strategic advantage over competitors (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998). Moreover, it seems to indicate that by designing and promoting tour itineraries, the tour operator is significant in the early image formation phase of the cultural consumption process (Chapter 2). This suggests that the customers' ambition to 'fulfil a dream' might therefore become prominent during and after the tour experience, assisted, and perhaps 'manipulated', by a number of different information sources, including guided commentaries (Chapter 4).

Tom has already introduced his 'sedentary' interest in cultural routes (above). He then focuses on areas traversed by a cultural route, including cultural landscapes and their interpretive centres. He acknowledges the 'antagonism which has built up to interpretative centres in general', and makes a remark which closely follows the work of O'Donnchadha and O'Connor (1996)³⁴:

³⁴ O'Donnchadha and O'Connor (1996, 213) state: 'there has been a veritable explosion of attractions, heritage and interpretative centres. The cynical might remark that soon we will need an interpretative centre to interpret and adjudicate between interpretative centres.' Also see Chapter 5.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 109

'I have very definite views as well on this. It is maybe because of the antagonism which has built up to interpretative centres in general and that people are, that I think the people who need to be interpreted at this stage, are the interpreters of interpretative centres... Because the very things that the interpreters of interpretative centres are saying about the interpretative centres and the criticism they have about that, [is] it's only the agenda of the people who put the text in place and these create a barrier around the filter between the visitor and the reality of what is out there. What I find in any of the writing that I'm seeing, and in particular writing let's say where I would be particularly aware of it myself, people writing about Céide Fields. The people who have the agenda are the ones who are interpreting my motives, you know, and are attributing to me motives for doing things that is not the reality at all.'

Tom recognises the economic importance of sedentary tourism activities, including staving overnight in rural areas, such as North Mayo, commenting that 'the two people in the car are making a bigger contribution locally than the entire busload'. However, using the example of Newgrange he identifies the potential negative effects of the physical impact of tourism on a site. While acknowledging the importance of a physical carrying capacity, which may vary from one site to another, he rejects the idea of a psychological carrying capacity, something that he terms 'landlordism of the mind', noting that there are particular times and seasons at tourist sites which are less busy. He says 'I'm a lot happier to be sharing something with a busload and to be sharing my own area, and sharing this whole area with a busload of people than I am to be there on my own'. This seems to contrast with Simon's view who, also using the example of Newgrange, says 'traditional places to visit are becoming overrun and the experience is becoming less than fulfilling because of it'. Simon concedes that visitor management strategies such as those to limit access to a site may be damaging 'people's ability to enjoy it properly', although he suggests that 'one of the ways around it is to suggest alternative sites that people could visit which are currently under exploited'. However, Tom says:

'There is no place on the island, the island of Ireland is too small to have what I call, to cater for, to pander to, what I call 'landlordism of the mind'. In other words that you can only appreciate a view or a particular tract of countryside, that you can

only appreciate that if you can take possession of it privately and that you do not have to share it with anyone else. Yet that is, that is an aspiration that is held up as a positive aspiration so often and that it's one that is damaged by numbers. I don't know what your view is on that and if people want these places and to experience them on their own they have November, December, January, February. In summertime they have a beautiful dawn from five o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock. Or if they want beautiful sunsets from nine o'clock until eleven o'clock and the sky is still bright until after midnight out to the North, it's there for them if they want that. If they want to come on a Sunday in August and they object to other people being there, tough. I don't think anyone should be catering to them. But there are an awful lot of people who pander to those people... It has become a cliché that's accepted as dogma, that the development of tourism is destroying the very thing that people are coming to see. I believe that most... that all of those places, other than physical, the type of physical damage, but that the presence of ones fellow human beings is not an intrusion... I'm a lot happier to be sharing something with a busload and to be sharing my own area, and sharing this whole area with a busload of people than I am to be there on my own.'

Mike recognises that a range of potential meanings exist when 'the word cultural is attached to the word route'. These can include a temporal dimension 'the way we've negotiated through time', or it could mean a spatial one: 'we're interested in doing a bit of culture today, what route will we choose'. Although he suggests 'in uniting those maybe we should be more concerned about what people are seeing in terms of cultural routes and whether they are getting...in any sense a real representation of what Ireland is about'. In focusing on the identity that is presented in the Irish storyline for tourism and marketing, he says 'I think may be for a variety of reasons that second theme of diversity say within Ireland gets underplayed for the sake of the an island story':

'But if you said to somebody when you attach the word cultural to the word route then it, I think it can be taken up in many different ways. It can mean for example the way we've negotiated through time and where we've come from if you like and where we are going. Or it could mean well, you know, we're interested in doing a bit of culture today, what route will we choose? And maybe, I suppose, in uniting

those, maybe we should be more concerned about what people are seeing in terms of cultural routes and whether they are getting, what kind of picture they're getting of our cultural route. For instance where we've come from and whether that is in fact, in any sense, a real representation of what Ireland is about... And in a sense, I suppose sometimes, and this is a problem that certainly [in] Ireland, I think it's a very important one, this idea of an island wide identity and of course this is a central issue both in Ireland and in Britain as well at the moment. You know to what extent is the idea that these islands have an identity, more important than recognising that within each of these islands there are places that are very, very different and people that are very different on those islands. And I think maybe for a variety of reasons that second theme of diversity, say within Ireland, gets underplayed for the sake of an island story. I'm not in any sense suggesting that there, well I don't think there are, overt political intentions behind, for example, where we have a marketing strategy that suggests an Irish storyline. What I think [is] there maybe something that's more subliminal about that idea of stressing the island rather than stressing internal diversity.'

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Images of Ireland

The images of Ireland's cultural environment as described by the informants are diverse and in some cases conflicting. Simon describes his key image as follows:

'That's "Heritage Island", we're an island with a very strong heritage so they recreate, you know, Heritage Island. You know when you mentioned "is there a term or expression" it's funny how that pops into my mind perhaps because of exposure to it and so we become conditioned to think that that's a very clever way of, you know, depicting Ireland's cultural and heritage, culture and heritage as a product if one is looking to promote Heritage Island.'

Eileen focuses on the Christian and pre-Christian sites:

'I think my main response is really our old Christian heritage, our pre-Christian heritage that would stand out. To my mind that's the most important part that would appeal to most people. Both the Christian heritage sites, yes like the monastical or Christian heritage, but also the pre-Christian heritage. That's it... This is my little hobby horse but it is ironic, I think, that Ireland was supposed to be keeping Christianity going during the dark ages and yet places with really big pilgrimage routes are all in Europe and they never seem to have spilled, you know, to have extended into Ireland. And yet our guys went out from here in the first instance, you know, to some of those places. But it didn't stay as... You would have thought that it should have stayed as a little, you know, it's kind of an important little area... Because you've got those big things, Santiago de Compostella and all that. But anyway they didn't.'

Jack identifies traditional images that are used by his tour company in promotional literature, which he perceives relate to the images that his customers will have of Ireland:

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'The ones that we use in terms of marketing means, or for advertising or in a brochure, we use the "Emerald Isle" a great deal. We use the images of, I don't know, the pony and trap, the lakes and also, you know, particularly we'll use... we have been known to use, you know, the old signs that are outside of shops, outside bars, that sort of thing. So we try and get across, very much away from the fact that there's the large cities such as Dublin. Those won't be really, it'll be more on the countryside. It'll be more on the quaint image, shall we say, of what Ireland is about. You know we do show pictures of Dublin in the brochure but as a rule it's more based on the scenery of the country on the... it's difficult to say... and we're very keen on showing the traditions of what Ireland is about. It's a very, very different place to England and I think people, whether it is, or not I don't know, but I mean at the end of the day I think people believe it is and its up to us to try and involve people in that and make them think "well yes, this is what I believe Ireland to be and so I will go away and see it myself".'

While Simon drew attention to the 'spontaneity' of the Irish people as being a significant part of Ireland's cultural environment for tourism (above), Jack also identifies the people of Ireland as being a significant part of the national image:

'They all have a perception of what it looks like. But the point that we, that seems to come back to us all the time is the actual people in Ireland, as to how they help to make the tour as well, the people that they meet when they're out there. The hoteliers, be it the people in the bar or the restaurant that they relax in whatever. The Irish people as a rule seemed to have proved their reputation there. It's second to none really and at the end of the day if you've got that on a holiday then you're half way there.'

However, according to Jack, the Irish people that tour passengers come in to contact with tend to be within a particular touring environment:

'They are regularly meeting people, they're staying in hotels where they feel relaxed, they feel comfortable, they feel as though the people want them to be there. Not just that they are there because the hotel is open and we've booked the hotel and the people have paid money, so they're only here for four nights and that's it. It certainly seems to be two ways, a lot of friendships are made and that's between drivers and passengers, passengers and hotels and passengers and passengers as well. I think that's the root to it and that, I think, really comes out of Ireland itself... I say the feedback that we get from the passengers and the overriding comment all the time is the people and to be honest with you even the driver that we use specifically for our Irish tours is a changed man. And he's an adopted Irish man to be honest with you and that's what he's become. He really has and he's very keen to, he's very important to us in terms of a lot of the ideas for what we actually produce now come from him and he's really taken it to heart and loves every minute of it. That's always a nice feeling when you get that because at the end of the day they are the ones that are having to do most of the work ... You know we can all produce a very lovely brochure with good hotels and excellent itineraries but it's the driver who can make or break a tour. And we're very fortunate in that we have a core of drivers that are excellent and certainly the lad that I'm speaking about, he's one of those and it would be very nice if you could meet him actually.'

Mike questions the extent to which tourists images change as a result of visiting Ireland:

'It would be very interesting to know how the image that tourists leave Ireland with compares to the image that they come with, in terms of whichever. I think in some senses that the image that's presented, you know, sometimes veers on the stereotypical and of course it's the stereotype that we like to use when it suits us. You know the idea of the laid back Celt and, you know, so that people can retreat from kind of the fast lane of their jobs and roll about and drink beer until, you know, the early hours of the morning and so on. The sort of, you know, Clannad and Enya playing in the background and the mist rising around a Cork town. And all of those things are fine but I don't think it matches the nuances of reality that is there in the landscape when people come. And that I don't think those nuances are necessarily, if they are presented as part of a kind of marketing strategy, I don't think they are necessarily negative if you know what I mean. There's a much more varied positive image I think of the country that could be presented.'

Using the metaphor of the theatre, he questions whether these images match the reality of what people are doing to sustain the Irish landscape in the long-term. Moreover, he argues that the image that is presented for tourism does not represent the excitement and vitality of modern-day Ireland. The image of diversity within Ireland seems to be opposed to the generic image of a 'Heritage Island' favoured by tourism advertising:

'We are facing real problems and I would say that, you know, that there isn't... one of my colleagues has frequently used a kind of metaphor about a theatre. We're very keen on the fine kind of the front of the house things, you know the play, but don't worry about the background stuff. That's somebody else's problem. As long as you can put it on and it's, I suppose it's an appropriate metaphor for the idea of image as well. You know as long as you can present an image and hide what's going on in the background, the kind of panic and chaos that's going on in the kind of background scenes to try and keep that play together is never really presented. And again to extend that metaphor, I don't think people realise that you could actually increase the quality of the play if you thought more about the background and the back theatre stuff. And I think that's an image that is relevant to a whole range of different areas. Certainly in the kind of heritage area, things like museums for example, things like the way we manage the archaeological resource in a

landscape sense, all of that metaphor could be very usefully used. And I think it's also, I suppose it explains this idea that I'm... my problem with the idea of the image of Ireland that's presented, that it doesn't match the kind of, well the chaos and the freneticism that is actually part of Ireland at the moment as well... You see these postcards still of people, you know the classic postcard of, you know, I suppose a classic image is this idea of an Irish traffic jam and there's a cow in the road. Well anybody who lives in Dublin knows that that's not reality, that there are people whose experience of community is probably worse now than in many parts of southern Britain. And that's not, what they hear about that in, you know, you might see it in the Rough Guide or something. But in terms of mainstream marketing that's not, that's certainly not the, you know, and yet the reality is that a third of Ireland's population live within, you know the Dublin metropolitan area. So our experience of what Ireland is like for a, you know, significant part of the population, is very different to the image of Ireland. And of course that's, I think, part of the problem that we have, that we're a society that is changing tremendously quickly and where there is an increasing gap in perception and ideas and lifestyle between the urban area, particularly Dublin and rural areas. And yet... we don't really have proven strategies at the moment in all sorts of social ways to change, to deal with those changes. But for that reason I think Ireland is a tremendously exciting place and yet it seems to me that part of that vibrant excitement is not being communicated. And that we're, you know, it goes back to your, the kind of heritage versus environment idea. I would say that what we are doing is presenting a kind of hackneyed version of heritage versus what we're not doing is presenting the kind of the vitality of the living environment that people are living in at the moment.'

Another image emphasised by Mike is that of 'landscape'. He says:

'I think clearly landscape is where I come from and I think certainly that landscape is very important in the image that's portrayed of Ireland... And I would think the follow on then is that if there is this richness of landscapes which are there, they could also be, if you had a different, certainly in terms of niche tourism for people who are particularly interested in looking at, say, doing archaeological centres to cultural routes. These are the kinds of places that I think that could be brought into it much more... diversified and diversified across the country kind of tourism strategy.'

However, Mike further questions the significance of cultural sites relative to their potential as tourism sites he says:

'You could argue that in terms of scale, they may not be as impressive. But in terms of telling a story of people and the land that there are elements, I think, but sometimes it's not necessarily the large monuments that speak to people. It's the way they are presented. It's the way the monuments are presented and sometimes I think if you, again looking for a metaphor in a kind of, in a literary sense if you think about somebody like Seamus Heaney whose poetry, and even someone like John Montague, Evan Bolland, all of, you know, poets who are in many senses seen as again an epitome of Ireland and whose work in a sense has a resonance with landscape. They are very often what they... Peter Holland as well, those kind of poets very often focus not on big issues or ideas or whatever but on simple things and small things and on people. And I think that in many ways if you can, that's what these archaeological landscapes are about. They are about how places and people developed over time. And that they have a... what's the word... an immediacy for people or they can have an immediacy, they could have an immediacy for people that maybe get lost in a monumental sense. I think that people can relate to things on a human scale so you don't necessarily need big monuments to draw people. It's about how they are presented.'

He also emphasises the idea that personal experience and background will affect people's values and perceptions of cultural environments, and in doing so he reiterates the notion of the different meanings attached to words like 'heritage' and 'landscape', previously explored by Tom (above):

'How long have we got? (laughter) I suppose the interesting thing is, in response to your question, the interesting question I would have is how widely my immediate response is shared by other people. That's an answer I don't know because I think again I would draw you back to your idea of sort of difference between heritage and environment. I think sometimes people, we're inclined to see heritage as it's in the past so therefore everybody is going to have the same view of it. My view would be no it's not in the past, its part of what we are. It's changing all the time. We're changing it and the way we change it depends very much on what our view of it is and what we want to do with it. And I don't think there, again I don't think there has been enough discussion about that. And I would argue that there is a sort of, there is an assumption that everybody is going down the same road, on the same route. But the reality is that what, that sometimes even people using the same words actually mean totally different things. When they talk about heritage for example, when they talk about landscape or history you know that, I think sometimes there is an inclination to see it as a kind of, as a product that you can... sustainability is not seen as related to it. Sustainability is seen as about people but there is a link between people and landscape and heritage and they are all inter-related... And the problem of course is I think is that those words that you talk about, those words like heritage and landscape don't talk to a lot of people.'

Managing Ireland's cultural resource

Several ideas relating to the management of Ireland's cultural resource and cultural tourism product have already been introduced under some of the categories above. This is because the participants chose to introduce these ideas within the context of one of the other key themes. However, responses that are the result of specific questioning about cultural resource management are given here. Eileen identifies 'conservation' as being a specific issue:

'Well there is the big question about conservation and, you know, either trying not to destroy the thing that's bringing people to the places the first time, for instance, or developing an inappropriate development. So you are trying to bring people in on the one hand and on the other you're trying not to... to make sure they don't destroy the thing that they are being brought in to see. Like in the Burren, I don't know if you know we had big controversy because they were trying to put in an interpretive centre that people seriously objected to. And obviously it would bring people to the area, more people to the area and it could be useful in one sense. But then people who are involved might feel that it would, if you bring too many people then the Burren itself would be destroyed because it's really there because not too many people trample over it. So you are trying to balance things. You are trying to have loads more tourists but you are still trying not to, you know, to delete the things that actually is the attraction in the first place.'

Jimmy outlines criteria relating to the cultural sites and interpretive centres that are promoted by Heritage Island, and like Eileen in her description of cultural routes (above), he identifies the significance of other amenities in the overall package which makes the cultural experience:

'Well the criteria that we apply would be of significance. In that I'm talking about sort of the authenticity of the research, the quality of the display, the ability to match the visitors expectations in terms of language and in terms of literature take away and signage. The actual general human amenities around it as well because toilets and restaurants and shops are expected. So, but you also have then the sort of staff, the training, recruitment and training and performance of staff. You have their knowledge as to whether or not tastes are changing or exhibitions require changing and we have to mention management so that they don't run out of money and begin to run down the quality of the service or have to close because the bank is pursuing them for debts.'

Jimmy also identifies the need to update and re-evaluate the material presented at sites. To some extent this echoes Tom's discussion on the need to generate knowledge in order to sustain interpretive centres in the long-term (above). However, for Jimmy, it seems that advances in technology primarily drive the need for change, and he contrasts the interactive and learning experiences produced for tourists with those of more a passive experience resulting from coach travel:

'Its not just purely a matter of quality because after a certain timescale and it could well be, sort of, five years, most of the exhibitions may require updating, changing or indeed if you have a different profile of visitor as can happen, such as in conference, people attend conference and then their visit would be different to those people who have come on a leisurely holiday touring, you know, so that an exhibition may require re-examination and also technology. As technology improves it is expected that the quality of the exhibit and the exhibition itself, an interactive for example, will be very, very... because it's more than just a passive experience. It's a learning experience or rather, you know, a lot of people look to it as a learning experience, as a thing from the past. A coach passenger looks out of the coach window at the scenery...'

However, he says that coach passengers may not be passive when they arrive at cultural centres, and elaborates on this by emphasising the role of the tour company in guiding the experience, a perception which seems to be shared by other marketing professionals (i.e. Simon and Eileen, above):

'But the coach tourists are very dependent upon the coach company that plans its itinerary with specific visits that are highlights on the trip. So that would tend to be of general, and the most popular interest areas, rather than the more intellectual or minor interest areas.' The second of th

Mike emphasises the richness and diversity of Ireland's heritage, stressing that the planning of itineraries should be related to the wider management of this landscape:

'The fact that there are so many sites on the landscape and that if, for example, we were talking about both sustaining that resource and sustaining the tourism, it seems to me that this is a, that by, in some sense, trying to think about the whole landscape having an archaeological richness, rather than saying that at point a, b, and c there are these fantastic monuments that have to be presented, and that where there are going to be honey-pot sites. It seems to me that in the long term this idea of thinking about everywhere having an archaeological component or a richness in the landscape, that that might be a more sustainable strategy for tourism.'

And, he suggests that:

'I think sometimes because of, for example, in Ireland the centrality of tourism in terms of the overall economic strategy. I think sometimes that those issues of tourist figures and overnight stays and so on tend, perhaps, to have a higher profile than the larger issues of conserving in the long term, the sort of the archaeological resource. I have... there's no panacea to these, these are very difficult issues and then I don't think there's any getting away from them, but I think part of, maybe part of getting away from them is this idea of trying to shift people away from the idea that, for example, they have to see Newgrange or they haven't been in Ireland. That it seems to me that that inexorably leads to all sorts of pressures. And of course like, behind that is the kind of marketing strategies that brings people into Ireland in the first place. And the image of Ireland that's created by for example, Bord Fáilte and whether that image is one that matches with reality and is one we should actually be trying to portray if we are talking in the long term about a sustainable tourism strategy that seems to me very much embedded in a kind of a richness of landscape, in a green image, in a historic landscape and all of those places, all of those areas are undergoing degradation actively as we speak. And it seems to me that in terms of, if you asked this, I think in other spheres, if you asked this question about management, people would take a much narrower approach. And it seems to me that we take that narrow approach and a focus on individual sites at our long term cost because there is no sustainable long term strategy for tourism in terms of tourism that relies on the richness of the cultural environment.

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In returning to cultural routes specifically and to the notion of sustaining interpretative centres he says:

'I think one element is this whole point about, you know, the places where people stop on those routes. And if they are stopping at places where the physical fabric that they are seeing, visitor centres, interpretative centres are all very attractive and ultimately are very important in controlling the pressures on the landscapes of the attractions that those centres are attached to, if you like. I think there is a danger that if those centres that are becoming the places where people stop, in many cases, if they are static themselves then again how do you bring people back in five years time to visit the same place? If the focus is going to be on these interpretative

centres rather than the landscape, which the landscape is living and alive, varied and archaeological research is telling us more about it all the time. But the centres to me seem to be a much more static concept and again I don't think we've faced the idea of, okay we have these buildings but is the interpretation in them going to be static? What's it going to be like in five, ten, fifteen years time and how do we keep those visitor facilities up to date? How do we change them, how do we make them alive and viable and so on? So I think that the question that you asked, I mean I think there are a whole range of issues there that obviously... I have no problem in saying that people who are working in these relevant areas are under huge pressure. But part of the problem is that the umbrella that they work under is an umbrella of pressure, that there's no protecting umbrella of policy and strategy, that everybody is working on their own, they are under huge pressure of work. There are certainly inadequate resources given by the state to areas like protecting the archaeological resource and managing, the whole issue of managing visitors and all that. There isn't enough debate and as I say there isn't this protection of a policy and strategy that would drive people forward and give them the linkages between these parallel strands that are changing the landscape.'

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Irish itineraries

The comments reported in this section are in part a response to the graphic images of itineraries which were used to prompt a focused discussion on Ireland's tour routes (Appendix 2). One of the most remarkable findings is the consensus on the homogeneity of the itineraries that are currently operating in Ireland, a phenomenon noted previously in Chapter 5. These tour routes are geographically confined to the south of the country, take in many of the same attractions, and usually adhere to the coastal zone. Moreover, their confinement is quite specific and some of the interviewees referred to an imaginary line or 'glass border' separating the Republic from Northern Ireland, and beyond which cultural tours do not generally go. For example, Tom remarks:

'Let me see that's one, two, three, four, five out of the six demonstrate what I would call the glass border. Not the real border but "the glass border" that exists in Ireland... The glass border for tourism and for tour routes that runs across there.

That's the Republic as it exists in four ... and in five out of six of yours there... But to draw a line from Galway to Dundalk, it's very hard to push tourists beyond that.'

He suggests that one of the reasons for this is relates to historical factors:

'This is the area that has been developed, has a long tradition. Part of it is owed to Queen Victoria, the Grand Tour, the whole Lakes of Killarney. Ladies View at Killarney, the lady in question is Queen Victoria. It's the, it would be like some of the Grand Tours of Europe, that it was where the royalty went on that, then everyone had to go on that.'

Simon comments:

'Yes its quite interesting. Just returning to the first one, when we were talking earlier about, sort of, the classic touring route for the US, I mean you really have it there. It's in a line from almost Dublin to Galway or maybe Dublin, Sligo and then going round the coast and ignoring largely the northern, North-West parts of the country, and also to a large extent bypassing the Midlands. And it was interesting that in each of these representations it does seem as if the Midlands has been bypassed all the time and here certainly, again the North-West and the North have been bypassed. So there is very much a concentration on the lower part and on the South-West, the Mid-West and the South-West area as well. Which is fairly typical.'

Eileen remarks:

'I just feel that they do by and large represent I would say... these on page one represent what I do think of as being well, except number three maybe, where they crisscross more than... I think that represents the reality of what people do in the tours, the tour operators... I think these are the tours that an awful lot of them do over whatever period of time... They come into Dublin and go down to Waterford by the looks of it. Over to Limerick, Killarney, Blarney and back up to Dublin... But they all do these and it depends on the number of days that they're actually...

but I mean the things which you have shown here that they would visit like the Waterford crystal and Glendalough and Blarney, Killarney, Ring of Kerry. They are very definitely the things to do in reality you know. I mean I just think that that represents the true picture.'

She then reveals that as a part of her role with Bord Fáilte she has recently been a participant observer on a scheduled coach tour in Ireland:

'Well it just proves that an awful lot of them are down in the South and that they are going [on] a well and tried and tested route and also the... you know the length of time they are staying. This one would be true, this longer one here going up to Sligo and Drumcliff would be true but it would be likely to be for a longer tour. Though having said that I actually was on one which managed to cover that in about five days, I think it was... I felt that you could have cut out a few things and given them longer just to potter around on their own. And also that you came in quite late to a place and therefore you never saw the place you were staying. You just overnighted then went on. I thought that, well you've a limited amount of time anyway. I thought that they could, I believe that they are now coming around to doing some tours where they don't organise every... like the tour doesn't include everything. So that you can, if you want, stay in an area and they, I suppose they will lay on something if you want, but they'll give you more time to do stuff on your own.'

Jimmy also relates the tour itinerary to the time that is available for touring and says that this is a major factor in determining whether tours extend into Northern Ireland:

'If you have three days you are almost geographically confined to the Dublin east coast area. If you have five days you may well be able to take in Cork and Kerry and possibly Shannon area and back into Dublin. Or alternatively a routing from Dublin on a triangle to Galway, Shannon, but you know you will not do all that within a five day period without having a very intense and probably unpleasant experience which would be, sort of, seven o'clock bags out and if you are talking about a ten day tour then the tendency is to extend it... There was a time when a fourteen day tour was quite common but it has begun to contract to the predominance of five, seven, ten day tours and maybe a second vacation as opposed to a single long extended coach tour. So it may well, sort of, slip into Northern Ireland.'

He suggests that political factors play significant role in determining the distribution of tourism and the truncated images of Ireland that are portrayed by promotional materials:

'Okay, again it depends on, you know, what the hell is happening in Northern Ireland. If they are banging drums and flying flags and rioting you know there's an automatic switch off of Northern Ireland and people will go to Donegal and back down. If everything is peace and quiet they may well go but there is a certain trade and consumer concern about the stability of Northern Ireland. So when there is publicity, people say okay, a line south of Galway to Dublin.'

He reiterates the pragmatic factors that affect the course of a tour route:

'They have a very good reason for being in Dublin or for not being in Dublin and there will be the cost of accommodation and maybe the availability of accommodation and may well go through Dublin at the weekend when there are no business people occupying hotels and hotels are cheaper. So that, I mean there are more factors than the cultural factors that influence a coach operator.' and and a state of the second state of the second state of the second second second and the second second

Jack confirms that many of the itineraries are representative of the tour products produced by operators:

'One thing that is always evident and is evident I think every time you look at a brochure is that the particular routing of them is sometimes very, very similar. If you were to look at six and five on here you've got virtually identical routings or close to being. And that's the area that most tour operators will run to. Occasionally it will involve more, and heading up further into the north of Ireland. But as a rule Dublin is always a starting point and then you head across the south-east coast, perhaps towards Cork and then across the Ring of Kerry and then up to Limerick

He then comments that he has recently been on a business tour to Northern Ireland:

"The Troubles' certainly have made a great impact on people's minds and certainly on the mind of the holidaymaker. So the first thing that becomes quite evident is, for me anyway, was the fact that it's not particularly on everyone's minds that's there, and there isn't a divide between Catholic and Protestant and Loyalist and Republican and you're either one or the other on each side. And that's certainly not the case and when you are out in the countryside around there and you see these, you know, beautiful scenery, beautiful villages, beautiful coastal villages, inland villages and towns with great tradition; you can see that, you know, it's a crying shame what's happened there. And I think it needs to be put into perspective and that's why I would love dearly to really start putting together tours that would go to Northern Ireland. But we have to look at it from a different point of view in that we have to look at it as to whether it is a natural, marketable and worthwhile venture for us at this moment in time.'

Jack indicates that the decision to operate tours in Northern Ireland would need to be customer-led. Although, it is not made clear how this can be determined, and as noted in Chapter 3, operators may have an inadequate understanding of their customers' needs (Oppermann 1995). He says:

'Just because I decide that I think it would be a good idea to go there that doesn't mean that people will think the same.'

He considers this with regard to the sustainability of the product and the potentially negative impact on the destination, although he says that these issues are not the responsibility of the tour operator:

'It's a matter of, I believe, making Northern Ireland a holiday destination again and going beyond people's attitudes and what people believe or their perceptions of what Northern Ireland is about. And making it into a holiday destination without spoiling what they've got... That point doesn't really lie with the tour operator because the tour operator really, at the end of the day, wants to send away as many people on a coach to this place and if he can continue to do it and he's on a winning formula, he will do. But it's where do the, you know, the hoteliers or the, at the end of the day, everyone is in business and its very, very difficult to get that fine balance between ...'

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Jack suggests that the responsibility to advise tour operators of potential impact problems should lie with the destination:

'Spoiling something and making something worthwhile and obviously elements of greed come into it. You see Dublin is too, you know, in some ways it's quite amusing the fact that Temple Bar now believes it doesn't want all of these people coming over for stag dos, but at the end of the day in my mind its biting the hand that fed them in the first place. And that's what helped to make Dublin what it was. And now its just gone too far and it... I don't know, you need of ownership of the place... particularly on the attractions side and on the... those people are there... If things are becoming too much then it needs to be made obvious before its too late. That's what I like about Northern Ireland at the moment, it's very, as far as I'm aware what I've seen of it it's very unspoilt.'

Mike considers the itineraries and remarks:

'They're so similar. It's not very exciting is it? (laughter)... Everybody has been to Newgrange, everybody has been to the Waterford glass crystal factory, whatever, everybody has been in Kilarney, which you know, and I would [I] suppose pose the question, is that the kind of experience you want people to have? So that nobody has ever been in the Irish Midlands which is a fantastic landscape... Everybody has this kind of truncated image of Ireland. Nobody has ever been to Donegal, and that's of course the whole issue about Northern Ireland. And maybe political initiatives will change that; I would have to say that I think there is a political element to that. You know steer people away from any area where there might be any, sort of, remote possibility of trouble. That might explain sort of why this truncated view of Ireland, where you leave out the northern third.'

One of the key observations made by several of the participants is the predominance of coastal routes and the avoidance of the Irish Midlands. Eileen says:

'Potentially they are as good as any other. If they have got the right stopping points... I do think there is less in the middle of Ireland than there is around the coast because the coast is very attractive because it has the sea and all that. You know what I mean you've glimpses of the sea and the mountains and in the middle its flatter and if you are, I think if you are pottering around on your own and you've been in Ireland before that going around the middle is lovely because its very much less busy and you can stop at places and not be too crowded. But if you were coming on a first time visit I bet you'd want to do, you know, London and Buckingham Palace and that sort of idea of coach tours *per se*.'

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Mike suggests that visits may be influenced by promotional images which depict Ireland as and island and if a first experience of Ireland includes the coast then this could influence return visits:

'It seems to me that having, sort of, experience in different parts of the country, of the people who are on different points of their tourist career, it still seems to me that there is a problem in that all of us, tourists particularly, have a kind of inertia factor built in. And there's the pull of going to places where they've already been as well as the push of going somewhere where they haven't been before. And it seems to me the danger, I do think there is an inherent danger in this that... if people's introduction to Ireland is in terms of a coastal route which in many cases it is, then the pull of that coastal factor tends to be sustained through the later careers of tourists in many cases... And that there are very large parts of the country which may only be twenty miles inland from the coast which never see a tourist because its not near the coast. So there is, and again it would be how many images in Bord Fáilte's strategy stress the idea of Ireland as an island with this long history, the beaches, with the ship sailing or the trawler sailing off in the distance when we hardly have a sustainable fishing fleet left in the country. Do you see that image of Ireland which is very important but that most of the country by definition is inland... Most people live away from the sea. And I think that is a real issue and it's a real issue for people who are trying to promote tourism in places that are away from these, you know, from the pressure routes if you'd like to call them that...'

The interviewees' views on cultural associations and their value in the context of a tour itinerary include for example, a statement by Eileen who says:

'I mean I think it is as valuable for an area to be promoted by having a number of interesting sites that they can key into rather than one thing in isolation... So grouping is beneficial definitely. At the same time I don't think that people want to see six visitor centres or heritage centres. If they see one or maybe two in their whole visit that would be enough. So they like probably quite a varied, a reasonably varied programme. I don't know that they would want to see six monastic sites specifically unless they are people with an archaeological or some kind of specialist interest. They probably would enjoy seeing one and maybe two... But I actually think that if you are talking about a general tour that really it's more often visitor attractions as a grouping or visitor attractions of different types. The variety I think.'

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Jimmy suggests:

'If you have a cluster, the word you should use there, if you have a *cluster* of attractions and people are not visiting just purely to go to the attractions. They like to have a good meal and have a good hotel and maybe see nice scenery as well. And if within that, like in Tralee, there are a cluster of visitor attractions, then that is a place that they may say, okay let's spend two days there.'

While Jack considers this idea in terms of thematic associations:

'I would imagine without looking at them too carefully that there could well be certain things built into them in terms of what route they take or what they actually see and that's something that's quite important as well. If we can build a common theme into the overall programme.'

As noted in above, operators may simply copy itineraries from successful companies, thereby restricting and guiding customer's choices (also see Chapter 3). It is therefore interesting to have this confirmed when Jack is shown the map depicting Heritage sites in Ireland (Appendix 3):

'If these are the actual cultural sites I would be amazed if we visit more than half a dozen of these on our particular tours. Now certainly from the planning point of view, which I go back to, we are as guilty as anyone in the terms of the fact that we'll probably look at what competitors are doing or whatever, and try and build our own programmes and try and add something different to them. But... I've never seen this before. In answer to your question I've never seen this before. So therefore I would never have been able to plan a tour which would include so many of these. When the driver is out there and he's more confident with the tour and he's done it more times he will probably become more aware of it and probably build stuff in... When you get bombarded with tourist information from all over Europe everyday, you can imagine what the post is like, it's a matter of picking it out and picking out what is actually relevant and what's important and what you can actually do with it. I find that quite interesting. I mean basically I can look at it now and I can say there is probably round about seven or eight of them that we will actually visit. If you spoke to the drivers they'd probably tell you there's more but they're not involved. What I'm saying is when we actually put together the brochure which is what we sell the tour from in the first place, the tours or the itineraries are not put together with this particularly in mind. And that's you know a shortfall on our part really... I would also expect that we should be looking for that information as well. So I wouldn't lay the blame solely there. I would say that we should also be trying to improve upon our itineraries and trying to improve upon what we've got by including more but building something into it. I mean at the end of the day its quite a small country and to have so many cultural sites as that in as

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small a country like I say, you know, we would cover quite a few of these within a fairly basic itinerary.'

Mike also considers the potential for thematic associations, although he extends this idea by questioning the types of associations that tourists themselves have when they visit Ireland, and considers other forms of tourism, as an alternative to touring:

'We were remarking on the way down..., you know, we saw that book about Celtic pilgrimages. I think that idea is something that to me is much more real than the sort of the Ireland storyline idea... That's a more real kind of set of associations that people could build on. And you could incorporate both a kind of a bus element, a pedestrian element and there is an initiative, a number of initiatives at this moment, but there is a millennium initiative to develop pilgrim routes... I wonder how coherent the image that people have of Ireland is, you know, at the end of this sort of bus route or whatever? But that's about, they're about bigger issues aren't they. I mean that's about the nature of this kind of tourism, of presumably coachled tourism. But... I'd pose a question, is there a, is the assumption that this is the only way that those kind of people who go on coach tours would actually be interested in seeing Ireland? And have people tried enough different ideas about people bringing people into the country? Would for example some of these people who go on coaches, would they not prefer to be say living, you know, with an Irish family for a week if they had that opportunity? And exploring a local landscape and not having to get on a bus at eight o'clock every morning and be traipsed round sites. And I just wonder whether we've explored nearly enough alternative kinds of strategies even for the people who are at the beginning of their tourist career. I don't think we've been innovative enough and that's easy to say when you're outside the game so to speak, when you are looking at it from the kind of angle that I have, where I'm more concerned about the problems that tourism is creating rather than the problem of how you deal with bringing people who want to come into Ireland, and looking after them in different ways.'

Tom also seeks alternatives to the tour route, and in doing so introduces the concept of 'radial touring':

'In terms of what is visited, I think myself if it's a tour it's much of a muchness because the fact that it is touring and I don't see any radial touring in those cases there... Well there's probably just one slight example ... Two nights, three nights and going off radial. Going out and coming back again.'

He says that while tour circuits are of little benefit to local communities, radial touring (perhaps branded as a 'clover leaf' or 'shamrock tours') offers the potential for local economic development:

'That is one of the problems of the Ring of Kerry that as much as fifty tour buses a day on that route, but are of absolutely no benefit to the Ring of Kerry. You know every one of them starts and is back for the evening meal in Killarney that night. You know of great benefit to Killarney but of no benefit to... I thought at one time that a "Ring of Mayo" would be very useful. I now see that it's the last thing that we need because a ring demands completion and all that guarantees is that if you had a Ring of Mayo that it would start at Westport and it would end in Westport that night. You know that it is something which is not required... When I talk about radial touring its not really radial because they are unlikely to come back exactly, to go out and come back the same route it'll be these many loops. I suppose the image that just comes to me is the type of cloverleaf touring, you know, but coming back into the same ... (laughter) yes. If you use it I'm to get credit for it. (laughter). Shamrock touring yes... four-leaf shamrock touring... But it is radial, it really is radial touring you know, and it seems an oxymoron but its sedentary touring if you like, you know. It's not being nomadic. It's not having to pack your bloody bags every morning and move on. Yes I do see that that has a lot of potential.'

Mike notes that the tour circuit cannot be a sustainable form of touring:

'If we're talking about getting away from this kind of tourism, which I think we have to... Then it's about pushing people away from these routes into areas that are unknown in many cases. Part of the Irish landscape that people don't know about but doing it in a way that's to do with the intimacy of those landscapes. It's about taking small groups out there and maybe that's overly idealistic and maybe there

has to be the continuity of this idea of a route or, you know, the tourist in their kind of child stage are taking on a kind of quick tour through Ireland. But I think the problem is, as I say, that these routes reflect not only the child stage of tourism but are in fact tourism in old age as it is at the moment. And that every tourist that you see in Ireland, that this tends to be the experience that they are exposed to...'

Concluding the interviews

In concluding the interviews, the participants were asked if there was anything of relevance that they felt might have influenced their responses during the interviews. Two replies to this question are of particular note in the conclusion of this section. Jack re-emphasised the role of the in-tour personnel in contributing to the tour experience, and to the success of the tour in general. He acknowledges that tour customers have diverse expectations:

'You know when you have forty-four to forty-nine people on a coach you can have a lot of different people and they're not all the same. Especially on a tour like Ireland because you have people who want different things and who have different ideas of what they want to get from this holiday. So its up to the driver to identify that really in a lot of ways, and not tailor-make the tour because at the end of the day he's set on what he can do because we produce the brochure that they actually buy from. But there are certain things that I know they add to them and that's what, you know, the trick is really. That's what it's all about.'

Mike also highlights this potential diversity of perceptions and this corresponds to some of the literature reviewed in Chapter 3 (e.g. Tuan 1979).

'Landscape isn't just something physical. It's about what we carry round in our heads. And I think this relates to your questions about, you know, this perception of heritage and landscape. That we cannot assume that everybody has the same perception of heritage and landscape. That everybody's idea of what landscape is, is very different and I think that's a very important point. And again something that we haven't probably stressed enough.'

These analyses have aimed to explore opinions expressed by the informants on several key themes, as well as providing a broad overview of the cultural environment and cultural tourism in Ireland. The findings illustrate that a wide range of views exist. For example, individuals representing organisations, such as Bord Fáilte and Heritage Island which produce and market images of Ireland's cultural environment for tourism, perceive that organised tours in Ireland generally deliver highly structured experiences of the destination. They recognise that the cultural tour will include a combination of elements, such as sightseeing and facilities, within a cultural destination (c.f. Quirogia 1991; Chapter 3), and the need for a diversity of experiences within a single itinerary (c.f. Oppermann1995; Chapter 3). Meanwhile, the tour operator may acknowledge that their markets are diverse (c.f. Davidson; Chapter 3), that high levels of pre-tour preparation can be undertaken by customers, and that they hold individual expectations and interests. In addition, in-tour personnel and the customers themselves are recognised as being significant in modifying their own experiences. Previously, writers (e.g. Quiroga 1990; Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998) have highlighted the significance of the tour guide in shaping the tour experience towards a positive outcome and others (e.g. Geva and Goldman 1991) recognise that consumers play an active part in shaping the perceived performance of the tour (Chapter 4). It is therefore difficult to attribute responsibility for the overall tour experience to any particular interest group, and perhaps harder to identify those willing to accept responsibility, not only for the tour experience but the impacts made by touring.

The information derived from this work has fulfilled one of the key objectives of undertaking these exploratory interviews in that that has helped to guide the direction of the subsequent, explanatory phase of research (Chapter 8), as well as identifying in-depth and multi-faceted expressions of Ireland's cultural tour routes.

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Having detailed the objectives, methodology and findings from the interview phase of the research, focusing on elite informants, the next chapter concentrates on the behaviour of the tourists themselves and details the objectives, methodology and findings from the second exploratory approach: participant observation.

CHAPTER 7

EXPLORATORY RESEARCH: PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

This chapter details the second stage of the exploratory phase of the empirical work, presenting the aims and objectives, analyses, and main findings from one method of enquiry: participant observation. After expanding on the methodology presented in Chapter 5, the findings are presented, and these are explored in relation to the literature.

Participant Observation

Aims and objectives

The second part of the exploratory phase of research was the participant observation of a scheduled cultural tour in Ireland. Participant observation is a qualitative method in which information is systematically collected by the social interaction between the researcher and the informants in the milieu of the latter (Decrop 1999a). The overall aim of this phase of research was to enhance understanding of the dynamic experience of touring from a customer-centred perspective by examining the interactions between tourists, touring environments, and cultural destinations along a cultural tour route. At this early stage in the research, one of the key questions was the extent to which generic 'types' of tour participant could be identified from their spatial preferences and experiences. This extends previous work indicting that tour participants can be grouped according to their social and environmental preferences, which can in turn predict the extent of their spatial learning of a destination (Beck and Wood 1976b). The participant observation of tour members on a seven-day escorted cultural tour of Ireland therefore sought to identify the degree to which patterns of spatial behaviour could be identified. It further aimed to explore whether similar types of behaviour might correspond to participants with other similar sociodemographic characteristics, such as age, gender, or nationality, or to the nature and size of their pre-determined tour affinities (i.e. travelling companions).

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Methodology

Observational techniques were first employed in leisure research over sixty years ago. Before this, anthropologists used observation to analyse social interactions and cultural differences. The approach became particularly endorsed in cross-cultural research in psychology (Seaton 1997), and Hall's classic description of how people use space, *The Hidden Dimension*, revealed the importance of the spatial dimension in human communication (Hall 1966).

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Behavioural observation generates qualitative descriptions, and the basic tenet of qualitative research is that theory develops from the observation of the actions of those under study (Hardy 1995). However, this implicit and empathetic approach has resulted in a general paucity of standards for methodological procedures and theoretical frameworks for interpreting observations (Chapter 4). Much has been done to redress the balance in the field of environmental psychology, and the method followed here has been principally developed to assist successful environmental design (e.g. Zeisel 1990). By observing behaviour and the physical traces of behaviour, this approach focuses upon individuals' uses of space and the influences of environmental factors *(ibid)*.

In tourism alone, observation consists of a range of techniques including the unstructured, structured, and electronic recording of behaviours. These are most frequently used to evaluate the on-site activities of visitors, but are often directed towards gross physical parameters, such as visitor flow patterns, rather than to understanding the nuances that users of a setting feel (Pearce 1988; Chapter 4). As a methodology, participant observation provides direct experiential and observational access to the insider's 'world of meaning', and the access it provides to emotional phenomena which is normally difficult to investigate is one of its greatest strengths (Jorgensen 1989). Another principal quality of the method is that it is dynamic. The observer gets a glimpse in time of the life of an environment (Zeisel 1990). The environment of the coach tour is complex, presenting internal and external space, which coexist and rapidly change. Furthermore, a complicated mix of participants' motivations and experiences can evolve throughout the tour and influence their behaviour (Quiroga 1990).

Having identified a suitable destination from which the research population, the tour participants, could be sampled (Chapter 5), the next stage in the sampling process was to identify the sampling frame from which to select a tour (McDaniel and Gates 1993). The aim was to select a cultural tour that would be representative of the product as a whole, and which attracted an international market that had not previously experienced this destination directly. The scheduled departure considered to be 'average' in terms of quality and value for money and selected for this study, was a seven-day tour operated by *Insight*. This included many of Ireland's top attractions such as Dublin, the Wicklow Mountains, Glendalough, Avoca (or 'Ballykissangel'), Waterford and the Crystal Factory, Cork, Blarney Castle, Ring of Kerry, Tralee, the Cliffs of Moher and the Burren, Limerick and Bunratty Folk Park (Chapter 5).

The participants included a guide, a driver, this researcher, and thirty-two other tour members: 18% UK; 22% Australian; 67%, USA. These figures are consistent with the statistics for escorted coach tour passengers arriving at Dublin Airport in 1998: 10% UK; 10% Other non-European; 65% USA (Lynch 1999), and can therefore be considered representative of the total research population in this study.

To guide the observations, a structure was developed which replaced the complex reality of the observed situation with a simpler version (Zeisel 1990; Appendix 4).

Contexts and settings

Contexts can consist of situations or cultural affinities that influence the way individuals perceive environments. One of the challenges for environmental psychology is to identify the meanings that people attribute to physical and social environments from their reactions (Zeisel 1990). In particular settings such interpretation may depend on the options provided, but reference to sensory impacts can assist in defining peoples' relationships to their physical and social environments. For example, coach windows act as screens that selectively separate and connect, enabling a visual link, but a tactile separation with the external environment. The shape of a setting, such as the seating positioned in the corners of a coach, can be more easily seen as separate to the rest of the coach (*ibid*). The size of a coach environment relative to the number of passengers on-board has a considerable effect

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 137

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on passengers' comfort. One of the key social contexts influencing tour participants' personal experiences of the tour is their travelling companionship status (Quiroga 1990).

Actors and actions

The subjects of observations are individuals or 'actors' who perform roles. They can be noted for characteristics or affiliations that are similar from, or different to, other actors, such as nationality, gender, age, social affinities, and travelling companions. Although the observer may be unable to identify these features accurately, paradoxically clues from the intentional displays of self-image can sometimes be used to infer associations. In touring environments, name-tags, flags, pins, badges, slogans, and brand names, are used to express individuality, to enable others to identify them more easily, or to express group membership (Zeisel 1990). Observing the photographic activities of tour members can be particularly useful in revealing individuals' motives for ensuring tour satisfaction. For example, taking group photographs in the early stages of a tour can be used as a mechanism to develop social interaction (Markwell 1997). Since sightseeing forms the main activity of a tour itinerary and is mainly experienced from on-board a coach, in-tour seating arrangements will be pivotal in the identification of participants' adaptive behaviour to their environment which aims to secure their satisfaction.

Analyses and findings

The analysis of information derived from participant observation is by nature the continuation of a process begun in the field (Jorgensen 1989). A combination of three analytical strategies were followed: firstly, the identification and labelling tour members' spatial behaviour, then the definition of patterns and relationships, and thirdly, the comparing and contrasting of observations (*ibid*). The primary purpose of this analysis was to understand the social and physical meanings underlying participants' spatial behaviour by focusing on change and consistency in their seating preferences. The visibility of the route is central to the production of a satisfying experience of a sightseeing tour, and this would have a significant effect on participants' seating preferences. No seat rotation policy was in operation on the tour departure selected. Observations indicated that the desire to share the experience with companions also influenced seating patterns. Analysis therefore focused on participants' social contexts (i.e. pre-existing travelling companions and the

new affinities that developed on-tour), the roles they performed, and opportunities presented by the physical setting of the coach interior (c.f. Gorman 1979).

Near to travelling companion(s) (i.e. next to, or immediately in front, across the aisle from, or behind) Mobile (i.e. move throughout front, middle, and rear sections of coach)	Partici	Participants ³⁵
the aisle from, or behind) Mobile (i.e. move throughout front, middle, and rear sect		1,2;3,4,5,6;8,9;10,11;12,13;14,15,16;18,19,20,21;22,23,24;25,26;27,28;
Mohile (i.e. move throughout front, middle, and rear sect	29,30;	31,32
		1,2, 8,9; 14,15,16
Sedentary (i.e. remain in the same general location, either front, middle, or	ont, middle, or	3,4,5,6;7;17;19,20,21,22;22,23,24;27,28;33
rear section of coach, except for up to one day in front seat)		
Near to compatriots	29,30;	29,30; 31,32
Same seat (except for up to one day occupying front seat)		12,13; 18/19; 26/27; 29,30; 31,32
Alone (i.e. adjacent seat unoccupied)		7; 10,11; 17; 18,19; 29,30; 31,32; 33
Same seat in corner	29,30	
Back row	29,30; 31	31
Alternate positions with travelling companions	3,4,5,6	; 8,9; 14,15,16; 20,21; 22,23,24
Separate from travelling companion(s) after a few days	1,2;8,9	; 27,28
Move to rear of coach the day after sitting in front seat	8,9; 14,	8,9; 14,15,16
Seats selected for optimum view	3,4,5,6; 32	32
Seat selected for ontimum lea-room	13	
Aisle seat only	7:11:13:18	3:18

Fifteen distinct seating behaviour patterns were observed during the seven-day tour, and are listed below:

The information was collected in the form of daily seating plans supplemented by notes and photographs that recorded participants' behaviour. This needed to be summarised to identify whether patterns or trends in tour members' spatial behaviour existed. Due to the volume and range of potentially significant information that had been assembled, the initial analytical procedures followed those frequently used to quantify information (Bryman 1997). Frequency distribution tables enabled the calculation of the number of cases in each category, or the relative frequency with which participants had exhibited particular behaviour patterns during the tour. These distributions were generated with the aid of SPSS for Windows (Release 9.0).

A brief profile of each participant is provided in Appendix 5. The most interesting finding was the high percentage (94%) of tour members' who consistently preferred to sit quite close to their travelling companions (i.e. either directly next to, across the aisle, in front or behind). All accompanied tour members (i.e. all but two of the participants) behaved in this manner for the duration of the tour. However, it is also striking that 47% of tour members chose to sit alone (i.e. with an unoccupied seat immediately adjacent to them). With a 67% load factor³⁶, a high proportion of unoccupied seating was available on this tour, potentially facilitating a wide range of spatial behaviours. Optimum levels of physical and psychological comfort will be sought from the opportunities that an environment presents. The tendency by about half of the participants to sit near to companions, but to retain a degree of personal space, may indicate that personal security is more important than sociability or the desire to share the tour experience (c.f. Gorman 1979; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994). It is interesting to note that a pair of seats was unoccupied on three occasions, suggesting that the spatial opportunities presented by this environment and the optimum comfort levels had been satisfied.

Other findings included the predominantly sedentary behaviour of participants, where 41% preferred to sit in the same approximate location (i.e. front, middle, or rear of the coach) compared to 22% who sat in more than one section of the coach. A further 38% occupied the same seat for the duration of the tour except when occupying a front seat position. A total of 56% spent up to one day in the front of the coach, demonstrating the value placed

² Where a minimum break-even load factor could as little 37%, i.e. 18 passengers (Globus 1997).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 141

upon this optimum viewing position. Nonetheless, the desire to obtain a good view never overrode that to be near travelling companions, who would invariably occupy adjacent seats on the same day. A concern for 'fairness' and communal behaviour was exhibited by the behaviour of 19% of the tour members who deliberately chose to sit in the rear section of the coach the day after they had sat in the front seats. The desire to appear equal to others in the party was shown by Participant 8 who, following a day in the front with his wife (Participant 9) commented loudly, 'we'll be at the back today'. When asked if the view was much better from the front he replied, 'sure, but the views from the rest of the coach are good!'

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Equality is a theme that is also borne out by travelling companions' reciprocal behaviour where for example, 44% of the total group regularly exchanged seating positions with companions. There were either physical or medical explanations where this behaviour was not in evidence, for example Participant 13 required extra leg-room and Participant 26 had a severe visual impairment. Alternatively, travelling companions remained alone in separate seats, and thus negated the need to exchange seats. Perhaps surprisingly, those who sat alone did not always prefer window seats and 13% remained in aisle seats, seeming to favour the extra leg-room and views afforded through the front windscreen of the coach.

The second part of the analysis considered the frequency of participants' spatial behaviours in relation to social context, in particular whether members were travelling alone, as a pair, or in a group. This aimed to determine whether pre-formed affinities had significantly affected participants' spatial behaviour. These affinities were thought to represent independent variables that may influence seating preferences. The distribution frequencies are in themselves interesting: 44% of tour members were travelling as a part of a group; 57% were in pairs, and 6% travelled alone. These figures are consistent with those found by other researchers and therefore seem likely to be representative (e.g. Gorman 1979). The relatively low proportion of single travellers again supports the view that meeting people is not a major motivation for selecting cultural tours from this particular industry segment (i.e. non-specialised cultural tours), unlike those specialising in the singles/youth niche markets (Schuchat 1983; see Chpater 3). This is reinforced by the behaviour of the

accompanied participants all of whom stayed close to their companions during the tour rather than choosing to sit with new acquaintances.

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Further analysis of participants'spatial activities showed that certain behaviours corresponded with participants' pre-defined social contexts (Figures 7.1-7.3). Pairs were more likely to occupy the same seats, and sit apart from their companion at some time during the tour (Figure 7.2). In contrast, pre-formed groups rarely sat alone, were relatively mobile, and frequently alternated their seating arrangements with other members in their party (Figure 7.3). This appears to reinforce the suggestion that social interaction between pre-existing companions rather than new acquaintances is significant, with couples preferring to sit either with each other or alone, and groups having a selection of alternative seating companions. There was one exception to this seen in the seating arrangement of three Australian men (Participants 29, 30 and 32), who preferred to sit together on the back seat. Only two of these represented a pre-defined pair (Participants 29 and 30). This group referred to themselves as the 'boys at the back'. This naming of a recognised clique corresponds exactly with Gorman's 'back of the bus bunch', and indicates the unity that these members felt (Gorman 1979). This also seems to support Quirogia's finding that nationality is a significant variable in the formation of cliques (Quiroga 1990), although this grouping was also gender-based. This behaviour seems to confirm the idea that tour participants seek new acquaintances to replace the social function performed by those in their home environments (Schuchat 1983). The tendency for pairs to sit in the same seats may further indicate their desire for stability in a changing and unfamiliar environment. Larger groups of travelling companions do not need stability in their surroundings to such an extent, perhaps because their security is provided in numbers.

Figure 7: Tour Participants' Spatial Behaviour

Fig. 7.1 Single Participants

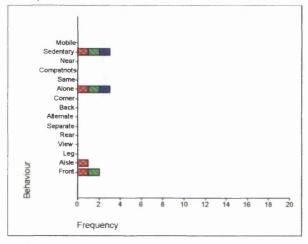


Fig. 7.2 Participants in pairs

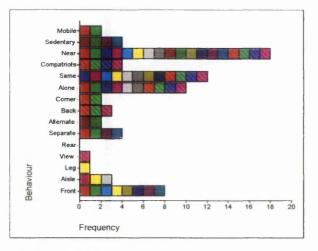
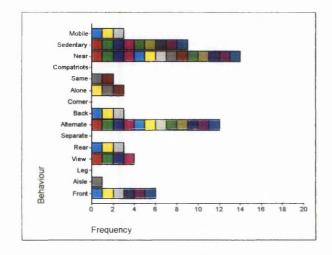


Fig. 7.3 Participants in groups



The escorted tour group serves multiple functions for its members. These can be physical, psychological, economic and social in nature (Schmidt 1975; Mayo and Jarvis 1981). A person joins a group to satisfy certain requirements, yet the group may fulfil different needs for each member. The knowledge that organised tours facilitate safety and interpersonal relations, and that these are positively valued by participants, is quite well documented (Schmidt 1975; Quiroga 1990; Yang 1995; Duke and Persia 1996). However, exactly how the tour environment satisfies these needs, whether by providing 'safe strangers', or because a group provides safety in strange places, has not been made clear (Schuchat 1983).

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This phase of the research enabled the analysis of the interactions observed between tourists' spatial behaviour and their touring environments. It suggests that tour participants adapt to their unfamiliar destinations by spatial and social mechanisms to ensure their security and enjoyment. Although the notion of intra-group descriptive 'types' based on tourists' spatial preferences has not been supported, it would appear that pre-defined social contexts do influence in-tour behaviour patterns to some extent (c.f. Beck and Wood 1976b; Swarbrooke and Horner 1999). The modern organised cultural tour is characterised by its rapid pace and changing environments, presenting a kaleidoscope of images that are ephemeral and sometimes intangible. This environment imposes demands on tourists, particularly those who are experiencing it for the first-time. In contrast, touring companions provide stability, and new acquaintances afford the opportunity to replace the absent primary relations from more familiar environments. These can fulfil a great social need, and in turn help to secure satisfying experiences (Gorman 1979; Schuchat 1983).

Having presented the methodology and findings from the participant observation focusing on the spatial behaviour of tour members in an internal tour setting, the next chapter details the explanatory phase of the research: the survey, exploring the spatial knowledge and attitudes of participants' towards a wide-range of cultural tour routes.

CHAPTER 8 EXPLANATORY RESEARCH: THE SURVEY

'A cornucopia of images, bewildering in their variety: this is the world of maps' – *The Power of Maps*, (Wood 1992, 4)

This chapter details the explanatory phase of the empirical work, presenting the aims and objectives, analyses, and main findings from the survey. After expanding on the methodology presented in Chapter 5, the analytical process is detailed and the findings are presented. These are compared to those from the exploratory phase of research (Chapters 6 and 7) and considered in relation to the literature. 1 And the second of the second o

The Survey

Aims and objectives

Studies which establish causal relationships between variables are termed 'explanatory studies', and their emphasis is on exploring a situation or problem in order to explain relationships between variables (Saunders *et al.* 2000, 98). In this study, the main phase of empirical work used an explanatory research strategy which was survey-based. It aimed to identify whether the images that participants had of their cultural tour routes changed after they experienced them, and if so, how and why (Chapter 5). The objective was to compare the expected or imagined destination with the recalled experience. It further aimed to assess whether participants' levels of informal environmental learning gained from a tour correlated with the levels of satisfaction which they experienced. The educational benefits of cultural tours, and knowledge-seeking more generally, are common to many of the studies reviewed in Chapter 4 (particularly Quiroga 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; Hughes 1991; Duke and Persia 1994; Reisinger and Waryszak 1994; Yang 1995; Chadee and Mattsson 1996).

Methodology

A longitudinal approach was selected in order to detect any changes in tourists' attitudes and perceptions before and after their direct experiences of a destination. Surveys are well equipped to measure tourists overall satisfaction levels, although without necessarily

adhering to the theoretical 'baggage' with which this approach is usually associated in this context (e.g. Parasuraman *et al.* 1985; Chapter 4). The design process of the survey instruments followed that outlined by Proctor (1997), and at the outset involved a consideration of three interdependent factors, including the type of information required the nature of the informants, and the methods of administration. Pre-tour and post-tour questionnaires were used to measure informants' knowledge and attitudes before and after their experiences of cultural tour routes. The sampling frame was defined as all first-time visitors who had, or were about to, participate in a twelve-day or less non-specialised tour of Ireland. The sampling location was Dublin Airport, and the initial questionnaires were distributed over a period of a week (Chapter 5).

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The questionnaires consisted of two main parts, separating the predominantly qualitative map element (Part One) from the mainly quantitative attitude measurement and subject traits (Part Two; Appendices 6 and 7). A range of response formats was used, including open-ended questions using projective techniques in Part One, with an outline base map of Ireland, and prompts in the form of predetermined symbols developed from the mapping language 'Environmental A' (Wood and Beck 1976; Chapter 4). Both of these devices were intended to encourage both depth and breath of spatial expression in what would probably appear to be an unusual or difficult task. If the mapping language had not been given it is likely that participants would have simply referred to 'factual' data, following the traditional perception of map content.

Before the survey could be implemented, it was necessary to determine an acceptable level of complexity in terms of passengers' comprehension of the requested tasks and their willingness to participate. Two different designs were piloted with tour participants visiting Ireland for the first time with a locally based operator.³⁷ The simplest layout received the highest response rate and it was therefore adopted for the main survey. This was administered in two parts. Phase One where the questionnaires were interviewer distributed (Appendix 6), and Phase Two where follow-up post-tour questionnaires were sent by airmail to informants' homes (Appendix 7). In addition, fifty post-tour questionnaires were distributed in the departures areas of Dublin Airport as it was anticipated that less of these would be returned than the pre-tour forms.

³⁷ Two tours were used: 'Ring of Kerry' (7 days) and 'The Garden of Ireland' (5 days).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 147

Response Rates

Responses were elicited from most of the nineteen products surveyed; over two-thirds yielded pre-tour and post-tour responses from the same individuals (Table 8.1). In total, one hundred and twenty nine completed questionnaires were returned, and the response rates ranged from between 65% for the postal survey to between 20-40% for those administered by the interviewer. Although this fell short of the target by less than 10% (Chapter 5), valid inferences can be drawn nonetheless (Proctor 1997). The low response rate (20%) from the 'captive' post-tour audience approached in the departures areas is surprising, not least because of the apparent enthusiasm with which the questionnaires were accepted; many potential participants claimed that it would give them something to do on their transatlantic flights (c.f. Day 1999). Although there has been very little work analysing the effects of survey timings (O'Neill 1998; Turley 1999), the most likely explanation relates to tourists' low levels of engagement with the survey subject matter as they depart from their holiday destination. This highlights the significance of the survey context in relation the tour experience. It would seem that engagement with the subject matter influences response rates. This could explain the relatively high response (65%) from the postal survey after tour members had returned home; several of these respondents commented that the survey had been timed to help them to reflect upon and 'relive' their tour experience. A preliminary analysis of the information received from the main survey supported the findings from the pilot study, indicating that a considerable depth of conceptual work was possible.

Tour company and tour name	Paired pre-tour and post-tour responses
Brendan Glimpse	0
Brendan Grand	0
Brendan Meet the people	0
Brendan Touch South	1
Brendan Tour with a difference	4
Brian Moore Shamrock	0
CIE Adventure	1
CIE Explorer	1
CIE Fling	2
CIE Quest	2
CIE Taste	1
Collette Shades	0
Cosmos Leisurely	2
Globus Emerald Isle	2
Globus Introduction	5
Insight <i>Focus</i>	0
Insight Grand	0
Trafalgar <i>Experience</i>	3
Trafalgar Highlights	3
Pilot	5
Total	32

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Table 8.1: Sampling Frame showing Paired Responses from Individuals

Analyses and Findings

This section presents the analyses and findings from the survey phase of research, mainly the content analyses of the graphic and textual material from the route maps, and compares these to findings from the exploratory phase of research (Chapters 6 and 7). Content analysis is perhaps best described as 'a quantitative means to analysing qualitative data', and allows the systematic analysis of non-statistical material (Finn and Elliot-White 2000, 125). It enables inferences to be made about the sender of the message, the message or the audience (Krippendorff 1980; Werber 1990), and is a standard approach in the analysis of cognitive maps, although it is frequently used implicitly. In this study it was used to sort the material and to identify common themes in both the textual and pictorial responses. The examination of these two types of information together seems to have overcome some of the problems experienced by previous researchers in their attempts to interpret 'drawings' and their intended meanings (for example, Gamradt 1995). In particular, drawings can straddle different content categories, and the use of an index of symbols with

corresponding labels (i.e. an adaptation of 'Environmental A') did much to alleviate this problem (Wood and Beck 1976, above; Appendices 6 and 7).

Content analysis must move beyond description to determine whether inferences have validity (Albers and James 1988). Frequently in cognitive mapping research the content and character of maps are compared to participants' traits, such as age, gender, and their ability to drive, using a range of statistical tests. In this way, independent variables, which are believed to influence map characteristics, have been identified. The analysis of variables using information about individuals from this survey will facilitate comparisons with previous research. The main objective is to assess whether there has been a significant change to the images held by participants after their tour, and to provide insight into the sources of information used to form these images. It is anticipated that supplementary information will be provided on the nature of the social and environmental relationships experienced by tour participants, and that socio-demographic profiles of the survey sample will also be elicited. However, as already discussed in Chapter 4, the explanatory potential of cognitive mapping can be limited, and it could benefit from a multiple method perspective, as advanced by this research (Guy *et al.* 1990; Oliver 2001b; Chapter 5).

The focus of this project has been to identify the meanings that tourists attach to their experiences rather than to simply measure attitudes or assess product performance. Therefore the qualitative information gained through interviews with elite informants (Chapter 6), and by participant observation (Chapter 7) on a scheduled tour, was reassessed through methodological and data triangulation with the survey material. In adopting an integrative strategy, the aim has been to balance the strengths and weaknesses of these three approaches and to overcome inherent biases (McIntosh 1998; Chapter 5). However, the use of several field methods in a single research project does not in itself lead to more sophisticated nor valid information, as careful orchestration is required to assess whether the information is complementary at the different levels of inquiry (Hartman 1988; Zeisel 1990). For example, participant observation tended to gain information at the micro-level or encounter-specific level of the tour experience, whereas the interviews focused more on the macro-level and the conceptual nature of the cultural route, as seen by specialists. In this case, therefore, these methods were highly complementary.

Concepts used in previous cognitive mapping research were not automatically adopted in the analysis of the mapped components in this survey (c.f. Young 1999). Lynch (1960) proposed that individuals learn about complex environments by building up simplified images. In his view the process focuses on five elements of the environment: paths are the routes along which people move, edges are obstacles or lines separating different parts of the landscape, nodes are places that serve as foci for travel, districts are relatively large areas with an identifiable character, and landmarks a points of reference used in navigation. Paths, landmarks and districts are the three features used most often in city mapping research (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). However, Pearce (1981) also used these in his study of route maps in a rural context, together with concepts he adopted from outside the cognitive mapping arena; the texture score refers to a general non-spatial commentary (Spreiregen 1965 and Fairbrother 1972, cited in Pearce 1981, 145) and the social score and describes social activities (Lee 1968 cited in *ibid*, 145). The score for any category is simply the frequency of that item (*ibid*; Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). ین کارگرانگرد بار بار باری اور می این مواد باری در این مارد در این مارد مرابط بارد این مواد مارد مارد این بار بار مواد مود مود م

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Maps drawn by different individuals in cognitive mapping exercises differ markedly and this is unsurprising given that experiences of the environment are unique to each individual (Chapter 5); the nature of the environment is also believed to be an influential factor (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). Using cognitive mapping, Lynch argued that an individual's knowledge of a place (in this case a city) is a function of its imageability (i.e. the extent to which it makes strong impressions on the individual concerned), and that this in turn is influenced by the legibility of a place (i.e. the extent to which the various components, paths, landmarks etc.) fit together into a coherent whole. Until now cognitive mapping has never been used to reveal experiences within the context of the cultural tour in a largescale environment. Furthermore, although previous research has assessed individuals' spatial learning over time (for example Guy et al. 1990), this is the first time that pre-tour and post-tour maps have been compared. The aim has been to compare the expected or imagined destination with the recalled experience. Therefore, the analyses needed to be open to differences, as well as similarities, that might exist between these maps and those from other types of experience and environment, including those from tourists and residents in a city or independent travellers in a rural environment (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992; Pearce 1981). Initially therefore, the maps in both pre-tour and post-tour

questionnaires were visually compared to see whether the components used to depict cultural tour routes could be grouped together in any meaningful way.

Map components

Three of the basic components selected by participants to express their spatial knowledge of their touring destination certainly resembled three of the concepts used in previous mapping research: landmarks, paths and districts. The terms used in this research follow those employed by Beck and Wood (1976a) in their study of students on sightseeing tours, although conceptually they also relate to traditional terminology (e.g. Pearce 1981). As pointed out by Wall (1997) these dimensions are useful when considering the spatial distribution of visitors, their behaviours, and consequently the commercial exploitation and management of destinations, and therefore in the context of this study they seem appropriate.

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- Points are singular, a uni-dimensional site or place with a suggested, even if inaccurate, location;
- Lines are the representation of a tour route or road system, and are essentially two dimensional;
- Areas are regions exhibiting particular characteristics, although they do not need to have a clearly defined boundary. They embrace the notion of plurality and are multidimensional;
- A fourth category included examples where knowledge about the destination could not be described in spatial terms. In these examples, the map was left completely blank; symbols were drawn outside the map outline (usually in the box provided); or were drawn within the map outline but apparently in a completely random fashion.

The extent to which the map components would change after touring was not known at this stage, nor was it known whether the predominance of one type of map component over another related to individuals' preferred styles of representation, rather than reflecting their spatial knowledge (c.f. Spencer and Weetman 1981; Chapter 9). It appeared likely that scoring the frequency of these different features in order to devise a typology of tourist types would be an overly simplistic approach in this research context (c.f. Pearce 1981).

Further qualitative information was required before a valid assessment could be made, and the route maps were compared to see whether any of the representations seemed similar. Ten different means of representing the tour experience were identified, and these could be linked to one of the four methods of representing different spatial contexts (defined above). Three of these (marked by an asterisk, below Table 8.2) were used particularly frequently (Appendices 8, 9 and 10).

Table 8	B.2:	Types	of	Map	Com	ponent
---------	------	-------	----	-----	-----	--------

Points	 A relatively wide-range of symbols³⁸ representing places, activities and feelings (with or without a route linking them)*
	• A relatively small range of symbols repeated together in small
	groups, representing places, activities or feelings*
	Small groups of symbols enclosed within a circle at places
Lines	• A relatively small range of symbols repeated consecutively and
	schematically to form a route, with few located accurately*
	 Symbols located in-between places along the tour route
	A single line representing the tour route
Areas	• A few symbols or the same symbol repeated frequently within a
	broad area (e.g. either to the eastern or western side of the map)
Non-spatial	Symbols apparently placed in a random fashion on the map
*	 Symbols drawn outside of the map outline (usually in the box provided)

By comparing pre-tour and post-tour maps it was possible to identify an interesting trend, principally that the range of types of map component decreased in the post-tour versions and features were more often located in a spatial context, or sometimes encircled, as though to emphasise them. Exceptions existed, and a minority of individuals maintained highly stylised representations of the environment even after touring. Nonetheless, even where a stylised form is retained in the post-tour versions, the map content appears to be more precisely located in groups, rather than schematically along a line or distributed 'randomly' either within or outside the map outline. This seems to suggest that even in the highly schematised versions, mapping was influenced by directly experiencing the destination.

One essential mark of cognitive map development is considered to be the making and unmaking of connections between components (Beck and Wood 1976a). These may be

³⁸ The term 'symbols' is used here for simplicity, and includes the use of text labels on maps.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 153

manifest in a number of ways, including through the actual mapping of a route, or the placement of a region around structures. Another is the relative frequency of elements *(ibid)*. Beck and Wood *(ibid)* concluded from their content analysis of maps produced by American teenagers visiting London for the first time, that over time, disconnected map components appeared to grow together. It could therefore be anticipated that the post-tour maps from this research may show a general increase in:

- The frequency of symbols (points, lines and areas);
- Groups of symbols that had been enclosed in a circle;
- Symbols located between places along a route;
- The depiction of areas.

In contrast to these, symbols repeated along a route or in groups in a stylised form were thought to indicate a general paucity of spatial knowledge, and might therefore be expected to decrease in frequency in the post-tour maps. Certainly, a comparison between the pretour and post-tour questionnaires returned by individual cases demonstrates that places were quite often linked together by a solid line after touring (Appendix 11.2-11.4)³⁹. However, earlier studies had not conclusively found an increase in the frequency of mapped components over time; for example, Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) posited that information acquired at an early stage of a visit became redundant was therefore omitted in later maps (see *Altered images?* below; Chapter 9). Despite the possible trends suggested by the visual comparison of the route maps from this survey, it was therefore important to maintain an unbiased view in the formulation of null hypotheses (below), and to allow for both an increase or a decrease in spatial knowledge after touring.

Sample profile⁴⁰

About two thirds (67%) of the survey sample was female, and a third male. Most (83%) were US residents, others residing in Britain (8%), Australia (3%), and Canada $(2\%)^{41}$. The composition of travelling companions was consistent with those of the participant observation study (Chapter 7), with almost three-quarters (71%) travelling with their

³⁹ The cognitive maps reproduced in Appendices 8-11, consist of all those from the independent sample that were of sufficient intensity to be reproduced by scanning software (i.e. 37%).

⁴⁰ These statistics were derived from the pre-tour sample.

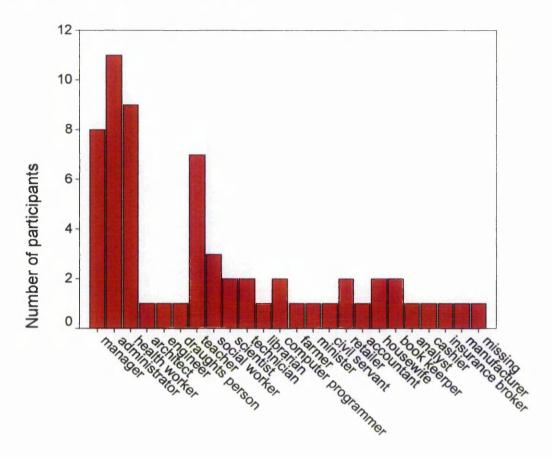
⁴¹ The remainder did not specify.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 154

partner or spouse, 22% of these were also with friends, and 11% also with relatives; 13% were with relatives, 11% with friends, and 5% were travelling alone. Their immediate home environments were varied; with almost a third (32%) living in suburbs, 27% in cities, 22% in rural environments, 13% in towns, and 5% in a village. Most (84%) were drivers. In terms of previous touring experience, almost half (48%) had not toured by coach before, 29% had taken between one and three tours, 21% between four and seven and 3% were experienced tour members, having toured more than seven times before. These figures certainly contradict the general perception that there is a 'type' of person who prefers group travel, and the participants' social preferences whist on holiday sustain this finding. Over half of the sample (51%) expressed a preference to explore alone or in a small group whilst on holiday, only 19% preferred to socialise in a large group, 13% liked to stay close to the hotel and only go out with the guide, 8% preferred to be alone, in a small group, or with the guide in equal amounts, and the remainder did not specify a preference. Over a third (40%) were between 55-64 years old and many were to either side of this age bracket; 19% between 45-54, 24% between 65-74, 10% were more than 74, and only 8% under 44 years old. The wide-range of occupations represented by this sample is presented in Figure 8.1; these include former occupations if the individual was retired or unemployed.

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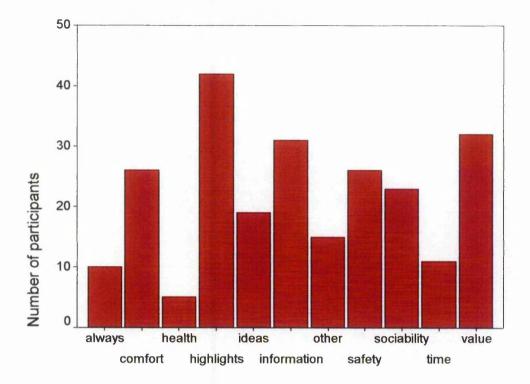
Motivations⁴²

The most frequently cited reason for choosing a tour was to see the main highlights of Ireland $(42\%)^{43}$. This was followed by good value for money (32%); that information was provided (31%); safety and security (26%); comfort (26%); sociability (23%); to get ideas for an independent trip (19%); time constraints (11%); special health needs (5%); with 15% citing another main reason for selecting a tour, including 13% who said that not having to drive was an important factor (Figure 8.2).

⁴² These statistics were derived from the pre-tour sample.

⁴³ Percentage of the pre-tour participants selecting this as a motivation.





Participants' motivations

Aggregate and individual content analyses

Aggregate cognitions represent a consensual view of a place and provide a statistically superior basis on which to draw conclusions, while individual maps provide insights into unique cognitions (Beck and Wood 1976a). This research analysis compared each of these ways of structuring material: the aggregate sample consisted of 110 valid responses, 57% of which were pre-tour maps, and the were remainder post-tour. Of these, individuals who had completed both a pre-tour and a post-tour map returned 49%, and this comprised the sample upon which individual statistical analyses were conducted. A comparison between the findings from the aggregate and individual groups demonstrated that the latter was a representative sample (below).

The content analyses of the cognitive maps consisted of two main activities: the transcription of all textual material relating to map content, and the scoring of all pictorial symbols and their descriptive labels. These two groups were then compared to see whether inferences could be made about participants' touring experiences. The symbols and their

text labels were quantified by entering each score into a database created in SPSS for Windows Release 10.0, in a file where each row represents an individual questionnaire and each column a single content category⁴⁴. Not all of the pre-defined symbols in the index of tour 'highlights', 'activities' and 'feelings' (Appendices 6 and 7) were used in either the returned pre-tour or post-tour questionnaires. Moreover, participants designed many new symbols and labels in order to describe their individual experiences (Table 8.3, cf. Wood and Beck 1976).

Unused symbols	New symbols	
Empty	Bay	Kissing the Blarney stone
Familiar	Boat or ferry ride	Marble factory
Personal meaning that I do	The Book of Kells	Moon
not want to express	Coastal views	National boundary
Rail track	Culture	Rain
Sports ground	Farmland	Rainbows
Unfriendly	Film location	Ring of Kerry
	Gaelic language	Scenery
	Green valleys	Sea
	Irish history	Waves
	Irish lace	Making contact with
	Traditional Irish music	researcher

Table 8.3: Unused and Newly Introduced Symbols

An unbiased approach required that bi-polar examples of descriptive terms were used in the index of symbols (Easterby-Smith and Thorpe 1991; Ryan 1995). Two of these, 'familiar' and 'different' were considered to be especially important in place imagery and in marketing, particularly in the context of Ireland: familiarity involves knowing and holding an image of a place which one can locate and relate to (Prentice and Andersen 2000). As tourists become more familiar with a destination, they increasingly possess spatial knowledge about holiday opportunities. Ireland is historically linked through government, language and migration to many of her tourists' countries of origin. Family contacts in particular may lead to complex images being held by relatives who have never visited *(ibid)*. Not only could it be expected that some people would feel a sense of familiarity with Ireland, but the preliminary analyses of the pre-tour maps indicated that they possessed spatial knowledge about the landscape even before visiting. This seemed to

⁴⁴ Data was moved between rows and columns in later analyses.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 158

accord with findings from a study of the British market, which indicates that familiarity with Ireland is not based on direct knowledge alone *(ibid)*.

'Difference' is the unique aspect of a product has underpinned the destination marketing of Ireland in recent years (see Simon Moonan, Chapter 6). However, the slogan 'Live a different life' has featured in advertising media, and may be interpreted as an attempt to increase the intensity of positive affective association by Bord Fáilte. This formed part of the repositioning campaign to encourage visitors to view Ireland more favourably, by developing themes of activity, authenticity, culture, friendliness and memorable personal experiences, summarised as 'emotional experience positioning' (*ibid*, 499; Bord Fáilte 1996). While none of the tour members in this research directly specified that Ireland was familiar to them, several made reference to personal motivation and experiences, such as visiting places with ancestral connections (below). In contrast, more tour members described Ireland as 'different' after than before touring (2%-11%)⁴⁵ and this lack of familiarity seems to have been valued positively.

Editing and coding

In addition to using the index of pre-defined symbols, participants had annotated their maps with free-text descriptions. Therefore, interpretation of the symbols used, if not already pre-defined, was usually straightforward. Symbols that could not be interpreted were classified as 'unidentified'. A reliability check was built into the methodology by re-analysing the material one month later, producing a level of agreement of approximately 90% (Finn and Elliot-White 2000).

During the visual comparison of maps (above), it was found that a few of the pre-defined symbols were used interchangeably by participants to represent a number of different subgroups of symbols, and that these could not be counted accurately. They were therefore amalgamated through a process of data reduction (*ibid*, 135). These regrouped categories included churches, monasteries, holy wells, shrines and graves, which together were redefined as 'sacred sites'; similarly, different sized places (i.e. villages, towns and cities)

⁴⁵ In this section, the scores from the content analysis are given in brackets; they represent the number of participants making reference to a particular content category. The pre-tour percentages are given first, followed by the post-tour percentages.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 159

were relabelled as 'places', and different road categories (i.e. major, minor etc.) became simply 'roads'. The brewery was added to the distillery group; the folk-park incorporated into the farm-park, and banquet added to the cabaret group. The aim was to reference similar types of tour attraction, while reducing the overall complexity of material for quantitative analysis⁴⁶.

The aim of this survey was to understand the content of the maps rather than to assess the veracity and orientation of participants' spatial knowledge, particularly as the large (countrywide) scale of enquiry would not have allowed an adequate investigation of this type (see Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). However, the distinctiveness of regions in Ireland and the homogeneity of images promoted in national marketing strategies were consistent themes of the exploratory interviews (Chapter 6). The preliminary examination of the maps also showed that the affective attribute 'beautiful' was frequently positioned towards the western side of the maps. The spatial imbalance of tourism in Ireland, currently favouring the East, and specifically Dublin, and tour itineraries regularly favouring the South over Northern Ireland, have also been pertinent issues in national tourism strategy. In recent years structural funding from Europe seems only to have compounded the problem, with visitor numbers increasing in regions that have already reached saturation point (Sharpley 1997; Chapter 5). It was therefore decided to separately score the 'beautiful' symbols according to their spatial distribution, and a new label, 'beautiful in the West' was created, so that this important affective image could be explored in greater detail.

Descriptive findings from the survey

78 (61%) pre-tour and 49 (39%) post-tour questionnaires were returned, and it was apparent that the content of some of these could not be considered valid; the reasons for this were diverse (Appendix 12). They were eliminated from all further analyses, as the objective of this research was not to reveal either 'good' or 'bad' scores, neither was it of interest to know how participants who returned invalid maps would have performed had they been accepted (Lewis 1994). The rejected surveys comprised a small proportion of the overall sample (14%).

⁴⁶ Although sites are grouped together in this section, they are considered separately elsewhere in this thesis. For example, the nature of Ireland's sacred sites and their relationship to tourism is a key theme discussed by Eileen Riordan of Bord Fáilte (Chapter 6).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 160

The remaining 110 valid responses were weighted to take account of the different response rates between the pre-tour and post-tour surveys, before comparing the aggregate scores from their map content.⁴⁷ Scores were derived from themes that participants felt were significant in their own touring experience, and have been used to identify any change in their perceptions that may have occurred as a result of their visit. Descriptive statistics computed using SPSS revealed that map content increased after touring; both the number of participants selecting symbols and the frequency with which symbols were used in a single map were greater than in the pre-tour versions (Appendix 13). The most polar examples of this being where nothing, or only an approximate route was shown before touring, and a full and apparently accurate map reflecting the places, regions and activities experienced was submitted after touring (Appendix 11.6). However, it was important to determine whether these observed changes were statistically significant.

Testing for significant relationships

Many statistical procedures require fairly detailed assumptions about the populations from which the samples are selected, and the advantage of tests based on the assumption of normality (parametric tests) is that they are likely to find a true difference when it is present (Norušis 2000). A class of statistics known as non-parametric tests exists for data for which it cannot be assumed to derive from a normally distributed population, for example, where small samples are used *(ibid)*. While non-parametric tests are distribution free, they do require that certain assumptions be met, although the advantage of these tests is that they are robust enough to withstand minor violations of these assumptions (SPSS 1999).

The data collected through the content analyses of the cognitive maps could not be assumed to be normally distributed, because although the survey sample was suitably robust⁴⁸, some of the content categories had very low scores, especially from the pre-tour count, and it did not make sense to amalgamate categories further. It was therefore decided

⁴⁷ weight = highest proportion of population responding for any stratum

proportion of population responding in stratum for which calculating weight (Saunders *et al.* 2000, 336).

⁴⁸ 110 valid questionnaires were returned.

to use the non-parametric alternative to the independent-samples t test, the Mann-Whitney U test, to test whether one survey population had larger values than the other (Norušis 2000). This procedure is used when testing between two independent groups when the assumptions for the parametric t test cannot be met; it is a distribution-free test (Wonnacott and Wonnacott 1990; Burns 2000). However, it must be possible to rank the scores produced by individuals, and is therefore ideally suited to the data collected by this survey. The mathematics of this test is based on the simple observation that if there is a real difference between scores in two samples then the scores in one should be generally larger than the scores in the other sample. It ranks scores from the two samples into one ranking and tests to determine whether there is a systematic clustering into two groups paralleling the samples. The test is based on the premise that a real difference in two treatments will cause the scores from one sample when placed in rank order to be located at one end of the distribution, while those from the other condition will be at the other end of the distribution. If no real treatment effect exists then the ranked scores from the two distributions will be randomised in the overall distribution (*ibid*).

The equation for the Mann-Whitney U is:

$$U = N_1 N_2 + \underline{N_1(N_1 + 1)} - T_1$$
2

where N_1 and N_2 are the sample sizes of the two groups, and T_1 is the sum of the ranks of one of the samples (SPSS 1999).

The Mann-Whitney U test was computed using SPSS for the content scores of the pre-tour and post-tour surveys for both the aggregate and individual samples, where:

 H_0 The null hypothesis states that the two populations are identical with respect to their map content values.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the two populations are not identical with respect to their map content values.

The null hypothesis is that the two populations are identical, so rejection could be because their means, variances or the shape of the distributions differ significantly (Silver 1992). The Mann-Whitney U test when applied to the scores of tour images found there was a significant difference between the pre-tour and post-tour scores for the aggregate sample (U = 4390.000, p = .000) and the individual group (U = 4087.500, p = .000); with post-tour scores significantly greater. The null hypothesis is therefore rejected at the 95% confidence interval.

In order to check the validity of this result a small hand calculator experiment was used to test a sample of the data set. This produces a U value of .000 and p value of .014 (Kmietowicz and Yannoulis 1976). When recalculated by SPSS, a U value of .000 and p value of .021 was produced, giving a margin of error of less than .007, or less than 1%. The result from the original test using the full data set could therefore be considered valid.

Assessing the strength of the relationship

A correlation coefficient enables the strength of the relationship between two ranked groups to be quantified. This coefficient (r) can take on any value between -1 and +1. A value of +1 represents a perfect positive correlation; meaning that the two groups are precisely related, and that as values of one variable increase the values of the other will increase. By contrast a value of -1 represents a perfect negative correlation, where again the two groups are precisely related; however as the values of one variable increase the others' decrease (Saunders *et al.* 2000). The type of data to which a rank correlation coefficient is particularly suited is that in which neither of the variables represent a characteristic which can be precisely measured by an objective standard (Letchford 1986). This is especially true when a margin of subjective difference between scores is possible, even though there has been an agreed standard of marking. These subjective differences will tend to be less pronounced among the ranks of marks than between the scores themselves, and so a rank correlation measurement is less susceptible to subjective bias than, for example, a product-moment coefficient (*ibid*).

The correlation between the map content from the pre-tour and post-tour maps was computed by SPSS using the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient. The mathematical formula for this is:

$$r_{\text{rank}} = \frac{1 - 6 \Sigma d^2}{n(n^2 - 1)}$$

where d is the difference between the ranks of x and y for each pair of (x, y) values, and n is the number of pairs of values in the sample (Letchford 1986).

This coefficient shows there is a strong positive relationship between the numbers from each content category (Figures 8.3.1 and 8.3.2). The correlation between the pre-tour and post-tour aggregate sample is .727. The p-value .000 indicates the probability of this correlation occurring by chance is less than 0.1 (10%; 2-tailed). The correlation between the pre-tour and post-tour individual sample is also strongly positive at .625, and the p-value .000, again shows the probability of this occurring by chance is less than 0.1 (10%; 2-tailed). Both of these correlations are therefore significant. However, given the extremity of the single value representing 'places', it was important to ascertain whether this point, although valid, was distorting the results (Norušis 2000). The Spearman's coefficient was therefore recalculated for both the aggregate and individual samples after first removing this value from the dataset. The r values (.720 and .614 respectively), demonstrate a strong positive correlation between the pre-tour and post-tour data, significant at the 0.1 (10%) level of probability, without the outlying value (Figures 8.4.1 and 8.4.2).

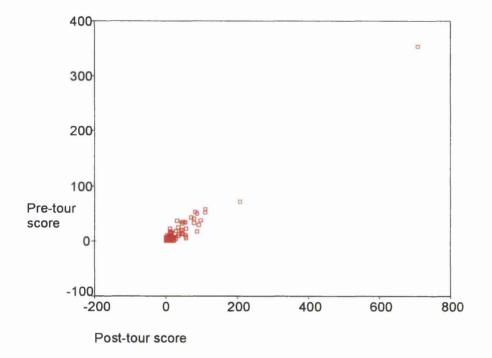
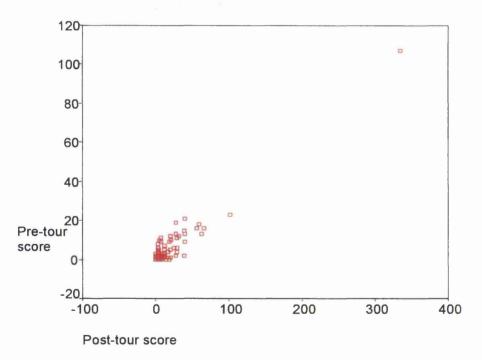


Figure 8.3.1: Correlation Coefficients from the Aggregate Sample

Figure 8.3.2: Correlation Coefficients from the Individual Sample





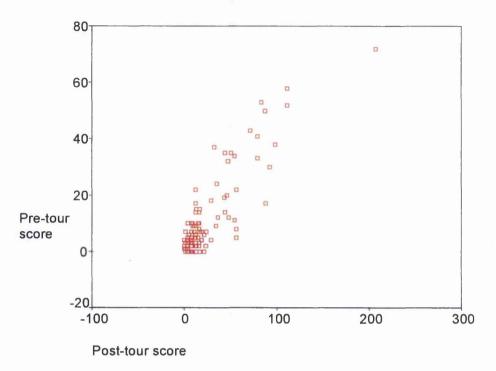
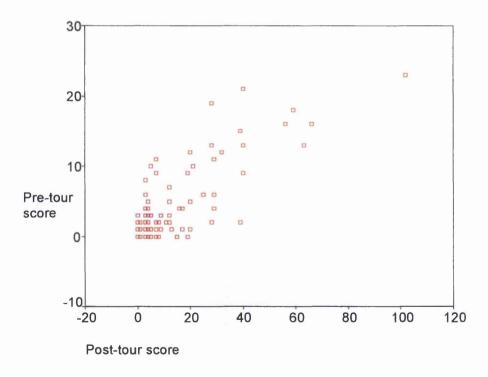


Figure 8.4.2: Correlation Coefficients from the individual sample without the Outlier

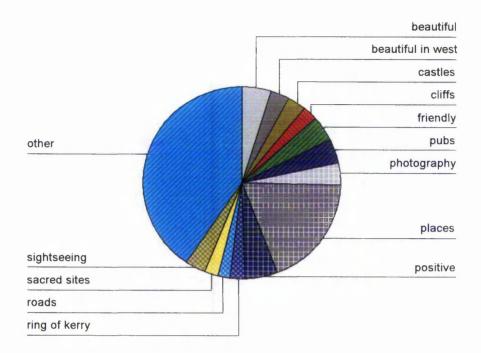


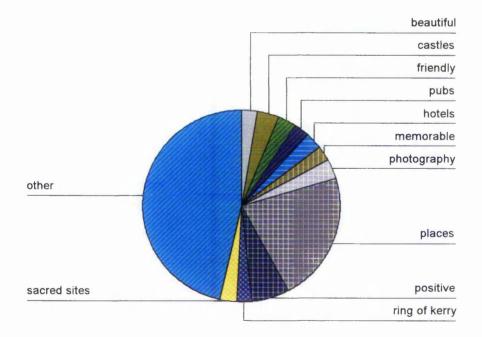
Altered images?

Taken together, the Mann-Whitney U and the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient provide highly complementary findings, suggesting that although there is a significant difference between the magnitude of destination images represented before and after touring, the samples are related in terms of the order and importance of images depicted. This suggests that the pre-tour images were strengthened by the tour experience, rather than changed by it. This is particularly well illustrated by Figures 8.5.1 and 8.5.2, where there is very little change in the categories comprising more than 2% of the total image, before and after touring. and a hard a second a second of a second of a second of a second of the second of the second of the second of t

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Figure 8.5.1: Images from the Aggregate Sample: pre-tour (top) and posttour (below)





Overall, the change in magnitude of images depicted before and after touring was significant (above). Several items in particular scored very highly, most notably places where 68% of pre-tour participants and 87% of post-tour participants made reference to cities, towns or villages, usually indicated by specific points drawn on the maps. The airport was another frequently referenced place $(41\%-49\%)^{49}$. This may reflect the significance of the airport as a point of distribution for the survey; alternatively, it may indicate that links beyond the immediate tour destination remained important to the individual, enforcing the notion that the actual tour is a part of a longer consumption experience (Chapter 4).

Roads and the tour route itself represented the most significant linear elements marked; the frequency of roads remained roughly consistent in both the pre-tour and post-tour versions (46%-45%), whereas explicit representations of the tour route by labelling or indicating the directions of travel rose (37%-53%). Despite this the overall proportion of linear features was not significant enough to comprise more than 2% of the total image after touring; for example, while roads comprised more than 2% of the total pre-tour image, they were relatively less important after touring (Figure 8.5.1). The individual sample shows there are instances where the same participant changed the style of line used from, for example, a dashed line to a hard line after touring (e.g. Appendices 11.4 and 11.9). This certainly appears to demonstrate the greater confidence with which individuals could represent their journey, but does not conclusively support a staged-model of spatial learning, such as proposed by anchor point theory, whereby locations are subsequently linked by routes and finally surrounded by areas, so that there is a trend from sequential mapping to survey mapping (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992; see Chapter 9, below). This research shows that the majority of tour participants appear to already have an impression of their tour itinerary even before touring, and that these sequential images, together with the place images, are either maintained or strengthened by the visit. The overall picture was similar for the individual sample although the level of negative feeling (0%-37%) was proportionally higher than that of the aggregate group, although the actual scores (5%-38%) were remarkably similar to each other, and they did not exceed participants' positive feelings

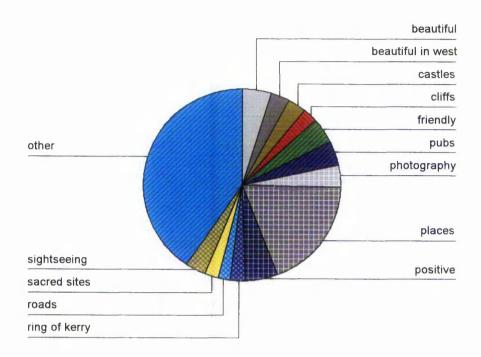
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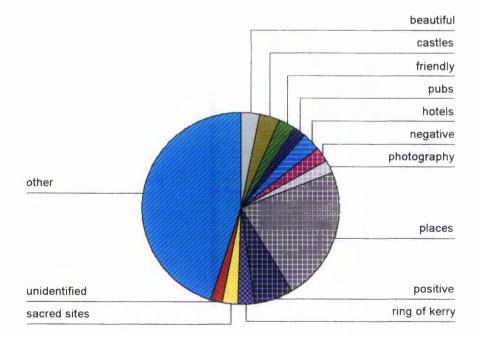
⁴⁹ Percentages of participants referencing each category are given in brackets; the pre-tour sample precedes the post-tour sample

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 169

(30%-52%; Figure 8.5.2). Reasons for respondents' negative attitudes are explored by reference to some of their qualitative statements (see *Thematic Analyses*, below).

Figure 8.5.2: Images from the Individual Sample: pre-tour (top) and post-tour (below)





Thematic analyses

The focus of this project has been to identify the meanings that tourists attach to their experiences rather than to simply measure attitudes or assess product performance. Towards this aim, content analysis was used to sort the material from the route maps gathered by the survey, and common themes in both the textual and pictorial responses were identified. These themes are considered in detail below.

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Cultural attractions

Culture, as defined in this research, embraces a wide range of meanings (Chapters 2 and 3). Traditionally however, culture has been classified into 'types', both in academic debate and to assist in the segmentation of cultural products for specific target markets. Exclusive and inclusive terms, including 'high' and 'low' culture are accentuated in the way they are packaged for the visitor (Evans and Robinson 1996). Although in academic debate there is increasingly a move away from such classification towards a more holistic view (Clarke 2000), such terms are still valid as tools in contemporary tourism research if used to describe different cultural experiences.

Similarly, the term 'cultural attraction' can be used to describe many different types of tourist destination. In this research, it is used to catagorise places that tend towards the 'narrow' or exclusive form of culture in tourism (Hughes 2000), often reflecting the elite material, spiritual or artistic status of individuals or societies. This form of cultural attraction is distinguished, albeit artificially, from 'ordinary' or general aspects of traditional life occurring in the wider environment and from managed events reflecting 'everyday' lifestyles (Williams 1981; Williams 1988; Chapter 2).

The content analyses of tour participants' mapped symbols from the survey revealed that some cultural attractions scored highly. This corresponds with recent market research conducted by the Irish Tourist Board which shows that historic houses and castles are most consistently favoured by tourists who visit cultural attractions in Ireland, with over three-quarters (76%) choosing to visit at least one house or castle; over half visiting monuments (57%); followed by heritage and interpretive centres (44%) and museums and art galleries (44%) (Bord Fáilte 1997b; Bord Fáilte 2001).

Historic buildings and monuments

The analyses of the map components in this research showed in greater detail than had been previously possible, how the relative intensity of aggregate perceptions had changed following a tour experience. The popularity of castles increased (49%-66%), which could relate to their high profile in tour itineraries, particularly in that the castle functions as a venue for range of different activities, including the guided tour, the banquet, and shopping. Interest in historic houses (10%-32%) also increased, while in contrast ancient monuments (19%-11%) received a decline in interest from the post-tour sample. Unlike many ancient monuments, castles are usually visually impressive, are frequently featured in promotional images of Ireland, and are easily seen from the coach⁵⁰. Furthermore, their histories or story-lines are perhaps more easily accessible than those from monuments of the more distant past (Mike Flynn, Chapter 6).

Despite the overall recognition of cultural attractions by tour participants, virtually no qualitative text accompanied the symbols and labels representing this group, although for one participant:

'Kissing the Blarney [Stone] was dumb!! Climbing the castle was great'- Female, New South Wales, Australia (86)⁵¹ In cross-referencing this statement with the corresponding map symbol category ('kissing the Blarney Stone') it is interesting to note a decline in reference being made to kissing the stone (10%-2%) after touring, despite there being a greater interest in castles. Participant observation revealed that the experience of kissing the Blarney Stone could be very positive, imbuing a great sense of achievement for some tour members, therefore the decline in scores should not be automatically interpreted as dissatisfaction, but rather that the experience was perhaps not as significant as the expectation of re-enacting this legend⁵².

⁵⁰ An observation made during the participant observation conducted as a part of this study.

⁵¹ Pre-tour questionnaire codes are given in normal type; post-tour responses are referenced in bold.

⁵² It is popularly believed that anyone kissing the stone will be endowed with the gift of eloquence and persuasive flattery.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 173

Art galleries and museums

Dublin was the European City of Culture in 1991, and additions to the physical resources for this yearlong event included the Irish Writers' Museum, the Irish Museum of Modern Art, the Irish Film Centre, and the Georgian Museum (Prentice and Andersen 2000). The tour itineraries that were sampled as a part of this study, rarely promote museums and art galleries as specific highlights, and it is likely that despite the international status of many museums and art galleries in Dublin, these national facilities are perceived by tour operators to be of little general appeal (Jack Lawton and Jimmy Magee, Chapter 6). This perception contrasts to general market figures, where 44% of all cultural tourists visited at least one museum and art gallery (Bord Fáilte 1997b). Visits to museums and galleries are not usually inclusive features of non-specialised tours and would therefore normally need to be conducted during the tourists' 'free-time', which may be limited and will compete with other activities, such as shopping (below). Relatively few tour participants in the sample showed an interest in visiting art galleries (2%-6%) or museums (10%-13%). However, because scores increased slightly after visiting Ireland, this could indicate that the attraction was particularly strong for a few individuals. This seems to support current thinking that participants' motivations in any given cultural experience, in this case the cultural tour, can be quite diverse (Hughes 2000).

Sacred sites

Sacred sites are integral to the Irish landscape, as reflected by the old adage which describes Ireland as 'the land of saints and scholars' (Phillips and Turbridy 1994). The recognition of religious places by tour participants in this sample grew in both diversity and significance (38%-53%) after touring, although, as with the other forms of cultural attraction (above) relatively little qualitative information was given on the nature of this importance. The main exception to this finding was in relation to the well-known monastic site of Glendalough, and comments indicate that it was valued both for its spiritual and mysterious atmosphere, as well as for the physical tranquillity of the setting, as it is today:

'Glendalough mystical. Ruins at Glendalough were a highlight' - Male, Michigan, USA (114)

'Thought Ireland was beautiful...Liked Glendalough. Very peaceful' - Female, Michigan, USA (116)⁵³

Another comment indicates concern about the impact that a modern development has made on the authenticity and sense of place of an ancient sacred site:

'Ridiculous A/P At Shrine of conck [Knock]' - Male, Maryland, USA (101)

Literary heritage

Ireland has a rich literary heritage, which represents one of the key cultural exports and makes an impressive contribution to the world's stage. Classic writers include W.B. Yeats, George Bernard Shaw, Oscar Wilde, and James Joyce, and modern playwrights include Samuel Beckett and Brian Friel. Ireland's contemporary novelists (for example, Roddy Doyle, Frank McCourt, Edna O'Brien), poets (including Seamus Heaney) and actors (such as Liam Neeson, Kenneth Branagh, Pierce Brosnan, Gabriel Bryne) are internationally renowned. Literature and story-telling seem synonymous with Irish culture. This research found that tour participants sustained their interest in Irish writers, some even expressing the desire to see the landscapes in which writers lived and worked (11%-11%):

'Hope to find family ancestors and where great poets, artists [and] writers have been & wrote about, experience Irish pub & local music' - Female, Oregon, USA (42)

With the exception of W.B.Yeats (in connection with the site of his burial) tour members made no mention of individual writers. Interestingly, no reference was made to any of Ireland's contemporary writers or artists. This observation is consistent with that made during the participant observation where apparently no remarks were made about Frank McCourt when visiting Limerick, despite the recent publication of his best-selling book

⁵³ These statements give a different impression to those gained from participant observation conducted as a part of this study. In this case, there was little opportunity for personal reflection at Glendalough, as the tour guide encouraged participants to clasp their hands around a Celtic cross, in the 'expectation' they would receive an offer of marriage if they succeeded.

'Angela's Ashes (subsequently made into a successful film) and there being a growing tourist trade in Limerick around the theme of this author's controversial childhood memoirs (Ashworth and Ashworth 1998). For example McCourt says:

'When I look back on my childhood I wonder how I survived at all, it was of course a miserable childhood: the happy childhood is hardly worth your while. Worse than the ordinary miserable childhood is the miserable Irish childhood...'(McCourt 1997, 1).

Performing arts

Despite there being many contemporary Irish celebrity actors and directors (for example, Neil Jordan, Jim Sheridan), and modern Irish films (such as 'Michael Collins', The Crying Game', 'My Left Foot', 'The Butcher Boy', 'The Field'), these were not mentioned by tour participants. However, 'The Quiet Man' starring John Wayne and Maureen O'Hara, was referenced (2%-2%), and this may be a reflection of the relative age of these particular respondents, in that they would be old enough to remember the original release of this film in 1952 (see below):

"Quiet Man" filmed somewhere in The West - Female, California, USA, aged 55-64 (15)

In contrast to this, interest in visiting the theatre developed after touring (0%-19%). According to some sources, recent growth in Ireland's tourism has been partially attributed to the success of her contemporary cultural product, including the performing arts (Bord Fáilte 1996). The survey revealed several examples where tourists said that they felt they had been denied information about cultural events, and some indicated that they suspected that this had been intentional:

'We attended the theatre 3 times and a performance in the concert hall. None of this was mentioned by our guide. Sean O'Caseys Juno & the Paycock, of 1922, tells about drunkenness and its main male characters smoke throughout the play. Ireland is the only country in the world where we have seen so much public drunkenness and smoking everywhere. Too bad' - Female, Ontario, Canada (49)

Participant 4 raised this issue during the participant observation conducted as a part of this study. She considered that the tour guide had sold the optional excursions on the first day because 'she didn't want us to get too independent'. Selling optional excursions can form a significant proportion of the tour guide's income and the commission-related pay structure affecting many in-tour staff is likely to influence the emphasis placed on different cultural products (Globus 1997).

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Traditional life

The 1990's represented a period of change in the official promotion of Irish tourism (Chapter 5). Much of its product strategy became focused on cultural tourism, especially heritage, rather than performing or other contemporary arts (Bord Fáilte 1997a; Eileen O'Riordan). This was despite a broader cultural repositioning originally proposed:

'Tourists are attracted here to discover our distinctiveness – all those facets of the natural, human-made and cultural heritage which gives us a unique identity. These features, reflecting character, authenticity, and sense of place, all combine to create a distinctively Irish image' (Bord Fáilte 1994, cited in Prentice and Andersen 1996, 252).

In recent years, national tourism development strategies have encouraged access to Ireland's traditional life. However, the emphasis on staging forms of traditional life as entertainment (see *Music and dance*, below) seems to suggest that people are encouraged to stay in, rather than visiting Gaeltacht areas where Gaelic is spoken in everyday life (Stocks 1996; Stocks 2000). However, as Stocks (1996) points out, traditional life is changing despite tourism, and tourism may in effect be keeping many traditions alive, albeit as adaptations. A popular means of presenting traditional life-styles of Ireland to the visitor is the folk or farm-park, which for the survey sample became more popular after touring (6%-19%). However, traditional life can be sanitised for the visitor:

'Rathburn (Galway?) – excellent personable farmer, clean, charming farm and cottage' - Female, North Carolina, USA (100)

Crafts and shopping

Irish craft products were linked with purchasing goods for souvenirs or gifts, but were also of value as an applied interest or hobby:

'Overall – very interested in modern jewelry and innovative crafts' - Female, California, USA (15)

Interest in retail outlets grew after visiting, but many participants also anticipated them: crystal (40%-62%) and china factories (24%-43%) and woollen mills (24%-51%).

'Cannot really complain about anything. Never seen so many Wool[l]en Mills in my life there must be an awful lot of sheep over there' - Male, Nottingham, England (123)

Products were usually associated with well-known brands including Waterford Crystal, the Blarney Woollen Mill and Belleek Pottery. Marble (0%-4%) was often associated with Connemara, but Irish lace, although anticipated before touring, was not recalled (2%-0%).

Many participants revealed that shopping was an important activity during their tour, especially in the vicinity of the Blarney and Waterford retail outlets, as symbols representing shopping were located in very close proximity to them, particularly in the post-tour sample. With the exception of Irish lace, which is difficult to attribute to a specific location because key producers are not well advertised in tourist literature, craft products and the opportunity to buy them are promoted as highlights of the Irish tour, with the Waterford Crystal Factory and Blarney Mill featuring most often in operators' brochures (Chapter 5). The Blarney Mill was most frequently associated with good value for money (6%-15%) and the Waterford Crystal Factory most often perceived as expensive (0%-15%). These views may have been influenced by in-tour staff, many of whom are self-employed, and receive commission based on their customers' purchases (Globus 1997; above). Waterford Crystal does not offer commission to tour guides and drivers whereas the Blarney Mill offers this as an incentive to tour staff to advertise their products.⁵⁴ Crafts

⁵⁴ Participant observation conducted as a part of this study showed that staff at Blarney Mill asked shoppers for the name of their tour guide so that they could be entered into a 'prize draw'; this was a covert means of

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 178

are considered to be the least important aspect of the Irish culture to support and promote at national level (Eileen Riordan, Chapter 6). This could relate to the success of a few major players (for example, Blarney Mill and Waterford Crystal), who are sustained by the tourism industry, to the detriment of cottage industries and local economies (Stocks 2000).

Shopping became a memorable experience for many tour participants in the sample (16%-51%), and in recent years has become a highly structured part of the cultural experience in general, as evidenced for example, by the recent emergence of craft heritage trails designed to combine cultural themes and shopping activities (Real 2000). For several of the participants in this study, there was simply not enough leisure time in which to shop; for others the retail experience appeared to overwhelm the cultural one:

'more shopping/leisure time desired' - Male, NY, USA (83)

'I liked the scenery – the history. I thought there was too much shopping stops. I like to spend time in the small Irish towns' - Female, Minnesota, USA (78)

Music and dance

Tour participants identified staged events derived from traditional activities, including the Irish cabaret and banquet (14%-42%) more frequently after touring. However, participants did not always enjoy these experiences, and disappointment resulted from these events seeming to be inauthentic and over-subscribed:

'We were disappointed at not going to the Jury show for the last night. Substitute was <u>not</u> mentioned and was mediocre – for the cost'- Male, Virginia, USA (51)

'Jurys Irish Cabaret too crowded. Not enough "Irish" - Female, North Carolina, USA (100)

identifying guides in order to allocate commission. The tour guide repeatedly informed participants that they should do all their shopping at Blarney because it offers the best value for money and tax incentives. Tour buses frequently spend half a day at the Blarney Mill. Lew (1987, cited in Pearce 1988) notes that tour itineraries are frequently directed towards commissions on tourist purchases at commercial establishments, stressing that attendance at such sites does not necessarily reflect interest in a linear fashion.

This provides a contrasting view to similar events experienced during participant observation conducted as a part of this study, where the events were recognised by some of the tourists as being 'inauthentic', but they claimed to enjoy the experience, understanding this would be their closest experience to the 'real thing'. MaCannell (1973) and others, have written extensively on the staged event; where tourists try to enter 'back regions' of places they visit because they are associated with intimacy and authentic experiences. He also found that some tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression that a back region has been entered even when that is not necessarily the case (*ibid*). However, according to MacCannell, tourists can see through the structure of tourist settings and are able to enjoy the 'pseudo-event' nonetheless:

'For these tourists, exposure of back regions is a casual part of their touristic experience. What they see in the back is only another show...' (*ibid*, 601).

Although the nature of Ireland's 'Irishness' or Irish culture continues to intrigue the tourism industry, distinctive cultural traits are evident in the traditional forms of dance and music (Browne and Stevens 1996; also see Simon Moonan, Chapter 6). Recent market research has shown that another distinctive aspect Irish culture is the 'spontaneity' of the people, and this is perceived to be integral to the national lifestyle (OTMI 1998). Spontaneity is also manifest in the traditional forms of dance and music (Browne and Stevens 1996). The current study demonstrated that experiencing traditional music could be a specific motivation for taking an Irish cultural tour:

'I have become interested in Ireland through the music (traditional) which I have heard in pubs in my home town. We mainly want to have fun, visit the pubs and hopefully hear a lot of music. Sight seeing will be a bonus and learning history and meeting the local people will definitely make it worthwhile' – Female, New England, USA, (27)

Moreover, traditional Irish dancing was considered interesting and enjoyable, although some respondents perceived it to lack authenticity:

'Irish Folk Dancing was interesting' - Female, South Carolina, USA (95)

'Irish Ceili [Ceilidh]– dancing (Bunratty Folk Park) excellent – again "touristy" -Female, North Carolina, USA (100)

In addition to the traditional forms of culture, the 1994 National Development Plan recognised the impact of contemporary Irish culture on the national image (also see Eileen Riordan, Chapter 6):

'Irish music, both modern and traditional, is spreading throughout the world with the able assistance of performers such as U2, the Cranberries, Hot House Flowers, The Chieftains, Clannad, Enya, and many more. Many people's first exposure to Irish culture is through such musicians which in turn inspires them the visit Ireland' (Department of Tourism and Trade 1994, cited in O'Donnchadha and O'Connor 1996, 206).

Despite this, images of Ireland's traditional lifestyles are consistently marketed in national, and regional promotional literature, and specifically in tour brochures (Jack Lawton, Mike Flynn, Chapter 6). This perhaps explains the overwhelming interest in Ireland's traditional life by the survey sample and the paucity of references to its modern culture, in both the inclusive and exclusive sense of the term (Chapter 2).

Indigenous people

The concept of spontaneity and the organised tour seem to be a contradiction in terms. Because of the centrality of the spontaneity of the Irish people in national marketing literature, and the original objectives of this research that sought to explore the levels of engagement that people had with their host environments, it was important to explore how, or indeed whether the concept was manifest in the minds of tourists. Content analysis revealed there was a high expectation that Irish people would be friendly (22%); furthermore, 24% expected to meet local people, although 16% seemed content to observe rather than interact with them:

'I expect to meet really great people & have a marvellous time in Ireland' - Female, New York, USA (59)

'EXPECT IRISH PEOPLE TO BE FRIENDLY!!' - Male, Georgia, USA (25)

The desire to meet inhabitants was often expressed together with other key expectations, especially Irish history and beautiful scenery:

'I EXPECT TO MEET FRIENDLY PEOPLE – SEE BEAUTIFUL SCENERY AND LEARN SOME HISTORY' - Male, Minnesota, USA (55) and of services as the service of the services of the service of the service services as a lot of the service of the

'1 Info on Irish history

2 Seeing rural Irish beauty

3 Meeting Irish natives' - Male, Minnesota, USA (22)

'- history of Ireland, [illegible] & people

- meeting distant relatives for the first time

- meeting friendly people' - Female, New York, USA (30)

Many participants hoped to explore the differences between the Irish culture and their own cultures. 2% explicitly expected there to be a 'difference' (see *Aggregate and individual content analyses*, above; Jack Lawton, Chapter 6). There was an expectation that Gaelic would be predominately encountered in the West (3%-4%). Gaeltacht designated areas, in which Irish is the everyday spoken language, are mainly found along the western seaboard, but also in the South (Stocks 2000):

'Seeing the people; see the different people, $\underline{\text{Voice}}$ = How they speak what they wear' - Female, Montana, USA (20)

'Gaelic spoken' - Female, California, USA (15)

Several people hoped that this different culture would provide an element of surprise:

'Culture, history, scenery. Ambiance of dif culture, environmentBe open for seeing/learning about something unexpected!' - Female, Virginia, USA(28)

'HOPING FOR FRIENDLY PEOPLE & SATISFACTION, SIGHTSEEING/ PHOTOGRAPHY, FRIENDLY EXCHANGES, SURPRISES!' - Female, Nottingham, England (126)

Although, some participants were more cautious:

'I expect to see interesting historical sights but no surprises as I would in a more exotic country IE Egypt, China etc. Just a pleasant relaxing trip with pleasant people (Irish)' - Female, New York, USA (43)

The post-tour survey revealed a growth in the number of participants who considered that their experience had been 'friendly' (44%). Going to the pub, an activity which can be linked to the concept of spontaneity in Irish cultural life, was recalled by many of the participants (29%-60%).

'Pub evening (Waterford) – <u>excellent</u>/ local singer & humour/ Irish charm' -Female, North Carolina, USA (100)

However, as Kneafsey (1994) points out, traditional forms of Irish entertainment that now take place in pubs, including music, would have originally taken place in people's homes. It is likely that this whole cultural experience, and the 'criac' (loosely translated a 'having a good time'), rather than simply the act of consuming beverages (6%-15%) was valued. However, an interest in the production of Guinness and whiskey was demonstrated (10%-28%), participant observation having recorded the attention paid by participants to particular brands, mainly Guinness, for example in the purchasing of merchandise (T-shirts, hats etc. bearing brand names). This concurs with Prentice and Andersen's (2000) findings who found Guinness to be the principal image of Ireland given by a British market. In this survey, expectations about the friendly and relaxed nature of the Irish people seem to have been fulfilled (Jack Lawton, Chapter 6).

'Friendly people great hospitality!' - Male, New York, USA (83)

and the second of the

[Together with a symbol representing Escape] 'Great quiet place with scenic Beauty – the people help you laugh & relax' - Female, Minnesota, USA (78)

'Language – people like to talk to us and we enjoy hearing their expressions. No one was cranky or impatient' - Female, New York, USA (43)

It also seems that meeting local people could compensate for other, disappointing aspects of tour:

'I would have enjoyed more time in cities. We found the tour to be [undecipherable] in the scenery and the weather too rainy to be comfortable walking around. The best part was the people – warm, friendly, humorous and welcoming' - Female, New York, USA (97)

The anticipation of meeting local people was not always fulfilled and proportionally less of the survey sample recalled meeting (13%) than seeing inhabitants (19%), thus enforcing the theory that the environmental bubble of the organised tour inhibits direct social contact with local inhabitants of the host country (Chapter 4). However, the dynamic of the tour group could apparently fulfil a social need (Chapter 7):

'Disappointment at the lack of opportunity to meet local people. However, able to meet people from other countries, a plus. Tour suitable for people travelling alone or as an introduction to a country' - Female, Wellington, New Zealand (13)

However, there were instances where spontaneous events brought participants into contact with local people, and these were apparently highly valued by the participants:

'Experienced helping an elderly woman who had a bad fall – she was most appreciative and separated me out after – good feeling' - Female, Virginia, USA (98)

Spontaneous experiences were also found in the aesthetic qualities of the natural landscape as well as in the contact made with local inhabitants:

'Our tour guide was Kathleen Kearney & Bob was the driver. We went to Danny Harrison's Bookstore & he is coming to my home area next July to be in a J.B. Keane play – so he asked me for my address & ph# - it was such a "spontaneous" travel event...& I found a baby suit for my grandson next door to Harrisons! That town was darling, but the "view of views" was in Waterford from Jurys Inn with a full moon shining on the town & river. It was so awe inspiring my aunt & I nearly cried!! - Female, Illinois, USA (73)

'More rainbows than I've ever seen in my 70 years ground to ground' - Anonymous (77)

It seems that participants' general expectations of culture, history and meeting indigenous people were replaced after touring by specific, memorable events relating to local people, but also to places and landscape. Fewer tourists recalled meeting local people than those expecting to do so, although more recalled seeing people, enforcing the visual nature of the experience, and indicating that the desire to meet indigenous people was not fulfilled by this medium of travel.

Natural landscape

The landscape of Ireland is consistently associated with beautiful scenery in marketing and other literature. It is therefore unsurprising that a high proportion of individuals both expected and found Ireland to be very beautiful (30%-38%), and this was most frequently related to the West (32%-40%). Beauty was associated with the colour (green) of the landscape, and valued because it was different to participants' places of origin. This accords with findings from a study of the British market showing 'a beautiful country' to be the second most popular image of Ireland, and the colour 'green' to be the third (Prentice and Andersen 2000).

'Beautiful scenery en route' - Female, Illinois, USA (38)

'Amazed at Ireland's constant beauty of rolling hills, greens, sheep, rainbows etc; clean[1]iness; friendliness; provincial and traditional architecture, gardens, music' - Female, Wisconsin, USA (104)

'The most obvious characteristic different from our own is the green, very green, of the grass and to us this is beautiful' - Female, Ontario, Canada (49)

Ireland's National Development plan of 1989 focused investment within geographic centres. Four of these areas were 'spatial' and of these, touring areas specified the Ring of Kerry and Boyne Valley (Department of Tourism and Transport 1989, cited in Browne and Stevens 1996, 244). The Ring of Kerry is one of the most well-known scenic routes in Europe, having a historical foundation in the Victorian era (Chapter 3). And although it is now perceived to be saturated by tour operators, in-tour staff⁵⁵ and other tourism practitioners, it is still a key highlight of many Irish tour itineraries (see Jack Lawton⁵⁶ and Tom O'Grady⁵⁷, Chapter 6). The survey sample gave this particular touring circuit considerable attention before, and particularly after touring (44%-72%), thus apparently confirming the popularity of this route as a scenic experience, and also a cultural and gastronomic one:

'Enjoyed the ride around the ring of Kerry & the food & coffee we had along the way' - Female, Nebraska, USA (82)

'I thought Parts of Wexford a bit grotty. Rest of tour Beautiful especially Derrfrane Hotel also Hotel in [illegible]. Thought Ring of Kerry <u>outstanding</u>' - Male, Nottinghamshire, UK (123)

However, several comments made about the experience were negative:

[On the Ring of Kerry] 'POOR ROAD - FELT ill' - Male, Texas, USA (46)

[On the Ring of Kerry] 'Somewhat boring Long ride. Some scenery was pretty but similar' - Female, Michigan, USA (5)

⁵⁵ Comments and crowd avoiding strategies made by the guide during this study's participant observation.

⁵⁶ This company actively use alternatives, such as the Bere Peninsula (Jack Lawton, Chapter 6).

⁵⁷ Tom O' Grady questions whether the tour circuit is a sustainable and valuable form of tourism at a local level, compared to 'radial' touring, for example (Chapter 6).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 186

In addition, participant observation revealed that good weather is fundamental in the success of this experience⁵⁸, and this is supported by one participant who simply wrote across the relevant area on the map:

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[On the Ring of Kerry] 'FOG' - Female, Minnesota, USA (110)

In terms of the other topographic highlights, cliffs were considered especially important, and without exception, were positioned on the West Coast, and often associated with a key tourist attraction, the Cliffs of Moher (35%-53%). These cliffs were considered unusual, but also dangerous, for 2% of tourists after their visit:

'I thought the Cliffs of Moher were the most unusual scenery' - Female, Nebraska, USA (82)

'Loved cliffs of Moher (really like land formation)' - Female, Virginia, USA (98)

'Beautiful scenery Cliffs of Moher Conomara & sea side regions' - Female, Minnesota, USA (78)

Vigorous national marketing has emphasised the significance of Ireland as a 'Heritage Island' (Simon Moonan and Jimmy Magee, Chapter 6), therefore the relative importance of coastal landforms to the survey sample should be of no surprise. Coastal regions may be particularly important to the first-time visitor in order to validate their perceptions of Ireland (Eileen Riordan, Chapter 6), although by definition the majority of the landscape is in fact inland rather than coastal (Mike Flynn, Chapter 6).

Mountains (16%-36%) and lakes (6%-30%) grew in significance for the survey sample; while karst limestone areas (0%-4%), such as in the famous, but environmentally sensitive Burren region (Eileen Riordan, Chapter 6), which were less frequently recalled. Bogland landscapes were recognised by more individuals after their tour (3%-15%), perhaps because they had gained information about the cultural associations of these landscapes (for example peat bricks for heating) and visited interpretative centres such as the Céide

⁵⁸ Comments made by the guide.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 187

Fields and folk-parks (Tom O'Grady, Chapter 6). In addition, peat stacks were only acknowledged by the sample after touring (9%).

[Peat bog] 'Interesting to know about heating – not very scenic' - Female, Minnesota, USA (78)

Cultural landscape⁵⁹

Key reasons for selecting Ireland as the study destination included the wealth and diversity of culture represented (Chapter 5). The cognitive maps elicited from the survey sample, demonstrated that both formal cultural attractions and Ireland's traditional lifestyles were significant in people's experiences of touring (above). However, as a country in rapid economic transition, it was conjectured that there might be a conflict between the promotion of traditional images and the reality experienced by tourists. Participants acknowledged traditional landscapes (8%-9%) and traditional houses (11%-11%) and there was a slight increase in the recording of modern features (0%-4%) and houses (0%-7%) after touring. Industrial features (0%-9%) and ports (3%-26%) were also recorded in greater number after touring. However, only a few statements demonstrated that some of the participants had noticed any evidence for rural development:

'NEW COUNTRY ENERGISING FROM ASHES IN SHAPE OF HOUSE BUILDING IN RURAL AREAS' - Female, North Yorkshire, UK (124)

'Impressions of many new houses in countryside of the bright colours, but lack of gardens surrounding the houses' - Female, Wellington, New Zealand (13)

Other features of the rural landscape that were recorded included stone walls (8%-24%), sheep (8%-38%) and cattle (0%-17%).

'There were way too many stone walls to show on the map. They were everywhere' - Male, Maryland, USA (113)

⁵⁹ For the purposes of this study the definition of cultural landscape follows the broad definition given in Chapter 3, which focuses on the interaction of people with the landscape.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 188

Ancestral heritage and family connections (13%-15%) were apparently very significant to some individuals, as illustrated by their written comments:

'We have been planning this trip for almost 2 years, so I have had plenty of time to look over maps and read about the areas we were to tour. Since this is a trip primarily to see where our ancestors lived, we didn't really plan too many "tourist things". We really wanted to spend a lot of time in the Inishowen Peninsula area where our family is from. I am sure that I wont be disappointed with the beauty of Ireland. P.S. Don't enter my name into the drawing – I don't drink whiskey – Good luck in your research' - Female, Oregon, USA (42)

'We loved touring Ireland. One of the highlights was leaving the tour one afternoon and finding my grandfather's home near Ardfinnan. We also went to the cemetery where my great-great grandparents are buried' - Female, Minnesota, USA (108)

'Going to Rathcormac, while off the tour, was my favourite part. A distant cousin picked us up from the Ross hotel in Kilarney & drove us back to the house that my Grandmother grew up in. We had tea and sandwiches like Grandmother used to make while visit[ing] with family we never knew we had' - Female, New York, USA (94)

Participants noticed the quality of the cultural landscape and this affected their enjoyment of the tour. Crowding (11%-21%) in Dublin and Galway was consistently noted 60 as was the touring environment itself. No aspect of the landscape was considered to be empty and in some cases sharing the environment depreciated the quality of the experience (c.f. Tom O'Grady, Chapter 6):

'All the buses stopped at the same stops - lines then were long - I felt rushed and then wouldn't have the time to enjoy an area' - Female, Arizona, USA (90)

⁶⁰ The relatively high pre-tour score might be explained by the atmosphere experienced by participants on their arrival at Dublin Airport.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 189

Tour members noted the cleanliness of places (1%-17%) more frequently than poorly maintained places (0%-7%), although each category received comments relating to the wider cultural landscape and to specific cultural highlights. Several people said that Wexford and Waterford were unattractive (0%-6%), and a particular cluster of these cases appeared to relate to a specific hotel used by one operator in Wexford. It appears from this study that unattractiveness is related to urban environments and cleanliness to rural environments:

'Dublin was dirty' - Male, Minnesota, USA (89)

'WEXFORD!!! DIRTY BAD HOTEL BAD IMPRESSION OF IRELAND' -Female, North Yorkshire, UK (124)

From a marketing perspective, much of the cultural landscape of Ireland has its roots in the Celtic period (Eileen Riordan and Jack Lawton, Chapter 6). Tour members' recognition of Ireland's Celtic origins grew (5%-17%) and was most frequently, but incorrectly, associated with the famous monuments at Newgrange, Knowth, and the Boyne Valley⁶¹, and with monuments in the West. Ireland's Viking past (6%-13%) was most often, and correctly sited at Dublin and Waterford.

'Saw some old Celtic tombstones out in the country leaving Cliffs of Moher & heading to Lisowel - writing was in Gaelic' - Female, Illinois, USA (73)

Ireland's cultural history includes a turbulent social and political past including emigration, famine and the Troubles. Today political thought is divided: Nationalism sees Ireland as a united country, while Republicanism advocates partition. However, the majority of Irish tours respect a 'glass border' which is essentially an imaginary line between Galway and Dundalk (Tom O'Grady, Chapter 6); it seems that this is in response to a general perception by international markets and operators that it could be dangerous to travel north of this area (Jack Lawton and Jimmy Magee, Chapter 6). The North is relatively unspoilt by tourism and has a traditional landscape that is becoming increasingly difficult to find in

⁶¹ These monuments are many thousands of years earlier in origin than the advent of the Celtic tradition in Ireland.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 190

the South (see Chapter 6). It was noted during participant observation that several of these first-time visitors to Ireland seemed apprehensive about visiting Northern Ireland and were even uncertain whether tours to the North existed (e.g. Participants 1 and 28). The travel agent (Participant 27) confirmed that 'they do have tours to Northern Ireland and as long as you don't go to Belfast you should be safe'. However, she thought that there might be some trouble at the border, although as long the tours went *around* the borders they would probably be safe. The survey showed that few tour members demarcated Northern Ireland from the Republic (0%-2%), nor did they express a desire to visit the North. However, several individuals felt very strongly about political events in Ireland:

'As we travelled around I felt very sad for those of my ancestors who had [to] leave Ireland due to hunger etc It made me more angry with the British establishment & royal family, for their part in the ethnic cleansing of Ireland. I also felt sad for those of my English ancestors who received the same treatment because they were also starving!!! It[ha]s made me an avowed republican' - Female, New South Wales, Australia (57)

'VERY SAd TO SEE What ThE BRITISH DID To This COUNTRY OVER THE centuries' - Male, Maryland, USA (101)

Participant observation in this study also indicated that British tour members could be especially sensitive to commentary about the history of Irish politics, and in one case, the guide was credited (by Participants 3-6) when her interpretation of events was considered to be 'balanced'. The free-text commentary in the survey indicates that participants considered that the key source of cultural information was provided by the tour guide (2%-28%). Their extensive knowledge was frequently mentioned, although practical assistance provided by the guide was also valued. Coach drivers (0%-17%) were principally noted for their driving skills and their choice of in-tour music (also see *Information sources*, below)

'Tour guide was great. Having one guide for seven days who could talk about history, culture, sites, music, poetry, literature, food, drink, economy and civil strife—all rolled into one was exceptional' - Male, Virginia, USA (51)

'Our tourguide, Mat O'Connor was a terrific guide. We enjoyed his commentary on Irish history, politics, geography, etc.' - Male, Maryland, USA (113)

[On driver] 'EXCELLENT INFORMATIVE NOT OVER POWERING' - Female, Nottinghamshire, UK (122)

'Tour Director was very Knowledgeable, upbeat, witty and very helpful with problems as they arose' - Male, Texas, USA (46)

'We prefer motor coach touring because we get to see the scenery, and not trying to drive in a foreign country. We like to have our baggage moved around for us, it[']s hard for us to do it now. Most of the time our tour guide was the best, very informative and knowledgeable, and very helpful' - Female, New York, USA (59)

'Music played by driver in the mountains – (TAPES) (memorable)' - Female, Nottinghamshire, UK (125)

'Lovely drive round Bear [Bere] Peninsula – excellent driver' - Female, Nottinghamshire, UK (122)

Social relationships

The participants made few comments about their social relationships with each other, which supports the notion that relationship-building is not the prime motivation for taking a cultural tour (Oliver 2000). However, statements did support the observation that cementing relationships with travelling companions might be a significant factor in the tour experience (Chapter 7):

'Honeymoon' - Female, Michigan, USA (5)

'Enjoying being with my husband alone' - Anonymous (19)

'Nice people on coach tour' - Anonymous (19)

'This was a wonderful tour. We just relaxed and had fun. Our bus driver was terrific. Although everyone on the tour was friendly and compatible, I wish we would have had some way to get to know each other at the beginning of the tour. It seemed to take a long time to get acquainted I thought it was wonderful to stay 2 days in each hotel so we weren't always packing our bags. I felt like I experienced Ireland – the landscape, food & people & music. This was one of the best vacations I ever had. I hope to take another tour with Barleycorn [CIE]' - Female, Nebraska, USA (82)

Affective associations

Participants both expected and found their touring experience in Ireland to be positive (37%-60%); it was both interesting (8%-28%) and memorable (14%-33%). Most of the positive comments referred to the success of the whole experience; many participants compared this with their expectations of the tour, and some commented that they would like to visit again, at a more leisurely pace.

'Enjoyed the whole trip very much. Brought home great memories' - Female, Michigan, USA (63)

'I enjoyed it all & I got what I expected' - Female, New York, USA (96)

'It was a wonderful trip. It met all of our expectations. This was our first European trip and we are looking forward to many more' - Male, Michigan, USA (114)

'[Adjacent to large 'smiley face':] The entire Ireland experience exceeded our expectations' - Male, Virginia, USA (51)

"I loved it all!' - Female, NSW, Australia (86)

'WE LOVED IRELAND. WE WOULD LOVE TO GO BACK AND TAKE OUR TIME. HOPE I HELPED A LITTLE PATRICIA' - Female, Minnesota, USA (110)

As discussed in Chapter 4, the tour itinerary is known to be an important factor in producing satisfying experiences (Geva and Goldman 1989; Duke and Persia 1996). Grouping cultural attractions together can increase their overall worth, as for example in the case of monument protection programmes (Startin 1993). In the case of themed itineraries, it seems that grouping attractions can also increase the overall value of the tour (Chapter 6). The survey indicated that the diversity of attractions available on a tour is significant:

'Ireland has an excellent variety of everything that continued constantly throughout [the] journey: God blew a kiss and created Ireland' - Female, Wisconsin, USA (104)

However, some participants felt negatively about some aspects their itineraries $(5\%-39\%)^{62}$, and references were made to their disappointment with the quality of attractions or events, overcrowding, not having enough time at places, and the perceived quality of the roads.

'Tour didn't leave enough time in towns' - Female, Minnesota, USA (78)

'Suggest Ireland develop a highway system – <u>road very poor!</u>' - Male, New York, USA (83)

The structure of visitor accommodation accreditation in Ireland has recently been reviewed, and Bord Fáilte no longer provides financial support for this sector (Eileen Riordan, Chapter 6). For the survey sample, hotels were a significant feature of the tour (20%-53%), receiving a high number of negative comments relating to the perceived standard of accommodation and to service quality.

'The Limerick Inn Hotel was terrible – my husband saw a mouse in the lobby and we had holes in our carpet' - Female, Arizona, USA (90)

⁶² The negative feelings expressed pre-tour are associated with events that occurred before the start of the tour, for example at the airport.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 194

'HOTELS WERE CLEAN AND NEAT

HOTEL SERVICE WAS POOR IN DUBLIN – LOST LUGGAGE/NO TOWELS IN ROOM/UNRESPONSIVE STAFF' - Male, Texas, USA (46)

'Hotels were VERY Nice but staff seemed ill prepared for tour groups and proved to be unreliable for wake-up calls – delivery and collection of luggage. Occasionally No one manning front desk was qualified to handle extra chgs incurred IE – telephone until just prior to departure' - Male, Texas, USA (46) 1. 1. F. J. J.

'1st Room Musty – Moved to smaller room' - Female, Maryland, USA (47)

Others described their accommodation as 'different' from what they were accustomed to. During participant observation in this study, it was found that the guide made reference to a difference between Irish hotels and hotels in the participants' countries of origin, stressing that this aspect was a part of the distinction between cultures and therefore it should be a valued part of the tour experience.

'HOTELS WERE ALL COMFORTABLE BUT VERY DIFFERENT. FOOD WAS WONDERFUL EVERYWHERE'- Female, Minnesota, USA (110)

'We enjoyed having tea and coffee available in our room. The bath facilities were somewhat different and had to adjust to the high tubs & generally small, but private facilities' - Female, New Jersey, USA (130)

Participant-researcher relationship

Many of the respondents made unprompted comments directed at the researcher (16%-21%). These were most frequently in the form of greetings and good wishes, supporting the idea that the personalised style of questionnaire design and delivery was an important factor in the success of the response rate (*Response Rates*, above). Participants gave their reasons for responding, which ranged from altruism to sympathy; participants even extended offers of help to further the project. Some people expressed an interest in maintaining contact, thereby extending the travel experience, and others seemed grateful at being prompted to recall their travel experiences after retuning home.

'Hope this helps you with your Thesis! Good Luck! P.S. Send me a letter...' -Female, Michigan USA (8)

'If you want me to "read" your rough draft or contribute in any other way, please let me know - & HAPPY RESEARCHING! - Emily Sinico, Ed.D Female, Illinois, USA (73)

'We really enjoyed talking with you at Dublin Airport!' - Female, Virginia, USA (98)

'My husband & I trust this will help you with your Doctoral Thesis. We have helped family members by circulating questionnaires for them for their thesis[ese] so we understand. I trust you will be very successful in your chosen field. Thank you for asking us. Mary Grimes (the spouse!)' - Female, British Columbia, Canada (64) 'GOOD LUCK ON GETTING YOUR DOCTOR'S DEGREE' - Male, Illinois, USA (37)

'GOOD LUCK WITH YOUR DOCTORATE!' - Male, Texas, USA (46)

'Best wishes Tove!' - Female, NSW, Australia (86)

'Good luck with your thesis' - Female, New York, USA (96)

'Tove: glad I can be of help to you Tom' - Male, Minnesota, USA (89)

The mapping task

Comments relating to the mapping task included a concern with the complexity and timeconsuming nature of the process. Some participants explained why their questionnaires had been returned later than requested.

'Sorry, Tove, I am too busy to draw sketches, I hope words are okay. Kate' -Female, New York, USA (94) يارين. پيلوندي، تدير ميند بالايميان زيس سيدينه ايس ، يكس بلاية يايين مشهويا ميديمياني 19. ميد الدينيا بمعني

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'Sorry I was tired & still travelling & sorting things through – so I made a narrative on the survey questions – Hope it helps <u>good luck</u> Lily' - Female, Minnesota, USA **(78)**

'This was an interesting project. I'm sorry, but I'm doing this questionnaire about 2 weeks after receiving and I've been back from Ireland for four weeks. This helped me to recall some events and sights that are happy memories for me. Good luck with your work' - Female, New York, USA (94)

'Sorry to be so late but I had a near heart attack and angioplasty #14' - Male, Maryland, USA (113)

'Ms Oliver, I'm horrified to think I neglected to mail this back after our Irish vacation in Sept. 99. This is what I completed on the plane. Hope this is helpful' - Female, New Jersey, USA (130)

'Sorry I'm late. I've had a Kitchen fire at home – (in haste). Best of Luck [Name indecipherable]' - Female, Nottinghamshire, UK (125)

'Why are questionnaires so often over-ambitious and have unanswerable questions?' - Anonymous (60)

'This questionnaire is far to[0] long & detailed & some questions in appropriate' -Anonymous (61)

Factors influencing the map formation process

Information sources

The extent of information search behaviours by tourists, either prior to taking a vacation, en route or during a vacation, has gained significant attention by tourism researchers and marketers (Vogt *et al.* 1998). By and large studies have asked the tourist to recall their

most recent trip to a specific destination, and to describe how they made their travel decision and which information sources assisted them. Within this collection of studies there appear to be significant differences in the findings; the information sources used, the nature of the information users and the context in which decisions were made contribute to different findings reported in the literature. If these factors suggest variation in information search then the research opportunities within this field are clearly not yet exhausted, as the list of products and contexts are infinite (*ibid*).

People differ in the extent to which they actively seek information that will help them to make important travel decisions. Mayo and Jarvis (1981) suggest that influencing factors are likely to include the degree of travel experience, the level of risk perceived in the decision, and the importance placed on making the optimal or perfect choice. In their view, the need for information is likely to be greatest among individuals who are inexperienced travellers, perceive a high degree of risk in the travel decision, and feel it is important to make the best choice (ibid). It is not clear how the tourist choosing a guided tour of Ireland may relate to this model, although in terms of this research sample, as first-time travellers to Ireland, with many having never taken a coach tour before, the majority are likely to be relatively inexperienced travellers. Safety is traditionally cited as one of the key motivations for selecting a tour (Chapter 4), and it was the fourth most important reason cited by this sample. Value for money ranked as the second most important reason for choosing a tour, after seeing the main highlights of Ireland, which seems to suggest that many of these tourists were indeed seeking the optimal choice of vacation. Therefore, if the criteria developed by Mayo and Jarvis (1981) are correct; these tour participants are likely to have actively sought information about their tour destination.

Gunn (1972) suggests that an organic image of a destination is formed as a result of exposure to newspaper and magazine articles, television reports and other non-tourism specific information sources. The organic image evolves into an induced image, which refers to an image that has been influenced by tourist organisations and other promotional sources. Gunn suggests that even the individual who has never visited a destination or sought information on that destination will have some kind of information stored in memory (even though it may be incomplete) to which other pieces may be added. This view supports the notion that an image, whether positive or negative, may continue long

after the factors that have moulded it have changed. Images tend to have a considerable amount of stability over time, even in the face of dramatic changes in destination attributes (Fakeye and Crompton 1991).

The effects that different information sources may have on the mapping process are inadequately understood (Beck and Wood 1976b). Three basic sources of mapped information are typically recognised: direct sources involve integration with elements in the environment and directional cues, such as landmarks; indirect or vicarious sources include cues obtained from brochures, advertisements, maps, friends, and sales people; the final source is internal to the individual and consists of the mental manipulation of existing impressions, these inferential or organic processes being least accessible to direct control by marketers (Guy *et al.*1990; Fakeye and Crompton 1991).

An individual develops a cognitive representation of the environment through a combination of information sources; modifications to the cognitive map occur as information is continuously received, and adds to what is already stored (Guy *et al.* 1990). Initially, it appears that the most powerful source of environmental learning is personal interaction with the environment. Several studies have supported the idea that as direct experience and interaction increases, knowledge of novel environments becomes more detailed and accurate (*ibid*). Guy *et al.* (1990) found in their study of first-time visitors to Wurzburg that direct experience was indeed the primary factor influencing environmental learning in terms of scope, accuracy and detail. Furthermore, the effects of indirect sources were not exerted until an initial map had been established, thus supporting work by Devlin (cited in Guy *et al.* 1990, 424) indicating that these sources seem to be related to a 'filling out' of map details.

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In this current research, a visual inspection of the returned questionnaires indicated that the sources of information recalled in both the pre-tour and the post-tour maps were wide-ranging. Further analyses aimed to determine whether this related to a) buying or obtaining new information during the tour, or b) whether the images from pre-tour sources were maintained, presumably because they had become 'a reality' in the mind of the participant. If the views of Guy *et al.* (1990), Devlin, and others were applicable to this sample then the first scenario seemed to be the most likely, whereas the latter view, together with the

maintenance of images already established (see 'Altered images?' above) would directly support the work of Gunn (1972), Fakeye and Crompton (1991) and others.

In the context of the organised tour, examples of direct information about the destination include: places where the tour party stopped, the view from the coach, the running commentary from the tour guide or driver, local guides, and local residents. Indirect sources may include maps, tour brochures, guidebooks, the Internet, tour documents, films, novels, television programmes, travel agents, the national tourist board and other tourists. Participants cited additional sources including journals, general knowledge, videotapes of their tour experiences, 'The Quiet Man' and performances of Irish musicians and dancers seen in their own country, although none of these contributed to more than 2% of the information sources used. Direct sources of information about the tour destination were of course not cited as references for the pre-tour maps, but three of these: places where the tour stopped, the tour guide and the view from the coach scored highly as post-tour sources (31%, 31% and 34% of this sample respectively). Despite this, no significant difference was found between the pre-tour and post-tour samples, where:

 H_0 The null hypothesis states that the populations are identical with respect to the information sources recalled by participants in the depiction of their tour maps.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the populations are not identical with respect to the information sources recalled by participants in the depiction of their tour maps.

The Mann-Whitney U test was used to test whether there was a significant difference in the aggregate and individual scores of the sources of information used, as it is suitable for ranked information, and will detect a real difference in two treatments of the data; in this case the pre-tour and post-tour experience (Burns 2000; *Testing for significant relationships*, above). The test was computed by SPSS and no significant difference was found before and after touring between the information sources used by the aggregate sample (U = 280.000, p = .527) and the independent sample (U = 303.000, p = .853). Therefore, the null hypothesis could not be rejected at the 95% level of confidence, although the probability that these values had occurred by chance was very high (53%-85%).

Figure 8.6.1, which compares the frequency with which different information sources were

When the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient was applied to the same data, a weak negative relationship was found between the pre-tour and post-tour groups, -.237 for the aggregate sample and -.255 for the independent sample indicating a degree of independence between them, with the probability of this occurring by chance being less than .254 (25%) and .218 (22%) respectively. This test was therefore also inconclusive.

used by pre-tour and post-tour participants from the aggregate sample, may be used to help interpret these findings. It is particularly interesting to compare the wide-range of indirect information sources used by both the pre-tour and post-tour participants. Tour brochures (38%)⁶³, Irish people (28%), maps (27%), guidebooks (27%), friends (26%), tour documents (24%) and travel agents (18%) all score relatively highly as pre-tour information sources. Although direct sources of information become dominant in the posttour sample, all of these indirect sources also feature, with maps (16%), tour documents (11%) and guidebooks (10%) featuring most strongly. A remarkably similar pattern was shown by the individual sample (Figure 8.6.2). This appears to complement the earlier findings which demonstrated that pre-tour images of destinations are usually already wellformed, and that these images become stronger after visiting (Altered images? above). A diverse range of indirect information sources is used to form images, and the same sources are used together with direct sources to form images after touring, although to a lesser degree. New indirect sources do not appear to have been used to supplement the already well-developed images to any significant degree. These findings are therefore consistent with both the work of Guy et al. (1990) and others which suggests that indirect sources are used to 'in-fill' images from direct experience, although it differs from this work in that they found that indirect sources were only significant after direct elements had provided a basis from which spatial knowledge developed. In this regard, the findings support the studies of Gunn (1972), Fakeye and Crompton (1991) and others, who emphasise the strength of the destination images formed from indirect sources before touring, and this may explain why so few aspects of Ireland's modern-day culture were acknowledged as a part of the experience (e.g. *Performing arts*, above). Furthermore, the prediction that this group of tourists might be expected to actively seek indirect information before their trip seemed correct (Mayo and Jarvis 1981; see above), in that the pre-tour images derived

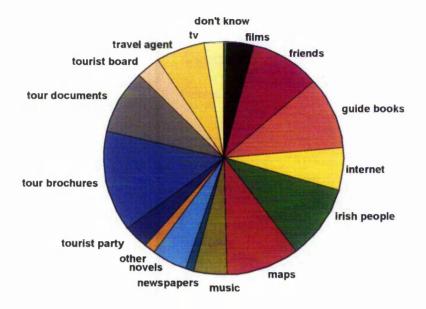
⁶³ Percentages of participants from the pre-tour sample.

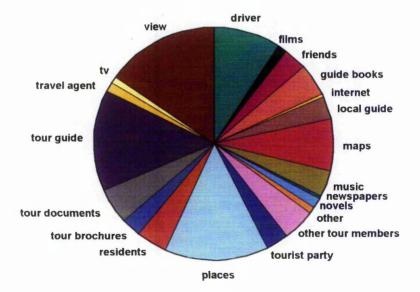
T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 201

from these sources were well developed and were maintained after the conclusion of the visit.

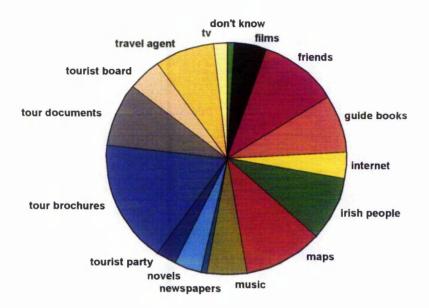
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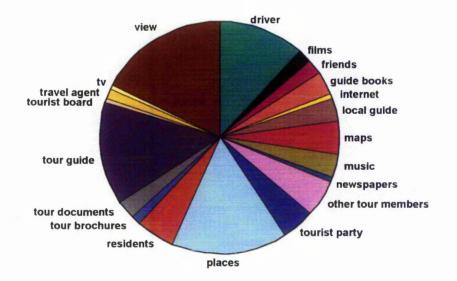
Figure 8.6.1: Information Sources from the Aggregate Sample: pre-tour (top) and post-tour (below)





8.6.2: Information Sources from the Individual Sample: pre-tour (top) and post-tour (below)





Social and exploration preferences

In exploring the transformational processes involved in a person's experiences and their mapped representations of a place it is important to identify what they bring with them to the encounter, and particularly to the mapping situation. The existing store of information that people have about places can be very complex (Information sources, above). In their studies of students visiting Montreal and Europe, Beck and Wood (1976b) found that certain personality variables appeared to predict map performance, and they subsequently classified these individuals as 'fixers' 'mixers' and 'rangers', depending on their perceived independence and the ease with which they explored these unfamiliar environments over a thirty-five day period. Fixers stayed close to their hotel, and when they went out they were generally guided. Mixers were more adventurous, they explored in groups and tended to spend more time socialising; mixers mapped better than fixers, and some of this group's 'leaders' mapped very well. However, this group mapped more poorly than rangers, who were loners or members of small, highly exploratory groups. They concluded from this work that self-rated adventurous behaviour can be used to predict map content, and that two distinct groups emerged with respect to preferred touring style. Interestingly, although perhaps simplistically, they suggest that these groups conform to, and may also be determined by, preferred modes of travel: walkers being loners in their social preferences while mass transit users and car drivers are they suggest, more 'groupy' (*ibid*, 213).

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The pre-tour questionnaires used in this research asked tour members to specify whether they preferred to behave in one of the manners identified by Beck and Wood (above) while they were touring. This found that 7% described themselves as 'fixers', 15% as 'mixers', and 59% selected the 'rangers' category⁶⁴. These figures are interesting in themselves as they suggest that the majority of these tour members prefer to explore alone and in small groups, rather than be guided or to socialise in large groups. This indicates that contrary to popular belief, the motivation for selecting a group tour is not to become a part of a group (for example, Schuchat 1983), and accords very well with the findings from the participant observation study, which showed that people paid more attention to their travelling companions than to other tour members (Chapter 7). The responses also indicated that a fourth preference should be included, as 19% of the participants preferred to 'fix' and 'range' in roughly equal amounts. The post-tour scores of mapped symbols from these

 $^{64}N = 63$

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 205

participants were then compared to the self-assessment of their preferred social and investigative behaviour while on tour. The mean of scores for each category was then compared⁶⁵. The arithmetic mean is the most used measure of location on average, and is a very effective way of communicating an answer (Curwin and Slater 1998). The findings corresponded to those of Beck and Wood in that people who preferred to stay close to their hotel and be guided mapped about half the number of symbols ($\bar{x} = 11$) than those who preferred to explore alone or in small groups ($\bar{x} = 20$). However, people who mainly preferred to socialise and to explore in large groups mapped more symbols than either of these ($\bar{x} = 24$), together with the final category that liked to be guided and explore alone which also produced more symbols than the other groups ($\bar{x} = 24$).

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The ability to drive

Previous cognitive mapping research has tended to focus overwhelmingly upon the sociodemographic characteristics of the respondents, suggesting that these may in some way influence the quality of the maps produced. Drivers are generally believed to produce more detailed maps than either passengers or non-drivers. Young (1999) found from his study of tourists visiting the Daintree and Cape Tribulation area in Australia, that all independent variables (including age, driver or passenger, previous visitation, gender, domestic or international origin) apart from education level, significantly influenced map content. In his multivariate analysis of mapped components, the most significant was the passenger/driver distinction, specifically drivers remembered more paths and landmarks than passengers. He suggests that this was related to the fact that drivers were engaged in the way-finding task while in contrast, passengers were able to enjoy the scenery around them. Appleyard et al. (1964) suggest that the driver's vision is confined to the road whereas passengers have a wider angle of vision. However, drivers are engaged in the process of orientation, which involves locating principal features and spatially relating them, and consequently the journey entails a series of approaches to specific goals, including landmarks, focal points or paths (Young 1999).

In their study of independent tourists visiting Coffs Harbour, New South Wales, Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) found that drivers seemed to notice more about the environment then

 $^{65}N = 27$

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 206

passengers. Furthermore, not only did those who were actually driving in Coffs Harbour record more landmarks, paths and districts than those who were not, but also those who held a driving licence outperformed those without a licence. They concluded that 'being a driver influences how an individual learns about a new environment in so far as drivers learn to develop a cognitive map more quickly than non drivers...Perhaps it reflects a different form of environmental experience with drivers having a more acute need to find their way around' (*ibid*, 277).

In this current study, tour participants were asked whether they ever drove a vehicle; and 89% said that they did, and the remaining 11% said that they had never driven. The mean scores of the mapped symbols from the post-tour survey were then calculated according to these two categories⁶⁶. This indicated that drivers ($\bar{x} = 21$) did indeed map more symbols than non-drivers ($\bar{x} = 17$). The Mann-Whitney U test was applied to the content scores of the drivers and the non-drivers where:

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 H_0 The null hypothesis states that the two populations are identical with respect to their map content values.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the two populations are not identical with respect to their map content values.

This found that there was no significant difference between the scores of the two groups (U = 26.500, p = .463). The null hypothesis could therefore not be rejected at the 95% confidence interval. This finding is perhaps not surprising given that participants' roles were identical during the tour, and that both groups were in effect passengers during their trip. These findings are therefore similar to those of Carr and Schissler (1969) who found that there might be no differences in the number or type of environmental features recalled by drivers and passengers. Like the current study, Carr and Schissler's work did not take account of map accuracy, although Pearce's study of independent tourists in Queensland, while supporting these findings, further suggested that the cognitive organisation of

 ${}^{66}N = 27$

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 207

material between drivers and non-drivers might be different, since in his view drivers retained a better sense of the spacing of environmental features (Pearce 1981).

Gender

In terms of gender studies, three competing theories have been used to explain perceived variances in spatial knowledge between genders. These are summarised by Kitchen (1996): deficiency theory argues that male and female groups differ because of variances in human psychology and hormonal levels; difference theory suggests that differences lie in a range of socio-cultural factors including childhood training, societal expectations and experience; inefficiency theory suggests that cognitive mapping ability is essentially the same between male and female groups but that the measuring techniques favour male problem solving strategies. In his study of tourists visiting Oxford, Pearce (1977a) found that female participants included fewer paths on their maps. He suggested that females may use a more intuitive style of mapping as opposed to a more scientific and functional style employed by males. In a later study Pearce (1981) found that no gender differences were found with regard to orientation scores, landmarks, districts, paths or texture, although there was a significant effect for the social score, with females recalling more social activities than their male counterparts. He suggests that this finding may merely reflect a bias in the study concerning the interpretation by males and females of what was appropriate to record on the maps. Young's study supported that of Pearce's later study and suggested that female participants recalled more nature and social elements, along the lines he suggests, posited by inefficiency theory (ibid; Young 1999). He further suggests that men and women's spatial knowledge is comparable, but that it is represented in a stylistically different manner. Walmsley and Jenkins' (1992) study did not corroborate Pearce's finding (above) that females include fewer paths than men, and in fact found a slight but statistically insignificant tendency for females to outperform males in the sense of including more elements in their maps.

In this study about two thirds (67%) of the survey sample was female and a third was male. The mean scores of the mapped symbols from the post-tour survey were then calculated according to these two categories⁶⁷. The mean score of the mapped symbols for the

 $^{67}N = 27$

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 208

females $(\bar{x} = 20)$ was slightly less than the score produced by males $(\bar{x} = 22)$. However, the Mann-Whitney U test was applied to the content scores of the two groups where:

 H_0 The null hypothesis states that the two populations are identical with respect to their map content values.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the two populations are not identical with respect to their map content values.

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This found that there was no significant difference between them (U = 81.000, p = 1.000). The null hypothesis could therefore not be rejected at the 95% confidence interval, and thus like Walmsley and Jenkins' study (above), no differences between the cognitive maps of men and women were corroborated.

Age

Like gender, the findings of previous studies regarding the influences that age may or may not have on the formulation of cognitive maps is somewhat conflicting. Pearce (1981) found two significant effects associated with the age variable. He found that more incorrect labelling occurred with older subjects, usually of retirement age, than with their younger counterparts. However, these travellers provided more general, qualitative descriptions of their trip and remembered more districts then younger visitors. In contrast to this Young (1999) found that maps drawn by younger people (below the mean age of thirty five) were more detailed than those drawn by older people. Specifically, younger people tended to recall more of the most common map elements, such as landmarks and districts. Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) found a tendency for maps to improve over time, in the sense of having more content, and they suggest that older people may be more adept at learning new environments because they have in general experienced more unfamiliar environments than younger people. However, they also suggest that beyond a certain age, cognitive mapping ability may decline.

Over a third (40%) of tour members in this study were aged between 55-64 years old and many were aged to either side of this group: 19% were between 45-54; 24% were between 65-74; 10% were over 74 years old, and only 8% were below 44. The mean scores of the

mapped symbols from the post-tour survey were then calculated according to the age groups represented⁶⁸: 25-34 ($\bar{x} = 15$); 45-54 ($\bar{x} = 19$); 55-64 ($\bar{x} = 24$); 65-74 ($\bar{x} = 21$); 74+ ($\bar{x} = 15$). These figures show that people between 55-64 years old mapped more symbols than any of the other age groups, although people between 65-74 and 45-54 also produced more detail than the groups at either end of the spectrum. The Mann-Whitney Utest was applied to the content scores of two groups, below 55 and above 54 years old where:

H₀ The null hypothesis states that the two populations are identical with respect to their map content values.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the two populations are not identical with respect to their map content values.

This found that there was no significant difference between them (U = 54.500, p = .620). Following Young's groupings (above), the test was repeated for age groups of 34 years and younger and 35 years and above. This found that there was no significant difference between them (U = 33.500, p = .847). The null hypotheses could therefore not be rejected at the 95% confidence interval. Therefore, although an interesting trend was suggested by this study, it could not be statistically validated. However, the findings from this study fully endorse those of Walmsley and Jenkins (above) who found a tendency for maps to improve over time, although beyond a certain age, cognitive mapping ability or motivation appears to decline.

Satisfaction ratings

Although several studies have explored the factors relating to customers' levels of satisfaction with their tours (Chapter 4), satisfaction levels have never before been compared to tourists' environmental knowledge about their destinations. This research asked participants to rate their overall satisfaction levels, and to assess whether their experiences matched their expectations⁶⁹. Nobody rated their tour experience as poor, and only 2% said that they thought the experience was 'okay'; 17% said that they had a good

 $^{^{68}}_{69}N = 27$ $^{69}N = 47$

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 210

tour and the majority (81%) said that they had a very good experience. However, 9% said that the tour experience did not meet their expectations, 32% said it matched their expectations, and 60% said that the tour exceeded their expectations. The mean scores of the mapped symbols from the post-tour survey were then calculated according to the satisfaction ratings.⁷⁰ This found quite similar scores between the different groups, although interestingly the groups who said that they had a very good experience and those for whom the experience had exceeded their expectations provided more detail in their maps. The mean scores for the satisfaction ratings were as follows: okay ($\overline{x} = 21$); good ($\overline{x} = 23$); below expectations ($\overline{x} = 21$); matched expectations ($\overline{x} = 24$).

The Mann-Whitney U test was applied to the content scores of two groups, those who had a good experience and those who had a very good experience where:

 H_0 The null hypothesis states that the two populations are identical with respect to their map content values.

 H_1 The alternative hypothesis states that the two populations are not identical with respect to their map content values.

This found that there was no significant difference between them (U = 139.000, p = .706). The test was repeated for the groups for whom their expectations were matched and for those for whom their expectations were exceeded⁷¹. This also found that there was no significant difference between them (U = 189.500, p = .601) at the 95% level of confidence. Although not significant statistically, these findings indicate a link between high levels of satisfaction and a greater knowledge of the touring environment. This finding is perhaps unsurprising, given that one of the key motivations for selecting a cultural tour of this type was to gain information about the destination. It may therefore be expected that tourists would actively seek information, and would be more satisfied if they were successful.

 $^{^{70}}N = 47$

⁷¹ These groups were selected because they represented the highest samples.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 211

The tour members were also asked what they felt, if anything, their tour did not sufficiently provide ⁷². 28% of participants said that they felt that their tours lacked the provision of ideas for an independent trip; 23% said that they would have liked more time at places; 17% said that they would have preferred more variation in the itinerary, and 15% said that they felt that their experience lacked authenticity; 13% said that their tour did not provide adequately for their special needs (such as health and dietary requirements); and only 4% said that they thought that their tour did not provide sufficient information, thus implying that the other participants were satisfied with the amount of information they received (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991; also see Figure 8.7).

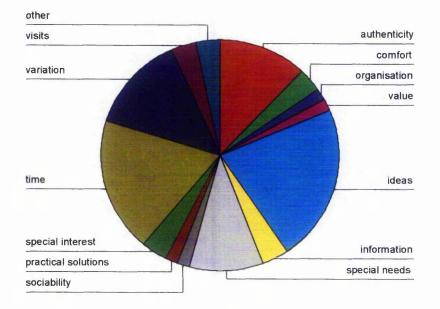


Figure 8.7: Attributes that were not Sufficiently Provided on Tour

The qualitative descriptions provide further insight into and support these dissatisfaction scores:

'Too much time in bus Too much herding to pre-arranged rest stops No evening entertainment Not enough stopping time in non-tourist shops' - Female, New Jersey, USA.

 $^{72}N = 47$

'The pace was fast – it would have been nicer to get to towns at 3.00 & spend time with the people & culture i.e. more independent time, less commercial' - Male, New York, USA.

Some of these statements suggested that several participants felt more able to travel independently in Ireland as a result of their guided tour. If the provision of ideas for an independent trip had been forthcoming it might have encouraged return visits, particularly to areas that had not been included in the tour itinerary.

'Now I know where to go, I can do it at my own pace. The pace of tour was quite fast' - Female, Michigan, USA

'Now I know a little about it, I'd be happy to drive & do B/B's!' - Female, New South Wales, Australia.

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The other major cause of dissatisfaction was the general pace of the tour and the perceived lack of time spent at places. The qualitative statements demonstrate an awareness that value for money, an important motivation (above) in the sense of seeing many of the key highlights, is closely linked to the fast pace of the tour, and that in fact a trade off between the two necessarily occurs.

'It would have been nice to have more time at places but then we would not have seen as much' - Female, Minnesota, USA.

Explaining the image formation process

The survey revealed that cultural tour participants' pre-tour images of Ireland corresponded to the main imagery used in the marketing of this destination. Three of these key themes included the landscape and scenery, the people, and the historic and prehistoric past. Having experienced the country for the first-time through the medium of the organised tour, and by drawing on selective episodic memory of the tour experience, participants' perceptions of the cultural landscape became descriptive, relating to specific events, places and people. A similar finding has been alluded to in a study by Geva and Goldman (1989) who found that at the concluding stage of a tour consumers' experiences

had enabled a clearer view of the elements making up a tour then at the beginning (Chapter 4).

However, despite the changes in recent years to Ireland's cultural and physical landscape, popularly described as the 'Celtic Tiger' (Chapter 5), 'wealth' (0%-2%) in the cultural landscape was barely acknowledged by participants. Instead, the imagery projected by national tourism organisations and international tour operators, one of traditional life and the rural idyll, a homogenous 'Heritage Island' (Chapter 6), are reflected in the images of the tourists' experiences. This survey has shown that generic, stereotypical images are formed in the minds of first-time travellers and that their images of the routes that they will take are quite well developed, as their cognitive maps have been evolving as they selected their tour. The realisation of these images will in part determine the overall success of their tour experience. Consequently, tours are rehearsed, managed and carefully orchestrated to reflect the pre-formed images of a nostalgic Ireland. Moreover, the tourist's objective is to experience a traditional Ireland.

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Williams (1998) has drawn attention to this phenomenon, he says that both the providers of tourism construct specific images of places and peoples to attract the visitor, while the tourist must in turn confirm his or her expectations:

'In this way, tourist images tend to become self-perpetuating and self-reinforcing with the attendant risk that, through time, tourist experiences become increasingly artificial' (*ibid*, 178).

Greenfield (2000) has emphasised the significance of the 'mind's eye' in influencing everyday experiences, as humans, 'see not with our eyes but with our brains' (*ibid*, 65). She further explains that, 'our visual experience, is a kind of mixture of information coming from our eyes and prior associations – how else might we interpret what we see and give the world significance?' (*ibid* 74). This notion of the 'mind's eye' can help to explain the finding in this current study that tour members have continued to focus on specific images reflecting the 'Irish idyll' (for example, beautiful scenery, castles, cliffs, mountains, lakes, sheep, friendly people and going to the pub); specific products (for example, Guinness, Waterford Crystal and Belleek China); and in-tour promotions (e.g.

Blarney Woollen Mill). Therefore, at the conclusion of this novel cultural experience there is no dramatic change in their perception of place, as tourist and facilitator have actively endorsed the anticipated images. いいいいい ちちちをおかいろ いちいいんいない 前にないる いっこう

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The previous three chapters have presented the empirical findings of this research and have considered them in relation to the conceptual framework developed from environmental psychology. The following chapter draws together the main findings, relating them back to the literature, and presenting the main conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will draw together the findings of this research, relating the primary results back to the literature review. The discussion will begin by reiterating the contribution of this work to the literature and by appraising the research process. The findings of the research are interpreted before the thesis concludes by summarising the implications for the academic study and the practical management of the cultural tour, and suggesting directions for future research and practice.

The Contribution of this Work

This thesis has drawn from many themes in the literature and explored them with a view to unravelling tourists' multi-faceted experiences and images of their cultural tour routes. The central topics have included tourism, culture, and the consumption of culture (Chapter 2); cultural tour routes (Chapter 3); the tour experience, including tourists' engagement with culture and their separation from it in a destination bubble (Chapter 4); and destination image formation (Chapters 4 and 5). It has developed a novel conceptual framework, a unique methodology, and used multiple methods in an empirical investigation of the tour experience (Chapters 4-8). Finally, innovative approaches to the design and management of organised cultural tours have been identified (Chapter 6) and these will be further developed in this concluding chapter (see *Implications for future research and practice*, below).

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As stated in Chapter 5, this study has the broad objective to explore the effects of physical and social touring environments of tour participants' experiences. Two specific objectives were, first, to identify whether the images that participants have of cultural tour routes change or remain unaltered after their direct experiences of them; and second to assess whether the levels of informal environmental learning gained from a tour, can be linked to the levels of satisfaction experienced from it. These objectives have been successfully accomplished by finding that tourists' images did indeed change, but rather than changing

in content, they changed in magnitude: the tour experience seemed to enforce already welldefined images of tour itineraries, rather than generating new images (Chapter 8). The combination of techniques used in the study has helped to determine the levels of involvement and engagement that tour members had with their touring environments; and the degree of influence exerted by the tour guide as well as by indirect sources, such as promotional literature (Chapter 8). Secondly, the analyses of factors influencing the cognitive mapping process, showed a correlation between peoples' levels of satisfaction with their tours and their mapping performance (Chapter 8), and although interpretation of this finding is problematic (see below), it suggests that the levels of informal environmental learning gained from a tour, can be linked to the satisfaction experienced. Finally, the aims of this study included that the outcomes should have relevance for a wide-range of cultural destinations. This objective has been satisfied since a combination of judgement and convenience-based sampling was used to select a cultural destination and the selected destination, Ireland, represents a diverse cultural environment with both 'high' culture and 'popular' elements, which, although nationally distinctive, are in principal common to many non-specialised cultural tour itineraries in Europe (Chapters 3 and 5).

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Methodological contributions

The conceptual and methodological basis for this research has been adopted from the literature on environmental cognition and specifically cognitive and route mapping (Evans 1980; Zeisel 1990; Chapter 4). Previous analyses of cognitive maps have tended to follow content-based methods, as a quantitative means of analysing essentially qualitative information, and these have usually produced descriptive results about people's relationships with their environments. Rarely have researchers sought to develop the approach beyond simple description. In order to enhance the technique's explanatory potential this research involved specific attention being given to people's qualitative comments about their images and experiences (Chapter 5). These have be used to support, provide insight into, and even to question the findings from the quantitative data produced by the content analyses, which highlighted the significance of variables involved in the mapping process (Chapter 8). Such a combined approach to the analyses of cognitive maps has previously been evident in the tourism literature to a very limited extent. Philip Pearce (Pearce 1977b; Pearce 1981) who has been instrumental in introducing cognitive mapping to the field paid only limited attention to qualitative comments made by tourists about their

experiences in large-scale environments (Chapters 4 and 8). The potential that qualitative analyses have in extending our understanding of tourists' learning in unfamiliar environments, has not been explored to its fullest potential. However, this thesis is unique in that it has begun the process of making up for the deficit. In doing so, it provides a more richly textured exploration of tourists' cognitive maps than has hitherto been undertaken, made possible by the application of theoretical and data triangulation, and by developing a multi-method approach (Chapters 5 and 8).

The explanatory methodology combines qualitative with quantitative techniques in the analyses of tourists' route maps (Chapter 8), and it relates the findings to information derived from other investigative methods: in-depth interviews (Chapter 6) and participant observation (Chapter 7) undertaken during an exploratory phase of research. In triangulating the findings from these different methods, insight into the processes which influence touristic consumption during cultural tours has been gained, and this fulfils the broad objective of exploring the effects of physical and social touring environments on tour participants' experiences (Chapter 5). Moreover, the approach has helped to penetrate 'the destination bubble', which conveys a sense of physical and cultural isolation, as well as the way in which tourists create 'meaning' by integrating socially with the tour group. The concept has been frequently cited in the literature but rarely explored empirically, (Chapter 4).

In adopting an integrative strategy, the aim has been to balance the strengths and weaknesses of these three approaches and overcome inherent biases (McIntosh 1998) (Chapter 5). However, the use of several field methods in a single research project does not in itself lead to more sophisticated nor valid information, as careful orchestration is required to assess whether the information is complementary at the different levels of inquiry (Hartman 1988; Zeisel 1990). For example, participant observation tended to gain information at the micro-level or encounter-specific level of the tour experience, whereas the interviews focused more on the macro-level and conceptual nature of the cultural route, as seen by specialists. In this case, therefore, these methods were highly complementary (Chapter 8).

Triangulating the findings from route mapping with those from other research methods, including closed-question survey, observation and interviews, have helped to verify the qualitative elements produced by these techniques and extended the interpretation of route maps into affective, rather than purely knowledge-based, dimensions (see below). This parallels Echtner and Richie's recommendation for the combined use of structured and unstructured methodologies, to enable the more complete capture of the components of destination image (Echtner and Richie 1991). This current study has therefore demonstrated that the methodological innovations made by Lynch and others over forty years ago need not be relegated to academic history, as they offer a way forward for the current interest in exploring the relationships between tourists' experiences and their environments (Pearce and Fagence 1996). Although this research has contributed significantly to the field, the potential that cognitive mapping techniques have for tourism has not been fully realised to date (Hall and Page 1999). It is therefore hoped that this research will inspire similar techniques to be applied to other tourist segments and in different touristic environments. For example, the results may be quite different when the approach is applied to more extraordinary hedonistic experiences (Arnould and Price 1993), a tantalising area for future research (Chapter 4).

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Key findings

Altered images and the destination bubble

The study set out to identify whether and precisely how, tourists' perceptions of organised cultural tours change as a result of their direct experience of their touring environments; namely their tour routes. This objective has been successfully accomplished by finding that tourists' images changed in magnitude: the tour experience seemed to enforce predefined images, rather than generating new ones (Chapter 8). Furthermore, the use of multiple methods have helped to determine the levels of involvement and engagement that tour members had with their touring environments (Chapters 6-8). Previous research has indicated that tours are thought to 'integrate' tourists by providing access to material culture (Schmidt 1979), or through the provision of information (Quiroga 1990). Others have suggested they encapsulate and isolate tourists in 'a bubble' (Weightman 1987) (Chapter 4). However, knowledge about the consumption processes involved in touring has previously tended to be based upon theory rather than empirical observation (Chapter 2). In this study, the thematic analyses of the interviews (Chapter 6) proved to be especially

informative in helping to 'contextualise' tour experiences within the broader framework of a destination's cultural environment. These interviews revealed a complex network of individuals and organisations, some of whom are stakeholders influencing the structure of cultural tourism within a destination, principally by funding and promotional activities. Amongst the interviewees, there was a general perception that organised tours provide tourists with highly structured or 'manipulated' experiences of destinations. Moreover, they tended to place responsibility for the tour experience and the design of itineraries with tour operators rather than with any other actor (Chapter 6). Meanwhile, the tour operator recognised that tour members could have a diverse range of interests, and could prepare for their tour in some detail before embarking on their trip. This was confirmed by the empirical research into participants' behaviour by the survey which showed that first-time travellers used a wide-range of source materials to form images of their destinations both before and after touring (Chapter 8). This observation is explained by Mayo and Jarvis (1981) who propose that the need for information is likely to be greatest among individuals who are inexperienced travellers. Not only has this study shown that different players can influence the tour experience, but also that different stimuli can be important in contributing to the experience at different stages of the tour, for example the central part of the process is frequently manipulated by tour personnel as well as being influenced by the consumer's own desire to 'fulfil a dream' (Chapters 2 and 8). Previously, writers (e.g. Quiroga 1990; Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg 1998) have highlighted the significance of the tour guide in shaping the tour experience towards a positive outcome (Chapter 4). However, the realisation of destination images, such as those described in tour brochures can also be linked to the customers themselves, whose behaviour can actively help to fulfil their expectations. Geva and Goldman (1991) recognise that consumers play an active part in shaping the perceived performance of the tour, and that tour quality depends largely on tourists' motivation, initiative, ability and effort. They suggest that tourists are likely to attribute positive outcomes of touring to their own actions and failures to 'external' causes, such as the tour company (Chapter 4). Both of these views were corroborated by the opinions expressed by the interviewees in Chapter 6. If tourists actively seek to fulfil their preconceived images of a destination, then they are not only likely to 'fulfil a dream' but also enjoy the experience, and feel good about themselves (Chapter 2). This helps to explain why images

are maintained long after the factors that have moulded them have changed. This research has shown that tour members' images tend to have considerable stability over time, even in the face of dramatic changes in destination attributes, such as those associated with the transition of Ireland's economy (Chapters 5 and 8), a finding which is also indicated by the work of Gunn and others (Gunn 1972; Fakeye and Crompton 1991; *Information sources*, Chapter 8).

The degree to which tourists are involved in, engage with and are engaged by their host environment, has interested tourism researchers for decades, although there has been little empirical work on the subject (Chapter 2). Urry's 'tourist gaze' (Urry, 1990) is a process by which tourists seek authenticity and truth in places away from their own everyday life. MacCannell (1976) sees all tourists as aspiring to what he terms 'back room' experiences, while other writers consider that 'soft' tourism practices⁷³ have a greater opportunity to penetrate further into 'authentic' culture and to identify with local experience (Smith 1989; Chapter 8). Perhaps ironically, high levels of satisfaction can be achieved when tourists feel that they have ceased to be tourists, and assumed the role of 'guests' (Ryan 1991). However, not all tourists desire this deeper involvement with a local society or culture, as tourism models such as Plog's (1974) 'allocentric' and 'psychocentric' typology indicate (Chapter 4). In Chapter 2, it was suggested that there are a number of tourist roles, which include being 'an outsider', to being a local undertaking touristic activity. Non-local tourists may seek to establish a sense of belonging or a 'local identity' as evidenced by the need to strike up a relationship with a local waiter or hotel barman, and although seemingly superficial, such behaviours can have considerable meaning for the tourist (Chapter 6). However, the potential for such 'host-guest' relationships can be hindered if, influenced by traditions of hospitality or by negative tourism impacts, local and national attitudes perceive tourists as a part of an anonymous 'mass' (Ryan 1991).

Alternatively, tour participants may choose to establish an identity with other members of the holidaying group, and in doing so maintain their 'tourist bubble' (Chapters 4 and 7). New acquaintances afford the opportunity to replace the absent primary relations from more familiar environments. These acquaintances can fulfil a social need and help to

⁷³ 'Soft' tourism is typically more individually based than the tours segment, and centred on a sense of place involving local products and communities, with respect for and limited impacts on local environments (Jenkins and Oliver 2001).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 221

secure satisfying experiences (Gorman 1979). For example, the participant observation undertaken as a part of this study identified a group who referred to themselves as the 'boys at the back'. This naming of a recognised clique corresponds exactly with Gorman's 'back of the bus bunch', and indicates the unity that these members felt (*ibid*; Chapter 7).

Sociability is conventionally associated with the tour environment, and it was a motivating factor for about a quarter of the tour members surveyed (Chapter 8). However, the survey showed that contrary to popular belief, motivations for selecting a group tour was not to become a part of a group (for example, Schuchat 1983), as most people preferred to explore alone or in a small group (Social preferences, Chapter 8). This was supplemented by the findings from participant observation, which showed that people tended to pay more attention to their travelling companions than to other tour members (Chapter 7). Interacting with other tourists is therefore not a key motivation to undertake a tour, and local friendliness and experiences (such as visiting a 'traditional' Irish pub) were highly valued instead (Chapter 8). Tourists' high expectations to meet local people were not generally met, due in part to the rigorous and transient nature of the itinerary.⁷⁴ However, social needs could be supplemented to some extent by the sense of community afforded by the rest of the tour group (Chapter 8). It is important to remember that the tour as a mode of travel is selected for reasons which are material as well as existential in nature, for example, the most frequently cited reason for selecting a tour was to see the main cultural highlights, followed by value for money; to gain information; safety, security and comfort; only after which was sociability ranked as important (Chapter 8).

The relative unimportance of social factors indicate that there may be few discernable differences between escorted cultural tourists and their independent counterparts, except perhaps that they may be materially constrained from undertaking independent forms of travel, such as health-related or the inability to drive. Future research could help to corroborate this assertion. However, unlike independent travellers, tour participants can be prevented from engaging with host communities because of their physical separation by tangible forms of the tourist bubble, such as the motor coach, and the tour hotel, often part of an international chain located some distance from local centres of population (Quiroga 1990). Moreover, this separation can feed negative local attitudes and enforce perceptions

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⁷⁴ A quarter of the respondents said they would have liked more time at places (Chapter 8).

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 222

of the tour member being part of an anonymous 'mass' (Weightman 1987; Poon 1993; Chapter 4).

Understanding route map formation

Early cognitive mapping studies focused on the development of typologies as a means to identify the learning processes that contribute to maps taking particular forms (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). Appleyard (1970) suggested two categories according to whether the dominant features were linkages and paths between places (i.e. sequential maps) or areas and landmarks (i.e. spatial maps). He hypothesised that over time there is a shift from using sequential maps to using spatial maps as knowledge of the environment changes from simple understandings about proximity and distance, to the ability to understand more complex spatial relationships. This claim has since been disputed (Spencer and Weetman 1981; Walmsley and Jenkins 1992) and subsequent analysis focused on anchor point theory, which poses a model, based on three of the components identified by Lynch (1960), whereby individuals first learn locations (landmarks), then the links or routes between locations (paths), and lastly, the areas that surround groups or locations (Chapter 8). Lynch argued that people in new environments first use landmarks for orientation, and then develop knowledge of pathways, and finally knowledge is acquired to enable generalisations to be made about areas (Guy et al. 1990). Therefore, the trend is from 'route mapping' to 'survey mapping' (Walmsley and Jenkins 1992, 270).

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However, in their study of tourists at Coffs Harbour, Walmsley and Jenkins (*ibid*) found that the relationship between experience (the number of days spent in Coffs Harbour) and knowledge (the number of elements included on maps) did not support an incremental growth of knowledge implied by anchor point theory and it was concluded that geographical information acquired at an early stage of a visit may become redundant. They also suggested that the geographical extent of the tourist's cognitive map is likely to increase over time, since this type of learning (i.e. that which assists tourist activity), does not require specific information, so much as an awareness of what general features are available (*ibid*). This model suggests that tourists' environmental learning would be predominantly focused upon general areas or districts, rather than way-finding to specific facilities, as might be the case with more permanent residents.

This reveals a much more complex picture than the anchor point theory suggests, and the notion that information acquired early on in the experience of a new environment fades in prominence over time is the exact opposite of the Appleyard's theory (above). Walmsley and Jenkins believe that this illustrates the tendency for maps to change from a spatial style, characterised by the prominence of landmarks and districts, to sequential style characterised by the prominence of paths (*ibid*).

This current research found that tourists' images of their destinations increased in magnitude, and the tour experience seemed to enforce predefined images (Chapter 8; above). This contrasts with the notion of information fading in prominence over time (above). The aggregate content analysis showed an overall increase in tourists' environmental learning, especially in their ability to recall places, although in many instances the basic route seems to have been formed at an early stage of the tour experience and image formation process (Chapters 4, 5, and 8; Appendix 11). This accords with Pearce's (1981) evidence indicating that tourists tend to develop cognitive maps of tour routes very quickly, and it is confirmed by subsequent studies focusing on specific destinations rather than routes (e.g. Guy et al. 1990; Walmsley and Jenkins 1992). For example, in their study of first-time visitors to Wurzburg, Germany, Guy et al. (ibid) found that the most powerful source of environmental learning was personal interaction with the environment, and that this was subsequently reinforced by other direct sources (such as landmarks and signage) and indirect sources (such as guidebooks and promotional literature). However, indirect sources only became important when the basic cognitive map had been developed and the detail was being filled-in (*ibid*; Chapters 4 and 8).

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In contrast, this research found that tour members' route maps of their tour routes were quite well advanced, even before they directly experienced it. The most reasonable explanation for this seems to be that significant learning about the route occurred in the pre-tour purchase and planning stages of the trip. It can be anticipated that people will want to have an idea of the route that they will follow and the places that they will see before purchasing a tour product, and that they will compare different products before selecting a tour product. Assessing a product's value for money could be another important reason for comparing tour itineraries (see *Motivations*, Chapter 8). Moreover, image is a key marketing tool in an industry where potential consumers must base buying decisions upon

mental images of product offerings rather than being able to physically sample alternatives (Morgan and Pritchard 1998). This would explain why knowledge of places and routes existed at an early stage of the tour experience. Although knowledge increased after touring, the most significant learning was in the place category, and places tended to be positioned along a discernable route. This finding cannot easily be compared with those from previous research which focus on a more sedentary forms of tourism than the tour experience. The transient nature of the tour experience (Chapters 3, 4 6 and 7) is likely to differ considerably from one in which environmental knowledge is built up over a period of days or even weeks, such as in the studies by Appleyard (1970), Walmsley and Jenkins (1992) and Guy et al. (1990). However, the finding that tour members tend to increase their knowledge of places positioned sequentially along a route after directly experiencing their destination, provides an example of map formation processes which relate specifically to passengers undertaking cultural tours in unfamiliar environments. Perhaps unsurprisingly in this context, it indicates a sequential rather than a spatial form of learning. This corroborates the work of Spencer and Weetman (1981, 383) who found in their study of new residents in Sheffield, UK, that 'individuals can switch between spatial and sequential modes, selecting a mapping strategy which suits a particular task'. In their view, where a task is to represent a simple route or local area the tendency is to select a sequential style. Only when the task is considerably more complex do individuals move form an initial sequential mode to a developed spatial image. Moreover, they found that consistent individual preferences for a particular mapping style might last throughout the learning process. This finding has been corroborated by this work, although even in the most stylised cases, map content appears to have been influenced by directly experiencing the destination (Map components, Chapter 8).

Factors influencing the mapping process

This study has contributed significantly to the understanding of factors that may influence the mapping process (Chapter 8), and of these it was found that information sources are of particular significance, thereby supporting and extending some preliminary work by Guy *et al.* (*ibid*) in their study of visitors to Wurzburg (above). Information sources used by tourists have been of special interest to tourism researchers, especially in relation to the decision-making processes involved in the selection of vacations, and actively seeking information can be an important part of the travel decision-making process (Mayo and

Jarvis 1981; Vogt *et al.* 1998). However, there appeared from the literature to be two quite conflicting views: firstly Gunn (1972) has emphasised that information about a destination may be stored in people's memories regardless of whether they have visited that destination or actively sought information about it. In contrast to this, Guy *et al.* (1990) found that the direct experience of a destination is more important in facilitating peoples' environmental learning than indirect sources, such as guidebooks and promotional literature (Chapter 8; above).

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The current study discovered that a diverse range of information was used by first-time visitors to Ireland, and this enabled them to form destination images before their visit. In addition to their direct touring experiences, the same indirect sources were used to recall images of their tour route after their visit. It seems that indirect sources were not supplemented by new information acquired at tour destinations, suggesting that tourists' did not acquire supplementary information (for example, from maps, guidebooks and other media) while on tour (Information sources, Chapter 8). These findings therefore support the ideas of Gunn (1972), suggesting that images tend to have considerable stability over time (above), highlighting some of the potential difficulties associated with product and destination re-positioning activities when images are particularly entrenched (Reich 1999). This study demonstrated that the destination images formed before visiting were particularly pervasive, and this may explain why so little of Ireland's contemporary culture (which had tended not to be part of tourists' original images) was acknowledged when recalling their tour experiences. The fact that these findings appear to counter those by Guy et al., can perhaps be explained by the very different time scales involved in these separate pieces of research; the Wurzburg study observed the same participants in the same environment over the period of a month. Unlike tour members who tend to have highly transient experiences (above), these participants were able to get to know their environment intimately, and their direct experience was therefore a more significant factor in their learning processes. Further research which compares the experiences of tour members and staying visitors at specific places, could help to confirm this suggestion. However, although Pearce (1981) concluded in his study of independent visitors route maps in North Queensland that it would be useful to compare the experience of private leisure driving and organised tours through the same environments, as travel modes are

critical in determining environmental perception and experience (Canter 1977), these particular comparisons would not be valid (Chapter 4).

Other factors considered in regard to their potential for influencing the mapping process of tourists, included peoples' social and exploration preferences. These analyses found that people who preferred not to explore, or who preferred to be guided, returned maps with fewer details than those who were more adventurous, whether they explored in a large sociable group, in a small group or alone, suggesting that their knowledge of the environment was less well developed than those of their more adventurous counterparts (Chapter 8). These findings both endorsed and supplemented those from earlier studies by Beck and Wood (1976a; 1976b), and provided a greater range of preferences than had previously been identified.

To enable the comparison of the findings from this thesis with those from other studies using cognitive mapping techniques, this study viewed socio-demographic factors as potentially significant variables in the mapping process. Reminiscent of the work conducted by Carr and Schissler (1969) over three decades ago, it found no significant differences in the number or type of environmental features produced by drivers and nondrivers. This is perhaps unsurprising given that all participants had assumed the role of passengers while touring and therefore had similar fields of vision, while drivers would have tended to have a more restricted view. Unlike drivers, passengers are not usually actively engaged in way-finding tasks, unless navigating or following the route on a map. Similarly, no significant differences were found in the maps produced by people of different gender, and this corroborates an earlier study by Walmsley and Jenkins (1992). Trends in the degree of environmental detail recalled by people of different ages also supported these findings, in that they indicated a tendency for maps to improve over time, which is perhaps related to the inclination for people to become more adept at learning about new environments, particularly if they have experienced more unfamiliar environments than their younger counter parts (Chapter 8).

Outcomes of the tour experience

The analyses of factors that may influence the cognitive mapping process, showed a possible connection between peoples' levels of satisfaction with their tours and their

mapping performance (Chapter 8). Although interpretation of this finding is problematic (see *Apprising the research process*, below), this indicates that the levels of informal environmental learning gained from a tour, can be linked to the satisfaction experienced. The finding that the most satisfied customers often recalled more about their tour than those who were less satisfied, tends to support the notion that they gained more information about their route then their less satisfied counterparts. Therefore, detailed maps might be considered to be a measure of the success of a cultural tour as they illustrate the extent of people's environmental learning, which can be linked to a primary motivating factor: the desire for information about the destination (Chapters 4 and 8). This link between learning and enjoyment has been inconclusive in other tourist settings with more formalised educational objectives, such as environmental interpretation centres (Moscardo and Pearce 1986).

The concept of 'mindfulness' has important implications for both the on-site experiences of tourists and for their post-travel recall of their experiences (Pearce 1988), although according to Langer (1987, cited in Pearce 1988, 40), most people are mindless most of the time. That is, they often operate according to pre-existing patterns or routines, and are not mentally processing each new situation they encounter. Langer (1987 5, cited in *ibid*, 40), summaries her working definition of mindfulness as:

'Active information processing in which the individual is fully engaged in creating categories and drawing distinctions'.

By way of contrast, 'mindlessness' sees the individual relying on existing categories (Pearce 1988). Mindlessness can be caused by repeated exposure to the same phenomenon or a single exposure to new information (such as when people commit themselves to an action without thinking it through). In contrast, mindfulness will be produced by novelty, surprise, and variety (*ibid*). Pearce identifies that a mindless tourist will use stereotypes to fit the existing images that they perceive and that the information search of such a visitor will be biased. He links Langer's work to that which has explored 'scripted behaviour' (e.g. Schank and Abelson 1977), which he suggests particularly applies to guided tours where a planned pattern of the day's activities is given to the visitor. He suggests that many tourists will attend to the outline of a day's events and then process much of the trip

mindlessly, hypothesising that if this view is correct then there will be little information recalled about the journey since a mindlessly processed activity is not remembered. To illustrate this point, Pearce cites his study in Northern Australia where many tourists recalled only four or five features of the journey in a 320 kilometre trip, suggesting that this low level recall of places visited is consistent with this mindlessness formulation (Pearce 1981; Pearce 1988).

The evidence from this current study suggests a rather more complex picture than Pearce's work has shown (above). The analysis of cultural tour members' cognitive maps found a statistically significant difference between the pre-tour and post-tour scores of tour images, with post-tour scores being significantly greater (Chapter 8; above). This indicates that many of these tour members were indeed mindful during their trip, despite being directed in what they chose to experience by preconceived images of Ireland (e.g. Greenfield 2000; Chapter 8). Moreover the finding that there is a link between environmental learning and enjoyment, where the more mindful tourists appear to have been most satisfied (above), can be explored with reference to a study of Korean tourists visiting Australia (Kim 1994, cited Ryan 1997, 42), which found that the most highly satisfied group was more likely to fulfil higher needs of 'the travel career ladder'. Previously, Pearce (1988) postulated the existence of a 'travel career ladder' in which tourists undertaking their first overseas trip prefer relaxation within a safe environment to more adventurous pursuits in exotic destinations. However, as tourists become more experienced, so they become more curious about the culture and the history of other places, and possibly seek to identify with a destination, or establish a sense of self by developing a knowledge of different cultures. Eventually, he hypothesises that these tourists will travel independently, and proceed through the upper needs of the motivational hierarchy, their concepts of 'self' and understanding becoming better formulated (ibid; Marslow 1970). The perspective from which Pearce approaches the issue is encapsulated in the definition of career, that is, quoting Hughes (1937, 409-10):

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'The moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and things which happen to him'.

Therefore, a career is a purposeful and conscious action. Pearce's model (above) suggests that more experienced tourists will increasingly engage in more intellectual pursuits about the history and the culture of places, and will perhaps want to learn foreign languages. Although interesting, this theory is not easy to prove empirically. According to Ryan (1997, 42), satisfaction is 'a function of the congruence of need and experience – i.e. a need met by an appropriate experience generates satisfaction'. This suggests that providing that needs are met, there seems no reason that those seeking to fulfil material needs (for example, a 'safe holiday') should be less satisfied than those seeking predominantly existential or 'self-actualising' needs, entailing deeper levels of penetration into a host culture (below). Nevertheless, it can be said that in the case of the cultural tour at least, there is a link between environmental learning and enjoyment, where relatively mindful tourists tend also to be highly satisfied. This may be explained by reference to participants' expectations that information about a destination will be provided, as this is a key motivation for selecting on cultural tour (Chapter 8; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola 1991).

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Satisfaction levels with touristic experiences should be viewed relatively, since tourists will almost certainly expect to have a good, if not excellent time while on holiday. Identifying reasons for dissatisfaction therefore become all the more important. This study determined two key factors which can potentially lead to participants' dissatisfaction with the tour experience. These were: the fast pace of the tours, and the lack of ideas provided by tour personnel or the tour company for an independent visit (Satisfaction ratings, Chapter 8). One of the main expectations of first-time visitors to a cultural destination is that they will see the main highlights. The pace of a tour will be a function of the number of highlights included in the itinerary and it will help to establish whether a tour is 'good value for money', which in turn is one of the key motivations for taking a tour (Chapter 8; see Implications for future research and practice, below). The second main reason for dissatisfaction felt by tour members in this study, was the inadequate provision of ideas for an independent trip. Coupled with some participants' statements indicating that they felt that the guided tour experience had actually equipped them for a return visit, this appears to demonstrate that some participants could in fact 'progress' in their tourism behaviours, consistent with the idea of Pearce's tourist career ladder (Pearce 1988, above).

Appraising the research process

In their concluding remarks in their Wurzburg study, Guy *et al.* (1990) stressed the potential that other methods might have in augmenting the cognitive mapping technique. This study has confirmed that a multi-method approach has considerable utility when used in conjunction with cognitive mapping: the participant observation (Chapter 7) has supplemented the findings from the survey phase of research and the interviews eliciting specialist knowledge about the touring destination have been valuable in identifying the attitudes of destination image intermediaries, and in assessing how findings from this research might be applied towards more sustainable and enjoyable forms of touring in the future (Chapter 6; also see *Implications for future research and practice*, below).

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The analyses of the factors that may influence the cognitive mapping process, showed a correlation between people's levels of satisfaction with their tours and their mapping performance (above). However, interpreting this information is problematic since it cannot be conclusively determined, whether satisfied participants mapped more components because they were more motivated to do so, or because they recalled more information from the route. One of the limitations of the cognitive mapping technique is that the extent to which the motivation or enthusiasm to undertake the mapping task influences the mapped representation of environmental knowledge, can not be easily determined (Chapter 4). However, one of the benefits of using a multi-method approach is that attitudes towards the survey process stand a better chance of being recognised by, for example, the analyses of qualitative statements about the mapping task. In this study, participants' comments about the mapping task and their perceived relationship with the researcher were recorded (Chapter 8). These comments demonstrate a high level of unprompted and spontaneous communication⁷⁵, indicating their enthusiasm for the task. Moreover, greetings and good wishes were common, supporting the argument that the personalised style of questionnaire design and delivery was an important factor in successful response rate (Day 1999; Chapter 8). Only three respondents made negative comments about the survey instrument, stating that they felt the assignment was overly complicated or time consuming. This suggests that the majority of participants were quite motivated to complete the mapping task. Therefore satisfied participants seem to be those who have received and subsequently recalled the most the information.

⁷⁵ Up to 22% of respondents provided unprompted comments about the research process.

T. Oliver. 2002. Altered Images? The case of the cultural tour route. PhD. Nottingham Trent University 231

Similar methodological issues affect the assessment of any survey or interview population, which will by definition, be biased in respect to the population, as it is limited to those people who are willing to respond to the researchers' request for information. Put another way, those who lacked enthusiasm or time to complete the survey would probably not have responded at all. The assumption can therefore be made that in general, participants in this study followed the instructions set out in the questionnaires and responded to the mapping task to the best of their ability, thereby providing an accurate reflection of their environmental knowledge.

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Implications for future research and practice

'Through images and texts, attempts are made to attract tourists to rural areas through the promotion of representations of idealized, symbolic, cultural landscapes' – *Rural Cultural Economy: Tourism and Social Relation*, (Kneafsey 2001, 762).

Two key factors which can contribute to participants' dissatisfaction with their tour experience, include the fast pace of tours, and the lack of ideas provided for an independent visit. The pace of a tour will be a function of the number of highlights included in the itinerary and it will help to establish whether a tour is 'good value for money', which in turn is one of the key motivations for taking a tour (Chapter 8; above). In recent years, several tour operators have acknowledged that there is a market for tours which include 'extra leisure' time, and it will be interesting to see whether this new variation of the product is successful, especially with first-time visitors. Alternatives to this might include that a tour itinerary is designed on an optional 'opt in' basis, rather than the more usual strategy of encouraging tourists to buy extra excursions in addition to an already demanding itinerary (Chapter 6). There are also alternatives to the traditional tour circuit (Chapters 3 and 4). For example, greater attention could be paid to the development of itineraries, such as the 'radial' tour pattern discussed in Chapter 6. According to this model, the tour would be based in one location and then different routes and attractions would be explored from this centre. This could benefit tourists in that it would help to reduce the fast pace of the tour and provide more opportunities for them to meet local people, an expectation which is not usually met (above; Chapter 8). Tourists might even be accommodated with local people. The emphasis here would be on the engagement and

involvement with a destination, rather than on long distance touring. A more sedentary type of tour member could bring greater economic benefit to local communities and help contribute towards rural regeneration.

Recently, Swarbrooke (1999) has cast doubts upon the traditional view that cultural tourism and sustainable tourism go hand-in-hand (Chapter 2). Indeed, the apparent conflict between the management practices of cultural tours which tend to isolate tourists from cultural environments, and the actual product, local culture, has been highlighted by the findings from this thesis (Chapters 6 and 8). This creates an image of 'hard' tourism, which tends to exhibit little penetration into host communities, with links tending to be international rather than local (Stabler 1997), as opposed to 'soft' tourism which is more likely to meet sustainability criteria (Jenkins and Oliver 2001; above). However, by indicating their desire to return to Ireland independently, and that they felt that the escorted tour had helped equip them to do so, some tour members in this study seem to have displayed a desire to move 'up' the 'tourist career ladder'. Despite this, almost a third of the respondents said that their tours had not provided sufficient information, to actually enable them to return independently (Chapter 8). This finding represents an opportunity for destination managers and marketers to penetrate the 'tourist bubble', and to encourage some tourists to return independently. However, an inspection of current tour brochures reveals that many group tour operators already offer self-drive tours with suggested itineraries. Promoting such information after the escorted tour experience could help to encourage repeat visitors. Moreover, it would be interesting to compare the cognitive maps of tourists returning to the destination to those of first-time visitors. To date, empirical studies which explore the evolution of destination images are relatively rare (although see for example, Fakeye and Crompton 1991; Phelps 1986).

Alternative patterns of touring to the classic tour circuit include the more sedentary or 'radial' forms, which may allow for more leisure time (above). In addition to this is the use of less well-known cultural attractions and touring areas which have not become saturated with tourism. This could be facilitated by the provision of information by destination managers to operators about suitable alternatives, and by operators to tourists about independent trips (Chapter 6). Local and niche operators might start tourism in previously unexploited areas, although small-scale forms of the cultural tour may be pushed out by

large-scale operators, as predicted by Butler's (1980) evolution of a tourism area (Ryan 1991)⁷⁶. Nevertheless, these represent potential opportunities which may be fruitfully explored in future research. Route maps could be of considerable utility in rural development and sustainable tourism research and practice, offering the potential to explore cultural itineraries at local and regional levels. It is notable that techniques using multiple methods and maps to gauge people's perceptions about their local areas have recently been employed in studies aiming to enhance local economies and the quality of life in urban areas (Townscape Research Unit 2001).

In terms of local development initiatives and moves towards 'sustainable' or 'soft' tourism (above), the cultural tour has a key redeeming feature, and this is that its inherent subject matter is culture. Cultural tourism is defined by, and benefits from, the limited scale in which it operates (Chapter 2). There is therefore the potential for localised control over the type and economic benefit of these tourism activities, and to valorise culture as a commodity ⁷⁷. As Swabrooke (1999, 312) recognises, 'local control is a key element of sustainable tourism ideology'. Exploring how tourists' homogenised images of cultural destinations can be reconciled with the potential for them to recognise local diversity, is a significant area for future research in which multiple methods could play an important role. This thesis has helped to illustrate the potential that exists for identifying and analysing images of 'culture' along tourism routes. Currently, it seems that the overall 'control' of such images lies primarily with destination image intermediaries, as well as with the mass media, and other forms of communication, especially in the pre-tour and planning stages of the tour experience. The extent to which cultural tour members move beyond experiencing images and eventually participate in, and contribute to local cultures, essentially lies with these 'gatekeepers', as well as ultimately with tourism policy makers. Future work focusing on the critical pre-purchase period in the destination-image formation process would help to contribute significantly to this area of research. This thesis began by questioning whether the cultural tour isolates tourists from their host environment. It has

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⁷⁶ Butler (1980) assumes a six-stage cycle in the evolution of a tourism area, which relates to the product life cycle of marketing theory. During the exploration stage there are a small number of visitors; in the involvement stage, the numbers increase and the host community responds, initially with entrepreneurial activities; in the development stage the area becomes a well-developed tourist enclave, family-run and niche market operations are taken over by mainstream companies; during the consolidation stage expansion ceases and take-overs and mergers occur; finally tourism in the area stagnates and declines.

⁷⁷ The idea that indigenous communities can (re-)gain control of their economic and cultural destinies is central to endogenous approaches to local and regional development (e.g. Lowe *et al* 1998).

successfully answered this by using a range of perspectives which focus on tourists' experiences of their environments. The work concludes by asking, 'to what extent should tourists be isolated and encapsulated?' and more importantly, 'what are the alternatives?'

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APPENDICES

.

Appendix 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Personal introduction and thanks

Note interview environment, and physical gestures throughout.

Purpose statement

- This meeting will contribute towards my PhD research into cultural tours. The aim is to explore the links between cultural routes and European tours for international markets.
- I'm examining Ireland for several reasons, which I prefer not to go into now to avoid influencing our discussion, and to keep things brief. For these reasons too, I will keep my input to a minimum throughout.
- This is an *exploratory* investigation. I am examining these themes *in the context* of a range of professional and personal views. As far as I'm concerned there are no right or wrong answers.

An explanation as to why the interviewee has been selected for interviewing

• The people I've selected for interview are expert in either a professional or academic capacity on Ireland's cultural environment. The aim is to identify professional, and if appropriate personal, opinions and feelings on several main themes.

Statement on confidentiality

• I will keep the content of our meeting confidential. If I use any details in my PhD they will be coded so that material remains anonymous. You may ask me to omit certain details from my records.

Request for permission to audio-tape

• With your permission, I would like to record this meeting. This will help me to maintain accuracy in my recording. You may ask me to switch the machine off at any time.

Preferred interview structure

• I've chosen a staged-approach: the first part (10 minutes) will be quite informal and I hope you will feel free to discuss points that *you feel are significant about Ireland's cultural routes, and her cultural environment in general.* In Part 2 I'll use graphic representations of current tour routes to trigger focused discussion.

Q. Do you have any concerns for clarification, or for the use of the data?

PART 1

Ireland's cultural resource and product

- 1.1 Q. What are the main characteristics of Ireland's a) cultural heritage b) cultural environment?
- **1.2 Q.** Would you include scenery, people and 'way of life'. If so, how would you link them to either or both?
- 1.3 Q. How would you define Ireland's cultural routes?

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- **1.4 Q.** What values or issues do you feel are particularly significant in the contemporary management of this resource/product.
- 1.5 Q. Would you link Ireland's cultural resource to other cultures or countries? If so which?
- 1.6 Q. Is 'difference' more or less valuable (marketable) in a cultural tourism context?

Image and authenticity

- **1.6 Q.** What are the main images or slogans that you feel best represent Ireland's (contemporary and historic) cultural environment?
- 1.7 Q. What are the circumstances (if any) where other images may be appropriate?

Cultural tourism policy

- **1.8 Q.** Would you describe Ireland's cultural tourism products as 'unified' or 'dispersed' ('connected' or 'separate')?
- **1.9 Q.** Which aspects of your organisation's policies (if any) would you say illustrate the aspects of Ireland's culture they particularly value? Are there particular documents you could refer me to?

PART 2

Introduction to graphic images

• I have prepared some sheets which show examples of tour routes taken from a range of promotional literature. Most (but not all) represent tours for an international market of approximately 1 week. I suggest that you briefly look at all images, then make brief comments about each. Please look sheets 1-3. Please feel free to write or draw on them with these OHP pens.

Cultural highlights in the context of a selection of tour routes, their image, attraction, and values

- **2.1 Q.** Which cultural highlights (depicted by these promotional images) are most valuable? From what context or perspective and why?
- **2.2 Q.** Are their values increased or deceased by their association with other places/ sites? Which and why?
- The final image shows a range of cultural sites, some of which you may like to comment upon in the context of our discussion.
- **2.3 Q.** Which is more culturally valuable, in the case of the Rock of Cashel and Muckross House, and to whom (i.e. context)?

(Rock of Cashel has early a Christian Monastery, a Norman Castle and a medieval cathedral, C19th Muckross House is predominantly devoted to folk-life displays).

Regional characterisation of Ireland's culture

2.4 Q. To what extent would you say Ireland's culture can be distinguished by region or area? What would be your main examples?

Characterisation of Ireland's culture according to markets

2.5 Q. To what extent do you consider that Ireland's culture is valued differently according to background and personal experiences? What examples would you give?

Comments for content analysis

2.6 Q. Is there anything that particularly strikes you about the presentation of these individual promotional images?

Personal biography to establish context

2.7 Q. Is their anything in your professional or personal background that you feel may have influenced your responses to me today? *e.g. position in the system, personal characteristics, background and idiosyncrasies. The establishment of a context should enable a more accurate interpretation of the data.*

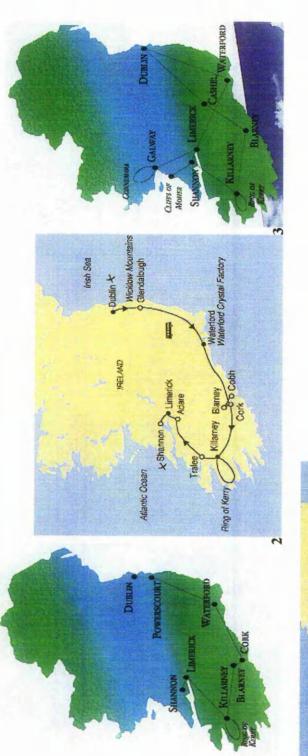
Finally,

3.1 Q. Can you recommend any colleagues or other professionals to me, who may be willing to participate in my research, either by giving their opinions or by answering questionnaires?

Thanks

Would you like a copy of my findings in due course?

SAMPLE OF TOUR ROUTES FOR INTERVIEWS - APRIL/ MAY 1999





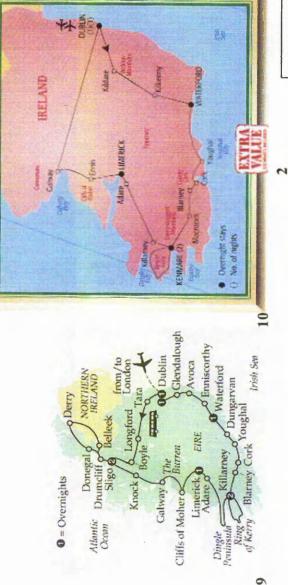




Centre for Tourism and Visitor Management, Nottingham Business School

Appendix 2: Tour Routes in Ireland (Images reproduced from leading tour operators' brochures 1999)

Centre for Tourism and Visitor Management, Nottingham Business School

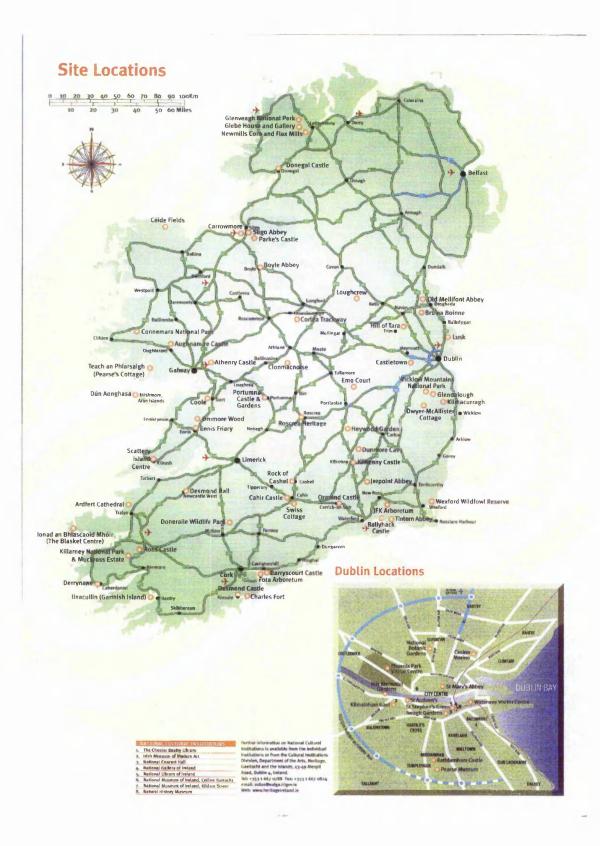




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Appendix 3: Heritage Sites in Ireland

(Reproduced from Dúcas (1999) <u>Heritage Sites of Ireland [pamphlet]</u>. Dublin, Department of the Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands



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Appendix 4

OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Recording devices

Behaviour in relation to situations and environments

- Seating plans: pre-coded behaviours in relation to different environmental situations
- Camera
- Journal notes

Social and cultural preferences in relation to specific cultural environments

- Camera (what to they take photos of and with whom?)
- Informal questioning

Influences that different information sources have on behaviour in particular environments

- Verbal record guides running commentary via audio tape and record behaviours on seating plans and in journal. *Culture packaged so as not to invite challenge? i.e. safe/familiar versions? Passive acceptance? Deeper experience from personal feel to commentary?*
- Authenticity behaviours in relation to authentic and inauthentic information/ environments. How do the majority and minority behave? *Negotiable concept, criteria can vary (Ryan, Golding)*.

Evening summing up of day's observations on audio-tape

Conceptual basis

Variables that influence tour quality. i.e. tour participant's values:

- Cultural and place information, guide providing knowledge and entertainment, mediator/ leader, affects how places are experienced especially in unstructured situation where cultural differences may be greatest (e.g. rural).
- Cultural experiences (origin?) determine expectations and therefore satisfaction.
- **Own character** (motivations, initiative, ability, effort, mitigate reduction in perceived quality, especially because of technical problems e.g. hotel book-out 1st and 2nd night).
- Group dynamics nature of personal travelling companions.

OBSERVATION SHOULD CHALLENGE RATHER THAN ENFORCE EXPECTATIONS.

The tour is part of a chain of experience

- Motivations/expectations informal questioning *Why did you choose this tour? Enjoying it so far?*
- Familiarality their background environment and experiences?

Conduct

Aim

- First become familiar with setting and define appropriate unobtrusive role.
- Initially wide range of information.
- Then focus.
- Informal conversations/casual questioning.

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Observations

Actors

- I.e. Representatives of social or cultural groups e.g. tour members, guide, tour operator, locals.
- Evidence of affiliation/status to identify or express individuality or group membership e.g. tags, flags, pins, badges.
- Evidence for the meaning of relationships with others from behavioural connections and separations through 4 senses and perceptual dimension.

Actions

- Itineraries' influence over participants' activities.
- Guide's influence over participants activities extent to which tour members appear to be attentive, features and places of interest, souvenirs.
- Photographic activities timing (group bonding), predominantly cultural or natural places, stereotypical scenes.

Contexts

• Different cultural perspectives - reactions to environments.

Settings

- Options provided by environment windows enable visual connection but tactile separation.
- Shape of coach seating arrangements corners are physically separate.
- Available space in coach.
- Group size relative to successful dissemination of information.

General

- *Participants' valuing cultural information:* paying attention to running commentary and/or scenery, note taking, checking guide books, annotating maps, asking guide questions.
- Guide is significant in providing information, and instrumental in affecting how places are experienced (integration or isolation): reactions to the guide pointing out features (internal and external), guide drawing attention to self, driver, tour members, commercial outlets, authenticity and relevance of information, degree of entertainment.
- *Effectiveness of the guide being greater in non-structured situations:* more attention paid to guide in rural areas? Does the guide act as leader or mediator in different situations and how do participants respond? Use and timing of music/audio tapes and responses to these.
- Significance of the itinerary in how it can influence learning: is more attention paid to certain types of features and landscapes?
- *Cultural expectations are significant in determining tourists' satisfactions:* Do certain nationalities verbally complain more? What do those who do not complain think about tour quality?
- Group dynamics, consumers' actions, and personal travelling companions influence satisfaction: record evidence of these.

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Appendix 5

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Profile of tour members

Participant 1 is travelling with her husband (Participant 2). They live in a small town, near Houston, Texas. Both retired in 1992. He used to work for Occidental Oil. She worked as a P.A. for 'a millionaire entrepreneur'.

Participant 3 is travelling in a party of four British women (Participant 4, Participant 5 and Participant 6). Three of these friends live in Hertfordshire, UK, while Participant 4 moved to Devon five years ago. They are probably in their late 50's or early 60's. Participant 4 works in a registry office.

Participant 7 is travelling alone. She lives in Atlanta, Georgia and recently lost her job as an accountant. She is probably in her early 40's.

Participant 8 is travelling with his wife (Participant 9). They live in Michigan, USA, although they previously lived in England for eight years. He is retired from Ford Motors.

Participant 10 is travelling with his mother (Participant 11). They live in Charlotte, North Carolina, USA. He is a criminal justice student and is probably in his early 20's. She works in telemarketing and is probably in her late 40's.

Participant 12 is travelling with her husband (Participant 13). They live in Woolaton, Nottinghamshire, UK. Both are retired. He used to 'train managers at Players'. She used to be a secretary at Players.

Participant 14 is travelling with her father (Participant 15) and her sister (Participant 16). They live in New Jersey, USA. Participant 14 is 28 years old and has worked for the same insurance company for 12 years. Her father is 56 years old and owns 'several car body shops'. His other daughter (Participant 16) is probably in her mid-20's

Participant 17 is travelling alone. She is a nurse practitioner, and probably in her mid-50's. She lives in a small town (pop.15, 000) in Massachusetts, USA.

Participant 18 is travelling with his wife (Participant 19), daughter (Participant 20), and son-in-law (Participant 21). Participant 18 retired from the army due to illness. Participants 20 and 21 are probably in their mid-late 20's. They all live near New York, USA.

Participant 22 is travelling with her sister (Participant 23) and mother (Participant 24). She works as a 'part-time nurse trainer', is pregnant, and probably in her mid-30's. Her sister is probably younger and her mother has severe arthritis and may be in her early 60's. They live in New Jersey, USA.

Participant 25 is travelling with her husband (Participant 26), who is visually impaired. They are retired from the 'Neon signs business'. They live in Perth, Australia.

Participant 27 is travelling with her female friend, Participant 28. She works as a travel agent. They are probably in their early 60's and live in California, USA.

Participant 29 is travelling with Participant 30. They are two male friends, and probably in their late 50's. They live in Brisbane, Australia.

Participant 31 is travelling with her husband (Participant 32). She is a secondary school teacher and is probably in her late 40's. They live in a town near Melbourne, Australia. Participant 32 is probably in his mid-50's.

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Appendix 6

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING FROM YOUR IRISH TOUR?

Hello and welcome to the Emerald Isle! My name is Tove and I am a researcher at the Nottingham Business School, England. I appreciate that you may be tired after your flight and certainly keen to get on with your tour - your time here is valuable! If you <u>can</u> spend a little time filling out this questionnaire, you will contribute towards my doctoral thesis that aims to help people like yourself get the tours <u>they</u> want. By completing this questionnaire, you will be helping me and helping to improve the quality of tours in the future. As I would like to include everyone, I need <u>your</u> views, and you can be sure that I will keep <u>everything</u> you tell me anonymous.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

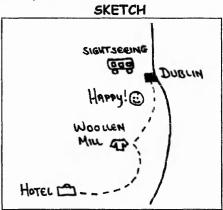
- Please complete your questionnaire as <u>soon</u> as you can, and if possible before you leave Dublin with your tour. This is important for my results, and <u>auarantees that I can enter your name for the Prize Draw for special Irish gifts</u>!
- Although I would like you to give me as much information as you can, it is important that you complete your questionnaire <u>alone</u>, using what you <u>already</u> know about the tour and Ireland. Please <u>do not</u> use new information (e.g. from brochures, guidebooks, other tour members, or your driver!).
- Remember you can always erase information if you think you have made a mistake.
- Please use the prepaid envelope to return your questionnaire to me. You may find it easiest to hand it to your hotel receptionist tonight and they can mail it for you. If you are in a party please use one envelope for each completed questionnaire.
- PLEASE COMPLETE PART ONE <u>FIRST</u>.

PART ONE - Drawing a sketch of your tour route

Don't worry, I am not interested in how well you can draw. I would simply like to know what interests you personally about this tour.

TIP - While you are following steps (1-5) below, you may find it helpful to look at this example of a sketch.

- Try to remember what you <u>already</u> know about your tour route. Do not be put off if this does not seem to be very much! <u>Think about what you</u> <u>expect to see and do and what you think will impress you</u>. You may find it useful to think about the different places you will visit and imagine travelling between them.
- 2) Then turn to PAGE 3. On the outline of Ireland, <u>draw a line that shows</u> <u>the approximate route you think your tour will take</u>. Do not be put off if it does not seem very good!
- 3) Fill in HIGHLIGHTS, ACTIVITIES, AND FEELINGS that you expect to have along the route. Do this by selecting SYMBOLS from PAGE 2 and if there are <u>other</u> examples you want to show, you could make up your own symbols. Draw the symbols approximately where you think they will be on your route.



- 4) <u>LABEL as many of the symbols</u> that you have drawn on your route as you can, by putting what they are called (e.g. 'Dublin'), what they are (e.g. 'woollen mill'), or the mood they show (e.g. 'happy). Please remember to label <u>all</u> of the symbols that you have made up yourself.
- 5) If you want to explain a place, an activity, or feelings in detail, you could use several symbols together.

REMEMBER, only use those symbols that show what is important to you!

PLEASE TURN OVER

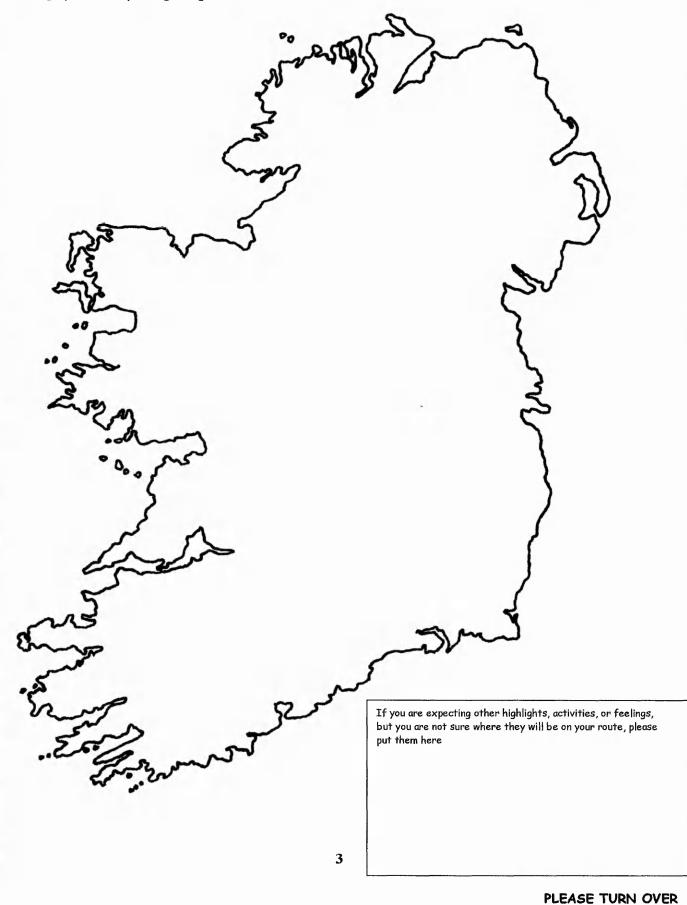
EXAMPLES OF SYMBOLS YOU CAN USE TO SHOW HIGHLIGHTS, ACTIVITIES, AND FEELINGS. OR MAKE UP YOUR OWN TO SHOW WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU!

as	AIRPORT	Ł	EXPENSIVE	THR	LIBRARY	\approx	RIVER
R	ANCIENT	Com D	FAMILIAR	-25	LIMESTONE	e	SAFE
	ART GALLERY	Ð	FAMILY/ANCESTORS	o"	LOCAL PEOPLE	2	SHOPPING
A	ARTIFICIAL/ FAKE	☆	FAMOUS PEOPLE	_	- MAJOR ROAD R	(gaa)	SIGHTSEEING
B	BEAUTIFUL SCENERY	100	FAMOUS WRITERS	29	MEETING LOCAL PEOPLE	Q	SHEEP
rs and	BOG OAK		FISHING	99	MEETING OTHER TOURISTS	Ċ	SPORTS GROUND
[LTL]	CASTLE		FOLKPARK	*	MEMORABLE PLACE	0	STABLES
¢	CATTLE	2	FOLLOWING TOUR ON MAP		MINOR ROAD	000	STONE WALLS
0	CELTIC ORIGINS	F	FRIENDLY	M	MODERN	G	THEATRE
†	CHURCH OR CATHEDRAL	÷	GARDENS	Q	MODERN HOUSES		TOUR ROUTE
	CITY		GOING TO PUB	1	MONASTERY	•	TOWN
CHINE .	CLEAN	9	GUIDE	M	MOUNTAINS	Т	TRADITIONAL
72	CLIFFS	5	HILLS	â	MUSEUM	\bigcirc	TRADITIONAL HOUSES
C	CROWDED		HISTORIC HOUSE	3	NEGATIVE FEELING - SPECIFY BORING, LONELY, SAD, TIRING ETC.	44	TREES
A	DANGEROUS	\heartsuit	HORSES	W MA	PEAT BOG	X	UNATTRACTIVE
$\mathbf{A}_{\mathbf{r}}$	DEER	\bigcirc	HOTEL	000	PEAT STACKS	υ	UNFRIENDLY
D	DIFFERENT		INDIFFERENT/ UNMEMORABLE	P	PERSONAL MEANING THAT I DO NOT WANT TO EXPRESS	R)	UNIVERSITY
Ô	DIRTY	r	INDUSTRY	0	PHOTOGRAPHS	\$	VALUE FOR MONEY
60	DISCOVERY	I	INTERESTING	4	PLAYING GOLF	5	VIKING ORIGINS
0	DISTILLERY	99	IRISH CABARET	0.0	POOR	0	VILLAGE
Ā	DRINKING	Î	IRISH CEILIDH	4	PORT	8	WEALTHY
8	DRIVER		IRISH CHINA FACTORY	0	POSITIVE FEELING - SPECIFY EXCITING, HAPPY, RELAXING, SOCIABLE ETC.	5	WOOLLEN MILL
×	EATING	W	IRISH CRYSTAL	-+++++	RAIL TRACK	4	WRITING JOURNAL
Ε	ЕМРТУ	69	JAUNTING CAR RIDE	FE	READING		WRITING POST CARDS
3	ESCAPE	\sim	LAKE	\heartsuit	RELATIONSHIPS		

PLEASE TURN OVER

WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING FROM YOUR IRISH TOUR?

Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you are expecting along the route



PART TWO Please complete the following questions

1. Thinking back to PART ONE, what were the sources of information you thought about as you filled in your sketch? (Please tick as many boxes as apply)

	Film/movie Irish people Novels Tourist board Other (please specify below)*	[]ı]5]9]13]17	Friends/relatives Maps Others in your party Travel agent]2]6]10]14	Mus Toui Trav	ebook ic v brochures vel programme on Radio]3]7]11]15	Internet Newspapers Tour documents Don't know	[[[]4]8]12]16
							*			•••••			
2.	What is your tou	ur r	refere	ence number? (You sho	uld [.]	find	this in t	your tour docume	nts,	please	specify below)*		
	*												
3.	Please give your tick as many bo;			asons for choosing a c oply)	oacl	h toi	ur rathe	r than any other	for	m of h	oliday in Ireland (pl	eas	e
	Always take coac	h ta	ours	[]1					Cc	omfort		r]z
	Good value for m			[]3							ion is provided	_]4
	Safety and secur			[]5						ciable		-]6
	Special health ne			[]7							straint]8
	To get ideas for Other (please sp	an i		ndent trip []9							e main highlights	_]10
							*			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
4.	Please give your	mo	uin rea	asons for choosing <u>this</u>	tou	r (p	lease tic	:k as many boxes	۵5 (apply)			
	Best highlights (e	2.0	most	well known)		Ε	Ъ	Chosen for me				г]2
				and motor coach)		Ĩ		Company was rec	omm	nended		-]4
	Compatible tour i					Ì		Experienced tour]6
	Fits available tim			le		ī					cludes many extras)]8
	High quality servi]9	Includes many hi			,	-]10
			ntary (e.g. on history/ lifestyle	es)]ո	Itinerary of spec				_]12
	Itinerary was rea					_]13	Leisurely itinerar				Ē	-
	Seems fun					_]15	To see 'real' Ire				-]16
	Toured with this	con	npany	before		-]17	Varied itinerary				-]18
	Well organised to					-]19	Will visit particul	ar pl	ace/eve	ent]20
	Other (please sp		y belo	ow)*		Ľ]21	·	·			-	

*_____

5. Please give your main reasons for choosing Ireland as your tour destination (please tick as many boxes as apply)

	Ancestry Beautiful scenery Films/movies (about Ireland) Good exchange rate Irish food/drink Memorable experience Safe and secure country Relax and get away from it all Traditional music Visit friends/relatives	[]1 []3 []5 []7 []9 []11 []13 []15 []17 []19		'Dif1 Frier Inte Lege Muse Suite Rela: Unsp	feren ndly k restin nd, re zums, able t xed p noilt e	t' coun ocal pe ng histo omance galleri ouring ace of nvironi	ople pry e, and mystery es, theatre, or literary places country life]2]4]6]10]12]14]16]18]20
				*					
6.	Who are your travelling compo	nions on	<u>this</u> tour? Ple	ease tick as many l	boxe	s as ap	oply)		
	None []1 Friend(s) []4			artner se specify below)*	[]	2	Relative(s)	I	[] 3
				*					
7.	What is the total number trav	-		• party, including y	ourse	:lf? (Pl	ease specify below)*		
8.	Thinking back, how many coac	h tours l	nave you been	on, <u>excluding</u> this	; one	? (Plea	se tick one box)		
	O []1	1-3	[]2		4-7	[] ₃	8+	[]4
9.	Thinking back, where have yo	u travelle	ed <u>before this</u>	<u>s tour</u> ? (Please ticl	k as	many t	ooxes as apply)		
	Within your own country To intercontinental countries	[]1 []3					To neighbouring countries Other (please state below)*]2]4
				*					
10	. Which statement describes w	nat you l	ike to do on ł	noliday best? (Plea	se ti	ck one	box)		
	I mainly like to stay close to the I mainly like to socialise, and wh I mainly like to explore alone or Other (please state below)*	en I go o	ut I like to be		[[]i]2]3]4			
				*					

----2

11.	Thinking of	your <u>hor</u>	<u>ne</u> , ho	w wou	ld you	ı descri	ibe you	ır <u>r</u>	<u>nain</u>	place of	reside	ence? (Please tick one box)			
	City [] Village []					Town Country		[[-				Suburb Other (please specify b	elow)*]3]6
									*							
12.	When you a	re at ho	me, w	hich k	inds o	of trans	port d	lo y	vou <u>M</u>	NEVER u	se? (Pla	ease ti	ck as many boxes as ap	oply)		
	Walk []1 Bus []5		Cycle Metro	or sub		[]2 []6			Train	1	[]7		Car (passenger) Other (please state b		[]4]8
13.	What is you	r nation	ality?	(Please	e tick	as mai	ny box	es								
	AUS []ı	CA	[]2	GB	[]3	NZ	[]4		SA	[]5	USA	[]6	Other (please state b	oelow)*	[]7
									*							
15.	specify below * What is you															
	Female []]1					l	Mal	e	[]2						
16.	What is you	r age in	years	? (Plea	ase ti	ick one	box)									
	Up to 18 [45-54 []1]5		-		[]² []6					25-34 65-74			35-44 74+	-]4]8
	REMEMBER	to fill	in yo	ur nai	ne a	nd add	ress 1	for	the	e Prize	Draw!					
	Mr/Mrs/Ms	s/Other	(please	specit	fy)			F	ull n	ame						
	Street							** *** **	.Tow	in/Post to	own			•••••		
	County/Sto	1te							.Post	r/Zip cod	e					
	Country															

Sec. 471. " ...

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Is anything else you would like to tell me? If so, please write it on the back of this page. <u>Please mail your</u> <u>questionnaire today</u>, and keep your Prize Draw voucher and pencil!

THANK YOU FOR BEING SO HELPFUL AND HAVE A GOOD TOUR!

Appendix 7

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

HOW WAS YOUR IRISH TOUR?

HELLO! My name is Tove and I am a researcher at the Nottingham Business School, England. I hope that you had a <u>areat</u> time in Ireland and you really enjoyed your tour. I appreciate that you may be thinking about your journey home, joining another tour, or visiting friends or relatives. If you <u>can</u> find the time to complete this questionnaire on what your tour was <u>really like</u>, you will contribute towards my doctoral thesis that aims to help people get the tours <u>they</u> want. This is important <u>whether or not</u> you had the holiday of your dreams, because it means that I will be able to include <u>everyone's</u> views. By completing this questionnaire, you will be helping me to finish my thesis and helping to improve the quality of tours in the future. You can be sure that I will keep everything you tell me anonymous and I will not be contacting you again, unless you are one of the lucky Prize Draw winners!

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

- Please complete your questionnaire as <u>soon</u> as you can. This is important for my results, and <u>auarantees</u> that I can enter your name again for the Prize Draw for <u>special Irish gifts!</u>
- Although I would like you to give me as much information as you can, it is important that you complete your questionnaire <u>alone</u>, using only what you <u>remember</u> about your tour and about Ireland. Please <u>do not</u> use new information (e.g. from brochures, guidebooks, maps, or friends!).
- Remember you can always erase information if you think you have made a mistake.
- Please use the prepaid envelope to return your questionnaire to me.
- PLEASE COMPLETE PART ONE FIRST.

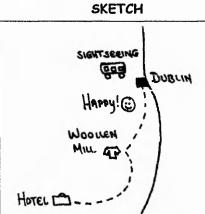
PART ONE - Drawing a sketch of your tour route

Don't worry, I am not interested in how well you can draw. I would simply like to know what interested <u>you</u> personally about your tour.

TIP - While you are following steps (1-5) below, you may find it helpful to look at this example of a sketch.

- Try to remember all you can about your tour route. Do not be put off if this does not seem to be very much! <u>Think about what you saw and did</u> <u>and what impressed you</u>. You may find it useful to think about the different places you visited and imagine travelling between them.
- 2) Then turn to PAGE 3. On the outline of Ireland, <u>draw a line that shows</u> <u>the approximate route you think your tour took</u>. Do not be put off if it does not seem very good!
- 3) Fill in HIGHLIGHTS. ACTIVITIES. AND FEELINGS that you had along the route. Do this by selecting SYMBOLS from PAGE 2 and if there are other examples you want to show, you could make up your own symbols. Draw the symbols approximately where you think they were on your route.
- 4) <u>LABEL as many of the symbols</u> that you have drawn on your route as you can, by putting what they are called (e.g. 'Dublin'), what they are (e.g. 'woollen mill'), or the mood they show (e.g. 'happy'). Please remember to label <u>all</u> of the symbols that you have made up yourself.
- 5) To explain a place, activity or feeling in detail, you could use several symbols together.

REMEMBER, only use those symbols that show what is important to you!



PLEASE TURN OVER

EXAMPLES OF SYMBOLS YOU CAN USE TO SHOW HIGHLIGHTS, ACTIVITIES, AND FEELINGS. OR MAKE UP YOUR OWN TO SHOW WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU!

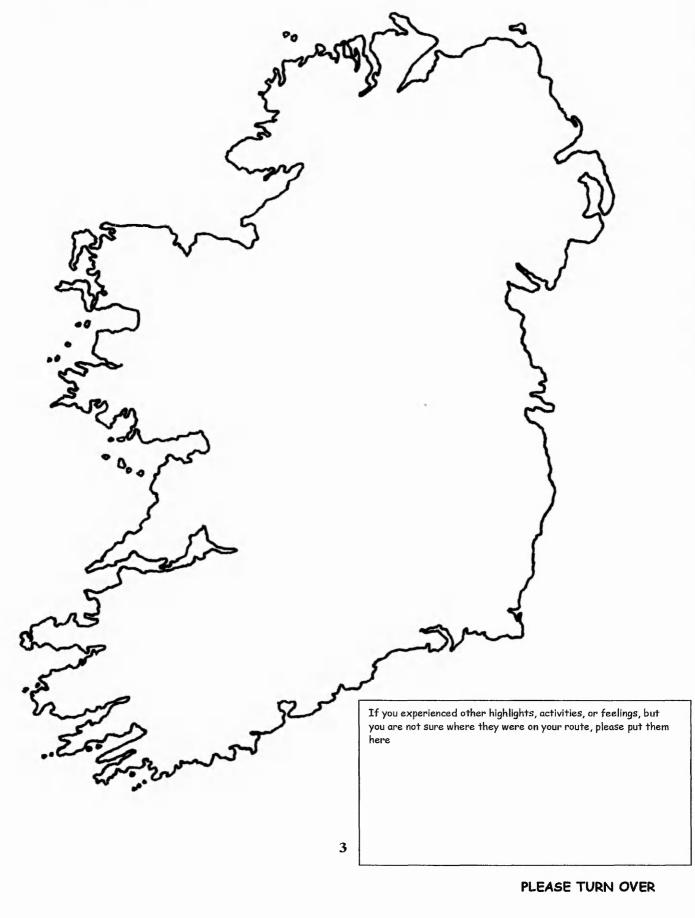
A	AIRPORT	Ł	EXPENSIVE		LIBRARY	~ ~	RIVER
m	ANCIENT	-	FAMILIAR			\approx	
20	MONUMENT	(agent)	LUMFTUK	-72-	LIMESTONE	F	SAFE
₫	ART GALLERY	•	FAMILY/ANCESTORS	, Ç	LOCAL PEOPLE	Ľ	SHOPPING
A	ARTIFICIAL/ FAKE		FAMOUS PEOPLE		MAJOR ROAD	विषव	SIGHTSEEING
B	BEAUTIFUL SCENERY	100	FAMOUS WRITERS	f f	MEETING LOCAL PEOPLE	Q	SHEEP
13	BOG OAK	00	FISHING	99	MEETING OTHER TOURISTS	Ċ	SPORTS GROUND
Eng	CASTLE	1	FOLKPARK	*	MEMORABLE PLACE	0	STABLES
¢	CATTLE	2	FOLLOWING TOUR ON MAP		MINOR ROAD	000	STONE WALLS
6	CELTIC ORIGINS	F	FRIENDLY	Μ	MODERN	G	THEATRE
	CHURCH OR CATHEDRAL	æ	GARDENS	Q	MODERN HOUSES		TOUR ROUTE
-	CITY		GOING TO PUB	<u>Î</u>	MONASTERY	٠	TOWN
and a	CLEAN	Ą	GUIDE	M	MOUNTAINS	Т	TRADITIONAL
71	CLIFFS		HILLS	â	MUSEUM		TRADITIONAL HOUSES
С	CROWDED		HISTORIC HOUSE		NEGATIVE FEELING - SPECIFY BORING, LONELY, SAD, TIRING ETC.	44	TREES
A	DANGEROUS	\heartsuit	HORSES	W W/	PEAT BOG	X	UNATTRACTIVE
\forall	DEER	0	HOTEL	DON	PEAT STACKS	U	UNFRIENDLY
Ð	DIFFERENT	e	INDIFFERENT/ UNMEMORABLE	p	PERSONAL MEANING THAT I DO NOT WANT TO EXPRESS	R	UNIVERSITY
Ô,	DIRTY	r	INDUSTRY	0	PHOTOGRAPHS	\$	VALUE FOR MONEY
60	DISCOVERY	I	INTERESTING	P	PLAYING GOLF	5	VIKING ORIGINS
	DISTILLERY	PQ	IRISH CABARET	0.0	POOR	0	VILLAGE
Ă	DRINKING	Å	IRISH CEILIDH	A	PORT	47	WEALTHY
S .	DRIVER		IRISH CHINA FACTORY	9	POSITIVE FEELING - SPECIFY EXCITING, HAPPY, RELAXING, SOCIABLE ETC.	₹ 5	WOOLLEN MILL
*	EATING	33	IRISH CRYSTAL	-+++++	RAIL TRACK	1	WRITING JOURNAL
Εŧ	Емрту	60	JAUNTING CAR RIDE	EE	READING		WRITING POST CARDS
س ا	ESCAPE	\sim	LAKE	\heartsuit	RELATIONSHIPS		

2

PLEASE TURN OVER

HOW WAS YOUR IRISH TOUR?

Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you had along the route



PART TWO Please complete the following questions

Tour with the same company again $[]_3$

1.	Thinking back to PART ONE, what were the sources of information you thought about as you filled in your sketch?
	(Please tick as many boxes as apply)

Places where we []13 Residents []14 Tour brochures []15 Tour documents [stopped Tour guide []17 Tourist board []18 Travel agent []19 Travel programme on [View from the []21 Don't know []22 Other (please []23 coach *				
Place's where we []:3 Residents []:4 Tour brochures []:5 Tour document's [] stopped Tour guide []:7 Tourist board []:8 Travel agent []:9 Travel programme on [TV/Radio View from the []:1 Don't know []:2 Other (please []:3 Tour document's []:5 Tour document's []:6 View from the []:1 Don't know []:2 Other (please []:2:3 Travel programme on [TV/Radio coach * * * * 2. Who was your tour operator? (Please tick one box) # * Barleycorn []:1 Brendan []:2 Brian Moore []:3 CIE [Collette []:5 Cosmos []:6 Globus []:7 Insight []:5 Saga []:9 Shamrock []:0 Sunquest []:1 Trafalgar []:5 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * * *]]]8
stopped Tour guide []17 Tourist board []18 Travel agent []19 Travel programme on [TV/Radio View from the []21 Don't know []22 Other (please []23 coach *]]]12
Tour guide []17 Tourist board []18 Travel agent []19 Travel programme on [TV/Radio View from the []21 Don't know []22 Other (please []23 coach specify below)* * * * 2. Who was your tour operator? (Please tick one box) * * * Barleycorn []1 Brendan []2 Brian Moore []3 CIE [Collette []5 Cosmos []6 Globus []7 Insight [Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * * * * 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box)]]]16
View from the []21 Don't know []22 Other (please []23 coach specify below)* *				
coach specify below)* * 2. Who was your tour operator? (Please tick one box) Barleycorn []1 Brendan []2 Brian Moore []3 CIE [Collette []5 Cosmos []6 Globus []7 Insight [Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [Other (please []13 specify below)* *]]]20
 2. Who was your tour operator? (Please tick one box) Barleycorn []1 Brendan []2 Brian Moore []3 CIE [Collette []5 Cosmos []6 Globus []7 Insight [Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [Other (please []13 specify below)* *				
Barleycorn []1 Brendan []2 Brian Moore []3 CIE [Collette []5 Cosmos []6 Globus []7 Insight [Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [Other (please []13 specify below)* * * * 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * * * 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box) How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box)	•••		•••	
Collette []5 Cosmos []6 Globus []7 Insight [Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [Other (please []13 specify below)* 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box)				
Saga []9 Shamrock []10 Sunquest []11 Trafalgar [Other (please []13 specify below)* 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* *]]]4
Other (please []13 specify below)* 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* *]]]8
 specify below)* *]]]12
 *				
 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box) 				
 3. What was the name or reference number of your tour? (Please specify below)* * 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box) 				
* 4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box)				
4. How would you rate your tour overall? (Please tick one box)				
Very poor []1 Poor []2 OK []3 Good []4 Very good []5 Don't know				
]]] 6
5. How did your tour compare to how you expected it would be? (Please tick one box)				
Below []1 Matched []2 Exceeded []3 Don't know [-	-	-	٦.
Below []1 Matched []2 Exceeded []3 Don't know [expectations expectations expectations	J	-	ļ] 4
6. Which of the following would you do? (Please tick as many boxes as apply)				
Recommend the same itinerary []: Recommend the same tour company]	-		1.

Visit Ireland independently (e.g. tour by car) []4

7. What did your tour <u>NOT</u> provide sufficiently? (Please tick as many boxes as apply)

Authentic/'real' Ireland	Ε]1	Best highlights (e.g. most well known)	ſ]2
Comfort (e.g. good hotels and motor coach)	Ĩ] 3	Compatible tour members	Ē	
Experienced tour guide	Ε]5	Good organisation/structure	Ĩ]6
Good value for money	Ε]7	High quality service	Γ]8
Highlights]]9	Humorous commentary	Ĩ]10
Ideas for independent travel	[]11	Informative commentary (e.g. on history/lifestyles)	Ē]12
Provision for special needs (e.g. diet, time to rest)]]13	Safety and security	Ī]14
Sociable atmosphere	[]15	Solutions for practical problems (e.g. to change undesirable hotel room, or to avoid traffic)	[]16
Special interest in the itinerary	Ε]17	Time at places]]18
Variation in the itinerary	[]19	Visits to special places/events	Ē]20
Other (please specify below)*]]21			-

8. Which of the following did you experience in Ireland? (Please tick as many boxes as apply)

Ancestry	[]1	A 'different' county	[]2
A memorable experience	I]з	A special place or event	J]4
Beautiful scenery	I]5	Films/movies locations or characters	Ţ]6
Friendly local people	I]7	Good exchange rate	Ĩ]8
Interesting history	[]9	Irish food/drink	Ī]10
Legend, romance, and mystery	I]11	Museums, galleries, theatre, or literary places]]12
Relaxation and getting away from it all	Ι]13	Relaxed pace of life]]14
Safety and security	Ε]15	Suitable touring country	Ē]16
Traditional music	Γ]17	Unspoilt environment	Ĩ]18
Meeting friends/relatives	Ι] 19	Other (please specify below)*]]20

*

9. Thinking back, what did you mainly photograph and/or buy postcards of? (Please tick as many boxes as apply)

City scenes (e.g. people, streets and buildings) Natural scenery (mostly without people) Your guide/driver with the coach Your own party in front of scenic views or special buildings Traditional scenes (e.g. Stone houses and rural landscapes) Views from the coach	נ נ נ]1]3]5]7]9]11	Historic buildings (e.g. castles, churches, monuments) Places associated with famous people or films/ movies Yourself in front of scenic views or special buildings Yourself with other tour members in front of scenic views or special buildings Views from designated 'photo-stops' Other (please state below)*	[[[]2]4]6]8]10
views from the coach	L	j 11	Other (please state below)^	L]12

10. How would you rate the weather during your tour? (Please tick one box)

Poor most or all of the time Other (please specify below)*	-	-	OK	Ľ]2	Good most or all of the time	[] 3

5

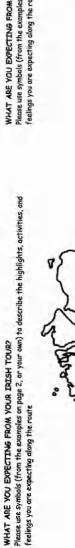
REMEMBER to fill in your name and address for the Prize Draw!

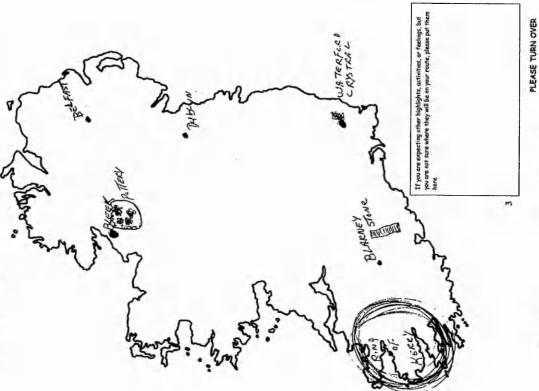
Mr/Mrs/Ms/Other (please specify)	Full name
Street	Town/Post town
County/State	"Post/Zip code
Country	

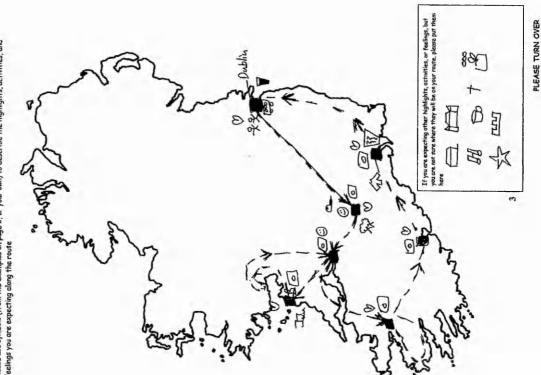
Is anything else you would like to tell me? If so, please write it below. <u>Please mail your questionnaire within</u> two days, and keep your Prize Draw voucher.

Thank you for being so helpful and good luck with the Prize Draw!

WITH BEST WISHES FROM TOVE

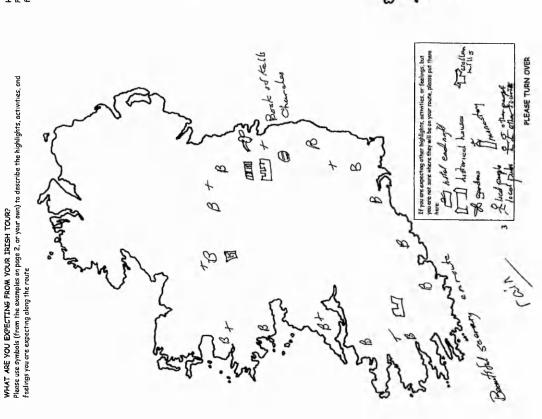




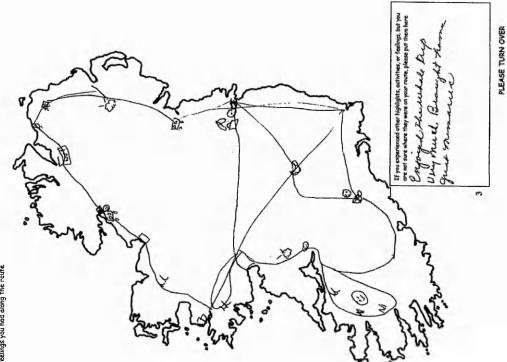


WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING FROM YOUR IXISH TOUR? Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you are expecting along the route

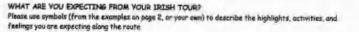
Appendix 8: Route Maps depicting Points

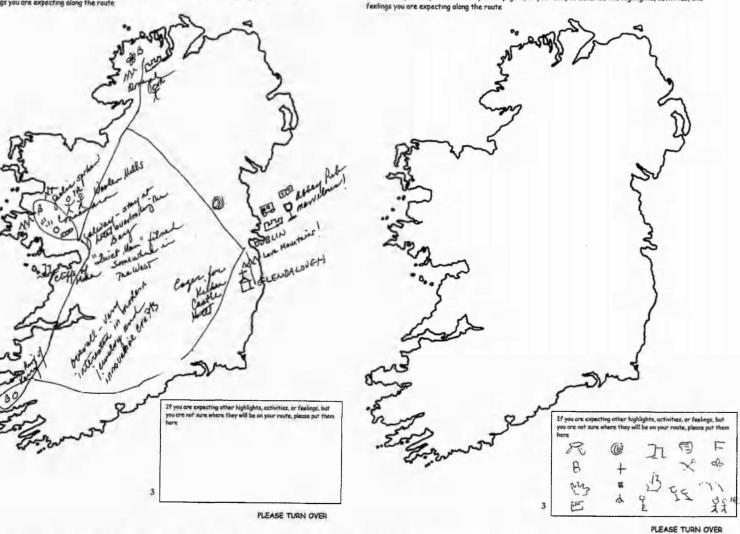


HOW WAS YOUR IDISH TOUR? Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you had along the route



Appendix 9: Route Maps depicting Lines

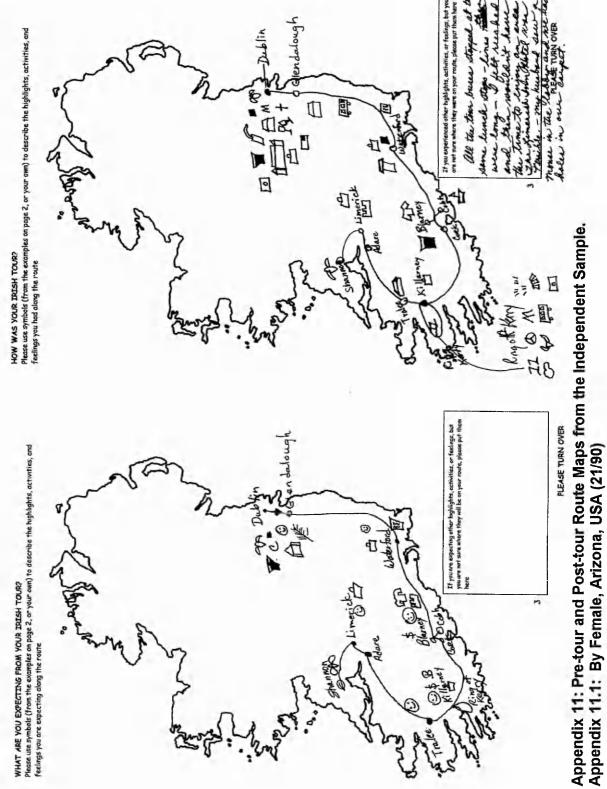


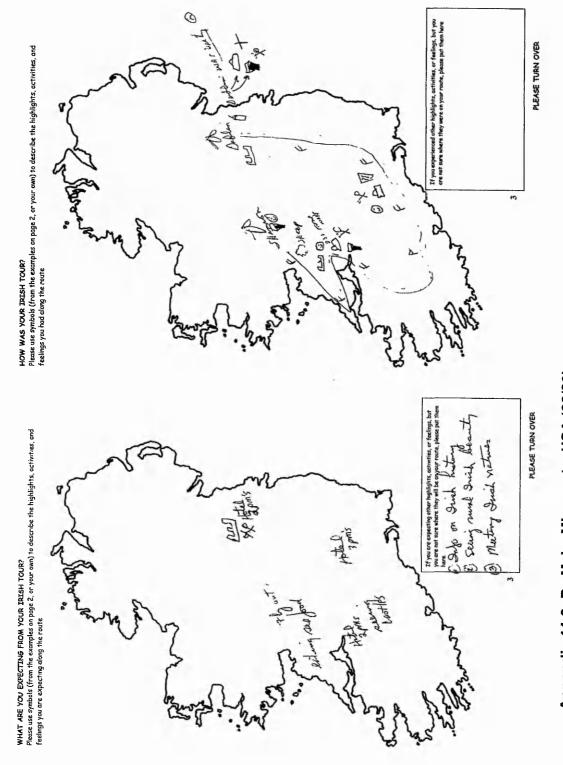


WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING FROM YOUR IRISH TOUR?

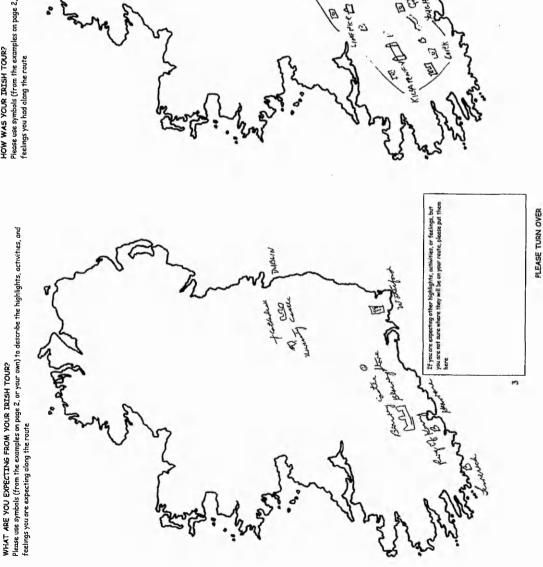
Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and

Appendix 10: Route Maps depicting Areas (left) and Non-spatial Representations (right)

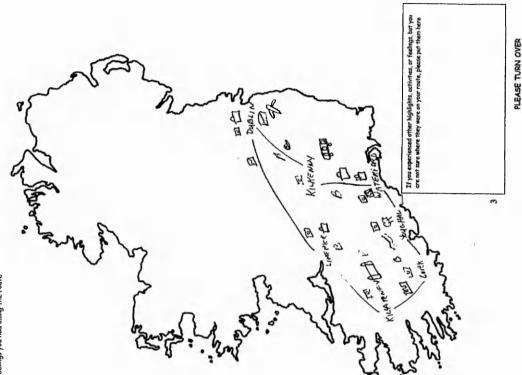




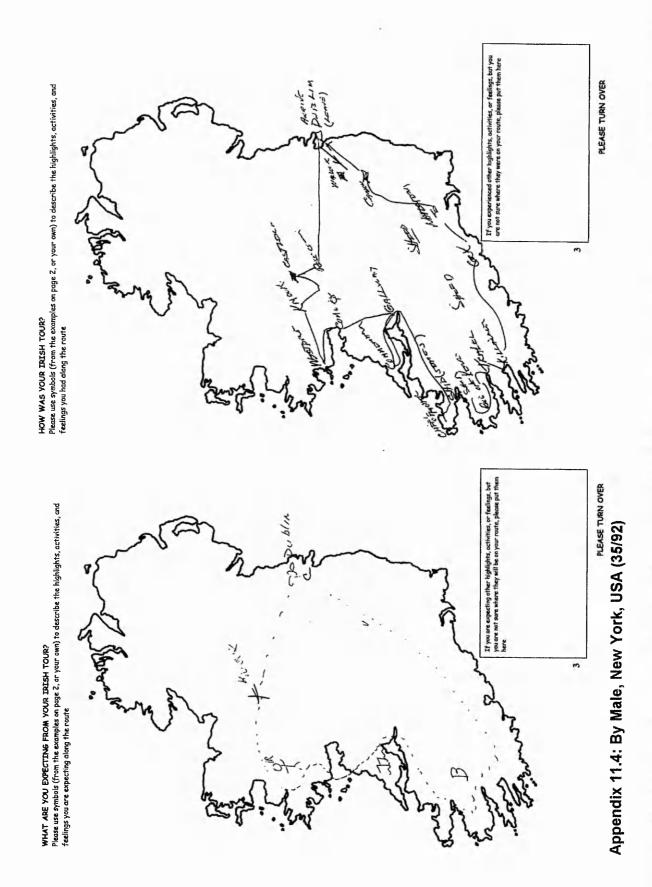
Appendix 11.2: By Male, Minnesota, USA (22/89)

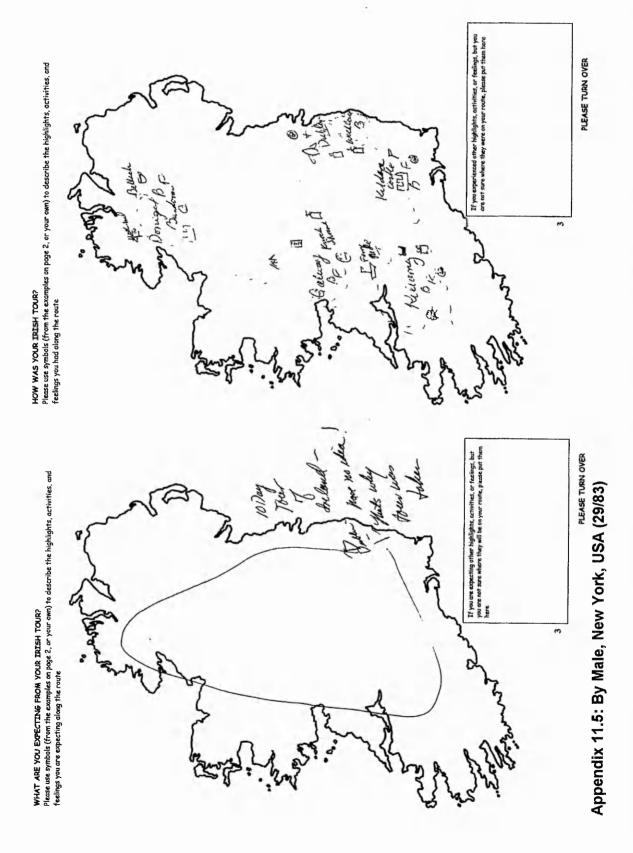




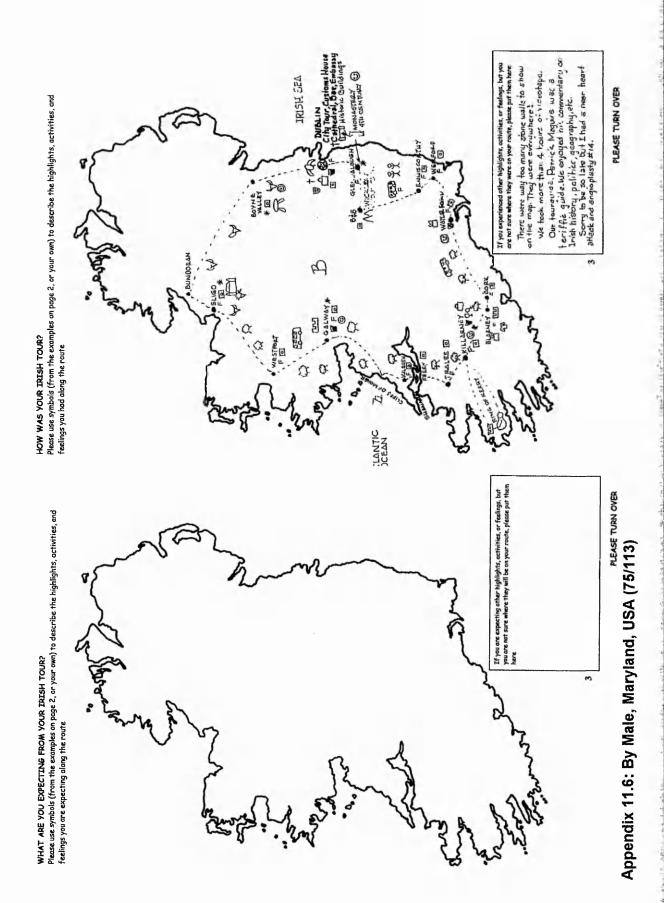


Appendix 11.3: By Female, California, USA (24/85)

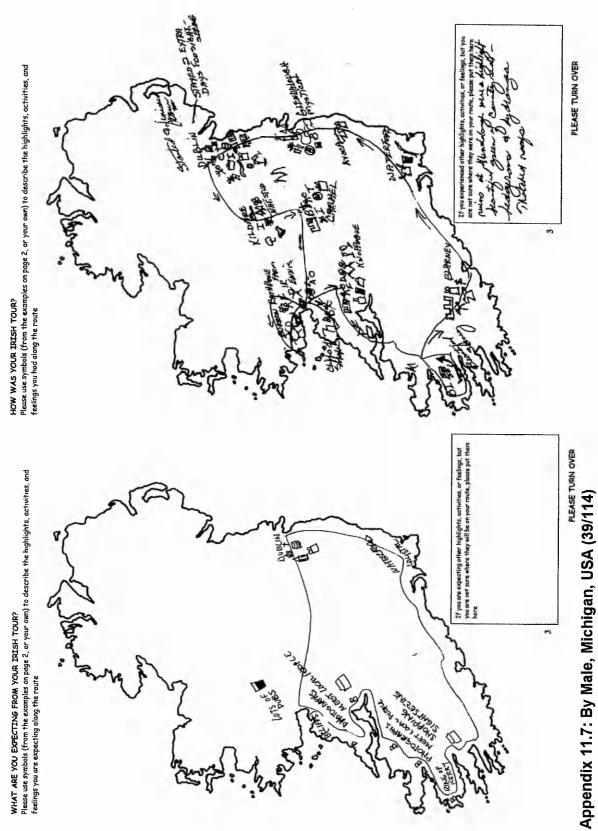


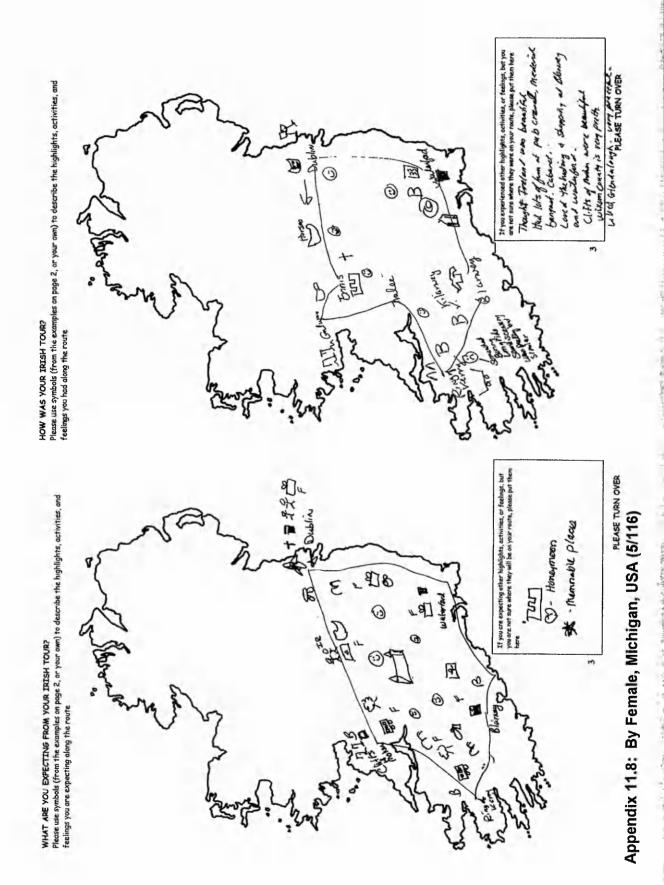


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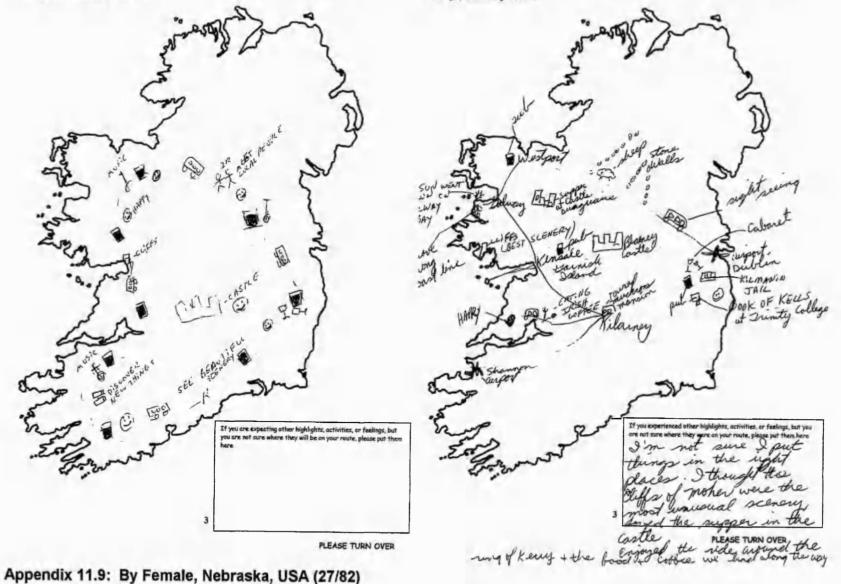


WHAT ARE YOU EXPECTING FROM YOUR IRISH TOUR?

Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you are expecting along the route

HOW WAS YOUR IRISH TOUR?

Please use symbols (from the examples on page 2, or your own) to describe the highlights, activities, and feelings you had along the naute



Reference number	Туре	Reason for elimination
1	Pre-tour	Self-drive
2	Pre-tour	Self-drive
9	Pre-tour	Completed post-tour
17	Pre-tour	Northern Ireland Only
18	Pre-tour	Northern Ireland Only
23	Pre-tour	Northern Ireland Only
65	Pre-tour	Completed post-tour
67	Pre-tour	Return visit
72	Pre-tour	Copied map
79	Pre-tour	Completed post-tour
80	Pre-tour	Completed post-tour
84	Post-tour	Northern Ireland Only
88	Post-tour	Northern Ireland Only
105	Post-tour	Self-drive
106	Post-tour	Self-drive
107	Post-tour	Did not complete
109	Post-tour	Northern Ireland Only
120	Pre-tour	Completed post-tour

Appendix 12: Reasons for Eliminating Questionnaires from the Analyses

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Symbol	Pre-tour		Post-tour	
	N ¹	Sum ²	N	Sum
Airport	29	38	29	43
Ancient monument	12	14	7	13
Art gallery	2	2	3	3
Artificial	3	4	3	3
Bay	1	2	3	3
Boat or ferry ride			6	9
Beautiful	20	53	27	89
Beautiful in the West	20	50	24	66
Bog oak	1	1	1	1
Book of Kells	5	5	4	4
Castle	31	59	45	118
Cattle	1	1	10	17
Celtic origins	2	2	13	14
Clean	2	3	10	16
Cliffs	23	35	35	56
Coastal views	1	1	1	1
Crowded	7	8	14	17
Culture	5	7	4	4
Dangerous			1	1
Deer	1	1	4	4
Different	2	4	6	6
Dirty			4	7
Discover	3	4		
Distillery or brewery	7	8	17	19
Drinking	5	6	9	14
Coach driver			12	23
Eating	10	19	17	42
Escape			6	7
Expensive	2	2	7	7
Family	8	15	10	19
Famous people	7	8	9	10
Famous writers	8	13	6	13
Farmland	1	1	-	
Film location	_		3	3
Fishing	1	1		
Folk-park or farm	5	16	12	14
Following the route on a map	4	4	6	9
Friendly	16	43	29	98
Gardens	4	6	13	20
Going to the pub	18	32	40	86
Gaelic language	1	1	4	4
Green valleys	1	1		
Tour guide	1	4	19	32
Hills	5	7	1	1

Appendix 13: Case Summaries of Symbols from the Route Maps

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¹ N=number of questionnaires displaying this symbol
 ² Sum=total number of symbols used

Historic building	7	10	20	35
Horses	8	10	7	9
Hotel	14	34	35	94
Indifferent			9	19
Industry			6	9
Interesting	8	21	14	43
Irish cabaret or banquet	11	14	26	36
Irish ceilidh	5	6	13	17
Irish china	18	21	24	27
Irish crystal	26	33	40	49
Irish history	6	10	4	4
Irish lace	1	1		
Irish music	4	10	4	4
Jaunting car ride	3	3	10	12
Kissing the Blarney stone	6	7	1	1
Lake	5	7	19	22
Library	9	10	19 7	22 9
Limestone	1	10		3
	9		1	
Seeing local people	9	21	14	14
Marble factory	14	10	3	3
Meeting local people	14	16	10	14
Meeting other tourists	7	10	9	10
Memorable experience	9	21	22	89
Modern			3	4
Modern houses			4	6
Moon			1	3
Mountains	11	27	23	39
Museum	7	11	7	9
National boundary			1	4
Negative feeling	3	5	26	60
Peat bog	1	1	12	16
Peat stacks			6	6
Photography	17	56	20	114
Place	44	371	58	736
Playing golf	1	1	3	3
Poor	1	1	1	1
Port	3	3	16	23
Positive feeling	24	84	39	207
Rain	1	1	3	4
Rainbows	-	-	4	6
Reading			3	3
Relationship	4	12	5 7	10
Ring of Kerry	28	41	49	85
River	3	3	49 9	13
Road	3 29	3 35		13 37
			30	
Sacred sites	25	52	35	91
Safe	2	3	3	4
Scenery	4	5	6	9
Sea	1.1	~ 4	1	3
Shopping	11	24	33	58

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Sightseeing	20	37	26	50
Sheep	6	10	24	58
Stud farm or stables	2	3	12	17
Stone walls	5	7	16	26
Theatre	1	1	12	13
Tour route	25	26	35	35
Traditional	6	9	4	6
Traditional houses	8	11	6	7
Trees	3	3	4	7
Unattractive			4	4
University	13	16	12	13
Value for money	5	6	9	12
Viking	5	5	7	7
Waves	1	2		
Wealthy			1	1
Woollen mill	15	20	35	45
Writing a journal	2	3	4	6
Writing postcards	6	7	10	12
Unidentified symbols	11	16	20	45
Making contact with the researcher	10	10	14	16

THE WAR

Watch this space: Observing patterns of tourist behaviour on a cultural tour

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Abstract

This paper presents findings from participant observation conducted during a seven-day escorted cultural 'highlights' tour of Eire. Environmental psychology provides the conceptual basis for this study and for the ongoing doctoral project of which it forms a part, and seeks to understand tour members' experiences of cultural tour routes. This framework has enabled the study of interactions between tourists' spatial behaviour and their touring environments. Participant observation has rarely been used as a part of an academic study on an escorted tour (Quiroga, 1990; Schmidt, 1975; Schuchat, 1983), seldom on a tour of this duration (Gorman, 1979), and never on a tour with a predominantly cultural itinerary within a single destination. This empirical research therefore provides a unique source from this industry segment, whose market is international and unfamiliar with their cultural destination. Analysis of spatial activity on-tour has demonstrated strong cohesion between pre-defined travelling companions, but which is absent between affinity groups. This is not inconsistent with motivation studies that have shown social interaction to be supplementary to the acquisition of knowledge on sightseeing tours (Duke and Persia, 1996; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola, 1991; Geva and Goldman, 1991; Quiroga, 1990). However, it questions the exact nature of the social role of tour groups, and could imply that new acquaintances merely replace the function performed by others in 'every day life' (c.f. Schmidt, 1975; Schuchat, 1983). In seeking to understand tour satisfaction, the terms 'group dynamics' and 'group formation' are overly simplistic, and the social interactions performed while touring require greater scrutiny (c.f. Duke and Persia, 1996; Gorman, 1979; Quiroga, 1990). By developing a conceptual structure for observing and analysing tour participants and their settings, this study has found that individual social contexts, notably the size and nature of pre-existing affinities, appear to influence spatial behaviour on tour. The desire for social stability ontour compensates for the constantly changing, unfamiliar external environment.

Background

This paper forms part of ongoing Ph.D. doctoral research which is seeking to enhance understanding of the dynamic experience of touring from a customer centred perspective by examining the interactions between tourists, touring environments, and cultural destinations, specifically cultural tour routes. One of the main questions posed by this thesis, is the extent to which generic 'types' of tour participant can be identified from their spatial preferences and experiences. This extends previous work indicting that tour participants can be grouped according to their social and environmental preferences, and this can predict the extent of their spatial learning of a destination (Beck and Wood, 1976). This paper discusses this issue, by reference to empirical research recently conducted by this writer. This sought, through participant observation of tour members on a seven-day escorted cultural tour of Eire, to identify the degree to which, if any, patterns of spatial behaviour could be identified. It further aimed to explore whether similar types of *behaviour* might correspond to participants with other similar *characteristics*, such as age, gender, or nationality, or to the nature and size of their pre-determined tour affinities (i.e. travelling companions).

A combination of judgement and convenience-based sampling was used to select a cultural destination from the wide range available. Eire was chosen because it represents a diverse cultural environment that includes both 'high' and 'popular' elements (c.f. Richards, 1996). In addition, selecting a tour consisting of single rather than multiple destinations would delimit the range of potential variables affecting tour participants' behaviour. As a country in rapid economic transition, Eire is especially interesting and may present a conflict between the promotion and expectation of traditional images and the reality experienced by tourists.

Having identified a suitable destination from which the research population, the tour participants, could be sampled, the next stage in the sampling process was to identify the sampling frame from which to select a tour (McDaniel and Gates, 1993). Principal tour operators and product listings offering itineraries to Eire's most visited cultural and natural attractions were identified from promotional literature produced by the National Tourist Office, Bord Failte, national and international operators. The aim was to select a cultural tour of average quality and value that would be representative of the product as a whole, and attract an international market that had not previously experienced this destination directly. For the purpose of this research, product quality was defined by the number and popularity of cultural and scenic attractions included in the overall price, together with the standard of accommodation offered. Many of the tours were geographically confined to the south of the country and displayed similar tour circuit patterns, a feature noted elsewhere (Pearce, 1989). Organised tours provide safety and convenience, and therefore tend to attract people who are visiting culturally and physically unfamiliar environments. It could be assumed, therefore, that these tours would predominantly consist of first-time visitors (Quiroga, 1990). A tour's duration could be another influential factor and it seemed a relatively short itinerary of between four to ten days would be less likely to attract repeat visitors, who may opt for longer and less well known tour routes instead¹.

The scheduled departure, considered to be average in terms of quality and value for money and selected for this study, was a seven-day tour, operated by *Insight*. This included many of Eire's top attractions, such as Dublin, the Wicklow Mountains, Glendalough, Avoca (or 'Ballykissangel'), Waterford and the Crystal Factory, Cork, Blarney Castle, Ring of Kerry, Tralee, the Cliffs of Moher and the Burren, Limerick and Bunratty Folk-park.

The participants included a guide, a driver, this researcher, and thirty-two other tour members: 18% UK; 22% AUS; 67% USA. These figures are consistent with the statistics for escorted coach tour passengers arriving at Dublin Airport in 1998, where 10% UK; 10% Other non-European; 65% USA (Lynch, 1999), and can therefore be considered representative of the total research population in this study

Observing participants

Observational techniques were first employed in leisure research over sixty years ago. Before this, anthropologists used observation to analyse social interactions and cultural differences. The approach became particularly endorsed in cross-cultural research in psychology (Seaton, 1997) and Hall's classic description of how people use space *The Hidden Dimension*, revealed the importance of the spatial dimension in human communication (Hall, 1966).

Behavioural observation generates qualitative descriptions, and the basic tenet of qualitative research is that theory develops from the observation of the actions of those under study (Jorgensen, 1989). However, this implicit and empathetic approach has resulted in a general paucity of standards for methodological procedures and theoretical frameworks for interpreting observations. Much has been done to redress the balance in the field of Environmental Psychology, and the method followed here has been principally developed to assist successful environmental design (e.g. Zeisel, 1990). This focuses upon individuals' uses of space, and the influences that environmental factors have, by observing both behaviours and their physical traces *(ibid)*.

In tourism alone, observation consists of a range of techniques including the unstructured, structured, and electronic recording of behaviours. These are most frequently used to evaluate the on-site activities of visitors, but are often directed towards gross physical parameters, such as visitor flow patterns, rather than to understanding the nuances that users of a setting feel (Pearce, 1988). As a methodology, participant observation provides direct experiential and observational access to the insider's 'world of meaning', and the access it provides to emotional phenomena which is normally difficult to investigate is one of its greatest strengths (Jorgensen, 1989). Another principal quality of the method is that it is *dynamic*. The observer gets a glimpse in time of the life of an environment (Zeisel, 1990). The environment of the coach tour is complex, presenting internal and external space, which coexist and rapidly change. Furthermore, a complicated mix of motivations and experiences can evolve throughout the tour and influence participants' behaviours (Quiroga, 1990).

Observing behaviour in context

To guide the observations, a structure was developed which replaced the complex reality of the observed situation with a simpler version (Zeisel, 1990).

Contexts and settings

Contexts can consist of situations or cultural affinities that influence the way individuals perceive environments. One of the challenges for environmental psychology is to identify the meanings that people attribute to physical and social environments from their reactions (Zeisel, 1990). In particular settings, such interpretation may depend on the options provided, but reference to sensory impacts can assist in defining peoples' relationships to their physical and social environments. For example, coach windows act as *screens* that selectively separate and connect, enabling a visual link, but a tactile separation with the external environment. The *shape* of a setting, such as the seating positioned in the corners of a coach can be more easily seen as separate to the rest of the coach (c.f. *ibid*). The *size* of a coach environment relative to the number of passengers on-board has a considerable affect on passengers' comfort. One of the key *social* contexts influencing tour participants' personal experience of the tour is their travelling companionship status (Quiroga, 1990).

Actors and actions

The subjects of observations are individuals or 'actors' who perform roles. They can be noted for characteristics or affiliations that are similar or different to other actors, such as nationality, gender, age, social affinities, and travelling companions. Although the observer may be unable to identify these features accurately, paradoxically clues from the intentional displays of self-image can sometimes be used to infer associations. In touring environments, name tags, flags, pins, badges, slogans, and brand names are used to express individuality, to enable others to identify them more easily, or to express group membership (Zeisel, 1990). Observing the photographic activities of tour members can be particularly useful in revealing individuals' motives for ensuring tour satisfaction. For example, taking group photographs in the early stages of a tour can be used as a mechanism to develop social interaction (Markwell, 1997). Since sight-seeing forms the main activity of a tour itinerary and this is mainly experienced from on-board a coach, in-tour seating arrangements will be pivotal in the identification of participants' adaptive behaviour to their environment which aims to secure their satisfaction.

Analysis and discussion

The purpose of the analysis was primarily to understand the social and physical meanings underlying participants' spatial behaviour by focusing on change and consistency in their seating preferences. No seat rotation policy was in operation on the departure selected, and as visibility of the route is central to the production of a satisfying experience of a sightseeing tour, this would have a significant effect on participants' seating preferences. The observations made by this writer indicated that the desire to share the experience with companions also influenced seating patterns. Analysis therefore focused on participants' social contexts (i.e. pre-existing travelling companions and the new affinities that developed on-tour), the roles they performed, and opportunities presented by the physical setting of the coach interior (c.f. Gorman, 1979).

Fifteen distinct seating behaviour patterns were observed during the seven-day tour, and are listed below.

Table 1

Seating preference	Participants		
Near to travelling companion(s) (i.e. next to, or immediately in front, across from, or behind)	1,2; 3,4,5,6; 8,9; 10,11; 12,13; 14,15,16; 18,19,20,21; 22,23,24; 25,26; 27,28; 29,30; 31,32		
Mobile (i.e. move throughout front, middle, and rear sections of coach)	1,2; 8,9; 14,15,16		
Sedentary (i.e. remain in the same general location, either front, middle, or rear section of coach, except for up to one day spent in front seat)	3,4,5,6; 7; 17; 19,20,21,22; 22,23,24; 27,28; 33		
Near to compatriots	29,30; 31,32		
Same seat (except for up to one day occupying front seat)	10; 11; 12,13; 18/19; 26/27; 29,30; 31,32		
Alone (i.e. adjacent seat unoccupied)	7; 10,11; 17; 18,19; 29,30; 31,32; 33		
Same seat in corner	29,30		
Back row	29,30; 31		
Alternate positions with travelling companions	3,4,5,6; 8,9; 14,15,16; 20,21; 22,23,24		
Separate from travelling companion(s) after a few days	1,2; 8,9; 27,28		
Move to rear of coach the day after sitting in front seat	8,9; 14,15,16		
Seats selected for optimum view	3,4,5,6; 32		
Seat selected for optimum leg-room	13		
Aisle seat only	7; 11; 13; 18		
Front seat at least once	1,2; 7; 8,9; 12,13; 14,15,16; 17; 22,23,24; 27,28; 25,26		

Three distinct pre-formed affinity groupings were identified from the thirty-three tour members, and are shown below.

Table 2

Social context (pre-formed affinities)	Participants		
Single (i.e. travelling unaccompanied)	7; 17; 33		
Pair (i.e. married couple, friends, or family members)	1,2; 8,9; 10,11; 12,13; 18,19; 20,21; 27,28; 25,26; 29,30; 31,32		
Group (i.e. 3-4 family members or friends)	3,4,5,6; 14,15,16; 18,19,20,21; 22,23,24		

The data was collected in the form of daily seating plans supplemented by notes and photographs that recorded the behaviour its physical traces, set within the conceptual

structure (outlined above). This needed to be summarised, to identify whether patterns or trends in tour members' spatial behaviour existed. Due to the volume and range of potentially significant information that had been assembled, the initial analytical procedures followed those used in the analysis of quantitative data (Bryman and Cramer, 1997). Frequency distribution tables enabled the calculation of the number of cases in each category, or, the relative frequency with which participants had exhibited particular behaviour patterns during the tour. These distributions were generated with the aid of SPSS for Windows (Release 9.0). The most significant finding is the high percentage (94%) of tour members' who consistently preferred to sit in proximity to their travelling companions (i.e. either directly next to, across the aisle, in front or behind). All accompanied tour members (i.e. all but two of the participants) behaved in this manner for the duration of the tour. However, it is also striking that 47% of tour members chose to sit alone (i.e. with an unoccupied seat immediately adjacent to them). With a 67% load factor², a high proportion of unoccupied seating was available on this tour, potentially facilitating a wide range of spatial behaviours. Optimum levels of physical and psychological comfort will be sought from the opportunities that an environment presents. The tendency by about half of the participants to sit near to companions, but retain a degree of personal space, may indicate that personal security is more important than sociability or the desire to share the tour experience (c.f. Gorman, 1979; Reisinger and Waryszak, 1994). It is interesting to note that a pair of seats was unoccupied on three occasions, suggesting that the spatial opportunities presented by this environment and the optimum comfort levels had been satisfied.

Other significant findings included the predominantly sedentary behaviour of participants, where 41% preferred to sit in the same approximate location (i.e. front, middle, or rear of the coach) compared to 22% who sat in more than one section of the coach. A further 38% occupied the *same seat* for the duration of the tour except when in a front seat position. A total of 56% spent up to one day in the front of the coach, demonstrating the value placed upon this optimum viewing position. Nonetheless, the desire to obtain a good view never overrode that to be near travelling companions, who would invariably occupy adjacent seats on the same day. A concern for 'fairness' and communal behaviour was exhibited by the behaviour of 19% of the tour members who deliberately chose to sit in the rear section of the coach the day after they had sat in the front seats. The desire to appear equal to others in the party was shown by Participant 8 who, following a day in the front with his wife (Participant 9) commented, 'we'll be at the back today'. When asked if the view was much better from the front he replied, 'sure, but the views from the rest of the coach are good!'

Conformity is a theme that is also borne out by travelling companions' reciprocal behaviour where for example, 44% of the total group regularly exchanged seating positions with companions. There were either physical or medical explanations where this behaviour was not in evidence, for example Participant 13 required extra leg-room and Participant 26 had a severe visual impairment. Alternatively, travelling companions remained alone in separate seats, and thus negated the need to exchange seats. Perhaps surprisingly, those who sat alone did not always prefer window seats and 13% remained in aisle seats, seeming to favour the extra leg-room and views through the front windscreen of the coach.

The second part of the analysis considered participants and the frequency of their spatial behaviours in relation to social context, in particular whether members were travelling alone, as a pair, or in a group. This aimed to determine whether pre-formed affinities had

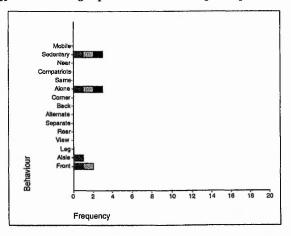
Watch this space: Observing patterns of tourist behaviour on a cultural tour 327

significantly affected participants' spatial behaviour. These affinities were thought to represent independent variables that may influence seating preferences. The distribution frequencies are in themselves interesting: 44% of tour members were travelling as a part of a group; 57% were in a pairs, and 6% travelled alone. These figures are consistent with those found by other researchers and therefore seem likely to be representative (e.g. (Gorman, 1979). The relatively low proportion of single travellers again supports the view that meeting people is not a major motivation for selecting cultural tours from this particular industry segment, unlike those specialising in the singles/youth niche markets (Schuchat, 1983). This is reinforced by the behaviour of the accompanied participants *all* of whom stayed close to their companions during the tour, rather than choosing to sit with new acquaintances.

Further analysis of participants' spatial activities showed that certain behaviours corresponded with participants' pre-defined social contexts (Figures 1-3). Pairs were more likely to occupy the same seats, and sit apart from their companion at some time during the tour (Figure 2). In contrast, pre-formed groups rarely sat alone, were relatively mobile, and frequently alternated their seating arrangements with other members in their party (Figure 3). This appears to demonstrate the significance of social interactions between pre-existing companions rather than new acquaintances, with couples preferring to sit either with each other or alone, and groups having a selection of alternative seating companions. There was one exception to this seen in the seating arrangement of three Australian men, who preferred to sit together on the back seat. Only two of these represented a pre-defined pair. This group referred to themselves as the 'boys at the back'. This naming of a recognised clique corresponds exactly with Gorman's 'back of the bus bunch', and indicates the unity that these members felt (Gorman, 1979). This also seems to support Quirogia's finding that nationality is a significant variable in the formation of cliques (Quiroga, 1990), although it is not certain the extent to which this grouping was gender based. However, this behaviour seems to confirm the idea that tour participants seek new acquaintances to replace the social function performed by those in their home environments. The tendency for pairs to sit in the same seats may further indicate their desire for stability in a changing and unfamiliar environment. Larger groups of travelling companions do not need stability in their surroundings to such an extent, perhaps because their security is provided in numbers.

Figure 1 Single participants





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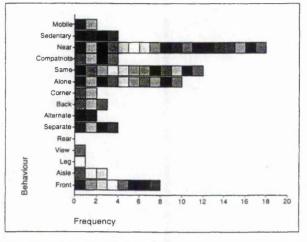
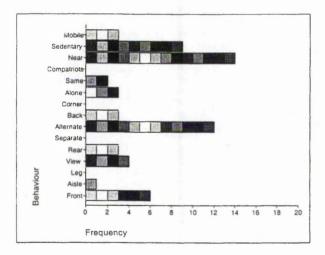


Figure 2 Participants in pairs

Figure 3 Participants in groups



Conclusion

The escorted tour group serves multiple functions for its' members. These can be physical, psychological, economic and social in nature (Mayo and Jarvis, 1981; Schmidt, 1975). A person joins a group to satisfy certain requirements, yet the group may fulfil different needs for each member. The knowledge that the organised tours facilitate safety and interpersonal relations, and that these are positively valued by participants, is quite well documented (Duke and Persia, 1996; Quiroga, 1990; Schmidt, 1975; Yang, 1995). However, exactly how the tour environment satisfies these needs, whether by providing 'safe strangers', or because a group provides safety in strange places, has not been made clear (Schuchat, 1983).

Watch this space: Observing patterns of tourist behaviour on a cultural tour 329

This paper has presented an analysis of the interactions observed between tourists' spatial behaviour and their touring environments. It poses the idea that tour participants adapt to their unfamiliar destinations by spatial and social mechanisms to ensure their security. Although the notion of intra-group descriptive 'types' based on tourists' spatial preferences has not been supported, it would appear that pre-defined social contexts *do* influence in-tour behaviour patterns (c.f. Beck and Wood, 1976; Swarbrooke and Horner, 1999). The modern organised cultural tour is characterised by its rapid pace and changing environments, presenting a kaleidoscope of images that are ephemeral and sometimes indistinct. This environment imposes demands on tourists, particularly those who are experiencing it for the first-time. In contrast, touring companions provide stability, and new acquaintances afford the opportunity to replace the absent primary relations from more familiar environments. These can fulfil a great social need and, in turn, help to secure a satisfying experience (Gorman, 1979).

Endnotes

- 1. Participant observation Globus, Cosmos 1997.
- 2. Where a minimum break-even load factor could as little 37%, i.e. 18 passengers (Globus company policy).

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CONSUMING CULTURE: THE CASE OF THE CULTURAL TOUR ROUTE

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This article explores the notion of tourist consumption of cultural landscapes through the medium of the organized tour. It poses that as tourist space is both organized and consumed, it is socially constructed and continually acquires new meanings. The organized tour is often characterized as the epitome of "the destination bubble," a term used to describe the physical and cultural isolation that tourists experience from their environments and social integration to their group. The tour itinerary and seeking knowledge about the destination are of critical importance, but the extent to which cultural tour participants interact with and learn from transient destination images is little understood, and this concern is one of environmental cognition. The technique of route mapping is considered as one avenue of research that deserves greater recognition.

Cultural landscapes	Destination bubble	Organized tours	Route mapping	Tour routes
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Acquiring knowledge about the tour destination is of critical importance to the levels of satisfaction experienced by cultural tour members (Dunn-Ross & Iso-Ahola, 1991). Despite this, the organized tour has been compared to "a bubble," in the sense that it isolates tourists from their external environments, and integrates them into the social environment of the tour (Quiroga, 1990; Schmidt, 1979; Schuchat, 1983). Empirical information about the degree to which this concept exists is virtually nonexistent. Therefore, a number of topics relevant to the study of tourists' experiences of cultural landscapes through the medium of the organized tour are reviewed with the aim of identifying fruitful directions for future research. Organizing Tourist Space and Consuming Culture

The meanings given to the spatial contexts of tourism may change as well-trodden routes bring less existential forms of travel (Cohen, 1979). As places are established as tourist sights, their existing cultural and physical characters are reshaped (Hughes, 1998; MacCannell, 1973). Boorstin (1964), an early influential writer, denounced the ubiquity of tourism for the masses as an example of the adaptation of "real experiences" into superficial "pseudo events." This view suggests that by turning social and ritual events into commodities, their cultural meaning is eroded (Greenwood, 1978).

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Conversely, Cohen has argued that cultural productions for tourists may "acquire new meanings" that supplement more traditional values (Cohen, 1988, p. 383). Earlier, MacCannell (1976) had viewed the tourism attraction as being imbued with meaning specifically through tourist consumption. Richards (1996) takes this further, arguing that tourism has become a powerful tradition where attractions are themselves cultural experiences. According to Urry (1994), tourism is culture, and areas such as theme parks, heritage attractions, and literary landscapes have been specially designed to assist tourists in their search for meaning (Richards, 1996). Even tourists on organized tours can express interest in many dimensions of their host cultures and societies, adopting certain behaviors, such as enacting traditional rituals, in their attempts to experience culture directly (see Selwyn, 1996a). Increasingly sophisticated tourist expectations are emerging in the cultural segment of the organized tours markets (Hughes, 1991), and the concept of culture as commodity is complex and seems frequently to have been linked to researchers' own consumer milieus (Selwyn, 1996a). Recently, Prentice has attempted to conceptualize the consumption of cultural tourism as "a process of co-operation between facilitators (for example, tour operators) and consumers (tourists)" (Prentice, 1999, p. 1). He stresses a simultaneous requirement for both etic and emic approaches (the most common definition for these being the "outsider" versus "insider" view, Headland, 1999) to facilitate a link between academic discourse and the perceived realities of tourists (Prentice, 1999).

Destination Image

The image of a tourist destination is the collective sum of a tourist's beliefs, ideas, impressions, and expectations (Crompton, 1979). Tourists may perceive many images, and these can in turn influence their behavior as consumers (Ahmed, 1996). Image marketing can alter behavior (Ahmed, 1996; Schreyer, Lime, & Williams, 1984). Components of the overall destination image are tourism products, but also subjectively valued cultural landscapes that can convey powerful historical and geographical images (Ringer, 1998). It is thought that the consumption experience of these landscapes can be significantly influenced by the nature of the consumers thought likely to patronize them, and by interactions with the other consumers present (Ahmed, 1996; Oliver, 2000). Images are based on the tangible components of destinations as well as service encounters and atmosphere, and have a strong influence on tourists' perceptions of quality and value (Murphy, Pritchard, & Smith, 2000).

Destinations need to be understood most importantly in terms of personal experience (Ringer, 1998). Such knowledge can contribute to the maintenance of a place and to the creation of new places (Relph, 1976). Conway and Ruddy (1999) emphasize that while the components of an image are frequently used in tourism product positioning strategies, the tourists themselves do not visit a place with a set of objective destination features, but instead select activities and experiences to fulfil highly subjective needs.

The Destination Bubble

Closely linked to the concept of destination image is the study of consumer behavior. This is frequently defined as a process directly involved in obtaining, consuming, and disposing of products and services (Moutinho, 1987; Mowen, 1995). In tourism, the central part of this process is the direct experience of a destination, and many studies have used the analogy of a "bubble" to describe this temporal and spatial span (Hanefors & Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). Smith (1978) describes it as a means of fulfilling "social needs . . . thereby creating their own reality-their 'tourist bubble'-of being physically 'in' a foreign place but socially 'outside' the culture" (p. 6). Cohen suggests the bubble is an all-embracing "tourist space"; Dumazedier refers to it as a region that is "... 'cooked' up solely for the benefits of tourists"; while Sampson discusses what happens there by referring to "the cruise liner effect"; Farrel calls it an "enclave of familiarity" (cited in Hanefors & Larsson-Mossberg, 1998, p. 151); and according to Graburn (1978) this tourist enclave is a "home-grown 'bubble' of their [the tourists'] life style" (p. 31). Therefore, it appears that the destination bubble is meant to convey the sense of physical and cultural isolation, as well as the way in which tourists create meaning by socially integrating with the tour group (Gorman, 1979; Hanefors & Larsson-Mossberg, 1998; Schmidt, 1975). It seems ironic that in the organized cultural

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Tour itineraries often form well-worn circuits or "beaten tracks" (Buzard, 1993). In Europe, many can be traced back to the Grand Tour of the 17th and 18th centuries. The analysis of tour itineraries tends to provide insights into the operators' perception of the destinations' tourism resources, rather than input from their customers (Dahl, 1999; Oppermann, 1995, 2000). The homogeny of available itineraries requires that tour operators are forced to find their competitive edge in service encounters as it is these that differentiate one service company from another (Hanefors & Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). Tour personnel are seen as a strategic resource and used to fulfil tourists' expectations (Hanefors & Larsson-Mossberg, 1998), but while the success of a tour may be attributed to its personnel, the companies themselves are not necessarily accredited (Geva & Goldman, 1991).

The Cultural Tours Experience

Most customer-focused tour evaluations have addressed service aspects rather than analyzing the consumption of the tour route itself, although some writers include the itinerary as a significant variable for study. An itinerary includes both nodal and more spatially diffuse attractions, such as scenery, positioned in a sequence. In their study of the changes in the perception of organized tours during their consumption, Geva and Goldman (1989) found the itinerary increased in importance. This finding is thought to demonstrate the significance of an individual directly experiencing the tour environment.

Duke and Persia (1996) conclude from their study of "consumer-defined" dimensions of importance in the escorted tours segment that tour planners should continually improve itineraries as well as ensure that personal enjoyment aspects, such as social issues, are satisfied. Earlier, in their study of foreign and domestic tour members, they found the tour destination and the associated attractions were the most significant expectations (Duke & Persia, 1994). While focusing on motivation and satisfaction as central concepts in their study to understand the behavior of sightseeing tourists, Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) found that knowledge seeking, in particular learning about the history of the destination, was most significant. In their view, the success of the tour itinerary is of critical importance, as it will radiate positive effects to other dimensions, including social interaction.

Given that cultural tour participants tend to seek information, to what degree is a cultural tour a "destination bubble"? Selwyn (1996b), in his observation of an Israeli walking tour (tiyoulim), draws attention to the influence of the guide on tour participants' experiences, involving a mixture of "scientific" and "magical" experiences (p. 156). Weightman (1987) found that the landscape experiences of tourists on package tours of India have little coincidence with the experiential reality of the country, as visitors are isolated and encapsulated in vehicles and hotels. Furthermore, it is noted that the itineraries emphasize monuments from the past, to the exclusion of contemporary society. She concludes that tour planners who are genuinely interested in promoting international understanding should design tours that provide "opportunities for discovering the meaning of landscape and capturing a sense of place" (Weightman, 1987, p. 237).

The increasing demand for customized and special interest tours will eventually lead to a more diversified supply of tour packages worldwide, in an environment that is already highly competitive (Oppermann, 1995). Duke and Persia (1994) suggest that the increasing use of specialized tours may help provide for the conflicting requirements for comfort, security, and adventure. An innovative move towards the inclusion of "new" attractions may be crucial to secure the future success of many cultural tour operators (Oppermann, 1995). In order to fulfill this objective, a suitable framework with which to explore tour members' experiences of their touring environments and the significance of the destination bubble is required.

Route Maps

The field of environmental cognition is extremely fertile in methods to elicit both recall and/or recognition of environments, and approaches have highlighted links between environmental legibility and attraction (Lynch, 1960). Cognitive mapping is a technique that has been used to assess tourists' spatial knowledge mainly in relation to urban contexts (Page, 1997; Pearce, 1977a). The method has been linked to evaluating the commercial viability and promotion of attractions, as well as enhancing tourists' way-finding in unfamiliar environments (Walmsley & Jenkins, 1992).

A linear form of the cognitive sketch map is the strip map, used for many centuries to represent routes between a place of origin and destination (Bell, 1999). Although very little work has been done in the area, the technique has particular utility for evaluating large-scale touring landscapes (Pearce, 1977b, 1981; Young, 1999). Pearce (1977b) pioneered a modern variation of the strip map technique that he later termed "route maps" (Pearce, 1981). These maps consist of a summary statement of travelers' memories and perceptions and facilitate a more objective approach than the synthesis of aesthetic judgements (Pearce, 1977b). The technique was subsequently used to gain independent tourists' accounts of a touring route in North Queensland (Pearce, 1981). The particular emphasis that subjects gave to specific environmental categories and experiential elements (i.e., landmarks, districts, paths, texture, and social activity) appears to form the basis of a route map typology reflecting individuals' different experiences of the same route (Pearce, 1981).

By applying the concept of route maps to touring landscapes, Pearce's main contributions have been to extend the studies of the responses of independent travelers as they move across large-scale environments (Appleyard, Lynch, & Meyer, 1964; Carr & Schissler, 1969). Implications for the organized tours segment include a better comprehension of the tourists' environmental preferences and informal learning associated with their tour destinations. Two studies have begun to explore the relationships between learning in unfamiliar environments and the sources of information used (Beck & Wood, 1976; Guy, Curtis, & Crotts, 1990), although both assessed escorted tourists in a city rather than addressing the wider cultural landscape. Despite the advances made by such pioneering works, empirical studies using the technique still face a number of challenges (Walmsley & Jenkins, 1992). Although a full review of these is beyond the scope of this article, the technique can be used to reveal meanings that are attached to places, and great confidence is placed on the development of mapping "languages" (Wood & Beck, 1976), and to the future use of multiplemethod approaches (Guy et al., 1990). The potential that this technique has for tourism has not been fully realized to date (Hall & Page, 1999; Opperman, 2000).

Conclusions

Cultural tourism is a growth area partly because it can fulfill a range of requirements for diverse markets-from those simply taking one or two cultural tours, to those for whom it is a "serious" hobby (Richards, 1996; Stebbins, 1996). One of the main mediums of cultural tourism is the organized tour, but questions about the extent to which tour members' destination images are influenced by their physical isolation and social integration to their group are, as yet, unresolved. The technique of route mapping is presented here as one that can begin to penetrate the "destination bubble" experienced by tourists, by gaining insight into the degree to which their desire for knowledge about the tour destination is satisfied. It is encouraging that several recent studies agree that this is an area with great potential for future research (Oliver, forthcoming; Pearce & Fagence, 1996; Young, 1999.)

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OLIVER

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Chapter seventeen The Consumption of Tour Routes in Cultural Landscapes

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Introduction

The paper reviews a number of interrelated topics that are relevant to the study of tourists' experiences of cultural landscapes through the medium of the organized tour. The aim is to examine these, with the specific objective of identifying fruitful directions for future research in this area. Additionally, it poses that the cultural landscapes of tourist consumption are socially constructed, as they continually acquire new meanings for tourists as well as local inhabitants. The value of the latter group has been explored, particularly with regard to managing cultural destinations, while tourists' contributions have been largely ignored (Ringer, 1998a). In fact, meaningful interactions between tourists and their destinations are often assumed to be minimal, the organized tour in particular having been compared to 'a bubble', in the sense that it isolates tourists from their external environments, and integrates them into the social environment of the tour (Schmidt, 1979; Schuchat, 1983; Quiroga, 1990). The tour itinerary consists of activities and experiences that are fixed in time and space (Dann, 1999). Seeking and acquiring knowledge about the tour destination by way of a set itinerary is of critical importance to the levels of satisfaction experienced by cultural tour members (Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola, 1991). However, empirical information about the degree to which this requirement is satisfied is almost absent, as most tour evaluations have focused on service encounters in preference to the actual process of consumption. The concept of destination image, its formation and measurement, has been principally used as a marketing tool to influence consumer behaviour. While it can be used to identify environmental preferences (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997), and therefore has particular relevance in this review, the investigation of tourists' understanding of transient destination images makes the concern one of environmental cognition. 'Route mapping', an approach developed in this area, is considered to have specific application here and therefore it is explored in some depth (Pearce, 1981; Spencer et al., 1989).

Organizing Tourist Space and Consuming Culture

'If there is one dominant and recurrent image in the annals of the modern tour, it is surely that of the beaten track, which succinctly designates the space of the "touristic" as a region in which experience is predictable and repetitive, all cultures and objects mere "touristy" self-parodies'. (Buzard, 1993, p. 4)

'Tourists visit the signified vantage points of designated places, realising that there is nothing in between. They are transported to a destination through the periphery to the center and, in the very act of being carried, they reject travel. For them, it is a meaningless exercise to gaze out of a vehicular window, since there is only emptiness to behold. Instead, tourists chatter, read their guidebooks, or else simply fall asleep through boredom. As mob-ile, tourists constitute a sense-less mob'. (Dann, 1999, p. 168)

Contrary to the above, somewhat stereotypical images of the organized tour, tourism is an important medium by which meanings are given to the spatial contexts of travel (Hughes, 1998). Such meanings may change as tour itineraries form well-trodden routes and bring less existential forms of travel (Cohen, 1979). There is no question that as places become embedded in the dialogue of tourist consumption their existing cultural and physical characters are reshaped (Hughes, 1998). However, almost since the inception of modern, organized tourism, the extent to which these consumed places and cultures are authentic and meaningful has been disputed, for as tourist 'sights' their descriptions may deny the depths of their cultural and political origins (*ibid*; MacCannell, 1973). The risks involved in presenting heritage to international tourists seem especially great, for, as Boniface and Fowler (1993) point out, such interpretations can homogenize and corrupt culture. Boorstin, an early and influential writer on the subject, denounced the ubiquity of tourism for the masses as an example of the adaptation of 'real experiences' into superficial 'pseudo events':

'All over the world now we find these "attractions" – of little significance for the inward life of a people, but wonderfully saleable as a tourist commodity'. (Boorstin, 1964, p. 103)

The idea that culture is consumed by tourists 'drenched by commodity fetishism' has frequently been articulated by observers of tourist behaviour (Selwyn, 1996b, p. 15). In particular, the 'commoditization' of social and ritual events was originally thought to lead to an erosion of their cultural meaning (Greenwood, 1978).

In contrast to this, Cohen has argued that cultural productions for tourists may in fact 'acquire new meanings' that supplement more traditional values (Cohen, 1988, p. 383). Earlier, MacCannell (1976) had viewed the tourism attraction as being imbued with meaning specifically through tourist consumption. Richards (1996, p. 263) takes this further arguing that tourism has become 'one of the most powerful modern traditions' where attractions are themselves pivotal cultural experiences. Urry (1994) states that tourism is culture, and in the new culture of tourism, areas such as theme

parks, heritage attractions, and literary landscapes, have been specially designed to assist tourists in their search for meaning (Richards, 1996). Other writers have acknowledged that tourists on organized tours can express interest in many dimensions of their host cultures and societies, even adopting certain behaviours, such as enacting traditional rituals, in their attempts to experience culture directly (see Selwyn, 1996b, p. 14-15). Increasingly sophisticated tourist expectations are clearly emerging in the cultural segment of the organized tours markets (Hughes, 1991). Not only is the concept of culture as commodity itself complex, but in the past it seems frequently to have been inextricably linked to researchers' own consumer milieus (Selwyn, 1996b).

Recently Prentice has attempted to conceptualize the consumption of cultural tourism as 'a process of co-operation between facilitators (for example, tour operators) and consumers (tourists)' (Prentice, 1999, p. 1). To be useful in theoretical and practical settings, he stresses the need for the simultaneous requirement of both etic and emic approaches (the most common definition for these being the 'outsider' versus 'insider' view, Headland, 1999), thus linking academic discourse to the perceived realities of tourists (Prentice, 1999). There is a need for empirical studies that dissect the process of cultural consumption by tourists in their settings, specifically those that bring the tourist as the consumer sharply into focus (Selwyn, 1996a).

Destination image

The image of a tourist destination is the collective sum of a tourist's beliefs, ideas, impressions, and expectations (Crompton, 1979). Tourists may perceive many images, and these can in turn influence their behaviour as consumers (Ahmed, 1996). Image marketing therefore can alter behaviour, first-time visitors usually responding to more generalized images than those with a greater experience of a destination (*ibid*; Schreyer *et al.*, 1984) who develop more complex associations (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). The components of destinations that make up their overall image are thought of as tourism products for marketing purposes, but tourist destinations are also subjectively valued cultural landscapes that are created by their inhabitants and by visitors (Ringer, 1998b). It is thought that the consumption experience of these landscapes can be significantly influenced, not only by the nature of the consumers thought likely to patronize them, but also by interactions of the other consumers present (Ahmed, 1996; Oliver, 2000).

The consumption of destinations produces images that are based on the tangible components of these environments as well as service encounters and atmosphere. These images strongly influence tourists' perceptions of quality and value (Murphy *et al.*, 2000). Evaluating tourists' perceptions of these environmental elements is fundamental to understanding the formation of their destination images and can powerfully predict preference (MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). An individual's cognitive and affective images derived from information sources about destinations, and coupled with their socio-psychological motivations to travel, appear to a great extent, to form their actual intention to visit (Baloglu, 1999).

The cultural landscape of the tourist destination can convey powerful historical and geographical images (Ringer, 1998b). In discourse addressing the 'Disneyfication' of tourism landscapes, writers have advocated the need for the identification and a respect for such places, arguing that 'improved knowledge of the nature of place can contribute to the maintenance and manipulation of existing places and the creation of new places' (Relph, 1976, p. 44). As Ringer (1998b) argues, this requires that the destination be understood in terms of personal experience, as well as attractiveness, claiming that recognition of the socially constructed destination helps to clarify the individualized landscapes of tradition and subjective attachment perceived by people (*ibid*).

'Through such representations, a wealth of social and psychological information, both informed and sensed, is revealed regarding the destination as attraction and habitat, and the emotional degree to which that space is individually humanised through direct experience and intimacy'. *(ibid, pp. 5-6)*

Conway and Ruddy (1999) take the idea a stage further, emphasizing that while the components of an image are frequently used in tourism product positioning strategies, the tourists themselves do not visit a place with a set of objective destination features, but instead select activities and experiences to fulfil highly subjective needs.

The destination bubble

Closely linked to the concept of destination image is the study of consumer behaviour. This is frequently defined as a process including activities directly involved in obtaining, consuming and disposing of products and services (Moutinho, 1987; Mowen, 1995). When applied to tourism, the central part of this process is the directly experiencing a destination or multiple destinations, and likely to provide the bulk of the tour experience (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). Many studies have used the analogy of a tourist or environmental 'bubble' to describe this temporal and spatial span in the consumption process (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). Despite this, there is no consensus as to what is actually meant by the notion, nor whether it can in some way be defined in spatial terms. Smith (1978, p. 6) describes it as a means of fulfilling 'social needs ... thereby creating their own reality - their "tourist bubble" - of being physically "in" a foreign place but socially "outside" the culture'. Cohen suggests the bubble is an all-embracing 'tourist space'; Dumazedier refers it as a region that is '... "cooked" up solely for the benefits of tourists'; while Sampson discusses what happens there by referring to 'the cruise liner effect'; Farrel calls it an, 'enclave of familiarity' (see Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg, 1998, p. 151); and according to Graburn (1978, p. 31) this tourist enclave is a 'home-grown "bubble" of their [the tourists'] life style'; it gives people the confidence to travel (Hudson, 1999). It appears that the destination bubble therefore, is meant to convey the sense of physical and cultural isolation, as well as the way in which tourists create meaning through their social integration to the tour group (Schmidt, 1975; Gorman, 1979; Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). For Hanefors and Larsson Mossberg, the bubble offers tourists almost unlimited opportunities for challenging or changing the norms controlling their everyday life, and this could include assuming a new role or identity. In other words, 'the tourist is anywhere rather than somewhere, articulating his escape motives in a tourist environment - the bubble' (ibid, p. 151).

It therefore seems ironic, that in the organized cultural tours segment, often characterized as the epitome of the destination bubble, it is the 'seeking' motive that is usually the most significant in peoples' decisions to travel. Several studies have demonstrated that for participants, the acquisition of knowledge about their destination is more important than any form of social interaction on sightseeing tours (Quiroga, 1990; Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola, 1991; Geva and Goldman, 1991; Duke and Persia, 1996).

Tour itineraries are often well established, forming well-worn circuits or 'beaten tracks'. In Europe for example, many can be traced back to the Grand Tour of the 17th and 18th centuries. Although the general subject of destination itineraries is one that is under researched (Dahl, 1999), and sadly left much poorer by the untimely death of one of its main contributors (Oppermann, 2000), it is known that analysis of tour itineraries tends to provide insights into the operators' perception of a destinations' tourism resources and what they consider to be of interest to their market, rather than providing input from customers (Oppermann, 1995). The homogeny of available itineraries requires that tour operators are forced to find their competitive edge in service encounters as it is these that differentiate one service company from another (Hanefors and Larsson-Mossberg, 1998). Therefore, tour personnel are seen as a strategic resource that can be used to fulfil tourists' expectations while they are in their destination bubble (ibid). However, this approach is not without its problems, for as Geva and Goldman (1991) have shown, while the success of a tour may be attributed to its personnel, in the minds of participants the companies themselves are not necessarily accredited with the success of a tour.

The cultural tours experience

Whether academic or commercial, most customer-focused tour evaluations have addressed the service aspects of tours in preference to the consumption of the tour route itself, although some writers have included the itinerary as a significant variable for study. An itinerary includes both nodal and more spatially diffuse attractions, such as scenery, positioned in a sequence along a route. In their study of the changes in the perception of organized tours during their consumption, Geva and Goldman (1989) found the itinerary increased in importance. This finding is thought to demonstrate the significance of an individual directly experiencing the tour environment. If this is the case, then using methods by which respondents rate an entire service setting by proxy, such as evaluating a picture in which certain quality variables have been manipulated, seems of limited value when seeking to explain the relationship between tour members and setting (Chadee and Mattsson, 1996).

Duke and Persia (1996) conclude from their study of 'consumer-defined' dimensions of importance in the escorted tours segment, that tour planners should continually improve itineraries as well as ensuring that personal enjoyment aspects, such as social issues, are satisfied. Earlier, in their study of foreign and domestic escorted tour members' expectations, they found that the tour destination and the associated attractions were the most important factors (Duke and Persia, 1994).

While focusing on motivation and satisfaction as central concepts in their study to understand the behaviour of sightseeing tourists, Dunn-Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) found that knowledge seeking, in particular learning about the history of the destination, in this case Washington DC, was the most significant variable determining behaviour. In their view, the success of the tour itinerary is of critical importance, as it will radiate positive effects to other dimensions, including social interaction (ibid).

Given that cultural tour participants tend to seek information, how much of a destination bubble is the environment of an organized tour? Selwyn in his observation of an Israeli walking tour (*tiyoulim*) draws attention to the influence of the guide on tour participants' experiences. In particular, he describes the concept of 'boundary hopping' that is prevalent in the presentation of the countryside, where tours involve a mixture of 'scientific' and 'magical' experiences where 'the traveller is propelled' at great speed, oscillating from one plane to the other (Selwyn, 1996a, pp. 156-157). Weightman (1987) found that the landscape experiences of tourists on package tours of India have little coincidence with the experiential reality of the country, as visitors are isolated and encapsulated in vehicles and hotels. Furthermore, it is noted that the itineraries of contemporary society. She concludes that tour planners who are genuinely interested in promoting international understanding should design tours which provide 'opportunities for discovering the meaning of landscape and capturing a sense of place' (*ibid*, p. 237).

The increasing demand for customized and special interest tours will eventually lead to a more diversified supply of tour packages worldwide, in an environment that is already highly competitive (Oppermann, 1995). Duke and Persia (1994) suggest that the increasing use of specialized tours may in addition help provide for the apparently conflicting needs of some tour participants' requirements for comfort, security, and adventure. An innovative move towards the inclusion of 'new' attractions may be crucial to secure the future success of many cultural tour operators (Oppermann, 1995). The advancement of a framework with which to explore tour members' experiences of their touring environments and the significance of the destination bubble would greatly assist in this objective.

Route maps

The investigation of tourists' understanding of transient destination images makes the concern one of environmental cognition (Spencer *et al.*, 1989). This field is extremely fertile in methods to elicit both recall and/or recognition of environments, and approaches have highlighted links between environmental legibility and attraction (Lynch, 1960). Cognitive mapping is one of these techniques that has been used to assess tourists' spatial knowledge mainly in relation to urban contexts (Pearce, 1977a; Page, 1997). The utility of the method has been linked to assessing the commercial viability and promotion of attractions, as well as enhancing tourists' way-finding in unfamiliar environments (Walmsley and Jenkins, 1992).

A cognitive sketch map is the instrument by which spatial knowledge can be externalized, and a linear form of this is the strip map. These have been used for many centuries, predominantly to represent routes between a place of origin and destination, and a variety of which was used by the Ancient Egyptians to depict the route the dead would follow to 'the beyond' (Yaru) (Bell, 1999, 1). In more recent times, very little work has been done in this area, although the technique has particular utility for rural areas and across extensive tracts of landscape, although works by Pearce (1977b, 1981) and more recently Young (1999), are notable exceptions in the tourism literature. Pearce (1977b) pioneered a modern variation of the strip map technique that he later termed

'route maps' (Pearce, 1981), in his study of American students travelling between London and Oxford. These maps consist of a summary statement of travellers' memories and perceptions and facilitate a more objective approach than the synthesis of aesthetic judgements (Pearce, 1977b). The technique was subsequently used to gain independent tourists' accounts of a touring route in North Queensland (Pearce, 1981). The particular emphasis that subjects gave to specific environmental categories and experiential elements (i.e. landmarks, districts, paths, texture and social activity) appears to form the basis of a route map typology reflecting individuals' different experiences of the same route (*ibid*).

By applying the concept of route maps to touring landscapes, Pearce's main contributions have been to extend studies of the responses of travellers as they move across large-scale environments. These are frequently linked to environmental design and concerned with the patterns and structures of the environment as seen by commuters travelling along highways. For example, Appleyard *et al.* (1964) asked subjects to make rapid sketches of what they perceived as they travelled over designated road sectors. A second frequently quoted study is that of Carr and Schissler (1969) who examined travellers' eye movements and free recall over the same route, and reported considerably less attention to the road itself than Appleyard *et al.* In addition, the amount of time that an object was observed was highly correlated to item recall and the degree of correlation among what different subjects observed was high (*ibid*).

Pearce concluded from his work on route maps that comparative work with organized tours would assist in understanding tourists' 'response to alternative transport strategies' (Pearce 1981, p. 154). The different vantage points usually experienced by tourists travelling independently by car and by those in a coach, would invalidate a study that primarily compares the visual phenomena recalled by these two groups. However, a much better comprehension of tourists' environmental preferences and informal learning associated with their destinations could be obtained by focusing on the organized tours segment. Two studies have begun to explore the relationships between learning in unfamiliar environments and the sources of information used (Beck and Wood, 1976a; Guy et al., 1990) although both assessed escorted tourists in a city, rather than addressing the wider cultural landscape. Despite the advances made by such pioneering works, empirical studies using the technique still face a number of challenges (Walmsley and Jenkins, 1992). Although a full review of these is beyond the scope of this paper, the technique can be used to reveal meanings that are attached to places, and great confidence is placed on the development of mapping 'languages' which can improve communication and expression of environmental experiences (Beck and Wood, 1976b; Wood and Beck, 1976). Combining or 'triangulating' findings from route mapping with those from other research methods, including closed-question survey, observation, diary keeping, and depth-interviews, will help verify the qualitative elements produced by the technique (Beck and Wood, 1976a; Guy et al., 1990; Oliver, forthcoming; see Decrop, 1999). This parallels Echtner and Richie's (1991) recommendation for the combined use of structured and unstructured methodologies, to enable the more complete capture of the components of destination image (ibid). The methodological innovations made by Lynch and others over 40 years ago need not be relegated to academic history, as they offer a way forward for the current interest in exploring the relationships between tourists' experiences and their environments (Pearce and Fagence, 1996). The potential that cognitive mapping techniques have for

T. Oliver

tourism has not been fully realized to date (*ibid*; Hall and Page, 1999; Oppermann, 2000). There is particular scope for application in segments where gaining informal knowledge about a destination is an important part of the experience, such as cultural tours, and where participants may readily engage in cognitive recall after their trip (Oliver, forthcoming). Such behaviour is perhaps less apparent after more extraordinary hedonic experiences (Arnould and Price, 1993).

Conclusions

Cultural tourism is a growth area not least because it can fulfil a range of requirements for diverse markets from those simply taking one or two cultural tours, to those for whom it is a 'serious' hobby (Richards, 1996; Stebbins, 1996). Cultural landscapes are therefore increasingly consumed by tourists. One of the main media for experiencing cultural destinations is the organized tour, and these are often characterized as the epitome of 'the destination bubble'. While the tour itinerary and acquiring knowledge about the destination are of critical importance to cultural tour members, the extent to which tour participants interact and learn about these landscapes and the consumption process itself are little understood. The destination as configured in the tourist's mind differs from that perceived by the tour operator, and a greater emphasis on customerfocused approaches is required to redress the balance in tourism research. The investigation of tourists' understanding of transient destination images makes the concern one of environmental cognition. Route mapping is presented here as an especially relevant approach that can begin to penetrate the 'destination bubble' experienced by tourists, by gaining insight into the degree to which their desire for knowledge about their tour destination is satisfied. It is encouraging to see studies providing renewed vigour to a methodology established almost half a century ago, with the express purpose of addressing contemporary research issues in the consumer psychology of tourism (Young, 1999; Oliver, forthcoming).

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T. Oliver

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284