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People, Place, and Consumption: conceptualising and researching urban tourist experience, with particular reference to Cardiff, Wales.

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Abstract

The thesis addresses ways of both conceptualising and researching the experience of urban tourists. A framework for conceptualising urban tourist experience is developed, and an experiential methodology is applied to Cardiff, the capital of Wales. A range of theoretical contributions and research is reviewed, drawing upon tourism, marketing, and geographical perspectives. It is argued that whilst dominant epistemologies are incapable of an adequate conceptualisation of urban tourist experience, important insights are provided by three different areas of literature.

Substantive contributions from within the tourism and marketing literature include the application of service quality models to urban tourism, and the conceptualisation and measurement of place images according to the different stages of the consumer decision-making process. Cultural studies offers a more sophisticated conceptualisation of place image, enabling tourism representations and landscapes to be read as cultural texts. An understanding of place consumers, and the concept of *place* is provided by a humanistic perspective, drawing upon the work of phenomenologist Alfred Schutz.

The experiential framework enables the design of an exploratory methodology. Combining qualitative and quantitative techniques, the methodology is applied to urban tourism in the city of Cardiff. The results reveal interesting discrepancies between the first-hand experiences of tourists, and images of Cardiff from outside. The application of factor analysis enables groups of consumers with particular images and experiences to be identified, along with particularly salient representations or experiences of the urban landscape. The results are discussed in the context of theoretical, methodological, and tourism policy implications.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 URBAN TOURISM AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH

The thesis attempts to synthesise into an experiential framework three fundamental concepts: *people, place, and consumption.* Urban tourist experience provides the focus of the study, both in terms of conceptualisation, and primary research. There is a general consensus amongst both academics and practitioners that the images and experiences of place consumers have a vital influence on the outcome of place marketing and tourism development strategies. The thesis is concerned with both conceptualising and researching the experiences of urban tourists, necessitating the exploration of several relevant epistemologies. It is intended to draw upon theoretical contributions in order to develop a methodology capable of analysing the experiences of place consumers. The case study will focus on Cardiff, the Capital of Wales, applying an experiential methodology to an analysis of the city's urban tourism.

The formidable growth of urban tourism in post-industrial cities around the world merits considerable attention *per se,* within a range of academic disciplines. It is generally agreed that as many cities have de-industrialised, losing their manufacturing base, they have suffered severe economic, social, and physical dereliction. Post-industrial cities initially found it extremely difficult to attract new economic activity, particularly as more footloose industries have tended to favour greenfield sites in rural or semi-rural environments. Whilst these areas have increasingly been perceived to offer a higher quality of life, the problems of the inner cities, in particular, have been perpetuated by negative stereotypical images of dirt, dereliction and crime. An important motivation for embracing tourism and place marketing, has been a wider recognition of the significance of the images of localities in attracting inward investment in general.

Quite apart from the significant income and employment-generating potential of urban tourism, it is recognised that there are a range of synergies between urban tourism and other types of economic development. At its most simplistic, an attractive place to visit tends also to be an attractive place in which to invest, work, and live. Towns and cities around the world have embraced the philosophy and practice of marketing, and urban tourism has often played a major role in place marketing strategies. The arts and cultural industries, including heritage, have taken on a crucial role in urban economic development. In effect, contemporary economic development has become consumption-led, and the phenomenon of *place consumption* has taken on an indisputably central role in the contemporary city. The active (and proactive) marketing of cities to a range of market segments has created place consumers, whether they be investors, tourists, or residents.

The development of urban tourism, and the slightly more generic activity of place marketing, however, can be seen to have fundamental and divisive implications for the academic pursuit of social science and management. Whilst the phenomenon of urban tourist experience undoubtedly unites people, place, and consumption, their synthesis in the academic arena of conceptualisation and research is far from unproblematic. A review of the literature on the contemporary city illustrates this point. Whilst there is a degree of consensus concerning the general characteristics of the postmodern city, the driving force of these characteristics is the focus of widespread debate. Whilst materialists such as Harvey (1989) argue that place marketing and consumer culture are bound up in the 'over-accumulation of capital', authors such as Lyotard (1984) accredit urban culture with much more autonomy.

As one attempts to delimit the concerns of a researcher of urban tourist experience, it becomes apparent that there is no single unifying discipline on which to draw. The terms *people, place, and consumption* convey the superordinate concerns of the experiential framework developed in the thesis. More specifically, it is argued that both first-hand *experiences*, and *images* of localities, are central to conceptualising and researching urban

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tourist experience. Both the official images projected by marketing organisations, and unofficial or 'organic' images, play a crucial role in place consumption. The first-hand experiences of visitors to a locality have little meaning without an appreciation of the expectations influencing consumer decision-making. Rather than contrasting images with 'reality', it is considered important to capture both the images and experiences of urban tourists.

Once images are conceptualised within an experiential approach, attention turns towards the consumption of representations of a locality, and the consumption of the urban landscape. It would seem, therefore, that research focusing on urban tourists should also embrace urban culture. This implies an engagement with the contested meanings attached to representations within that culture, and the way in which the urban landscape and representations of it both reflect and reproduce the culture of consumption. A concern for culture also builds upon the long-established geographical concept of *place*. Rather than merely conceptualising the physical components of a tourist destination, place encapsulates the meanings, experiences, and values imbued within a locality. Lastly, and related to the concept of place, it is argued in this study that people are of paramount importance in urban tourism research. It is considered impossible to understand urban tourism without understanding the experience, meanings, and agency of actual and potential tourists.

1.2   INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As chapters two and three argue, whilst the discipline of human geography has considerable potential in terms of developing an experiential understanding of urban tourism, particularly through the geographer's invaluable concept of place, the dominance of materialist conceptualisations somewhat limits this potential. Chapter two contrasts the materialist position with an alternative which draws upon authors such as Lyotard (1984), Lefebvre (1970), and Ley (1989). It is apparent that there is a dichotomy

between conceptualisations of the city concerned with human agency, experience, and culture; and materialist approaches attributing postmodern culture merely to 'late capitalism' (Jameson, 1984). Urban tourism, heritage, and place marketing are actually the focus of a scathing critique within the materialist literature. This addresses an alleged appropriation of local history and culture as a means of accumulating capital, the packaging and selling of a 'bogus history' (Hewison 1987), and the ultimate failure of most towns and cities to differentiate themselves in urban tourism markets (Harvey, 1989).

As chapter two argues, Harvey (1989) exemplifies the materialist position, arguing that place marketing and urban tourism development is merely a reaction to the latest phase of capitalism, and in any case, will result in a 'zero-sum game' as every city gains a waterfront development. Ironically titled, *The Urban Experience* (Harvey, 1989b) actually demonstrates the universalising tendencies of materialist conceptualisations of urban culture. Harvey reveals that he prefers to climb to the highest point in a city and look down at 'the city as a whole' (Harvey, 1989b:1).

Chapter three focuses on urban tourism more specifically, considering a variety of perspectives in an attempt to conceptualise urban tourist experience. Materialist perspectives on urban tourism are again apparent. Hewison, for example, considers the growth of the UK heritage industry to 'present a picture of a country obsessed with its past, and unable to face its future' (Hewison, 1987:11). The heritage industry is 'expected more and more to replace the real industry upon which this country depends' (*ibid*:11). It is argued that inseparable from Hewison's critique of the commodification of working class culture, is a dubious assumption that a true and authentic history exists and that he has access to it. The weaknesses of Hewison's position are revealed in one of his few references to heritage consumers, the pensioners of Wigan Pier 'who seem to throng the centre' (*ibid*:21). Ironically, if anyone can judge the authenticity of the Wigan Pier experience, it is those consumers sufficiently advanced in years to have a knowledge of the cultures represented.

As Deutsch (1991:7) argues, the discovery of an objective reality is only possible by denying the existence of subjectivity and other viewpoints, dismissing the discursive nature of objects, and elevating oneself to a privileged and unconflicted place. It would seem that however convincing materialist perspectives are at the macro-scale, they offer a conceptualisation of urban tourism and place marketing which is devoid of human agency. It is argued in this study that there is an urgent need to focus on the experience of urban tourism and place marketing amongst different groups of people. In this endeavour, the work of authors such as Lyotard (1984) and Lefebvre (1970) inspire a perspective based on the everyday experience and language of people. Although the focus of the thesis is urban tourists, such issues are also applicable to the various groups of residents on whose behalf writers articulate their theories.

The theory and practice of urban tourism is also considered in chapter three, in an attempt to locate useful avenues of conceptualisation and research. Whilst the practice of urban tourism management and place marketing has increased greatly in scale and sophistication in recent years, problems remain. These relate both to evidence of incoherence and inconsistencies between different organisations and spatial scales, and a lack of true differentiation of individual localities within urban tourism markets. To an extent, both of these problems appear to stem from a difficulty in co-ordinating activities relating to both the demand and supply-sides of urban tourism.

The theory of urban tourism has also developed in recent years, with an expansion of the size of the literature. Whilst there has generally been an increased interest in the phenomenon of urban tourism, this interest has rarely resulted in research which could be termed 'experiential'. Authors such as Page seek to consider a 'framework for the analysis of the tourist's experience of urban tourism' (1997:112-113). The reluctance of researchers to engage with the phenomenon of urban tourism is recognised, due particularly to a:

. . . tendency for urban tourism research to be based on descriptive and empirical case studies which do not contribute to a greater theoretical and methodological understanding of urban tourism. (Page, 1997:112)

Particularly problematic, is 'a failure to relate cases to wider issues' (Page 1997:112). It is also important for the industry 'to constantly evaluate to establish if the actual experience met the tourist's expectations' (Page, 1995:24). A promising development, it would seem, is the application of the service quality model (Parasuraman *et al.*, 1985) to urban tourism. As authors such as Gilbert and Joshi (1992) argue, managing the gap between the expectations and experiences of urban tourists is vital.

Unfortunately, valuable discussion of this nature does not appear to have led very far. Page turns to 'tourist perception and cognition of the urban environment' (1997:123), drawing on the work of Lynch (1960). The implications of adopting behaviouralist epistemologies are discussed in detail in chapter four. Even in methodological terms, however, it is disconcerting that a leading urban tourism writer considers that Lynch (1960) inspires an experiential approach.

Best known for *The Image of the City* (1960), Lynch typifies cognitive-behaviouralism in his emphasis on 'mental maps'. Generalising about the nodes, paths, landmarks, and districts forming an individual's perceptions of the city, Lynch was notable for attempting to introduce a human element into the urban planning of the 1960s. This type of research has been convincingly criticised by human geographers, however, due to its simplistic and deterministic assumptions. There is no attempt to account for the background or experience of respondents in such studies, the sources of their images, or the production of space in its economic, social, or political context. Lynch himself admitted to finding theory on the city 'dull' and 'difficult' (Knox, 1992:231). It is argued that in Lynch's work 'there is little that qualifies as theory of any kind', due particularly to a 'heavy reliance on truisms and simplistic rhetoric' (Knox, 1992:231). The individual is assumed to be 'common man' and images are conceptualised merely as distortions of an objective reality.

As chapter four argues, particularly pertinent to urban tourism development and place marketing, have been promising developments in the field of place image. As the literature on postmodernism indicates, images have become crucial to postmodern society in general. Chapter four demonstrates how images are both the raw material and the product of place marketing, reviewing some of the important developments within this field of the tourism and place marketing literature. In particular, there has been an interesting and valuable genre of research aiming to compare and contrast different types of images of destinations (e.g., Ashworth, 1991). Research has indicated the overwhelming significance of place images in tourist decision-making. Furthermore, it would seem that unofficial or 'organic' images are often considered to be more credible by tourists than the official 'projected' variety of marketing organisations. Particularly useful in terms of informing urban tourism and place marketing policy, have been studies aiming to compare and contrast the 'naive images' of potential visitors, with the first-hand experience of actual visitors. This type of research appears to offer the potential of highlighting policy implications in terms of place product development, place promotion, and destination positioning.

It is also argued in chapter four, however, that the place image literature has some serious limitations. These are apparent in both theory and research. In terms of research, an over-emphasis on statistical techniques at the expense of epistemological underpinning is identified. There is often very little consideration of the constructs used in surveys, and whether or not they are salient to consumers. Where epistemology is considered within place marketing and place image studies, again it is behaviouralism which is dominant. It is argued that within the tourism literature, many authors show a disturbing lack of awareness of past debates surrounding the epistemology, and contemporary developments within the social sciences.

Influential place image authors drawing heavily on behaviouralism include Ankomah and Crompton (1992), and Pearce and Fagene (1996). The substantive contribution of the

latter, is another almost evangelical review of the work of Lynch (1960). The stimulus-response, deterministic approach to tourist decision-making not only has a number of inherent limitations, but it is also clearly inconsistent with the contested meanings and realities of places currently being addressed within cultural studies. Whilst there are useful studies within the place image literature, it is argued that the implications of both past and contemporary debates within the social sciences cannot be ignored. It is argued that the result is a general absence of the notion of *place* within studies, and this is a particularly worrying omission in the context of place image.

The focus of chapter five is consumption and representation, as an engagement with cultural geography is argued to offer great potential in overcoming some of the limitations of tourism and place marketing research and theory. In particular, we are offered a conceptualisation of images and experiences as contested and negotiated, in stark contrast to some of the more deterministic tourism studies. This approach has fundamental implications for both the images with which place marketers are concerned, and for conceptualising the urban landscape.

Whilst cultural geography's emphasis on representation, and more recently consumption, would seem to have great potential in terms of understanding urban tourist experience, it is argued in chapter five that contributions from contemporary cultural studies are currently rather limited. The chapter explores the tendency within cultural geography to emphasise cultural texts themselves - reading them on behalf of place consumers - rather than seeking an understanding of how they are read by place consumers. As Gregson argues, in the context of shopping:

> *amid all the talk of the ludic and the carnivalesque, of iconization and simulation, there is one gaping absence: nowhere is there anything more than a passing reference to the skills of the shopper.* (Gregson, 1996:136)

Such problems are not restricted to the shopping mall. World fairs are read as 'heroic consumption' and 'spectacle' (Ley and Olds, 1988), irrespective of the experiences of

different groups of consumers, and Stonehenge is read on behalf of place consumers by Hetherington (1992). As Jackson and Taylor (1995) argue, even in studies of advertising, there is little regard for the various ways in which texts can be read by different groups of consumers. It would seem that it is necessary to understand:

> *not only the tourist services created, but also the relationship between producers of tourism products, and how meanings of the tourist experience are negotiated by various agencies.* (Squire, 1994:8)

Despite the importance of understanding the ways in which visitors read the texts of urban tourism, the researcher still 'retains the position of power, telling readers what tourism means' (Squire, 1994:8). Unfortunately, it would seem that little has changed in this respect since Burgess noted that 'few geographers seem willing, as yet, to undertake empirical research with the consumers of post-modern environmental meanings' (Burgess, 1990:140). It is argued in chapter five that the apparent preoccupation with cultural texts themselves at the expense of the consumers, is addressed by Johnson's 'Circuit of Culture' model (1986:284). Johnson conceptualises different 'moments' in which the form of a cultural text changes as it moves from production to consumption. Significantly, in contrast to cultural studies which are concerned with merely the text itself, the socially conditioned *consumption* of the text is emphasised.

Although the urban tourism, place image, and cultural studies literature have important contributions to make to an experiential framework, an adequate conceptualisation of people is somewhat lacking. Chapter six, therefore, turns towards a more humanistic approach to understanding place consumption. The chapter begins by reviewing past attempts to 'people' geographical research. An attempt is made to suggest why humanistic geography had a relatively short-lived and indirect influence on geographical research. The subsequent discussion attempts to illustrate the benefits of imbuing place consumption studies with humanism, whilst avoiding an individualistic approach incapable of informing place marketing policy. To this end, the discussion draws heavily on a somewhat neglected yet inspirational author, the phenomenologist Alfred Schutz. In emphasising intersubjective experiences, Schutz captures the embodied interrelationships

between people and place. Central to a Schutzian perspective is the 'stock of knowledge', representing a sedimented collection of first-hand and mediated experiences (Schutz, 1974). Schutz also develops a sophisticated theory of action, providing an alternative to deterministic consumer behaviour models. By articulating the relationship between experiences and images, and the action of place consumers, a Schutzian perspective finally enables a model of urban tourist experience to be formed.

Chapter seven, therefore, provides a summary of the contributions of each theoretical area, before presenting a conceptual model of urban tourist experience. Utilising concepts developed within place image theory, cultural studies, and humanistic approaches, the framework is intended to not only conceptualise the experience of urban tourists, but also to provide the foundations for the development of an experiential methodology. To this end, chapter seven presents both a conceptual model, and a methodological model which guides the development of an experiential methodology in chapter nine.

1.3   INTRODUCTION TO THE PRIMARY RESEARCH

It is argued that primary research into the experiences of urban tourists should be securely underpinned by the conceptual framework. The exploratory primary research focuses on the city of Cardiff - an appropriate locality for conducting a case study for a number of reasons. Cardiff is the capital of Wales, yet is also considered to be the 'Youngest Capital in Europe'. As such, it has a unique role as a vibrant national capital, yet is also subject to the images and perceived peripherality of Wales (Owen *et al.*, 1997). Cardiff has a particularly buoyant service sector and high level of foreign investment; yet the region has also experienced severe de-industrialisation and a range of associated economic, social, and environmental problems. The city is proactively developing its urban tourism industry, through the strategies of organisations such as the Wales Tourist Board, and Cardiff Marketing.

Through the primary research, an attempt is made to build upon the experiential framework developed, incorporating insights from the theoretical debates into the primary research design. It is intended to conduct exploratory yet innovative research which satisfies the demands of urban tourism practitioners, and engages with academic debates. Central to the research, is the process of comparing and contrasting the images of actual visitors to Cardiff with the 'naive images' of non-visitors. This approach has the potential to highlight policy implications in terms of both place promotion and place product development. The limitations of place image research, including the lack of salience of constructs, also influences the research design, particularly the decision to split the research into two distinct phases.

The first phase of primary research is concerned with capturing both salient images of Cardiff from outside the city amongst potential visitors, and the salient experiences of actual visitors. The initial aim is to establish a language of urban tourism decision-making which can be used in the later phase of research. The first phase of the methodology, including the use of Repertory Grid Analysis as a research technique, draws heavily on the humanistic concepts of chapter six. The emphasis on tourists' past experience of both representations of Cardiff, and the city itself, draws upon Schutz's concept of 'stock of knowledge'. The outcome of the first stage of primary research is to create a list of eleven constructs and their polar opposites, representing the attributes salient to intersubjective groups of consumers in deciding whether or not to visit the city of Cardiff.

The second phase of research is more quantitative and of a larger scale. The constructs elicited in the first phase of research are used in the form of a survey. This is distributed both outside Cardiff in two of the city's competitors, Bristol and Edinburgh; and at sites in the city itself. A range of demographic, socio-economic, and psychographic data is incorporated in addition to the constructs. Drawing on cultural studies, an attempt is also made to capture the representations of Cardiff that respondents have experienced, and specific aspects of their experience of the urban landscape. The cultural influence is again

in evidence in the analysis of the data, particularly in attempts to highlight representations or aspects of the urban landscape which merit further analysis.

The rich survey data from 337 respondents is analysed with the principal aim of identifying salient experiences or images, and identifying intersubjective groups of consumers. The exercise of comparing and contrasting the sub-samples, developed with reference to the place image literature, is used to provide an overview. The use of an image index facilitates a comparison between the sub-sample of images of Cardiff, with the sub-sample of experiences of Cardiff. This allows interesting discrepancies to be identified, and general observations to be made. Subsequently, factor analysis is used to identify multiple correlations between images and experiences, the personal characteristics of the tourists, and types of landscapes and representations encountered. The cultural and humanistic influences are apparent in the final stages of analysis, therefore, when attempts are made to both identify significant representations and landscapes, and to define intersubjective groups of consumers.

The results presented in chapter ten, and the subsequent discussion in chapter eleven, focus on the positive and negative experiences of the Cardiff place product; and positive and negative images of the city amongst non-visitors. Whilst experiences of Cardiff are generally favourable and suggest that only minor product development is necessary in relation to particular market segments, the images of Cardiff are more problematic. The factor analysis extractions reveal that two unfavourable images of Cardiff are prevalent amongst distinct groups of non-visitors. It is possible to identify these groups, in terms of both psychographic variables, and the type of representations they have encountered. The subsequent discussion pays particular attention to such representations, the media used to transmit them, and avenues for policy development and further research.

Chapter eleven also engages with methodological issues, including an apparent trade-off between the validity and the reliability of the data. Overall, it is considered significant that the experience of urban tourists in Cardiff appears to be inescapably bound up with

the ways in which the city is represented in the mass media. It is argued, however, that it is necessary to understand how particular landscapes and texts are experienced by groups of place consumers before any attempt is made by researchers to read them. The rich data from the factor analysis helps identify certain variables, aspects of the landscape, and representations which not only provide valuable information to urban tourism practitioners, but also owe their discovery to the experiential framework developed.

1.4   AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1.4.1   Aims

To evaluate urban tourist experience, developing an experiential framework for both conceptualising and researching urban tourism. Using the city of Cardiff as a case study, and the experiential framework as an underpinning, develop and demonstrate rigorous yet sensitive primary research.

1.4.2   Objectives

1)   To demonstrate the centrality of urban tourist experience within debates concerning the contemporary city, postmodernism, and the pursuit of social science.

2)   Explore how the images and experiences of urban tourists are conceptualised and researched in geographical, tourism, and marketing literature, attempting to identify and develop the main components of an experiential approach.

3)   Incorporating contributions from a range of literature, develop an experiential conceptualisation of urban tourism, of relevance to urban tourism practitioners and academics.

4) Using the theoretical underpinning, develop a methodology which is capable of providing rich yet rigorous data relating to images and experiences of Cardiff amongst urban tourists.

5) Inform Cardiff's urban tourism and place marketing policy, providing data in a form appropriate for consideration by practitioners.

6) Contribute theoretically to the knowledge of urban tourism, place consumption, and place marketing; and to the methods and techniques available for measuring the images and experiences of tourists, and evaluating urban tourism strategies.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHING THE CITY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There has been a general consensus amongst writers on the city that from the late 1970s onwards there has been an overwhelming need for cities to differentiate themselves in order to compete for spatially mobile capital. This has led to a dramatic surge in the contemporary significance of images and representations of the city from outside, and the packaging of the city itself. The city is often conceptualised as 'soft' (Raban, 1974), in the sense of having a culture and identity which is open to manipulation and change by those seeking an identity for themselves and for the city. Whilst for authors such as Harvey (1989) this largely represents a reaction to the alienating characteristics of late capitalism, this softness has also been represented as indicative of a more fundamental potentiality of human agency in the contemporary city (e.g., Lefebvre, 1970).

Whilst there has undoubtedly been a general increase in interest in the 'postmodern condition', and particularly *consumption* in the city, the city also reveals the very different epistemologies and agendas between academics and practitioners, materialists and culturalists. Much of the debate concerning postmodernism has centred on the city, and in many ways the city has polarised the different ways of conceptualising and researching contemporary society. In the context of studies focusing on urban tourism and place marketing this represents rather an impasse. Authors such as Harvey (1989) have placed the city within the context of a 'condition of postmodernity', arguing that contemporary urban culture reflects the conditions of capitalism in the late twentieth century, particularly globalisation and the over-accumulation of capital. Authors such as Lyotard (1984) and Lefebvre (1970) have generally accredited urban culture with more autonomy, with Lefebvre coining terms such as 'consumer culture'. This chapter will draw upon this epistemological discussion, suggesting how different epistemologies have important

implications for conceptualising and researching the city. This discussion will form the basis of a more specific examination of place consumption and place marketing in the following chapter. The phenomenon of urban tourism in particular will be used to illustrate the dramatic way in which both the consumption and marketing of the city polarises both practitioners and academics, and different epistemologies. It will be argued in chapter three that this leads to a neglect of the *place consumer*.

2.2   URBAN TOURISM AND THE POSTMODERN CITY

The term 'post-industrial city', perhaps most closely associated with the work of Daniel Bell (1973), encapsulates many of the long-running issues surrounding cities in the developed world. These include questions relating to whether or not we are now in a period that has succeeded industrial capitalism, whether the city has a meaningful ontological status if separated from global economics, and to what extent the local is significant in such processes. If one broadens the analysis to consider the 'postmodern city', however, one begins to catch sight of the divergent pathways to explanation. A popular analogy, and one used to introduce Harvey's *Condition of Postmodernity*, is to conceptualise the contemporary city as 'soft':

> *like a theatre, a series of stages upon which individuals could weave their own distinctive magic while performing a multiplicity of roles. . . with colourful entities which have no relation to each other, no directing, rational or economic scheme.* (Harvey, 1989:3)

The city represented here is one without any coherence, rationality, or recognisable shape. It is also one where images and signs flash before us in a seemingly chaotic and fleeting manner. The period characterised as 'postmodern' appears to introduce 'much more open and fluid social identities as compared with . . . the modern period' (Urry, 1995:21). In the contemporary city, traditional class boundaries become blurred as the boundaries between art and high culture, and everyday life and popular culture, are

dissolved. Culture becomes increasingly dominated by visual and aesthetic media, and the consumption of this culture has increased in pace. The postmodern city is argued to be characterised by a rich collage of signs and symbols from a wide range of genres and styles. A diverse range of buildings, places, and cultural products have been described as 'postmodern'. They all tend to exhibit a discontinuous and fragmentary nature, containing a collage of references to different styles and genres, often deliberately challenging the characteristics of modernism.

As authors such as Harvey (1989), Dear (1986), and Huyssen (1984), have argued, modernism is perhaps best exemplified by the functionality and obsessive efficiency of architects such as Le Corbusier. The manufacturing-led economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s encouraged the mass construction of 'machines for living'. This endeavour was guided by a heroic, optimistic, and rather deterministic ethos which aimed to improve human nature and social organisation through town planning and science (Cloke *et al.,* 1991). Not only did such a built environment, with its large-scale and featureless concrete structures, largely fail to improve human existence, but the worst examples actually alienated, marginalised, and dehumanised urban communities. It is particularly this objective, rational, and de-humanising aspect of modernism that postmodernism, including postmodern architecture, has sought to challenge. Architecturally, there has been an attempt to challenge the 'sheer blandness of modernist architecture', replacing it with 'variety, colourfulness, attention to detail, and the deliberate mixing of . . . styles' (Huyssen, 1984:14-15).

The built environment of the postmodern city is characterised, therefore, by a deliberate attempt to refer to the emotions, experiences, and sense of place of inhabitants. Whilst authors such as Harvey (1989), and Jameson (1984) emphasise the superficiality and depthlessness of such architecture, it has been welcomed by humanist geographers such as Ley (1989), and Gregory (1989). A wide variety of urban landscapes have been used as postmodern objects of analysis, including redeveloped waterfronts and docklands (Short, 1989), hotels (Jameson, 1984), fringe festivals (Willems-Braun, 1994), and

shopping malls (Shields, 1989; Hopkins, 1990; Jackson and Johnson, 1991). As Zukin demonstrates, the city has become a place of consumption, where spectacle and images create 'a dreamscape of visual consumption' (1992:21). Whilst postmodern urban populations are necessarily more flexible and mobile than the modern variety, contemporary landscapes attempt to recreate and simulate a sense of place. Whether this is achieved through theme parks, festivals, world fairs, waterfronts, museums, civic art, or heritage centres, contemporary urban landscapes involve the paradoxical creation of a sense of place and history, to be consumed immediately.

As Urry (1995) argues, whilst there is a humanistic impulse in the creation of the postmodern environment and culture, the speeding up of time and space can dissolve one's identity. Television is used to exemplify the changes to the temporal and spatial organisation of social relations, providing 'a market identity as a consumer in the society of the spectacle' (Kellner, 1992:145). It is argued that the image replaces narrative, and that the individual loses all depth and substance. In this scenario, the inauthenticity and simulated place of the contemporary urban environment seduces decentred consumers. Television exemplifies the need for instantaneous gratification (Adam, 1990), 'as a collage of disconnected stories, with no coherent geographical patterning, intrudes and shapes social life' (Urry 1995:23). The use of remote control 'channel hopping' and video recorders is argued to make television more of a private activity, removing the sense of a shared experience. Even the style of contemporary programmes reflects this fragmentation and speeding up of an ever-expanding popular culture.

The postmodern urban environment has received considerable attention in the social science literature, and will continue to be a theme here. The brief outline of some of the objects of postmodernism, rather than being substantive in itself, is intended to serve as an introduction to the epistemological and methodological implications of their explanation. It is with respect to the supposed processes in operation, and subsequent philosophical considerations, that the debate rages. It is worth noting at the outset that the economic restructuring of Western Europe and North America has been a subject of

both analysis and inspiration to many commentators of the postmodern. It is also the general context within which discussions of postmodernism in this study will be framed. Empirical work over the last two decades shows the scale of restructuring, and associated changes to cities, to be quite immense. Between 1960 and 1981, for example, London lost nearly half of its manufacturing jobs (700,000), and the English conurbations lost more than a third (1.3 million) (DOE, 1982). Very significant in the process of restructuring has been the urban-rural contrast in manufacturing employment change, with stability or growth occurring in relatively remote towns and rural areas. Although there has been something of a dichotomy in explanation between the diseconomies and disadvantages of cities themselves (e.g., Scott, 1982), and global restructuring intrinsic to the latest phase of capitalist production (Dunford, 1977), it would seem that the interaction of the global and the local has been important. As Fothergill *et al.* (1988) argue, global competition and mechanisation has confronted firms with pressures to reduce costs and the size of the workforce, whilst constraints on the supply of suitable sites in cities results in disproportionate growth in small towns and rural areas.

Such changes have resulted in the need for localities to differentiate themselves in order to attract a share of this spatially mobile capital. In the case of cities in particular, authorities ranging from local governments to marketing consortia have been striving to present localities as attractive to potential investors, employers, inhabitants, and tourists (see Kearns and Philo, 1993). These developments, which will be examined in more detail in the next chapter, are crucial to an examination of place consumption. Harvey succinctly sums up the implications of an increase in the spatial mobility of capital, noting that:

> *the less important the spatial barriers, the greater the sensitivity of*
> *capital to the variations of place within space, and the greater the*
> *incentive for places to be differentiated in ways attractive to capital.*
> (Harvey, 1989:295-6)

Whilst the empirical evidence for massive restructuring since the beginning of the 1960s is indisputable, conceptualising the changing culture and economies of cities is

fundamental to the postmodern debate. It is also a useful starting point for considering prevailing materialist conceptualisations of the contemporary city.

2.3   THE CULTURAL LOGIC OF CAPITALISM

Harvey (1989) develops a comprehensive argument linking the postmodern culture and built environment to a transformation of space and time. Whether it is the way art parodies any attempt at interpretation, offering only irony, schizophrenia, and indeterminacy; or the way that architecture appropriates the past in neovernacular designs, the roots are in the changing experience of space and time under flexible accumulation (Cloke *et al.,* 1991). It is argued that the shift from 'fordism' to 'flexible accumulation' has caused changes to western culture. Central to his thesis is the process of 'time-space compression', whereby contemporary capitalism has in effect caused the world to 'shrink'. Whereas Fordism relied on mass production and mass consumption, flexible accumulation:

> *is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests on flexibility with respect to labour processes, new markets, products, and patterns of consumption. . . greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological and organisational innovation.* (Harvey, 1989:147)

Flexible accumulation (the predominant form of capitalism for the last three decades) implies a rapid increase in the pace of communication and transfers of money and people. Dramatic improvements in technology such as telecommunications, information technology, and transport have had the effect of compressing time and space in the developed world. Significantly, it is the over-accumulation of capital which has prompted capitalism to develop in this way, and these developments should be viewed merely as the latest phase in the development of capitalism. Harvey, therefore, in common with materialists such as Jameson (1984), views postmodernism as merely another chapter of capitalism, dictated by the logic of capitalism. Accordingly:

shifts of this sort are by no means new, and . . . the most recent version of
it is certainly within the grasp of materialist enquiry, even capable of
theorisation by way of the metanarratives of capitalist development that
Marx proposed. (Harvey, 1989:146).

Harvey, therefore, not only seeks to locate the economic changes associated with globalisation within the logic of capitalism, but he also employs the meta-narratives of Marx to explain postmodern culture. Culture, therefore, is not accredited any autonomy of its own, instead it is located within a superstructure which is largely determined by the economic developments associated with globalisation. Harvey advances the argument that different historical periods of capitalism create different conditions with respect to space. Within each of these periods, capitalism organises space in a manner most amenable to the maximisation of profit. Periods of crisis in the accumulation of capital, therefore, lead to reorganisations of space and time. Harvey's theory of time-space compression, drawing on Marx's ideas about the annihilation of space by time, describes this latest condition, in which:

Space appears to shrink to a "global village" of telecommunications and
a"spaceship earth" of economic and ecological interdependancies. . . an
overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds.
(Harvey 1989:240)

This process, driven by the development of capitalism, also has consequences for post-modern urban culture. The pace of life becomes greatly increased, with products purchased and consumed globally. Culture also becomes increasingly global, as instead of high culture and working class culture, a global popular culture becomes dominant. Popular culture, however, is characterised by ephemerality and superficiality, with a range of media driving the rapid production and consumption of messages, signs, and images. Significantly, Harvey maintains that the characteristics or 'condition' of postmodernity is wholly caused by the economic logic of flexible accumulation. Furthermore, Harvey questions the extent to which the cultural characteristics of flexible accumulation are different from the economic logic, referring to the 'equally speculative development of cultural, political, legal, and ideological values' (*ibid*:336). Postmodern culture, therefore, fits into the logic of flexible accumulation, as the 'odd thing about postmodern

cultural production is how much sheer profit-seeking is determinant' (*ibid*:336). To Harvey, even the imagery and spectacle of postmodernism, from docklands and shopping malls to world fairs and festivals, serves to mystify and glamorise the exploitation and oppression under capitalism in the search for profit.

The 'cultural capital' of postmodernism, particularly the role of 'spectacle', has received an increasing amount of attention in the literature (e.g., Lash and Urry, 1987; Ley and Olds 1988; Kearns and Philo, 1993), and is a subject to which we will return. Although Harvey has perhaps been most closely associated with the materialist approach to postmodernism, authors such as Jameson (1984:52) have been making the point for some time. Jameson also locates the characteristics of postmodern culture firmly within 'the cultural logic of late capitalism.' Jameson argues that due to the fundamental importance of power and control under flexible accumulation, the categories of Marxism have the same validity for multinational and media societies. Although traditional social classes may have been superseded, Jameson believes that there is a Marxian alternative to the theories of 'consumer' and 'post-industrial' societies (e.g., Bell,1973):

> *Postmodern (or multinational) space is not merely a cultural ideology, but has genuine historical (and socio-economic) reality as a third great original expansion of capitalism around the globe.* (Jameson, 1984:88-89)

Jameson, therefore, argues that the shift away from industrial technologies towards informational technologies is a powerful, original, and global phase in the expansion of capitalism. Jameson also turns towards the 'aesthetic cognitive mapping' of localities to see the cultural logic of postmodernism and the associated power and control. He specifically refers to the work of Lynch (1960) on urban images. The 'post-industrial society', therefore, is argued to be indicative of the period in which all branches of the economy become industrialised, including the cultural industries. Although Jameson acknowledges that the culture of high modernism has demised, postmodern culture is very much within the logic of capitalism.

2.4 ACKNOWLEDGING CULTURE

Lyotard's challenge to the meta-narratives of modernism has important implications concerning how one conceptualises the city. Lyotard was particularly interested in the way meta-narratives are challenged by vast increases in the amount and variety of information available. Using the term 'language games', he draws attention to the irreversible shift in the complexity and speed of information. For Lyotard, modernism was concerned with the universal theories of science, planning, and economics, in fact:

> . . . *any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse,*
> *making an explicit appeal to some grand meta-narrative. . .'* (Lyotard,
> 1984:xxiv)

In the age of information technology, therefore, the volume and variety of messages sweeps away any universal sense of order and rationality. The contemporary importance of images much commented upon by authors such as Harvey, is actually attributed a more profound significance by Lyotard. The fact that we experience competing and contradictory images and messages prevents there from being any universal meta-language. In fact, the impossibility of any meta-language is the only truth and certainty in postmodern society. Any grand theory, whether humanist or materialist, is inconsistent with postmodernism.

Instead, Lyotard draws on narrative analysis to consider the ways in which science and technology controls and legitimises knowledge. Drawing on Wittgenstein, Lyotard focuses on 'language games', or the way 'various categories of utterance can be defined by a set of rules specifying their properties and the uses to which they can be put.' (Lyotard, 1984:11). In an influential contribution to the 'crisis of representation', Lyotard touches upon the concerns of Habermass (1975), yet rejects any totalising ambitions of a society-wide consensus. Recognising that certain traditional institutions 'are losing their attraction' (Lyotard, 1984:14) in terms of information and decision-making, he also states that 'a person is always located at "nodal points" of specific communication circuits, however tiny these may be' (*ibid*:15). Language is therefore

conceptualised as an unstable exchange between different speakers, a conflict and act of trickery, rather than a mutual 'passing of tokens form hand to hand' (*ibid*:xi). Narrative thus becomes a legitimate and important way of thinking, as important as science and logic. Attention should therefore be devoted to these language games. Lyotard believes that:

> *the society of the future falls less within the province of a Newtonian anthropology (such as structuralism or systems theory) than a pragmatics of language particles. There are many different language games - a heterogeneity of elements. They only give rise to institutions in patches - local determinism.* (*ibid*:xxiv)

These contributions have important implications for the contemporary city. If the legitimisation of master narratives no longer holds, whether in science or elsewhere, the focus should turn to small and *local* narrative units. This implies devoting attention to the local 'ground rules' and particular discourses within localities and in relation to particular phenomena. Human geographers have extended Lyotard's language games to considering different groups of people within localities, particularly cities, and in terms of characteristics such as gender, class, lifestyles, age, and attitudes. Thus, Lyotard has been inspirational to researchers concerned with the 'local knowledge' (Geertz, 1983; Rose, 1988) of particular groups in particular places. It is worth noting that geographers also identify with Lyotard's critique of an obsession with history and a fidelity to the past at the expense of space. This includes the way in which narrative consumes the past, and focuses attention on its control, objectification, and ownership, a fundamental political issue in contemporary society.

Valuing space is an important theme running through Ed Soja's contributions to the debate, particularly in *Postmodern Geographies* (1989). In addition to a useful discussion of the characteristics of postmodernism and flexible accumulation, Soja draws on a rich variety of authors and traditions to argue for a heightened awareness of space. Amongst the trends identified are the increasing centralisation and concentration of capital ownership, and a 'technologically-based integration of diversified industrial,

research, and service activities' (Soja, 1989:185). The substantive contribution of the text, however, lies in its discussion of theoretical developments which offer hope in reasserting space in place of the historicism of much of social theory.

Soja's journey takes him through the work of Marx, Lefebvre, Berger, and Foucault, before reconsidering the challenges addressed by Giddens' structuration theory. Soja's main concern is that 'an essentially historical epistemology continues to pervade the critical consciousness of modern social theory' (Soja, 1989:10). This concern with 'the making of history' is believed to:

> *occlude a comparable critical sensibility to the spatiality of social life. . .*
> *social being actively emplaced in space and time in an explicitly*
> *historical and geographical contextualisation.* (Soja, 1989:11)

In common with a number of human geographers (e.g., Gregory, 1989), Soja engages with Foucault's critiques of historicism and meta-theories, emphasising that a postmodern attitude is necessary to capture the complexities of the postmodern city. Foucault offers insights into 'reasserting the interpretative significance of space' (Soja 1989:11), particularly through his sustained attacks on the order and universality of 'total history' (Foucault 1972:9). This includes any meta-theory which imposes order on a complex world through the use of *a priori* interpretations. Foucault believed that 'nothing is fundamental: this is what is interesting in the analysis of society' (Foucault, 1982:18), and Soja identifies with this concern, including the need to engage with the chaos and complexities of space and place. Foucault's work relating to the spatialisation of power (Foucault, 1980) is of great interest to geographers. Although he was at best a closet geographer, Foucault's more explicit references to space are also attractive to authors such as Soja. Foucault's development of concepts such as 'spaces of dispersion' (1980) and 'heterotopia' (1967) are particularly relevant to places of consumption, and will be discussed in chapter five. Significantly, they have important methodological implications in terms of focusing on the local in order to understand the workings of society's institutions. Foucault defines 'heterotopia' as:

a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another. . . (yet) capable of juxtaposing in a real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible. (Foucault, 1986:23-25)

Soja recognises in Foucault an affinity with Lefebvre's concern with capturing 'actually lived and socially created spatiality, concrete and abstract at the same time, the habitus of social practices' (Soja, 1989:18). Soja argues that almost every variant of Marxism has been characterised by a neglect for space. Space has been conceived merely as a contingent factor, an abstract and generalised physical form, and a container of social and economic processes. Attempts to 'people' and spatialise Marxism, from the contributions of Sartre (1964) and Althusser (1969), to the more explicit statements of Mandel (1976) and Lefebvre (1970), have met with mixed success. Mandel considers uneven development between regions and nations to be 'on the same level as the exploitation of labour by capital' (Mandel (1976:43). Such statements have been influential in the long-term development of human geography, but also caused acrimonious fragmentations of the Marxist tradition. A variety of materialist geographers, undoubtedly influenced by Lefebrve's contribution, later sought to occupy a middle ground between an aspatial Marxism, and what has been termed 'spatial fetishism' (e.g., Castells 1983, 1985; Massey, 1984; and Smith, 1984).

It is Lefebvre who offers some of the richest yet neglected insights into conceptualising the contemporary city. Lefebvre has perhaps been more influential amongst Anglo-American human geographers (e.g., Gregory, 1994; Soja, 1985, 1989a; Shields, 1994), than in his native France. It should also be acknowledged that Harvey has long been influenced by Lefebvre, including his contributions on the changing form of capital circulation (1973), changing representations of space (1989), and even the role of perception and imagination in the construction of place (1993). Lefebvre's engagement with Marxism has perhaps attracted a disproportionate amount of interest relative to his other valuable insights. Whilst geographers such as Dear (1984) and Soja (1989) rightly find much in his work to support their quest for the spatialization of social theory, his experiential approach to everyday life is undervalued.

It is interesting that Lefebvre considers the daily life of the majority of the population to remain largely untouched by the discontinuities associated with an endless succession of 'isms'. Rather than simply elevating space at the expense of time, Lefebvre is interested in the interplay of space and time, particularly in projects such as 'Rhythm analysis' (1967). Massey (1992) draws upon such approaches, highlighting the feeling of insecurity experienced by the most mobile and technology literate in society. It is argued that experience of space and time is complex and heterogeneous, varying significantly between different groups.

Further developing his interest in the contradictions of everyday urban life, *Right to the City* (1967) emphasises the city as a place of encounter where differences come together. Rational analyses are not sufficient to understand the dialectical movement between form and content, thought and reality. Urban form, in particular is conceptualised as an amalgam of people, events, perceptions, and different elements. Improvements in communications have brought these together, yet also created divisions and inequalities within society. Again highlighting the complex relationships between space and time, Lefebvre shows how the theatre, sport, fairs, and spectacle restores a sense of time. The *oeuvre*, which can be defined as a totality which assembles differences in one place and at one time, may not coincide with its official and institutional form (1967:161).

The need to consider the city as a totality, particularly in terms of everyday life, is a recurring theme. Lefebvre also comments on a long anti-urban tradition in academic work which refuses to recognise humans' experiences of the city (1986). His calls for a sensitivity to everyday experience run through the majority of his work, and he asks why 'must Marxism evacuate the symbolic, the dream and the imaginary. . . the oeuvre?' (1976:268). It was perhaps these concerns which motivated Lefebvre to combine Marx with the writings of Nietzsche (1970). Lefebvre's conceptualisation of difference was thus concerned with conceptualising the contradictions of urban life, rather than reducing them within universal theories.

His engagement with time emphasises intersubjective social experience (1970:204-4). The concept of 'moments' refers to modes of experience, such as work, rest, and play (1959). He was also interested in the way the norms of different social groups influence such behaviour (1959:648). In his later work, Lefebvre was actually returning to his early phenomenological concerns, particularly relationships between the body, its rhythms, and space. *Production of space* (1986) is fundamentally concerned with the body as a place of interaction of the biological, the physical and the social (1985:197). These ideas draw on phenomenology, starting analyses with the body in time and space, yet also demanding much more concern for social influences. This is seen as a way of overcoming artificial divisions between the components of a city (1986). Whilst critical of his oversentimentality, Lefebvre identified with certain Heideggerian terms, such as *habiter*. Rather than the rural, however, it was the being and consciousness of the city which was fundamental.

2.5   CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made to introduce the postmodern city, and to summarise the two predominant epistemological approaches to conceptualising the city. There is a degree of consensus concerning the 'soft' nature of the contemporary city, and the ability of cities to be differentiated by having identities created for them. The city is characterised by images, and the pace of contemporary life results in a montage of images and representations from a wide variety of sources. In addressing place consumption, tourism, and place marketing, we are engaging with the concept of urban culture. The postmodern debate, however, is polarised around the issue of postmodern urban culture. Whilst materialists view postmodern culture as merely a response to the latest phase of capitalism - flexible accumulation - writers adopting a postmodern approach view urban culture very differently. To those drawing on the contributions of writers such as Lefebvre, Lyotard, and Foucault, postmodern urban culture has much more autonomy

and agency. As such, it should be approached not through the meta-theories of materialism, but at the level of different experiences. The latter approach implies a concern for context, and interest in differences, and an emphasis on the everyday experience of groups of people in the city.

CHAPTER 3

CONSUMING AND MARKETING THE CITY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

De-industrialisation in the UK since the 1970s has been well documented. So too has the dramatic growth of the tertiary sector, and the emergence of the 'post-industrial city' (Bell, 1973). As authors such as Fothergill *et al.* (1988) have argued, the de-industrialisation of major cities was due to both intense competition in global economies, and the fact that cities became increasingly unattractive to new forms of industry. The flexibility, accessibility, and quality of life offered by greenfield sites placed the post-industrial city in a seemingly inescapable cycle of decline. It was increasingly recognised, however, that the city did have some unique and attractive resources, if not for traditional manufacturing industry, at least for consumption. The expanding tertiary sectors, therefore, were increasingly seen by urban authorities as offering a silver lining in terms of economic development and urban regeneration.

Not surprisingly, throughout the 1980s, urban policy-makers and local government increasingly adopted the style of 'entrepreneurial government' and place marketing. There has been an effort to provide the sites, environment, incentives, and images to attract not only high-tech manufacturing and quaternary industry, but also a range of producer and personal service industries. In addition to providing the physical infrastructure for new forms of manufacturing and service industries, the most ambitious and comprehensive programmes of regeneration also sought to develop the tourism and leisure sectors. Tourism, heritage, and the cultural industries were increasingly linked to both economic development strategies in terms of employment and income generation, and place marketing strategies concerned with image reconstruction.

Place marketing has therefore become both a philosophy of urban governance and management, and a major industry in itself. Although civic boosterism has a long tradition, contemporary place marketing is different in both its aims and its methods. A major aim is to differentiate a particular city from its competitors, attracting a share of spatially mobile capital. Whilst 'modern' regional synergies have been reversed with intense competition within regions of the UK, tourism has taken on a major role in fostering local synergies. It has increasingly been recognised that an attractive place to visit tends to be an attractive place to live and work. Tourism has therefore become an important component of place marketing activity.

In this chapter, the philosophy and practice of place marketing will be considered, along with the role of tourism within place marketing strategies. Many place marketing organisations appear to have adopted marketing in a rather evangelical and uncritical manner, fending off doubters with a dismissive and rather defensive rhetoric. This hardly dispels claims that the rhetoric of place marketing silences and ignores other opinions. It would also seem that as well as being part of a costly 'zero-sum game' (Harvey, 1989), many strategies are ill-conceived, and incoherent (see Haider, 1989).

It will be recognised, therefore, that although tourism offers great potential in terms of economic development, place marketing, and image reconstruction, there is certainly no consensus on its merits. Authors drawing on materialist arguments have developed a powerful, scathing, and dismissive discourse relating to the use of tourism and heritage in economic development (see especially Hewison, 1987). This relates particularly to the appropriation and commodification of local arts, history and culture in order to attract tourists.

Unfortunately, it would seem that alternatives to the materialist critique are rather limited. Whilst one would expect tourism researchers to provide an understanding of the experience of urban tourists, the literature is characterised by theoretical and methodological weaknesses. Tourism researchers often seem unaware of theoretical

debates within the social sciences, and problems are exacerbated by a lack of engagement with urban tourism within social science disciplines. Methodological weaknesses often stem from an over-emphasis on results, irrespective of the research design. With the exception of several contributions concerned with *service quality* in urban tourism, experiential approaches to research are very poorly developed.

Although marketing necessarily focuses on the consumer, an ignorance of geographical concepts such as *place* detracts from a full understanding. Materialists, on the other hand, are so restricted by their own meta-theory that they are unable to conceptualise different groups of active place consumers. As none of these approaches are considered adequate, it will be argued in this and subsequent chapters that there is an urgent need to consider alternative ways of conceptualising and researching the city in the context of place consumption.

3.2   THE PLACE MARKETING INDUSTRY

The increase in the spatial mobility of capital, and the devastating effects of de-industrialisation on many cities, has led to the development of a new industry - place marketing. The practice of place marketing involves the activities of both public and private sectors agencies, aimed at 'selling' the image of a particular locality in order to make it attractive to commercial organisations, tourists, and inhabitants. The emphasis is on encouraging footloose industries to locate, and tourists to visit. The economic logic of place marketing, therefore, is concerned with economic development, job creation, and often urban regeneration. Localities compete with each other for a share of mobile capital in a range of 'place market segments'.

The last decade and a half has seen a transformation of place marketing, from an essentially amateur activity to a vast and professionalised form of urban governance. Holcomb (1990) shows that in the US, place marketing is a multi-billion dollar industry in

its own right, employing marketing and public relations consultants to sell towns, cities and states. Guskind (1987:4) estimates that in the US in 1986 3-6 billion dollars were spent selling cities and states. The Tourist and Convention Agency in the city of Las Vegas has a budget of $81 million (Law, 1993). Bailey's analysis of the urban development programmes of 23 US cities concluded that marketing 'is now the principal driving force in urban economic development' (Bailey, 1989:3). There is little sign of urban marketing activity decreasing, as cities in particular are likely to be sold even more aggressively in future years (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990).

As economic development and often regeneration is an important aim, marketers see their role as that 'through which economy is integrated into society to serve human needs' (Drucker and Parlin, quoted in Bailey, 1989:1). De-industrialisation has been an important catalyst for applying the marketing philosophy to localities. A cycle of unemployment, dereliction, and social problems has contributed to and been created by the unattractiveness of many places to industry. A falling tax base and the rise of laissez-faire economic strategies also fostered a strong marketing ethos. As Harvey asked, 'how could regions blessed largely with a demand-side heritage adapt to a supply-side world?' (Harvey, 1989:8).

The answer, at least according to government ministries and business leaders, is to change the emphasis of the planning profession. Instead of the development control function and the provision of basic infrastructure, a proactive approach was increasingly adopted. From the unsophisticated promotion of the main attributes of localities, grew a more targeted and comprehensive place marketing approach. According to Harvey (1989), this represented a transition from the 'managerial' approach to local government characteristic of the 1960s, to an 'entrepreneurial' approach from the 1970s onwards. Later, the 1989 Local Government and Housing Act forced local authorities to develop their economic development programmes, including community consultation on its content. The marketing concept was increasingly being applied to non-profit organisations and places. Kotler, for example, was one of the first marketing writers to

address the ideological divide between the traditional and contemporary concerns of local authorities (Kotler, 1969, 1972). From an emphasis on the public good and social benefit, attention turned to 'social marketing' (Kotler, 1982). The competitive ethos of the marketplace was imported, and the concept of the 'place market' became widespread.

Ashworth and Voogd (1990) identify three main types of organisation involved in place marketing, although it should be noted that distinctions are becoming increasingly blurred. *Public authorities*, including city and metropolitan borough councils, have predominately collective public interest goals and operate within the markets for selected services. Authors such as Queenan (1992) suggest that in Europe, local authorities often take the lead role in marketing and tourism development. *Agencies*, whether public or private, operate as promotional organisations for particular place market segments such as tourism. *Partnerships*, whether public-public or public-private, also operate at a variety of scales, often on an *ad hoc* basis and with a more specific agenda. As Bramwell and Rawding (1994:431) point out, public-private partnership organisations have been encouraged by government statements such as 'Action for Cities', as well as national tourist board strategies.

Place marketing is a process:

> *whereby urban activities are as closely as possible related to the demands of targeted customers so as to maximise the efficient social and economic functioning of the area.* (Ashworth and Voogd, 1988:68)

Fundamental to place marketing is the construction and projection of an attractive image of the locality. In many cases there will be an attempt to replace a vague or unfavourable image with one that is conducive to attracting investment and tourism. Stereotypes - simplified generalisations about people and places - are crucial to urban marketing, particularly as many post-industrial cities suffer from the negative variety. The attraction of investment and tourists has often been hampered by negative stereotypes, and a range of promotional tools are employed to alter, strengthen, and project a favourable image. Mills and Young (1986) estimate that well over 70 per cent of UK local authorities

engage in some form of promotional activity. Since Burgess' similar survey in 1977 (Burgess, 1982), it would seem that there has been a considerable increase in the use of tourist guides, and industrial and commercial information (Barke and Harrop, 1992). Qualitative changes are also apparent, with 'glossy' and professional-looking publications replacing the 'dour' varieties of the 1970s. The proportion of local authorities distributing tourist information appears to have more than doubled since 1977. British examples such as Bradford, Wigan, and Halifax (Buckley and Witt, 1985, 1989) would seem to indicate that tourism is increasingly being incorporated into the strategies of economic development departments (Law, 1991; Jeffrey, 1990).

Most content analyses of promotional literature, including Holcomb (1980), Ryan (1990), and Watson (1990), reveal surprisingly uniform themes in promotional material. The adoption of logos is common, with symbols representing industrial heritage, quality of life, and renaissance/re-birth (Barke and Harrop, 1992). Slogans are often used, with references to quality of life, locational advantages (either *central* or *a gateway*), and business opportunities. Even Wallasey is promoted as 'EuroWirral' and Middlesborough as 'Gateway to Captain Cook Country'. Industrial heritage is also influential, inspiring puns such as 'Cotton onto Burnley'. The Black Country looks to 'an industrious future from an industrial past', whilst Bristol is 'rich in industrial history' (Barke and Harop, 1992).

According to Bramwell and Rawding (1996), in their study of five British cities, it is common for cities to be represented as lively, exciting, dynamic, and cosmopolitan (Bramwell and Rawding, 1996:208). The study also reveals some interesting differences between the promotion of UK cities. The approach in Manchester, for example, is encapsulated in the slogan 'the Life and Soul of Britain', emphasising vitality, energy, and youth culture. By contrast, marketing in Stoke-on-Trent emphasises shopping and the pottery industry, employing the slogan 'The City that Fires the Imagination' (Bramwell and Rawding (1996:208).

Authors such as Ashworth and Voogd (1988:68) emphasise that although place marketing is sometimes considered to be synonymous with 'place promotion', it is necessary to use all of the 'geographical marketing mix'. The development of the place product to meet the needs of target market segments is particularly important. According to Kotler (1993:18), place marketing is concerned with designing an appropriate mix of features and services, devising attractive incentives for current and potential consumers, delivering products and services in an efficient and accessible way, and promoting the attributes and image of the locality. Place marketers should take a strategic approach, positioning the locality according to its strengths and weaknesses relative to competitors. Ashworth and Voogd (1988:68) suggest that strategies may be *defensive*, concerned with maintaining existing services; *quality-orientated*, concerned with enhancing facilities; *expansionist*, concerned with promoting attractive heritage resources; or aimed at *diversification*, whereby new markets are targeted.

Boniface and Fowler (1993) emphasise the potential of urban tourism and heritage in providing an outlet for expressing local difference and place identity in the context of globalisation. In this optimistic view, heritage can mediate between the external global forces of capital, and the perspectives of local residents, local governments, and entrepreneurs. Attention has been drawn to the tangible elements of urban tourism by authors such as Jansen (1989), Jacobs (1993) and Jansen-Verbeke (1990). Indirectly, such contributions have been significant in suggesting the way in which values and social practices become embodied through urban recreation and tourism. A dialectical process seem to operate, between the physical production of the urban landscape, and the cultural production of symbolic value. As Selwyn (1996) shows, tourism is about the creation of myths, images and fantasies, particularly about the Other. Whether one considers Nepal (Hutt, 1996), Brighton (Meethen and Fees, 1996), or Cyprus (Dann, 1988, 1996), the development of tourism requires the production of mythical places and hosts, and these myths are underpinned by politico-economic and cultural dependencies. Selwyn also demonstrates that there is no simple and universal process in the production and consumption of tourist myths.

Herbert (1995) identifies a triad of inter-related phenomena, consisting of leisure, tourism, and heritage. Despite the seemingly unproblematic dictionary definition of heritage as 'that which has been or may be inherited' (OED, 1993), Herbert (1995) reminds us that this is not the case. Whereas conservation and preservation were once the priority, the need to improve access and market tourism and heritage sites to paying consumers is the predominant contemporary motivation. As the competition between tourist destinations and individual attractions increases, so does the emphasis on increasing visitor numbers and ensuring customer satisfaction. Herbert suggests that very few tourism organisations can avoid adopting the marketing philosophy, citing CADW (Welsh Historic Monuments), who feel it necessary to assure that 'the completion of projects . . . should boost attendance's in 1993-94)' (Western Mail, 16 December 1993, cited in Herbert, 1995:9).

3.3   URBAN TOURISM

3.3.1   The Role of Tourism

Place marketing strategies which emphasise the quality of life of a locality tend to sit the most comfortably with the development of tourism. In the US the emphasis on consumption and services in economic development is characterised by the development of Pittsburgh's huge waterside amusement park, and Cleveland waterfront's collection of jazz clubs and restaurants. Likewise, the docks of Boston, New York, and Baltimore have been transformed into festival markets (Law, 1993). Getz (1991) describes how the downtown areas of Baltimore have been transformed by urban development initiatives, fairs, and the activities of the Baltimore Office of Promotion and Tourism. The image of a high quality lifestyle, extensive facilities, and a lively ambience are crucial to attract target market segments. Even places worst affected by de-industrialisation such as Hartlepool in North East England, where unemployment reached 22.3 per cent in the

1980s (DOE, 1984), have invested heavily in waterfront developments. Most of Britain's re-developed waterfront areas, such as The Albert Dock in Liverpool, or The London Docklands, attempt to combine place promotion with extensive place product development, exemplifying the marketing approach.

Tourism has increasingly been used as an important component of place marketing strategies. Urban tourism can have immense income and employment-generating potential in itself, and it is widely considered to complement the attraction of inward investment. Direct benefits relate to job creation in facilities such as hotels, restaurants and attractions. Secondary rounds of expenditure occur, creating subsidiary and support industries, and the local economy also benefits from the induced affect on household incomes (see Fletcher and Archer, 1991). In Liverpool, for example, it is estimated that even in the difficult 1980s, 14,000 jobs were supported by tourism. (DRV, 1986). Sheenan and Brent Ritchie (1997:105) show that in North America, maximising the economic impact of tourism is the priority of tourism bureaux. Even individual projects have significant employment-generating potential, such as the New Theatre in Cardiff which is estimated to sustain 200 jobs (Law, 1993). Facilities, attractions, and environmental improvements can also be of great benefit to the local population. In theory, they can also increase civic pride, enterprise, and confidence.

As part of place marketing and urban tourism strategies, buildings are used as symbols of success for a city. Places can become renowned for certain landmarks, such as the Sidney Opera House, The Statue of Liberty, or the Eiffel Tower. As architecture helps to project a distinct image to potential tourists and investors, cities with waterfronts and listed buildings are at an advantage. The physical regeneration of derelict areas is an important benefit of developing tourism. As Law (1993) illustrates, the area on the fringe of the centre of industrial cities was usually the site of transport facilities, industry, and warehouses. Although now derelict, this space does have potential in terms of tourism and cultural activities. The decline of transport facilities has been influential in St. Louis (Union Station), Manchester (G-MEX Centre), Toronto (C/N Tower and Skydive), and

the docks and waterfront in cities as varied as Boston, Baltimore, Barcelona, Liverpool, and Cardiff.

Enhancing the image of the city is often integral to the urban tourism strategy. Although stereotypical images of dirt and dereliction can represent a severe obstacle to tourism in post-industrial cities, tourism has an important image enhancement role. As one practitioner puts it, 'visitors will be drawn, word will spread, and perceptions will change' (Collinge, 1989:7). This has been the aim in cities such as Glasgow, where first an image-building campaign, followed by an arts and culture-based image reconstruction programme was used (Paddison, 1993). As Walsh (1989) shows, planning departments have not been exempt from this adoption of techniques from marketing science.

For the purpose of developing urban tourism strategies, Jansen-Verbeke (1988) classifies tourism resources into primary and secondary. Primary elements are those which actually attract visitors, such as historic buildings, urban landscapes, museums and art galleries, concerts, spectator sports, conferences, exhibitions, and special events. Secondary elements include shopping, catering, accommodation, transport, and tourism agencies. Cities such as Frankfurt, Germany, also thrive as gateways to the surrounding area, in this case to the Rhine Gorge, Heidleburg, and Gothenburg. Although the incorporation of tourism into economic development strategies is widespread, published documents are quite rare, perhaps reflecting a continuing ambiguity concerning the role of tourism. A number of UK cities have produced comprehensive tourism plans, including Belfast (PIEDA, 1987), Birmingham (Birmingham City Council, 1987), Bristol (Bristol City Council Planning Department, 1990), Merseyside (MTB, 1987), and Cardiff (Tibbalds *et al.*, 1988; Pannel *et al.*, 1984; L & R Leisure, 1995). Some of the best case examples of urban tourism development suggest that tourism should be a component of general economic development. Bradford's economic development department, for example, overcame initial derision in the mass media, successfully developing national attractions cultural events, and festivals.

Although European and Australasian tourist agencies tend to operate on a smaller scale than in the US, Pearce (1992) suggests that most large cities have some form of tourism marketing organisation. The Munich City Tourist Office, for example, had a budget of some DM 23.3 million in 1989, with 40 per cent allocated by the city council. In Auckland, New Zealand, Tourism Auckland has a limited budget of NZ$ 40,000 to promote the City as the country's gateway. Research in the US and Canada shows that a common funding arrangement involves the use of a hotel tax, accounting for 71.7 per cent of budget revenues (Sheenan and Brent Ritchie, 1997:114). With government grants contributing an average of 6.2 per cent, local city taxes 2.6 per cent, and other taxes 1 per cent, it would seem that tourism bureaux are financially dependent on public funds (Sheenan and Brent Ritchie, 1997:114). As membership fees contribute an average of only 6.9 per cent of revenue, there is a clear need to increase the contribution of private sector funding.

Arts and cultural facilities commonly form an important component of urban tourism strategies, particularly when a group of attractions are geographically clustered. Although one of the earliest examples was the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC, cities around the world have adopted a similar approach. There is a grouping of museums at South Kensington in London, and Frankfurt created a total of eleven new museums throughout the 1980s, grouping seven on the Southern Bank of the Main (Law, 1993). Redeveloped docklands commonly feature groups of attractions and museums. Liverpool's waterfront, for example is home to The Merseyside Maritime Museum, The Tate Gallery, The Beatles Story, The Museum of Liverpool Life, HM Customs and Excise National Museum, and Heritage Cruises on the Mersey. These make up the 'Liverpool's Historic Waterfront' marketing consortium. Most large British cities significantly increased museum attendance throughout the 1980s and 1990s, and it was increasingly appreciated that despite the relatively small proportion of the population attending such attractions, a cluster of facilities can benefit the economy and help to project a positive image.

Economic development has embraced the arts to the extent that the term 'arts industry' is now in common usage (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Griffiths, 1993). Although US research shows that typically only 12 per cent of the population attends a play in a year, and 13 per cent a classical concert (Law, 1993:89), the arts continue to have a high profile in place marketing. According to Shanahan (1980), their presence suggests a level of civility and culture, and a progressive and resourceful city. Whitt (1989) shows how they have been considered the centrepiece of US economic development strategies. Numerous European cities have adopted arts strategies, and in the US, arts districts have been created in cities such as Boston, Dallas, and Pittsburgh.

The arts also play an important part in events and festivals which attract large numbers of visitors, the largest of which have been termed 'mega-events' (Syme et al, 1989). The income-generating and image-building potential of events such as Munich's Oktoberfest, the Tall Ship's Race, and the Commonwealth and Olympic Games, have been recognised for some time. Even unsuccessful bids to host events can be beneficial, with research showing that the familiarity with Manchester amongst 500 businesses increased by 10 per cent during its Olympic bid (Healey and Baker, 1992). By 1991, the number of arts-based festivals in the UK had increased to 557 (Rolfe, 1992). The Edinburgh festival attracts 600 visitors over three weeks and generates £40 million (Law, 1993:99).

3.3.2 Urban Tourism in Theory and Practice

As Kotler states:

> *Marketing is a process of planning and movement of a product from the supplier to those who use it. . . and the marketing process is incomplete unless all its functions are performed.* (Kotler, 1992:7)

As in any marketing system, in urban tourism customers and products are brought together by the market of exchange. Although place marketing performs all of these functions - adopting a 'place marketing mix' - there are significant differences in the nature of elements, particularly in the case of the product and promotion. As Gold and

Ward (1990), Ashworth and Voogd (1990), and Lovelock and Weinberg (1984) show, the place product is intangible, especially when sold as an entity rather than a defined set of facilities or services. The urban tourism product, for instance, is both a container or stage for activity-based products, and a product in itself. Activity-based products typically consist of cultural facilities, attractions, events, and festivals.

The city, however, also has a concentration of facilities, which although not solely for tourist use, contribute to the 'leisure setting' (Jansen-Verbeke, 1985). Marketing approaches differ, therefore, depending on the degree of definition possible, but it is significant that the product consumed may not correspond to that which is promoted. In spatial terms, the boundaries of the place product rarely correspond with jurisdictional boundaries, but include socio-cultural characteristics of local populations such as local customs, folklore, and local traditions.

Spatial hierarchies also exist, with different spatial scales often targeted by different place marketing organisations (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). Because the place product is multi-sold, the same facilities and geographical area is sold to many different groups of consumers. Although marketers take steps to avoid conflict, the process often leads to tensions and ambiguities. The co-ordination of the activities of different organisations is important, and there may be an emphasis on partnerships in order to avoid duplication of activities and a 'shadow effect' (Bramwell and Rawding, 1994). It is necessary for the activities of marketing consortia, tourist boards, and economic development departments to be consistent with those of development corporations, developers, and planning departments. Discrepancies between the projected image of the locality and the place product are obviously to be avoided. Market segmentation is also challenging in place marketing, as demand for the place product cannot simply be equated with participation. The same products and facilities are simultaneously being used by very different groups of consumers with different needs and desires.

Promotion is also a fundamental component of the place marketing mix, representing the official, specific, goal-directed means of influencing the behaviour of target groups (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990). The transmission of images of localities depends on a range of channels, effectively forming a 'place promotional mix'. The media chosen in promotional activity significantly influences the credibility of the message. Research is important in monitoring the transmission and reception of place images (see for example Goodall, 1988). A range of promotional strategies and communication channels have been examined, including local authority tourism promotion (Burgess, 1982), press advertising (Pocock and Hudson, 1978), slogan advertising (Montalieau, 1988), official letters from public authorities (Van der Veen and Voogd, 1987), film (Gold, 1985), television (Gould, 1985), news reporting (Brooker-Gross, 1985), and popular music (Jarvis, 1985).

Despite the diversity of these studies, a common conclusion is that official projected images are rarely the most significant influence on place consumer decision-making. To be accepted into the individual's image of the locality, the information must be credible, and this depends on the individual's evaluation of the medium of transmission. Researchers seem to be agreed on the importance of the credibility of media for the success of place promotion (See Crompton, 1979; Giletson and Crompton, 1983). More fundamentally, it would seem that place consumers, particularly tourists, are influenced by a much wider spectrum of information sources than consumers of other products. Cities, for example, may be subject to mass media reporting of environmental or social problems, and these unofficial images dominate the locality's identity. It would also seem that these unofficial images are significant in purchasing behaviour, with strong attitudes towards places developed without exposure to commercial projected sources of information.

It would seem that a major influence on the success of a place marketing strategy is its level of coherence and precision. Place marketing is successful where the place product can easily be defined, the target consumer groups are identifiable and accessible, and

where the organisation can project a clear and uncontested image. Organisational structure is often critical for the success of place marketing. The philosophy of marketing needs to permeate the entire organisation, a development that some public sector organisations have adapted to better than others. Crucial to marketing is the identification of a unique selling proposition, yet there is a remarkable uniformity and blandness in the packaging of many localities. Evans *et al.* (1995) argue that very few destinations are marketed with a strategic approach to positioning. Town planners have had to become comfortable with the market, combining traditional planning techniques with vision and intuition (Hall, 1987:130). As Fretter (1993) argues, this implies a new relationship between local authorities and their 'customers', and a demand orientated and 'flexible' approach to development plans (see also Atkinson and Moon, 1994; Harloe et al, 1990). In short, the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation has forced the planning profession to develop a flexible, market-orientated, and proactive approach.

3.3.3 Practical Problems

As localities have embraced marketing and increasingly competed with other places to attract tourists and inward investment, there have also been significant changes in patterns of consumption and employment. As Meethen (1996) points out, there has been a shift away from mass consumption and mass marketing towards flexible consumption and niche marketing. Places have actively sought to become places of consumption, none more so than in the urban tourism market. This active process of developing, packaging, branding, and promoting places has profound implications. The urban environment itself becomes a commodity to be bought and sold, a commodity to be *consumed*.

Despite the huge sums of public and private money spent marketing localities on a range of spatial scales, the effectiveness of many strategies in questionable. In addition to the huge amounts spent by public organisations, place dependant businesses such as utilities, financial institutions, local newspapers, and of course, tourism enterprises, use place marketing. Such organisations have significant infrastructure investment, local financial

investment, or a reliance on local markets. Despite research estimating that in the US alone, 3 - 6 billion dollars was spent in 1986 to sell cities and states (Guskind, 1987:4), Haider argues that 'many, if not most places do not have a well thought out marketing plan or strategy.' (1989: 10-11).

The high aggregate levels of expenditure and the apparent professionalism of place marketing does not imply that a coherent or accepted range of methods and principles exist. Problems are often related to the co-ordination of tourism and regeneration policies. The plethora of organisations - including local authority departments, central governments and its ministries, autonomous agencies, and public-private partnerships - do not necessarily work consistently. Coherence in policy requires a great deal of co-operation and co-ordination between diverse, and often politically polarised organisations. There can be something of a dichotomy between organisations concerned with the place product, such as development corporations and planning departments; and organisations involved in place promotion, such as tourist boards and marketing consortia. Bramwell and Rawding (1994:431-432) argue that the private sector has become increasingly involved in tourism marketing as part of the partnership-based model. Whilst private sector expertise (and increasingly revenue) is important, tourism promotion may increasingly reflect short-term profit motives, rather than the longer-term interests of the community as a whole.

There has generally been a long-standing failure of planners, residents, and business leaders to view tourism as a serious form of economic activity. The perception of tourism as a seasonal and marginal activity bringing in *extra* revenue is closely inter-related with a lack of academic research. Page (1995) describes the creation of a vicious circle, whereby the absence of public and private-sector research makes access to research data difficult, whilst the funding necessary for primary research becomes less forthcoming. The catalyst for research and the creation of coherent urban tourism strategies has often been the pressure of high volumes of visitors on popular destinations. Visitor management must become part of coherent place marketing strategies if tourism

in cities such as Canterbury, York, and Venice is to be sustainable (Law, 1993, Page, 1995).

As Paddison (1993) argues, the inflexibility of cities is a problem, with their regeneration requiring long lead times. As the outcome of large-scale investments in social capital and infrastructure, their renewal is an attenuated process requiring huge investments of money and expertise. It would seem, however, that measures of financial performance are problematic, often lacking context. Sheenan and Brent Ritchie (1997:115) find that tourism bureaux often use absolute measures, instead of ratios which enable comparisons to be made between the performance of different organisations.

The scale of tourism necessary to create significant benefits in terms of economic development raises doubts. The impact will be very limited unless part of a comprehensive economic development strategy. The ETB's view of tourism as 'the catalyst for regeneration' (ETB, 1980) requires millions of visitors per year, and much public investment. Over-ambitious projections of employment figures have often been quoted, resulting in disappointment concerning the number of direct tourism jobs created. The areas regenerated are usually small, due to the necessity of creating tourism 'honey pots' (Law, 1993). As Harvey (1989) argues, there is also a danger that all cities will be redeveloped in the same way, ruining any competitive edge they may have. Evans *et al.* (1995) urge destinations to pay more attention to strategic management, advocating the application of Porter's model (Porter, 1980). Whilst there is a strong argument for destinations to concentrate on *cost leadership*, *differentiation*, or a *focus strategy*, it would appear that positioning is neglected by many destination marketing organisations.

Political accountability is one of the most contentious issues. In theory, social marketing recognises notions of equity and accountability (Kotler, 1983). In practice, urban tourism and marketing raises serious questions about how the city is to be represented. As Paddison (1993) demonstrates, Glasgow is a city where marketing and tourism have been used to radically restructure the image and the economic base. There is much polemical

debate, however, about the direction taken regarding the new economy, and the image of the city. The UDC's also attracted much controversy due to their imposition on areas, their far-reaching powers, and their lack of accountability. As Burgess (1990) shows, the London Docklands Development Corporation spent over £2 million on national advertising between 1981 and 1984, with the aim of encoding a new gentrified identity for the docklands. Not only were thousands of residents physically displaced by the dockland redevelopment, but communities were also subject to a complex re-imaging which manipulated an East End already encoded in television programmes (Burgess, 1990:144).

Effective management is, of course, essential, particularly in ensuring that resources are sustainable. Historic areas, for instance face dangers from overuse, traffic congestion, and pollution (see Ashworth and Tunbridge, 1990). Management is made more difficult by the ill-defined boundaries of tourist areas. Whilst marketing may be conducted at city level, its impacts often extend well beyond city boundaries. The economic complementarities once existing between industrial cities in close proximity is reversed as competition becomes fierce between them. The organisation of local government has also resulted in competition between local authorities, in effect, wasting resources which would be better spent on regional co-ordinating bodies (Dicken and Tickall, 1991).

3.4 MATERIALIST CONTRIBUTIONS

3.4.1 The Growth of Heritage Tourism

Urban tourism consists not only of a collection of tourist facilities, but the consumption of signs, symbols, and spectacle, creating aestheticised spaces of entertainment and pleasure (Cooke, 1990; Featherstone, 1991; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Lash and Urry, 1994). The manipulation of place images and the projection of a high quality of life represents a re-evaluation of urban space at the local level, in response to global

processes. The deliberate creation of an attractive place product and place image, together with material processes creating the urban landscape, results in a range of spatial narratives (Duncan,1990; Zukin, 1990, 1992). The existence of spatial narratives - ways of reading the landscape of the locality according to different sets of values - and the contested nature of these (Bourdieu, 1994; Duncan, 1990), is crucial to the debate concerning use of tourism, place marketing, and heritage in economic development.

In his critique of the 'heritage industry', Hewison (1987) condemns the mythical and inauthentic English idyll represented by tourism and heritage organisations. Like other critics of tourism and heritage, he is concerned with what he sees as nostalgia, false memory, the fetishism of images and artefacts, and the packaging of culture (see also Horne, 1984; Lowenthal, 1989; Samuel, 1989). He is particularly critical of the romanticised sense of community and the glamorisation of Britain's industrial past, 'creating a shallow veil that intervenes between our present lives and our history' (Hewison, 1987:135). To such authors, the 'post-modern malaise' has caused history to lose its privileged position in Western society. 'Postmodernism is modernism with the optimism taken out' (Hewison, 1987:132), and accordingly, it is the job of materialists to unmask the hidden ideologies of tourism and place marketing, unveiling the 'real'.

It is argued, therefore, that the commodification of local history and culture diverts attention from the present, as nostalgia is seen as a response to an unhealthy present. Hewison raises some useful points about the reliance on visual presentation and artefacts (Urry, 1995), although his apparent ability to judge whether representations of history are authentic or inauthentic is less convincing. He also cites comments concerning the growth of heritage made by the director of the Science Museum in London:

> *You can't project that sort of growth much further before the whole country becomes one big open air museum, and you just join it as soon as you get off at Heathrow.* (Hewison, 1987:24)

Hewison, in his attack on Wigan Pier at the start of the critique, is scathing of the pensioners 'who seem to throng the centre' (*ibid:*21). Wigan Pier plays an important role in the image marketing of Wigan, exemplified by the publication ' I've never been to Wigan but I know what it's like' (Economic Development Wigan, cited in Urry, 1995).

A major strand of Hewison's critique, and a preoccupation amongst other authors, is the role of heritage in the commodification of culture. Authors such as Boorstin have long argued that mass tourism transforms 'real' experiences into 'pseudo events' (Boorstin, 1964). Tourism has been represented as an important force of commodification, with 'culture as process' being replaced by 'culture as product' (Richards, 1996). It is this transformation of culture into a product which Hewison is so critical of, particularly if this allows the commodified history to meet political and economic ends.

3.4.2   The Appropriation of Culture

Authors such as Philo and Kearns (1993) emphasise the mobilisation of cultural resources in order to extract surplus capital within the city. Consistent with the arguments of Hewison (1987), urban culture is conceptualised as a means of social dominance used by the contemporary urban bourgeoisie. The contradictions inherent in 'New Right' rhetoric on individualism are emphasised, arguing that rather than allowing individuality, conformity in actually encouraged (Philo and Kearns, 1993:20). Not only is place consumption tailored to the desirable and high-income individual, but superficial differences are used to produce similar 'attractive' images for numerous localities. Such authors direct attention to the surprisingly universal vocabulary used in place promotion. To authors such as Sorkin (1992), the postmodern city is characterised by the creation and marketing of 'cultural-historic packages', whether they be rituals, customs, or monuments. The activities all have an economic logic, in terms of attracting the capital of tourists and inward investors; yet also a social control function in terms of specifying the activities and characteristics of the city which are desirable and attractive.

Following Harvey (1989), authors such as Sorkin (1992) dwell on the irreverence and disrespect of place marketers for the realities of local culture and history. By arranging them in ways which attract capital, place marketers are conceptualised as appropriating and denigrating local culture. Philo and Kearns (1993) draw upon Umberto Eco's description of a museum (Eco, 1989:8) to discuss the packaging and selling of history. It is emphasised that the packaging of history and culture is about extracting a surplus, but that cultural resources are also used for purposes of social control. As Sorkin (1992) argues, the postmodern city is designed to be marketed, with the packaging of cultural and historical elements, the simulation of rituals and events, the creation of monuments, and the playfulness inherent in postmodern architecture.

These aspects of the postmodern city, therefore, involve both an economic logic, and a social control logic. Drawing on examples such as the London Docklands, it is argued that the postmodern architecture of urban redevelopment performs the dual role of attracting capital, and reducing antagonism amongst the local population. The latter function is performed through the creation of a warm and friendly urban environment which manipulates and recreates attractive features of established town centres, including town squares, markets, and court yards. According to authors such as Harvey (1989) and Sorkin (1992), this represents a manipulative disrespect for the real histories and cultures of such localities.

Urban tourism, therefore, attracts considerable criticism for its decontextualisation of culture and history, and its use for economic and social ends. This is argued to represent an insensitive approach to the city, rather than postmodernism's supposed sensitivity. Reassembling cultural references in postmodern environments is believed to lose any link with their original context. In waterfront developments, for example, references to poor working conditions and low wages are conveniently omitted, whilst a collection of more attractive signs, symbols, and architecture is celebrated. As Philo and Kearns (1993) argue, by claiming that the postmodern city is sensitive to the culture and history of

groups of people, whilst decontextualising elements for economic ends, place marketers parallel the hypocrisy of the 'New Right' claims of promoting individuality.

3.4.3   Silencing the Other

Both Philo and Kearns (1993) and Harvey (1989b) emphasise the way place marketers manipulate historical and cultural legacies in order to attract capital, in the process emptying them of their original meaning. Philo and Kearns, however, express an interest in cities' 'other peoples' (1993:25), and particularly the conflict that may arise between their experience of the city, and the official version of place marketers. Whilst acknowledging the dangers, Philo and Kearns distinguish between *history*, consisting of a critical evaluation of claims about the past, and *memory*, consisting of a certain preferred account of the past. In this sense, memory involves the use of a certain version of past events to legitimise action in the present, often in an arrogant, exclusionary and chauvinistic way. It is suggested, therefore that the bourgeois form of memory is officially sanctioned by place marketers, including the use of heritage attractions, festivals, events, and festivals. As Philo and Kearns put it:

> *Integral to this transformation is the use of those many props from heritage centres to historical anniversaries which can be employed (more or less consciously) to create the impression of a truthful history with unavoidable lessons for the present, and the whole process is hence deeply embedded in the bourgeois project of selling places.* (Philo and Kearns, 1993:26)

Such authors are concerned with revealing the distortions of 'bourgeois memory frozen into truth' (*ibid*:26). Whilst acknowledging the dangers of conceptualising more or less accurate versions of history, Philo and Kearns maintain that '. . . some accounts simply do have greater veracity than do others . . .' (*ibid*:27). These versions are 'much 'nearer to the ground' and closer to 'the processes, struggles, and meanings that have shaped the existences of people' (*ibid*:27).

Davies (1990:23) also writes of a 'city myth' in relation to the city of Los Angeles, emphasising the role of images in the transformation of the city. Again it is 'old fashioned material interest. . . .' (Davis, 1990:71) which drives place marketing and urban redevelopment. Authors such as Davis (1990) and Holcomb (1993) show how cities undergo a continuous 'revisioning'. In the case of Los Angeles, like many cities, this is based on the arts. As Davis points out, Los Angeles is sold just 'like automobiles, cigarettes and mouth wash' (Davis, 1990:17), and this is a feature of place marketing everywhere. Images and myths are packaged as part of the commmodification of a postmodern urban lifestyle. Authors such as Eco (1986) describe the result of this process as 'hyperreal', as the distinction between 'image' and 'reality' dissolves. The promotion of urban images is often a means of creating a new urban economics. The creation of new images, however is often contested by individuals, groups, and institutions with a different image of the city.

Authors commonly point out the universal nature of place marketing, with every city seeking to be an arts Mecca, have a waterfront, and have a fascinating heritage. Indeed, a number of place marketing practitioners have been quoted as admitting that they promoted exactly the same images working for other cites (see Burgess, 1982:6). This is consistent with Harvey's view of place marketing as a zero-sum game (Harvey, 1989). Perhaps more insidious in relation to the universality of strategies, is the universal absence of references to poverty, race, social problems, and unemployment. As Holcolmb (1993) shows, the ethnic composition of neighbourhoods in Cleveland is conveniently omitted by place marketers.

Place marketing organisations are dubbed 'place-based ruling class alliances' by authors such as Sadler (1993:348). Sadler cites Cox (1989:81) in arguing that labour is extremely vulnerable to growth coalition ideologies, representing 'potent tools in the hand of capital.' Harvey too believes that 'the ideology of locality, place and community becomes central to the political rhetoric of urban governance . . .' (Harvey, 1989:14). Sadler (1993) highlights a tendency to quash dissent and alternative views by insisting

that there is no alternative to place marketing. According to Sadler, this often includes accusations by place marketers that criticism by academics jeopardises jobs. Sadler maintains that despite the poor performance of the national and regional economies during the 1980s, the rhetoric of success continued in a vain attempt to improve business confidence.

This rhetoric of there being 'no alternative' to place marketing, together with the implication that criticism cannot be constructive, is common. The implication is that a dismissal of alternative views is inherent in place marketing. More insidious still, it is maintained, is a silencing of local views and a neglect and denial of 'other voices'. According to materialists, therefore, such activities are inherent to place marketing, oiling the machinery used by a bourgeois elite to commodify and package elements of local culture and history. This, of course, involves two inter-related processes: attracting and accumulating capital, and forcing the local population into compliance.

3.4.4 Challenging Materialism

It has become clear that the complex phenomenon of urban tourism raises some important epistemological questions. Authors increasingly discover a tension between the global and the local, revealed by urban tourism and heritage (see Chang et al., 1996). Although the materialist arguments engage with some important issues about the acceptability of images and cultural-historic packages to inhabitants, some dangerous assumptions are made.

Tourists and heritage consumers are not passive dupes, but are involved in both the creation and consumption of contemporary forms of culture (See Urry, 1990). As Urry (1995) shows, Wigan Pier, one of Hewison's first targets, is visited and appreciated by both local and working class people. Many of those people have a family history which they can relate to presentations. The exhibitions at Wigan Pier, including the text used in interpretation, is written by professional local historians and not place marketers.

Although more marketing-orientated in contemporary times, urban tourism attractions combine valuable conservation and education roles. Contemporary education - both formal and informal - increasingly consists of sound bites and easily-consumed chunks. Although the causes of these phenomena are debatable, they are not exclusive to urban tourism and heritage. Education around the world has taken on a flexible, interactive, and modular form, even in the institutions of materialist academics.

Materialist analyses also tend to assume that local people cannot benefit from urban tourism and place marketing. Quite apart from income and employment generation, urban tourism projects can significantly improve the quality of life for ordinary (and working class) inhabitants. In cities such as Liverpool and Bristol, for example, access to considerable areas of waterfront has been regained with redevelopment schemes. Redevelopment has opened up large areas of public space, removing the barbed wire shrouding derelict buildings and docks. These areas are enjoyed by local inhabitants and are not merely enclaves for an urban elite. Although the London Docklands communities remain a favourite example in the materialist literature, in many cities redevelopment has taken place on land left derelict and vacant by de-industrialisation. Whilst critics are all too ready to express their opposition to romanticised representations within heritage centres, one could identify a certain romanticising of inner city areas by materialist writers.

It also tends to be assumed in materialist accounts that place marketers have no interest in the authentic and appropriate versions of local history and culture, in other words, no emotional attachment to the places they market. Personal communication with place marketing practicioners, however, suggests that many people have lived in the locality since childhood, and have the same emotional attachments and sense of place as the rest of the local population. Some are actually motivated in their choice of career by their attachment to their home town or city. Such place marketers have had the benefit of a profound insight into the impact of globalisation and de-industrialisation on their communities, arguably considerably more so than materialist academics.

In the explanation of postmodern culture advanced by Harvey (1989), there are serious contradictions in the conceptualisation of place marketing. On the one hand, place marketing is represented as a vain attempt to differentiate places in order to attract inward investment and tourists. This is a 'zero-sum' game, as each city acquires a waterfront and heritage attractions and no advantage will be gained. Postmodern urban culture, including urban tourism consumption is merely a *response* to the latest phase of capitalism - flexible accumulation. On the other hand, place marketing is a tool and agent of capital, a bourgeois project which enables the accumulation of capital by an urban elite. Place marketing, therefore, is represented as both a passive and vain response to globalisation and flexible accumulation, and a powerful agent of capital accumulation. If place consumption is simply the cultural logic of late capitalism, it is surprising that it provokes such criticism.

Making localities more attractive to urban tourists, whilst also understanding and respecting the culture of residents, is not as contradictory as we are led to believe. It is possible to have a sensitivity to and interest in the sense of place and the emotional attachment of both tourists and residents, without forcing them into the materialist framework. Place consumers - whether they be residents or visitors - are a legitimate focus of analysis. As materialism is not a useful vehicle for exploring the experience of either tourists or residents, it is necessary to rediscover *people* as the starting point for analysis.

3.5   URBAN TOURISM - EXPERIENTIAL PERSPECTIVES

Whilst the conditions of global capital are often attributed the most significant role in the development of urban tourism, local factors and agencies are of interest to urban tourism researchers. However, with a limited number of exceptions (e.g., Prentice, 1998; Richards, 1993, 1994), there appears to be a poor understanding of the composition of urban tourism and heritage consumers, an over-emphasis on the socio-economic

characteristics of visitors, and a neglect of other important characteristics. Ashworth (1989) notes that despite providing some useful data to tourist boards and planning departments, site-specific studies rarely consider the processes underlying urban tourism. Pearce suggests that there is:

> *. . . a need to move away from the isolated, ideographic case study to more systematic and comparative research and replicate studies from place to place and time to time so that the general might be distinguished from the specific.* (Pearce, 1987:209)

Ashworth (1989) argues that despite its economic and social significance, urban tourism has been severely neglected as an area of academic research. According to Ashworth:

> *a double neglect has occurred. Those interested in the study of tourism have tended to neglect the urban context in which much of it is set, while those interested in urban studies. . . have been equally neglectful of the importance of the tourist function of cities.* (Ashworth, 1989:33)

This neglect is surprising, as urban tourism is significant both in economic terms, and in terms of the wider conceptual implications for cities. Ashworth (1989) considers the problem in some detail, suggesting possible explanations. It would seem that considerable attention has been devoted to urban regeneration by researchers in disciplines such as geography, planning, and sociology. This may have had the effect of marginalising tourism to merely a component of urban regeneration. It would also seem that tourism is rarely represented as a significant phenomenon by planners and local government officials. Page (1995:8) believes that urban tourism suffers from a vicious circle, whereby the lack of quality research results in a lack of interest within the public sector to understand urban tourists. The lack of interest makes further research difficult as both funding and data sources are limited.

Whilst authors such as Shaw and Williams (1994) argue that recent years have seen an increase in urban tourism research, a lack of sophistication in studies is still apparent. Shaw and Williams (1994:207), for example, concede that there is a 'somewhat limited literature on visitor activity in urban areas.' According to Page (1995), the failure of

researchers to analyse urban tourism was noted as early as the 1960s when US researchers were reluctant to disaggregate the tourist and recreational functions of cities. Vetter (1985) and Page and Sinclair (1989) have come to similar conclusions. Page (1995:1) argues that urban tourism ' . . . is poorly understood in theoretical and conceptual terms since few researchers adopt an integrated approach.'

It would seem that the limited understanding of urban tourism is partly the result of a lack of academic sophistication in tourism and marketing studies (Pearce and Butler, 1993). Page (1995:5) believes that urban tourism research has tended to remain fragmented and methodologically unsophisticated. This has resulted in studies in which the emphasis is on the results, rather than the methodology. Page (1999:163) identifies a tendency for urban tourism research to be based as descriptive and empirical case studies which 'do not contribute to the greater theoretical or methodological understanding of urban tourism.' Commentators also blame the failure to relate findings to wider issues. Authors such as Pearce and Butler (1993) have identified a lack of methodological sophistication in tourism research in general. As Ashworth argues:

> *Urban Tourism requires the development of a coherent body of theories, concepts, techniques and methods of analysis . . .* (Ashworth, 1992:5)

As research focusing on the experience of urban tourists is particularly weak, Ashworth (1989:43) argues for a user-orientated approach, addressing issues such as who urban tourists are, what they do in the city, why they visit the city, and what perceptions they have. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1990) distinguish between intentional users of urban tourism resources, motivated by the characteristics of a particular city; and incidental users, for whom the visit is of secondary importance. For some authors (e.g., Graefe and Vaske, 1987), an interest in managing quality in tourism leads to a focus on motivations, activities within the destination, and the extent to which expectations are met by experiences. Page (1995) argues that the output of urban tourism - the tourist experience - has received only very limited attention in the literature. Detailed data on the urban tourist, the activities undertaken in the city, and their impact on urban

environment, is rare. To Page (1995:9) 'conceptualising why tourists seek cities as places to visit is one starting point in trying to understand this phenomenon.'

Shaw and Williams (1994) have addressed these issues to an extent, emphasising the heterogeneity of urban destinations, and the way in which they are 'muti-sold' to place consumers with different needs and desires. It is significant that in advocating a 'systems approach' to urban tourism, Page (1995:17) places 'the tourist experience' at the centre of the model. It is argued that 'urban tourism should be conceptualised as a service encounter and experience' (Page 1995:18), due to the high level of customer involvement, the simultaneous supply component, inconsistent demand, and an intangible product.

It is indicative of the nature of urban tourism research, however, that the majority of experiential frameworks are found within the recreation literature in the US. Prentice *et al.* (1998) draw upon hierarchical models of experience deriving from the work of authors such as Driver *et al.* (1987) and Manning (1986). Contributions from the outdoor recreation literature include the *Recreation Opportunity Spectrum,* in which it is recognised that 'the end product of recreation management is the experiences people have' (Prentice *et al.*, 1998:2). Authors have tended to emphasise either benefits-based management focusing on improved conditions (Driver, Brown, Starkey and Gregiore, 1987); or experience-based management where the focus is on subjectively experienced outputs (Bengston and Xu, 1993). Another approach within the recreation literature which avoids *a priori* conceptualisations of experience is the 'means-end chain' (Prentice *et al.*, 1998:3). This approach is concerned with linking reasons for undertaking activities into a hierarchy, from the more concrete to the more intrinsic.

According to Graefe and Vaske (1987) the experience of tourists is influenced by 'individual, environmental, situational and personality-related factors as well as communication with other people' (Page, 1995:24). Significantly, such authors argue that it is vital for the tourism industry to constantly evaluate tourist experience to

establish the benefits gained by consumers, and whether their expectations are being met. Authors such as Sheenan and Brent Ritchie (1997) stress the importance of developing non-financial measures of the effectiveness of urban tourism development in destinations. These include visitor satisfaction with both the services and information provided by tourist boards.

The benefits of research into the satisfaction of visitors is stressed by Bramwell (1998). Satisfaction surveys can be used to evaluate users' expectations of the destination, and whether those expectations are met by the actual experience (Bramwell, 1998:37). As only selected aspects of the city are being sold to the visitor, surveys can help to improve both the product, and images projected by tourism authorities. Bramwell suggests that it is important to establish the attributes of a destination which are salient to the overall satisfaction of consumers, and consumer decision-making (*ibid*:37). To this end, it is possible to compare data on visitor satisfaction, with the images of potential visitors to a destination (see also Selby and Morgan, 1996).

Addressing such concerns, Bramwell (1998) describes research into the satisfaction of visitors to the city of Sheffield. Seeking to elicit the perceptions of both visitors and residents, the research enabled comparisons between different groups of place consumers. An interesting finding relates to differences in satisfaction between various types of place consumer. These were most notable not between residents and visitors, but between visitors attending sports events and those visiting for other purposes (Bramwell, 1998:41). It was also found that the *leisure setting* - including the city centre environment and the friendliness of people - was particularly salient to most groups of place consumers.

An innovative approach is taken by Prentice *et al.* (1998) in one of the rare experiential study of heritage. The study, focusing on the Rhondda Heritage Park in South Wales, is concerned with both experiences, and benefits gained by visitors. Inductive qualitative techniques are used initially, followed by a structured survey, and cluster analysis to

identify salient experiences and benefits gained by visitors. The study enabled five distinct clusters or market segments to be identified on the basis of both experiences at the attraction, and benefits gained by visitors (Prentice *et al.*, 1998:7).

An important conclusion from such studies is that the same product can be experienced in very different ways, demonstrating the need to consider the experiential dimensions of tourism. It was interesting that Prentice *et al.* (1998) found that the socio-demographic attributes of visitors, so often the focus of researchers and marketers, appeared to be largely independent of both experiences and benefits gained. The authors conclude that 'investigations of tourist experience need to be grounded in the realities tourist themselves describe', and that inductive approaches to research are essential (*ibid*:2). The focus of studies should therefore be 'the social and personal constructions, as part of the *life-worlds* of individuals' (*ibid*:2).

It would seem that one of the most useful conceptualisations of urban tourist experience draws upon service quality models (e.g., Parasuraman *et al.*, 1985). Gaps may exist between urban tourists' expectations of the product, and their perception of its actual performance, resulting in dissatisfaction with a destination (Bramwell, 1998:36). The potential for gaps between expected and perceived levels of service in tourism has inspired authors such as Postina and Jenkins (1997), Page (1997), Gilbert and Joshi (1992), and Haywood and Muller (1988). Indeed, Clewer *et al.* (1992) argue that urban tourists have particularly high expectations of service. Although service quality models traditionally identify five different gaps between expectations and perceptions, it would seem that the fifth gap is particularly relevant to the experience of urban tourists. This is the gap between consumers' perceptions of the service they received, and their initial expectations of the service. It is argued that both this gap, and the others relating to the design and operationisation of service quality specifications (*Table 3.1*), can be identified through market research (Gilbert and Joshi, 1992). Haywood and Muller (1988) develop a methodology for evaluating the quality of the urban tourist experience. The data on

visitors' expectations prior to a visit, and their perceptions upon visiting, utilises a wide range of variables.

Whilst service quality models would appear to offer considerable potential in researching urban tourist experience, they are not without problems. The measurement of expectations and perceptions, and their translation into service specifications, is often problematic. It would seem that the complexities of leisure and tourism have rarely allowed the successful application of service quality models (see Williams, 1998). Although Haywood and Muller (1988) provide a list of factors to consider in evaluating

Table 3.1   Service Quality in Urban Tourism

	Gap in Urban Tourism Service Quality:	**Benefits of Market Research:**
Gap 1	Gap between the expected service and the management's perception of the urban tourist experience.	Encouraging providers to elicit detailed information from customers on what they require.
Gap 2	Gap between the management's perception of the tourist needs and the translation of those needs into service quality specifications.	Providing realistic specifications for the services to be provided which are guided by clear quality standards.
Gap 3	Gap between the quality specifications and the actual delivery of the service.	Enabling employees to deliver the service according to the specifications; these need to be closely monitored and staff training and development is essential.
Gap 4	Gap between the service delivery stage and the organisation's communication with the consumer.	Reflecting the promises made by service providers in their marketing and promotional messages in the actual quality offered.
Gap 5	Gap between the consumer's perceptions of the service they received and experienced, and their initial expectations of the service.	Reducing the major gap between the perceived service and delivered service, through progressive improvements in the image which is marketed to visitors, and the private sector's ability to deliver the expected service efficiently.

Source: Gilbert and Joshi, 1992

the experience of urban tourists, in common with most urban tourism studies, there is no attempt to elicit attributes which are salient to the consumers themselves.

The expectations and images of consumers are not valued in Postina and Jenkins' (1997) detailed framework for monitoring quality in urban tourism. Dadgostar and Isotalo (1995) use a multiattribute model to examine the benefits sought by near-home tourists. Despite a welcome emphasis on both destination image and positioning, it would again appear that the actual consumers have a limited influence on the attributes included in the study. The selection of variables in many studies, therefore, remains rather arbitrary, limiting the validity of the approach. Whilst studies need to include the images and experiences of consumers, it is common for researchers and managers to impose their own measurements and specifications. If research methodologies are unable to capture the salient expectations and experiences of consumers, the whole exercise becomes somewhat futile.

Gartner and Hunt (1987:16) argue that if destinations are to attract more visitors, 'an in-depth image study is needed.' Page (1999:170) states that 'how individual tourists interact and acquire information about the urban environment remains a relatively poorly researched area on tourism studies.' This leads, therefore, to a consideration of 'behavioural issues' and 'tourist perception and cognition of the urban environment' (Page, 1997:120-123). Page comments on the lack of tourism studies amongst social psychologists, although this may be an indication of the problems of applying behaviouralist approaches to tourism. According to Page (1999:170), human geographers have had an interest in space perception, the way people store spatial information, and 'their choice of different activities and locations within the environment.'

Page (1999:170-171) provides a model of 'the process through which individuals perceive the urban environment' (*Figure 3.1*). This includes an explanation of how the information an individual receives is subject to *perception*, relating to the information received by the senses; and *cognition*, the assembling of information in relation to the

existing knowledge, values, and attitudes of the individual. Drawing upon Powell (1978), he also lists ten key features of an image. Perhaps the greatest influence on Page's conceptualisation of urban tourist experience, however, is the work of Lynch (1960). In developing a technique for people to draw their 'mental map' of a locality, Lynch was interested in 'common elements in these mental maps' (Hollis and Burgess, 1977:155), and the way individuals collect information about the city. Page (1995) reports that advocates of Lynchian approaches acknowledge the issues involved in deriving generalisations from such research. It will be argued in chapter four, however, that the dangers of an over-reliance on behaviouralist approaches are significantly underestimated.

Not only is the engagement of urban tourism researchers with the behaviouralist epistemology problematic, but such an approach can hardly be considered 'experiential'. Best known for *The Image of the City* (1960), Lynch was interested in the nodes, paths, landmarks, and districts structuring an individual's perceptions of the city. Although such research was notable for attempting to introduce a human element into the urban planning
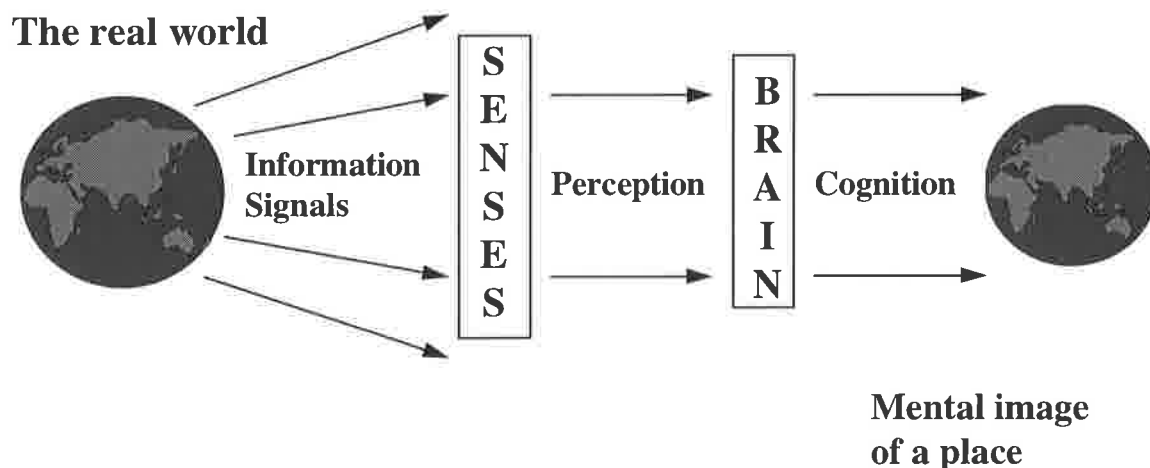
Figure 3.1 **Process through which individuals perceive the urban environment**
Source: Page (1995:224)

of the 1950s, the approach has been convincingly criticised. Human geographers, for example, have been particularly concerned with the simplistic and deterministic assumptions underlying such studies. There is no attempt to account for the background or experience of respondents in such studies, the sources of their images, or the production of space in its economic, social, or political context. Lynch himself admitted to finding theory 'dull' and 'difficult' (Knox, 1992:231), and literature on the city was 'stupefying in its dullness' (Banerjee, 1990:351). Not surprisingly, authors such as Knox (1992:231) argue that in Lynch's work 'there is little that qualifies as theory of any kind', due particularly to a 'heavy reliance on truisms and simplistic rhetoric.' The individual is assumed to be 'common man' and images are conceptualised merely as distortions of an objective reality.

Despite some useful contributions, therefore, particularly in relation to service quality models, it would seem that the urban tourism literature has some serious epistemological weaknesses. It is indicative of the weaknesses of the literature, that despite some informed and promising contributions to the theory of urban tourism, leading writers in the field ultimately draw upon atheoretical approaches to researching experiences of a localities. It would seem that despite calls for quality theoretical work in the field of urban tourism, and attempts to demonstrate the significance of urban tourist experience, progress has been limited. Theoretical frameworks, borrowed from a diverse range of literature, are capable of only partially conceptualising urban tourist experience. Where theoretical contributions do have potential, researchers are often ill-equipped to capture the images and experiences salient to groups of consumers.

3.5   THE SEARCH FOR *PLACE*

It is apparent that there is something of a dichotomy within the literature on urban tourism and place marketing. It would appear that in general there has been a polarisation into a myopic and epistemologically naive conceptualisation of urban tourism

and place marketing; and a dismissive and inflexible materialist critique. It would seem, therefore, that neither materialism nor the urban tourism literature offers much insight into the experience of urban tourists. There are several promising contributions within the urban tourism literature, however, particularly the application of service quality models to the experience of urban tourists. Although place marketing conceptualises people as consumers, it is less capable of recognising that people have an attachment and an emotional sense of place which is different from other products.

It has also been argued that although materialist writers offer the more coherent and convincing discourse, they not only show a blatant disregard for the experiences of place consumers (tourists or residents); but they also fail to address the flaws inherent in their epistemology. Materialist studies privilege global economic processes and accredit very little agency to place marketers or place consumers. Despite an apparent interest by some authors in 'other peoples' of the city, a materialist framework also prevents visitors or residents from being conceptualised as conscious, thinking, and experiencing beings.

To visitors and residents, a particular locality is not merely a physical entity, but a complex amalgam of meanings, values, and emotional attachments. Quite apart from the activities of place marketers themselves, it is vital to understand the complexities of *place*. This implies an understanding of how different groups of people experience a locality. Of course, the versions of a city's history and culture may differ between place marketers and residents, and between residents and visitors. They will also differ between different groups of actual and potential visitors.

There appears, therefore, to be an urgent need to explore alternative epistemologies and methodologies in order to evaluate the city from the perspective of different groups of people. The concept of the 'place consumer' is useful - representing an individual who experiences the urban environment of a locality, and also representations of it. It is clear that comparing the expectations and experiences of urban tourists does have potential, and represents the most significant contribution of the urban tourism literature. The value

of this approach, however, is dependent on the researcher eliciting salient images and experiences.

3.6   CONCLUSION

It would seem that research should be concerned with the everyday experience of place consumers, in the context of their tourist experience and decision-making. Research should be capable of capturing both experiences of the city, and the images and expectations of consumers prior to a visit. This implies a concern for the everyday experience of the destination, and not simply references to a universal meta-theory. Research should engage with images of the city, as well as first-hand experiences. This also implies an interest in how different narratives and representations define different groups of place consumers.

Another implication for place consumption studies is an interest in how such knowledge is influenced by factors such as lifestyles, age, and gender - in other words, the composition of groups as defined by their experiences of the city. This approach would emphasise the interpretive significance of place, rather than any meta-theory or total history, developing a concern for 'actually lived and socially created spatiality' (Soja, 1989:18). Although contributions within the place marketing and urban tourism literature to an experiential conceptualisation have been limited, it is now worth exploring an area of the tourism literature which has seen prolific research in recent years.

CHAPTER 4

PLACE IMAGE: RESEARCH AND EPISTEMOLOGY

4.1   INTRODUCTION

It is apparent that even within the more promising contributions of the urban tourism literature - relating to service quality and visitor satisfaction - techniques for measuring images and experiences are problematic.   In recent years, however, there has been an exciting and innovative advancement of place image research, providing useful policy analysis instruments (see Jenkins, 1999; Chon, 1990; Ashworth, 1987).   Authors have built upon a useful conceptualisation of the existence of different place images relating to the stages of consumer decision-making (Gunn, 1988).   This has enabled researchers to develop methodologies to compare different types of image.

It has been argued that both urban tourism, and city marketing more generally, are plagued by persistent political and organisational problems. Best case examples of urban tourism suggest that an integrated approach to place marketing is essential, addressing both the demand and supply-side, and focusing on the salient aspects of both the images and experiences of consumers.   The obstacles to tourism development and place marketing include the number and diversity of organisations involved and the risk of contradictory activities, the issue of political accountability, the inflexibility of cities, and an ambivalent attitude towards tourism.   Perhaps the greatest risk of all, however, is the possibility of discrepancies between experiences inside and images outside a locality.   It is argued in this chapter that the monitoring of these - conceptualised in the marketing/tourism literature as demand and supply-side images - is essential in order for a destination to meet or exceed consumer expectations.

Marketing certainly appears to offer solutions to post-industrial cities, particularly through image reconstruction. The process is not uni-directional, however, as a low level

of satisfaction with first-hand experiences of the place product will prevent even short-term sustainability. Conversely, unfavourable images outside the city can seriously thwart even the small-scale development of urban tourism. It is precisely this paradox which bestows on place image an active role in mediating between urban tourism demand and supply.

A substantive contribution of destination image studies relates to the crucial role of images and expectations in an individual's decision-making. Place image researchers are also interested in levels of satisfaction or dissatisfaction resulting from first-hand experience of place product. It is assumed that a decision-maker initially acts upon their image of a locality, rather than the 'reality' of the destination. The image of a destination changes at different stages of decision-making, most significantly upon actually visiting the destination. Discrepancies between these different images have important implications for promotion, product development, and destination positioning, and have been the focus of some innovative and valuable place image studies.

It is argued in this chapter, however, that despite significant advances in place image theory, place image studies suffer from some serious limitations. Methodological weaknesses include an over-emphasis on sophisticated analysis at the expense of eliciting images that are salient to consumers. More fundamentally, there is often an outdated adherence to deterministic behaviouralist epistemologies. Not unlike the urban tourism literature, there would appear to be an ignorance and lack of conceptualisation of *place*. Many studies adopt a simplistic and deterministic conceptualisation of human experience, representations, and landscape. In particular, many place image researchers refer unquestioningly to 'objective reality', conceptualising images as merely distortions of this reality.

Only a small minority of place image researchers discuss epistemological issues, and provide justification for a behaviouralist approach (e.g., Goodall, 1991). It is possible that other researchers are not fully aware of the implications of 'the cultural turn' within

the social sciences which so convincingly challenge claims to universal and objective knowledge. It is argued in this chapter, that despite the potential of the place image literature in understanding tourist experience, tourism researchers cannot ignore the profound implications of contemporary conceptualisations of culture.

4.2   THE CONCEPT OF PLACE IMAGE

Place image has received increasing attention in the tourism and marketing literature, and there have been some significant advances in place image theory. From a marketing perspective, image is considered to constitute an integral part of a product, playing an important role in an individual's purchase decision. The complexity of the place product is considered to make image even more critical (Ashworth and Goodall, 1990). If consumers do not have first-hand experience of the destination, marketing organisations and the travel trade are forced to sell images of localities - bought on trust, and evaluated only upon visiting. Within the tourism and marketing literature, research has provided valuable insights into the importance of images to tourism products and destinations (see for example Ashworth and Goodall, 1980; Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Pearce, 1982).

A purchase decision is considered to be influenced less by a product's quantifiable performance characteristics, than by the consumer's overall expectations regarding levels of satisfaction. An image is conceptualised as the net result of the interaction of a person's beliefs, ideas, feelings, expectations, and impressions about an object (Chon, 1990). Consumers are conceptualised as choosing products because of their perceived attributes, using their perceptions of attributes as input factors to estimate the utility they will derive from consuming the product. Market research can evaluate perceptions of a product, and strategies can be devised to strengthen, alter, or create an image. Due to a locality's unique complexity as a product, it is assumed that place images are even more significant. Both pioneering work (Britton, 1979; Hunt, 1971,1975), and more recent research (Stern Quist-witter, 1985) supports this assumption. Numerous pieces of

research, including Pearce (1982) and Woodside and Lyonski (1989), indicate that the destination's image does influence travel behaviour, and that destinations with positive images are more likely to be chosen in the decision process.

There is a confusing range of definitions of image, relating to consumer behaviour in general, and to destination image in particular. Psychologists have defined image as a 'distinct way of processing and storing multisensory information in working memory' (Echtner and Brent Ritchie, 1991:4). The emphasis is on what Drever (1978:129) refers to as 'composite' and 'generic' images. Whilst the former is based on a range of sensory experiences of the same or similar objects, the latter represents different objects perceived to be alike. Researchers such as MacInnis and Price (1987) believe that a product consists of both 'discursive' and 'imagery' components. 'Imagery' is thus conceptualised in holistic or *gestalt* terms, whilst 'discursive' relates to individual attributes. Dichter (1984:76) states that 'an image is not just individual traits or qualities, but the total impression an entity makes on the minds of others.' Asseal (1984) emphasises the processing of information from different sources over time. Reynolds (1965) also emphasises cognitive processing with the elaboration, embellishment, and ordering of impressions.

Taking destination image more specifically, we find a myriad of rather vague definitions. Crompton (1979:20) defines a destination image as the aggregate 'sum of all those emotional, and aesthetic qualities such as experiences, beliefs, ideas, recollections and impressions that a person has of a destination.' According to Goodall, place image is:

> *a function of holiday-makers' awareness of that product, attitudes*
> *towards the product, and expectations created by (limited) knowledge of*
> *that product.* (Goodall, 1991:63)

Distinctions between holistic and discursive images are less common than in the general marketing literature. According to Cooper *et al.* (1998:38), an individual's awareness of the world is made up of the cognitive evaluation of experiences, learning, emotions and perceptions. Pearce (1988:163) concentrates on the visual aspect of destination image,

which implies a 'search for the long-term memory for scenes and symbols, panoramas, and people.' This definition, although perhaps over-emphasising the visual, is one of the more sensitive to place. It infers that a locality's image is experiential and intersubjective.

4.3   PLACE IMAGE AND TOURIST DECISION-MAKING

Numerous authors have discussed the relationship between destination image and a tourist's buying behaviour (e.g., Um, Seoho, and Crompton, 1990; Goodall, 1991; Kent, 1990; Stabler, 1988). As Jenkins (1999:2) argues, destination images influence both the decision-making behaviour of potential tourists, and levels of satisfaction upon experiencing the destination. MacInnis and Price (1987) also stress that imagery pervades the whole consumption experience. Goodall (1991:63) argues that because consumers have only a limited knowledge of the attributes of destinations they have not visited, the image of the destination has a crucial influence on decision-making.

A widely accepted model of consumer decision-making consists of five stages: recognition, search, evaluation, purchase, and post-purchase evaluation. Goodall (1991:63) describes a process whereby activities and experiences are given mental ratings by the consumer, and according to their personal tastes and dislikes, the individual has a *preferential image* of their ideal holiday. The individual's expectations are conditioned, creating an aspiration level or *evaluative image*, against which their actual visit is compared. As a result of limited information, the individual, at any one time, is aware of only part of the totality of opportunities available. Using information from a variety of sources, the consumer constructs a *naive image* of each destination, in the absence of first-hand experience.

Following Moutinho (1987), Goodall (1991:63) argues that a consumer concentrates on destination attributes most relevant to their needs, whilst also modifying information to suit their needs through a process of 'selective distortion'. The consumer compares naive

images against their evaluative image. As Goodall (1991:63) puts it, 'perception is therefore more important than reality in conditioning choice.' Naive images which meet or exceed the evaluative image, are believed to result in the destination being chosen, subsequently setting the expectations for the holiday. It is significant that images are conceptualised as changing throughout the holiday experience, as more information is acquired by the consumer (see Ashworth and Goodall, 1988).

Motivation forms the initial stage in most decision-making models. As Shaw and Williams (1994:74) point out, it is also extremely difficult to measure. Most authors agree that the decision to travel depends on both needs and desires. Needs are considered to be intrinsic, including emotional, spiritual, and physical drives. Desires are therefore extrinsic, created through an individual's expectation that they will gain pleasure or satisfaction from an activity. Although appreciation of culture and social relations differs between authors, desires are generally considered to be conditioned by the value system prevalent in the society. Crompton (1979) emphasises states of disequilibrium or homeostasis that are rectified by breaking away from routine life. Iso-Ahola (1984) further develops the notion of 'escaping' and 'seeking' and dimensions. These are combined with 'personal' and 'interpersonal' dimensions, representing the degree to which interaction with other people creates both push and pull factors.

Although Gray (1970) emphasises just two dimensions, 'wanderlust' and 'sunlust', authors such as Krippendorf (1987) stress the complicated and often misleading nature of an individual's motives. There is a degree of consensus that motivation consists of both push factors, relating to the individual's home environment, and pull factors, relating mainly to the cultural and social benefits from specific destinations. Regarding specific motivational factors, however, there is a lack of agreement. Very few researchers acknowledge that such variations in conceptualisation raise important epistemological questions concerning the search for universal models of motivation and decision-making.

In the *information search* and *evaluation* stages of decision-making, place image is conceptualised as a pull-factor in the choice of destination. The potential visitor searches for information in order to find the destination which best satisfies their goals within time and financial constraints. There is, of course, variation between consumers with different planning horizons and levels of preparation. An impulse buyer, for instance, engages in very limited planning, whilst a meticulous planner will seek information from a range of official sources before carefully selecting a product. Information search may rely on primary sources such as previous experience, but is more likely to involve secondary sources. Although it is argued that external information search is relatively extensive for tourism products (Giletson and Crompton, 1983), it would seem that the influence of sources such as family and friends is perhaps more significant (Walter and Tong, 1977). It is believed that there is a preliminary filtering of destinations, and that existing spatial knowledge is important in ruling out certain destinations.

It is the behavioural approach which dominates the consumer decision-making literature. One of the first attempts to model consumer decision-making was by Wahab, Crampton, and Rothfield (1976), based on the 'grand models' of the early consumer behaviour textbooks. A more refined and tourism-oriented model was devised by Schmoll (1977), in which social and personal determinants of travel behaviour include motivations, desires, needs, and expectations (see *Appendix 2*). The input factors in the model include travel stimuli, the traveller's confidence, previous experience, and cost and time constraints. According to Mayo and Jarvis (1981), the consumer moves from general images to more specific information to make their decision. Mathieson and Wall's five-stage model (1982) emphasises unique characteristics of the place product, such as intangibility, heterogeneity, and perishability. In most models of decision-making, there is also an important feedback loop which represents the learning process following a visit, and particularly the influence of first-hand experience on the individual's image.

The choice of a particular destination is viewed as a rational process, in which attributes of the destination are compared and analysed with similar destinations (Dann, 1981).

According to Goodall (1991:74), consumers can exercise choice in different ways, using different 'decision rules'. Consumers can use a 'conjunctive' or 'threshold' rule, whereby destinations are excluded from further consideration when they are deemed to have unacceptable attributes. 'Disjunctive' rules are used when a consumer perceives that a destination possesses a single, overwhelming advantage. 'Lexicographic' rules are followed when alternative destinations or products are filtered through ranked priorities of attributes. Finally, authors have also identified 'elimination by aspects' rule, whereby consumers evaluate alternatives against minimum thresholds of attributes ranked in priority order (see Moutinho, 1987).

Despite the progressive refinement of decision-making models, it is possible to identify common features and assumptions. The emphasis is on the individual consumer, with little or no consideration of social relations. The consumer is assumed to be rational, actively seeking internal and external, official and unofficial information. There is a sequential movement from general and implicitly inaccurate information, towards more specific and realistic images. Information, therefore, is considered to be the key to decision-making, fundamental to the search and evaluation activities of the consumer once they have been motivated to travel. Further complicating the existence of different 'rules' of decision-making, it is far from certain whether the consumers in a specific market segment should be considered as satisficers or optimisers. Whilst satisficers will select the first destination that satisfies their goals, an optimiser will choose the one that best satisfies their goals (Goodall, 1991:67).

According to authors such as Gunn (1972:120), the different stages of the decision-making process result in a variety of place images, depending on the amount, source, and objectivity of information available. Gunn, in a seven-phase decision-making model (*Figure 4.1*), makes a useful distinction between the official 'projected image' of the tourism authorities, and the 'organic image', from non-tourist sources.

The term 'organic image' is given to the formation of images based on non-commercial sources, such as art, literature, education, family and friends, and the mass media. More commercial sources of information and representations are conceptualised as contributing

1. *Accumulation* - mental images collected through everyday life.	ORGANIC IMAGE
2. *Modification* - through researching destination prior to travelling.	INDUCED IMAGE
3. *Decision* - based on image efficiency, anticipated experience, and also contraints.	
4. *Travel* - may condition the image, e.g., roadsigns, landscape, guides.	
5. *Participation* - experience of the destination influences image.	MODIFIED-INDUCED IMAGE
6. *Return Travel* - allows reflection, evaluation, and discussion with fellow travellers.	
7. *New Accumulation* - occurs after the visit, final image may be the same or different.	

Figure 4.1   Destination Image and Consumer Decision-making

Source: After Gunn (1972:120)

to an 'induced image'. The induced image is formed from advertisements, brochures, guidebooks, and the activities of intermediaries such as travel agents, tourist boards, and marketing consortia. The 'modified induced image' is formed with the addition of first-hand experience of the destination, and may itself be changed by return travel and reflection following the visit.

Such models, therefore, consist of a hierarchy of images, consisting of initial perceptions based on organic sources, and a modification of the image upon visiting the destination. This modification results in a much more 'realistic, objective, differentiated, and complex image' (Echtner and Brent Richie, 1991:4). It is extremely significant that first-hand experience is influential only in the final stages, emphasising the importance of images formed without first-hand experience. Naive images - the images of consumers who have not visited a destination - consist of representations from a wide variety of sources. Possible sources include promotional literature, word of mouth, visual representations, and representations from a diverse range of texts. Whilst satisfaction with the place product is fundamental to place marketing, the vast majority of the potential market will base their decision on naive images without any first-hand experience of the locality.

4.4   PLACE IMAGE RESEARCH

There has been something of a consensus amongst the various place image researchers concerning the significance of comparing images at different stages of the theorised decision-making process, and this has been a recurring theme in many studies (e.g., Ashworth and De Haan, 1987). Satisfaction with the place product is the primary focus in studies by Gartner (1986), Mayo (1973), and Pizam *et al. (1978)*. The methodological considerations of measuring images are of concern to Phelps (1986), and Scott *et al.* (1978). Surprisingly, the wider (and fundamental) relationship between images and tourism development are addressed by relatively few, although Gunn (1979) and Mayo (1973) are notable exceptions. Mill and Morrison (1985), and Pool (1965) are amongst

the few researchers concerned with the influence of nationality and culture on image formation and change.

As Bramwell and Rawding (1996:202) point out, most place image studies focus on the *received images* of tourists, including both organic and projected sources of information (e.g., Ashworth and Voogd 1990; Burgess and Gold 1985, Lawson and Baud-Bovey 1977). The projected images of tourism promotion have received more attention recently, however, particularly in relation to urban tourism (e.g., Watson 1991). Pritchard and Morgan (1996) provide an interesting comparison of Scottish, Irish, and Welsh brochure images. Cohen (1993) uses a structuralist analysis of brochure images of island tourism in Southern Thailand. Selwyn (1990) is notable for his socio-anthropological contributions, particularly his emphasis on 'postmodern myths.'

Bartels and Timmer (1987) found that out of 160 local authorities in the Netherlands, almost a third of promotional expenditure was directed towards media advertising to create a favourable image. Although knowledge about the selection of media is incomplete, it is likely that public sector attempts at transmitting favourable images are more effective in influencing large numbers of consumers in the early stages of the decision-making process. A dispersed market, therefore, may lead to highly generalised mass media advertising at a low cost per recipient.

Although there is a degree of consensus on the importance of monitoring the image received by target groups, systematic research into the image modification process for any one destination is rare. A small-scale exception is Dietvorst's 1987 evaluation of the image held of the city of Nijmegen, Netherlands. Several studies have concluded that image reception is dependent on how the media used to communicate messages are perceived. Individuals appear to reject much of what they encounter, and unlike organic images, the official images of promotional activity may lack the necessary 'active collusion.' (Uzzell, 1984).

According to Burgess (1982), the source of information and the style of presentation significantly affect the credibility. Nolan (1976) also questions the credibility of some marketing media. Testing respondents' confidence in accuracy, objectivity, informational content, and personal involvement, it was found that news media was seen as the most credible, whilst press and broadcasting advertising was perceived as the least credible. Giletson and Crompton (1983) also emphasise the importance of non-official sources such as the advice of friends. They conclude that official sources regarded as authentic, accurate, and informative may be used, but the final decision is legitimized by organic images. There may be some blurring of the organic-induced catagorisation, however, due to the contemporary sophistication of public relations aimed at developing 'credible' media such as travel writing (see Urry, 1995). Significantly, in one of the few integrated studies, Ashworth and De Haan (1987) compare the projected and received image of the Languedoc Coast in southern France, and stress that it is the monitoring of different destination images which provides an important tool in the development of a coherent tourism strategy.

4.5 DESTINATION MARKETING IMPLICATIONS

The image of a locality can be considered to have a multi-faceted relationship with place marketing, at different times and places representing both the focus of urban marketing and tourism strategies, and also a serious obstacle to realising the objectives of marketing strategies. As early as 1975, Hunt recognised that images largely determined the success or failure of tourism development. An important development in place image theory has been the comparison of a destination's image at different stages of tourists' decision-making cycles, and the use of this range of images to form the basis of a policy-making tool.

Font (1996:126) suggests that marketers should begin by establishing whether consumers are familiar with the destination, before considering whether or not impressions are

favourable. Perceptions of a city, relating to both first-hand experience and representations, have important policy implications. This is particularly the case where there are significant differences between first-hand experiences of the destination, and perceptions based upon experiencing representations of the locality from outside. In the language of place image studies, there may be significant discrepancies between the demand-side 'naive image' consisting of the organic and projected image; and the supply-side 're-evaluated image', which includes perceptions of the place product itself. Furthermore, discrepancies can have their roots in either the demand or supply-side. Weaknesses on the supply-side may result in expectations not being met upon experiencing the destination. Weaknesses on the demand-side may cause negative stereotypical perceptions, deterring potential visitors, and resulting in non-purchase decisions.

Successful place marketing is virtually impossible without rigorous, sensitive, and periodic image research. Destination marketing requires the development of a place product which meets or exceeds the expectations of target market segments. Place image - particularly discrepancies between different types of image - plays a crucial role in service quality. A knowledge of discrepancies between consumers' naive images of a destination, and the re-evaluated images of actual visitors, can help marketers to close the gap between the expected and perceived destination (see Ahmed, 1991). The place marketer may take action to improve the place product, addressing weaknesses identified by visitors whose expectations were not met. The promotional mix may be used to address unfavourable naive images, or to alter the expectations of potential visitors.

Data on the image of the destination is also crucial to positioning. To position a product, marketers develop and communicate a product's attributes and benefits, relative to those of competitors. As Font (1996:127) argues, 'positioning involves creating the desired image in the minds of consumers.' Indeed, the sustainablity of a destination depends on marketers differentiating a destination from competitors. This process has been represented as a transition of the destination from a *commodity area,* competing on price;

to a *status area*, with unique and attractive attributes (Font, 1996:128-129). To communicate the unique selling proposition of the destination to potential consumers, place marketers increasingly need to be innovative in their use of the promotional mix.

An interesting conclusion of many recent place image studies is that the official image projected is rarely the most important source of ideas about the destination. Conflict between sources, particularly in relation to the news media, often prompts defensive promotion to counteract images from other sources. It would seem that the selection of projected images and promotional media in relation to the organisation's objectives, is critical. The objective of 'remarketing', for example, may not be consistent with the need for clarity, simplicity, and the avoidance of dissonance. It also appears to be important to maintain consistency between the images of a locality projected by different organisations, and on different spatial scales.

Significantly, destination images are influenced by a much wider spectrum of information sources than other products. Post-industrial cities are even more likely to be influenced by naive images, as derogatory economic, political, and social representations can be significant. Some cities, for example, may be subject to negative media reporting of unemployment, crime, and dereliction, and these negative organic images are incorporated into the destination's naive image. Madsen (1991:635), for example, illustrates both the creation of negative stereotypes by the national press, and their influence on the purchasing behaviour of place consumers. He cites an article in the *Independent* newspaper, about Liverpool Close in Grantham. It was claimed that houses remained unsold for three years, due to the street's association with the city. Unfortunately, such representations further contribute to the negative stereotypes (naive images) which influence the decision-making of potential visitors and investors.

The majority of potential visitors to a destination will not have visited the locality recently, and may not even have been exposed to the more commercial sources of information. The vast majority of potential visitors to a destination will decide not to

visit, and this decision is based mainly on their organic sources of information. Naive images are believed to be extremely stable over time, and slow to adapt to product development (Gartner and Hunt, 1987). As authors such as Bramwell (1998:37-38), Jenkins (1998:2), Selby and Morgan (1996) argue, it is imperative that marketers include these 'non-visitors' in image research, comparing naive images to the experiences of actual visitors.

There are few other products for which such strong emotions exist, before the product has been experienced first-hand. The need to separate, compare, and contrast the images of different social groups of consumers becomes apparent. Different groups of consumers are likely to have intersubjective experiences of representations of a locality, or the place product itself. As both Ashworth (1988) and Stabler (1988) argue, place image has a vital mediating role between consumers and the supply factors of the tourism product. The complexity of the place product, particularly its short-term inflexibility, together with the significance of images formed without direct contact with the place product itself, make the matching of tourism supply and demand even more critical. The evaluation and analysis of both demand and supply-side images, therefore, offers hope in avoiding 'vague, generalised, and thus ineffective geographical marketing of which there are too many examples' (Ashworth and Goodall, 1988:11). Separating the visitor and non-visitor images, then becomes an invaluable exercise, enabling the salient attributes of the naive or demand-side image, and the supply-side image to be acted upon.

4.6   METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Although one might expect to find a wide variety of approaches to researching place images, two distinct types of methodology are apparent. An important methodological distinction is between structured and unstructured techniques. Structured approaches, where the researcher provides the attributes or constructs, are by far the most common in place image research (see *Table 4.1*). As Echtner and Ritchie (1991:9) describe, the

attributes of destinations tend to be specified and incorporated into standardized instruments, often with the use of a ratings scale such as the Semantic Differential or Likert. The data from standardised scales, therefore, tends to be easy to administer, code and analyse. There is an associated tendency for the use of complex statistical techniques in the analysis stage. As Jenkins (1999:5) points out, although destination images are holistic representations of places, in measuring images, researchers feel compelled to analyse separate parts or attributes. The structured approach, however, has been extremely popular with marketing and advertising professionals, due to the large-scale quantitative data produced.

Researchers such as Haahti (1991) have used a structured approach to examine the unique images of different localities using product attribute analysis. Other researchers have used techniques such as used multi-dimensional scaling, overcoming some of the problems of generating the constructs to be used in the study (e.g., Gartner, 1989). Gartner used previously collected data from the US states of Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and Montana to compare images of residents and non-residents in relation to recreational products. Of the numerous studies of destination images, very few have incorporated constructs which could be termed 'holistic'. Surprisingly, very few researchers using structured techniques, involve consumers in the generation of constructs. This serious limitation of place image studies is worth discussing in more detail below.

The main alternative, according to the place marketing and tourism literature, is to use an unstructured methodology. This usually consists of free-form descriptions to measure images, exemplified by Boivin's study (1986). The attributes or constructs are not specified at the beginning of the research, and the respondent freely describes their impressions of the place product. It is common for focus groups and open-ended questions to be used, along with content analysis and various sorting techniques to determine image dimensions. Amongst the handful of unstructured approaches is that of Reilly (1990), who used open-ended questions for respondents to describe images of Montana. Reilly uncovered some useful holistic images, although it was acknowledged

that the level of detail is highly variable, depending on the eloquence of individuals and their willingness to participate.

In practical terms, it is possible to identify some serious methodological flaws in place image research. Even when studies have seemingly offered useful insights, the preponderance of structured methodologies and the methods of generating constructs, have somewhat invalidated their findings. There are inherent problems in measuring place image due to its holistic nature. In place image research, it is possible to identify a degree of trade-off between structured and unstructured techniques. Despite their flexibility, suitability for coding, and ease of use, structured techniques often use constructs which are not salient to respondents. As *Table 4.1* indicates, few published studies use consumers to elicit the constructs used in structured methodologies (Jenkins, 1999:7). In many cases, the researcher is merely collecting respondents' perceptions of *their* perceptions of places. The ratings of constructs revealed may bear little or no relevance to decision-making. In the context of urban tourism, the dangers of making such assumptions are significant, and should at least be acknowledged by researchers.

A comprehensive review of place image studies by Echtner and Brent Ritchie (1991) reveals fundamental limitations. Out of fourteen structured place image studies, only four used consumer research to elicit the constructs used in the main study. Out of these, sample sizes tend to be small. Crompton (1977, for example, used 'general reading material and brochures', and thirty-six consumer interviews. Pearce (1982) did use repertory grid analysis, although with a sample of only ten. Gartner (1989), Calantone *et al.* (1989), Tourism Canada (1986-1989), and Kale and Weir (1986) do not even consider the matter worth discussing.

Amongst the researchers who do divulge their methods of generating constructs, the emphasis on 'tourism experts' and 'researcher's judgment' is a cause for concern (e.g., Gartner and Hunt, 1987). Um and Crompton (1990:438) use 'an interacting panel of five individuals whom the authors believed to be knowledgeable of this literature.' This

Table 4.1   Methodologies Used by Destination Image Researchers

Reference	Type of Methodology	Technique for the Generation of Attributes
Hunt (1976)	*Structured* (20 attributes, Semantic Differential scale)	Tourism experts, researcher's judgement.
Crompton (1977)	*Structured* (18 attributes, semantic differential scale)	Consumer interviews (36), general reading material, brochures.
Goodrich (1977)	*Structured* (10 attributes, Likert scale)	Tourism experts, Travel brochures.
Crompton (1979)	*Structured* (30 attributes, Semantic Differential scale)	Consumer interviews (36), general reading material, brochures.
Pearce (1982)	*Structured* (13 attributes, Likert scale)	Repertory Grid analysis with consumers (10).
Haahti and Yevas (1983)	*Structured* (10 attributes, Likert scale)	Literature review, focus group.
Crompton and Duray (1985)	*Structured* (28 attributes, Semantic Differential scale)	Consumer interviews (100), general reading material, brochures.
Kale and Weir (1986)	*Structured* (26 attributes, Likert scale)	Not discussed
Phelps (1986)	*Structured* (32 attributes, check list)	Researcher's judgement
Tourism Canada (1986-9)	*Structured* (29 attributes, Likert scale)	Not discussed
Gartner and Hunt (1987)	*Structured* (11 attributes, Semantic Differential scale)	Tourism experts, researcher's judgement.
Richardson and Crompton (1988)	*Structured* (10 attributes, comparative scale)	Tourism Canada Survey
Gartner (1989)	*Structured* (15 attributes, Likert Scale)	Not discussed
Calantone *et al.* (1989)	*Structured* (13 attributes, Likert scale)	Not discussed
Reilly (1990)	*Unstructured* (open-ended questions)	Not applicable

Source: After Echtner and Brent Ritchie (1991: 8)

approach is used in a study which states that 'when situational constraints are specified and integrated into consumer choice models, their predictive power is enhanced' (*ibid*:433).

If, as so much research suggests, the contemporary consumer experiences a plethora of representations of places and products, the researcher's judgment becomes somewhat redundant. Depending on the market segment, it is also extremely questionable whether 'tourism experts' will generate any of the constructs or attributes salient to the consumers in question. By contrast, Jenkins (1991:7-12) provides a convincing argument for conducting place image research in two stages. Qualitative consumer research, such as interviews or repertory grid analysis can be used to generate salient constructs, followed by the use of rating scales to measure consumers' perceptions.

Echnter and Ritchie (1991), following their perceptive discussion, proceed to deliberate on the dimensions of place image which should be included in place image studies. Despite advocating the use of qualitative consumer research, Jenkins (1999:5) also attempts to define the dimensions of place image. It is unlikely that the definition of general and *a priori* dimensions by researchers confers any benefits to research in such diverse contexts. It is considerably more important for the constructs used to be salient to the particular group of consumers. In light of the proliferation of what Parrinello (1993:237) terms 'almost obsessive forms of methodological sophistication', perhaps more attention should be directed towards the fundamental issue of ensuring that constructs are salient to groups of consumers in specific contexts.

A number of tourism and place marketing authors have noted the disproportionate emphasis on statistics and sophisticated methods of analysis. Dann, Nash, and Pearce (1988), produce a diagram with four quadrants representing the relationship between methodological sophistication and theoretical awareness. Not surprisingly, the majority of tourism and marketing studies can be considered to fall into a quadrant representing a dangerous lack of theoretical underpinning, despite sophisticated analysis techniques.

Furthermore, Schroader (1984) argues that simpler statistical techniques tend to be just as effective in image studies as complex ones, and that place images are best summarised by graphical techniques. It is tempting to wonder whether there is a compensatory element to studies which employ disproportionately complex methods of analysis; whether or not this is the case, the possible insights from rich data are certainly lost.

A growing number of researchers have recognised the value of comparing different types of place image, particularly in assessing the strengths and weaknesses of a destination. Methodologies vary, however, particularly between projected and received images. A lack methodological foresight has often seemed to underlie limited findings. A study of the Languedoc coast, for example, promises to demonstrate the potential of place image as a policy analysis instrument. However, many such studies fail to capitalise on the potential of comparing images/expectations with first-hand experiences of the product. This is because the techniques used to measure projected images in studies are rarely compatible with techniques to measure experiences of the destination. The disappointment in this respect is well-articulated by Ashworth and De Haan (1987:14), in a study which failed to realise its full potential: 'the problems of comparison are evident.'

Promisingly, Chon (1990) makes a number of policy recommendations following his study of images of South Korea amongst American tourists. Despite disusssing organic images, the 'before and after' study uses a sample of consumers who have already made a positive purchase decision. The 'before' responses, actually sampled on the flight, can hardly be expected to reveal many organic images. It is surely the *non-visitors*, those repelled from even considering a visit by negative organic images, which were originally the focus of Chon's study. Likewise, the value of Madsen's study of Liverpool's image in the context of inward investment is limited by a failure to incorporate the experience of place consumers. The projected image was found to 'jar with reality' in certain areas. In this study, 'reality' bears no relation to the *experiences* of place consumers, but is represented instead by a collection of facts and statistics - the 'objective reality' of the city.

In the context of tourism motivation studies, Parrinello (1993) makes some points which are also salient to place image research. The anticipation stage of tourist decision-making is influenced by a complex amalgam of 'tourist culture', with increasingly widespread and intensive channels of communication (Parrinello, 1993). Recent motivational theories are based on complex interactive models, including situational factors relating to specific contexts. There have been advances in incorporating the social context into motivation studies, and a move away from a behaviouristic conception. Pearce (1982) identifies the difficulty of assuming the same cognitive process in different cultures. This includes the culture-specific nature of language. Perhaps more significant are calls to begin any motivational study from everyday life in different contexts. Parrinello (1993), for example, suggests that researchers should look to phenomenologists such as Schutz (1971), and Berger and Luckmann (1966).

Although there is extremely contradictory evidence concerning the significance and timing of different sources of information in decision-making, researchers tend to assume that the process of decision-making is universal. It would seem that research can be fatally flawed if it is assumed that consumers always progress towards more official, realistic, and differentiated information. MacInnis and Price (1987) suggest that official sources of information are important in the initial stages of information search, followed later by unofficial 'holistic' images. By contrast, Echtner and Brent Ritchie (1991) suggest that organic sources are important in the initial stages of decision-making, and official sources are significant in the later stages. Pritchard and Morgan (1995) describe research by the Wales Tourist Board which suggests that brochures are often used to confirm decisions already made, decisions based mainly on organic sources.

Place image researchers acknowledge that there are significant variations in *decision rules*. There is little evidence, however, that such differences in consumer behaviour are considered by place image researchers in their choice of methodology. In general, there has been very little attention paid to the given choice context. The social environment,

however, is likely to be significant in decision-making, particularly through the norms and value systems of different groups. Despite a limited recognition of the importance of social context (e.g., Goodall, 1988; Murphy, 1985), there has been little success in incorporating social relations into decision-making research. Such methodological problems, however, are less surprising if one considers the nature of the behaviouralist epistemology.

4.7   EPISTEMOLOGY

Turning to the wider epistemological implications of place image studies, some interesting characteristics emerge. Although there is undoubtedly a hegemonic epistemology, most particularly relating to decision-making, it would seem that it is rarely recognised or considered by researchers. Related to this problem, tourism and marketing researchers rarely seem prepared to acknowledge past epistemological debates within the social sciences. Squires (1994) presents an interesting review of the lack of mutual cooperation and interest between the disciplines of tourism and human geography, concluding that the cost is borne by both.

Indicative of the dominant epistemology in both urban tourism and place image research, is Pearce and Fagene's article (1996). Beginning with a useful critique of tourism and marketing research, attention again turns to an almost evangelical promotion of the work of Kevin Lynch (e.g., 1960). Behaviouralist approaches dominate the place image and urban tourism literature, although the limitations of the epistemology are very rarely discussed. The Lynchean studies discussed by Page (1995; 1997;1999), are advocated by Walmsley and Jenkins (1992:270), in a study using cognitive mapping of tourists' environments. Cognitive maps of tourists visiting Coff's harbour in Australia are developed, and a similar approach has been used by Pearce (1977, 1981). Ankomah and Crompton (1992) focus on tourists' perceptions of distances between destinations in a study of 'cognitive distance'. This study even discusses the benefits of behaviourist

laboratory research on tourist images. It is significant that such approaches are advocated by Crompton, one of the most influential and established place image researchers.

Behaviouralist approaches assume that consumer decision-making is bounded, the result of imperfect knowledge. Despite human geography's general indifference towards tourism (Squires, 1994), there was actually a wave of interest in tourist images in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This included differences between the images of tourists and inhabitants (e.g., Belanger and Gendreau, 1979), and a proliferation of 'repetitive travel' studies relating to tourism (e.g., Leiber, 1977). Such behavioural approaches were seen to bring a number of benefits. They introduced the subjective element, arguing that an understanding of individual cognition of the ordinary environment is vital in predicting behaviour. Researchers were also concerned to contribute directly to policy-making, not unlike many tourism researchers. There seemed to be potential in combining spatial preference work (e.g., Gould and White, 1974), with research on markets.

Behavioural geography was faced, however, by a range of convincing criticisms. An obvious problem is the association of behavioural approaches with behaviourism. Whilst some critics were perhaps a little harsh in linking behavioural geography to 'Skinnerian' or 'Pavlovian' psychology (Cullen 1976, Ley 1981a), fundamental problems were highlighted. In relation to decision-making models, there is a fundamental need to incorporate 'the old questions of sensation and image, of feeling and emotion' (Richards, 1974). It is by no means certain whether this was achieved then, or whether it is possible today.

Another important criticism concerns the relationship between cognition and behaviour. Despite the widespread acceptance of the link between behaviour and images, the relationship has been periodically questioned (e.g., Sack, 1980). Of particular interest in the context of images is the distinction between action and behaviour. As Werlen (1993) argues, too few researchers appreciate the fundamental differences between 'action' and

'behaviour'. An important contribution of Werlin's *Society, Action and Space* (1993) relates to the benefits of developing *action theory*, rather than succumbing to behavioural methodologies. The significance of conceptualising the action of urban tourists, rather than behaviour, is discussed in chapter six.

The emergence of behavioural geography was essentially a reaction to the worst excesses of 'spatial science' in human geography. Until the late 1960s, the unshakable belief in quantitative models and the assumption of perfect knowledge assigned no role whatsoever to human agency. Although there was some discussion of 'stochastic' approaches, incorporating random factors, the main response to spatial science was to incorporate 'cognitive-behavioural' factors. The latter approach included calls to take seriously the human aspects of decision-making, particularly the individual's inability to obtain perfect information (Cloke *et al.,* 1991).

Behavioural geography was essentially developed to supplement spatial science, and accordingly, behavioural approaches today display fundamental epistemological parallels. Humanistic geography's conceptualisation of images were appropriated and diffused, rendering them natural and politically neutral. As behavioral geography was born out of the interface between scientific geography and scientific psychology, its contributions were largely limited to methodology. This included experimental and statistical techniques designed to externalize and measure environmental perception. Theoretical work was limited to searching for 'universal claims about the subjective processes of environmental cognition' (Phillips, 1993:23). The focus is the individual rather than social groups, conceptualising images as the result of psychologically determined processes of perception and cognition. Mental images were thus considered to be natural, non-political distortions of an objective reality.

There are fundamental and largely unresolved arguments relating to the atheoretical nature of behavioural approaches. The contributions of more radical critics represent behavioural approaches as 'dehumanising theories' governed by 'psychologism', which

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also obscure the 'objective social and economic conditions that operate independently of the individual' (Reiser, 1973:53). Apart from maintaining the status quo, according to this view, behavioural approaches lead to an atomistic form of explanation that relegates social action. As Werlen (1993:15) argues, 'the theoretical concept of behaviour is inadequate for an understanding of social relations.' The behavioral approach relies on the reduction of all social phenomena to the psychological factors of perception, learning, and thinking. It is difficult to maintain, however, that any human activity can be explained 'without reference to our social surroundings, to social institutions and to their manner of functioning' (Popper, 1969:90). Whilst it may be possible to explain many psychological phenomena through sociological analysis, it is not possible to reduce the social to the psychological, and take society as 'given' (Werlen, 1993:16).

Decision-making models, despite adopting the cognitive form of behaviourism which includes perception and cognition, conceptualise socio-cultural factors as merely an input into the psychological conditioning of the individual. Even cognitive studies, which conceptualise information as the stimuli, suffer from the contradiction of describing the observed reaction of an individual as a 'decision'. If an individual is reacting to stimuli rather than being involved in purposeful activity, they can not be considered to be making a 'decision'. It is also difficult to maintain that the research itself is intentional and exempt from the behaviourist assumptions. The cognitive-behavioural tradition in tourism research conceptualises the reaction of individuals to tourist decision-making in terms of psychological conditioning factors. It can only relate, therefore, to individual consumers. As even Goodall (1991:73-4) indicates, tourism is a social phenomenon, with the collection of information, decision-making, and participation occurring in social groups.

What is significant from such critiques, therefore, is the way in which a combination of the positivist origins of behavioural approaches, together with an atheoretical subjectivism, raise considerable doubts about the ability to incorporate and conceptualise society or culture. This implies the dismissal of both everyday experiences and

commonsense meanings of agency, and the social relations of structure. If this is the case, the emphasis on perfecting methodology and developing universal dimensions of image is not surprising. Most place marketing studies display at least some of these limitations, attributing relatively little importance to the social context of studies, and culture.

A persistent legacy of behavioural geography, apparent in tourism and marketing literature, is the image-reality dualism. Images are seen as 'false understanding, . . . not just nonsense or error, but . . . a coherent, rule-governed system of errors' (Mitchell 1986:172). In line with the 'new' cultural geography, Phillips (1993) discredits the unreality of images through a discussion of the tendency within society to privilege certain types of images as reality. Maps, for example, have commonly been accepted as a realistic, credible, and neutral likeness of the world. It is possible, however, to read such representations in different ways, uncovering political influences on their creation and maintenance (Cosgrove, 1984).

Truth and reality can always be considered to be socially constructed by humans. A Foucauldian notion of truth emphasises that images are relative historical truths, produced within, and often reproducing, power-knowledge relationships (Foucault, 1980). Behavioural approaches use realism to naturalize images, denying them of their political origins, and denying the existence of a struggle between different representations to convey the 'truth'. The language of behavioural approaches, therefore, privileges elite and detached representations over the representations of everyday life to which context is fundamental. By contrast, an epistemology which focuses on the differences between representations, offers hope in exploring their form and context, as well as identifying those which are salient to consumers.

4.8   CONCLUSION

It would seem that fairly mixed results flow from the promising area of literature concerned with the image of tourist destinations.   There has been an encouraging development and consolidation of theory and research relating to decision-making and place image.   Particularly useful, is the concecptualisation of a range of place images, related to stages of the decision-making process.   This enables place image to be used as a policy analysis instrument.   The comparison of images at different stages of decision-making over a range of constructs has been demonstrated by a number of authors, and enables the identification of weaknesses of the destination on the demand-side amongst potential visitors, and on the supply-side amongst actual visitors.

Whilst progress has been made, decision-making models and place image studies, are riddled with methodological and epistemological problems.   Methodological problems, for example, relate to a lack of salience of constructs used in research into place consumers, and a lack of comparability between different images.   The more fundamental epistemological problems relate to the atheoretical and deterministic assumptions underlying behaviouralist research.   Despite the emphasis on cognitive processes, there is still a strong positivist influence in these studies.   Approaches are unable to capture social context and social relations, despite their significant influence on tourist decision-making.   Particularly inconsistent with contemporary social science, images are conceptualised as distortions of an objective reality.   Together, these epistemological problems convey a strong sense of introspection and myopia, suggesting that many tourism and place and marketing studies would greatly benefit from alternative conceptualisations of place, experience, and action.   It is argued that in instead of *behaviour*, tourism researchers should be concerned with developing theories of *action*.

It is also apparent that with several notable exceptions, the benefits of cultural approaches to urban tourism and place image research have been recognised by relatively few researchers. There are, however, fundamental insights into urban tourist experience to be

gained from cultural studies. These are perhaps most apparent in relation to an urgent need to consider not only images, but also *representations*. The conceptualisation of images as distortions of an 'objective reality' are challenged by cultural studies. Images can be conceptualised as 'relative historic truths', and attention paid to the power-knowledge relations behind their production. It is now necessary to expand upon these initial observations relating to the potential contribution of cultural studies to the study of urban tourist experience.

CHAPTER 5

THE CULTURE OF URBAN TOURISM

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite greater attention in recent years to the culture of tourism, there is still a surprising lack of dialogue between tourism researchers and cultural geographers. Urban tourism studies have been criticised in this project for their relative ignorance of epistemological and methodological developments within the social sciences. As authors such as Squire argue, 'tourism research has been somewhat isolated from wider disciplinary trends; first from humanistic geography and more recently from the theoretical and methodological questions that have revitalised social and cultural enquires' (Squire, 1991:1). The similarities between place image studies and the behavioural geography of the 1970s was discussed in the last chapter, ending with a consideration of the great potential of the 'new cultural geography' in tourism and place marketing studies. This chapter aims to critically review the application of cultural approaches to studies of place consumption.

There are signs that tourism researchers are beginning to engage with cultural studies. It should also be acknowledged that although there has been a failure amongst tourism researchers to engage with theoretical developments within the social sciences, human geographers have been surprisingly reticent towards tourism. Amongst a proliferation of cultural studies in human geography, only a handful (e.g., McGreevy, 1992) make any reference to tourism. This is despite tourism representing a significant cultural phenomenon, fundamentally related to the ways in which 'people assess their world, defining their own sense of identity in the process' (Jackle, 1985:xi).

In this context, tourism, place consumption, and place marketing are bound up with the concerns of the new cultural geography, particularly the relationships between culture and

social life; and the way meaning is produced, communicated and interpreted. Tourism as a cultural phenomenon, is dominated by the central concern of cultural geography - representation. In the context of marketing the post-industrial city, it is representation which ascribes meaning to particular localities. The reading of landscapes and representations is central to the tourist experience, and socially constructed meaning is mediated through a range of institutions.

This chapter begins with an overview of cultural studies of consumption, including contributions both in the tourism literature and within human geography. The aim is to initially indicate the scope of cultural studies of consumption, before devoting more attention to the key concepts and methods underpinning the cultural approach. The potential contribution of cultural studies to researching the city is explored. The discussion then identifies some shortcomings of cultural studies revealed in the context of place consumption.

It is argued that the complex nature of contemporary consumption - particularly tourism - has rarely been tackled convincingly by cultural researchers. In contrast to retrospective cultural studies, there are inherent problems in reading contemporary landscapes and representations *on behalf of consumers*. In the context of contemporary consumption, the landscape and representations which are read by the cultural researcher, are also read by place consumers in their everyday lives. The lack of attention in cultural studies to the everyday experience of tourist representations and landscapes raises serious questions regarding the *reception* and embodiment of cultural meanings. Drawing on a critique of cultural studies of consumption, the discussion turns to a consideration of possible solutions.

5.2   CULTURE AND TOURISM

Within the tourism literature, various attempts have been made to define and conceptualise the tourist experience. To Cohen, tourism is about seeking difference

(1972), or escaping from the alienation of everyday life (1979). To MacCannell (1973), tourists are on a sacred journey in search of authenticity, consuming the 'staged authenticity' provided by the tourism industry. MacCannell (1977, 1976), in particular, inspired a proliferation of work engaging with the theme of authenticity (e.g., Pearce and Moscardo, 1985; Littrell *et al.*, 1993). Offering an alternative conceptualisation, Urry (1990) focuses on the 'tourist gaze' emphasising both the visual consumption of the destination itself, and the consumption of images outside the destination. In conceptualising the 'tourist gaze', Urry (1990, 1995) adds an important dimension to studies based on authenticity. The reflexive nature of the tourist gaze means that the images created by the tourism industry, together with organic images, link representations of localities to the first-hand experience of tourists. In this way, a more significant form of 'authenticity' concerns whether or not first-hand experience authenticates the images and representations of the destination.

It is encouraging that Urry (1990:2) urges researchers to evaluate 'the typical contents of the tourist gaze. . . to make sense of elements of the wider society with which they are contrasted.' The majority of contributions concerned with authenticity, however, foster only universal classifications and typologies. Authors tend to conceptualise authenticity in terms of 'the genuine, the real, and the unique' (Sharpley, 1994:130), relying on the researcher's judgement, rather than the experiences of tourists. Given the size and diversity of contemporary tourism, there are significant dangers in developing universal and objective conceptualisations. According to Thurot and Thurot (1983:188), MacCannell, who inspired so much tourism research, 'told his readers about a society which had virtually disappeared. Because he lacked an actual picture of tourism, he never discovered the present social reality.'

As Morgan and Pritchard (1998:12) argue, 'there is an undeniable tendency to undervalue the actual experience of tourists in the pursuit of some all-encompassing framework. Selwyn (1996:6) notes the lack of ethnographic research underpinning typologies and classifications. Even Urry (1990, 1995) can be accused of overstating the

significance of the visual in a rather universal conceptualisation of tourists (see Veijola and Jokimen, 1994). Although tourism researchers devote considerable effort to developing universal *a priori* conceptualisations, relatively little is expended on exploring the images and experiences of actual tourists, in the context of both their production and consumption.

Indicative of the increased interest in cultural studies amongst tourism researchers, is Dann's *The Language of Tourism* (1996). Dann argues that the language of tourism is used in a variety of forms of social control. The decisions, experiences, and conduct of tourists are therefore regulated by the 'norms, values, prescriptions, and proscriptions' of this language (*ibid*:3). Despite applying such concepts to various aspects of the tourist experience, it is interesting that Dann ultimately draws upon Boorstin (1964). Tourists are again represented as passive dupes, and the effectiveness of the language of tourism as social control is taken for granted (Cohen, 1999:727). The psychologism of Dann's universal generalisations ultimately reveals more about the shortcomings of the tourism literature than the rise of cultural approaches.

There have been other indications that tourism researchers are beginning to engage with the methods and theories of cultural studies in order to understand tourism. In an earlier work, Dann (1992) analyses representations of destinations by UK travel writers and tourism promoters. He shows how representations reassure potential consumers that overseas destinations are 'just as civilised as England'. In a recent collection of cultural essays (Ringer, 1998), interests range from the 'Cybertourism' analysed by Rojek (*ibid*:33), to the landscapes of the Pacific addressed by Hall (*ibid*:140). In a valuable collection of essays, Urry (1995) uses a variety of contexts to examine the relationship between tourism and the way that localities adopt local, regional, and international identities in the process of place consumption. The cultural approach is used by Lafant (1995), to explore representations and identities in the context of international tourism. Representations of developing world destinations are also the focus of studies by Silver (1993), and Mellinger (1994).

There have been several contributions within the tourism literature aimed at advancing the method of cultural analysis in the context of tourism. In a special addition of *Annals of Tourism Research*, for example, it is MacCannell (1989) who introduces a collection of articles advocating the use of semiotics. MacCannell claims that semiotics - the analysis of how language produces meaning through signs - offers hope in rectifying a major fault in tourism research. In a departure from his early work, he criticises both the assumption in tourism research that culture is homogeneous, and attempts to explain differences as 'individual and personality differences'. Many of the contributions in the volume, however, are again concerned with defining the relationship between host and guest, at the expense of more original insights. Bennett's analysis of Blackpool Pleasure Beach (1983), and Alber and Jones' (1988) analysis of postcards are noteworthy examples of the technique, although semiotic analysis will be discussed in more detail below.

Selwyn (1996) edits a comprehensive analysis of the use of tourism images. Addressing both the production and consumption of tourist myths, he explores the ideology underpinning representations. Dann (1996), for example, addresses the images of tourist brochures, focusing on the relationship between tourists and residents. Edwards (1996) analyses the 'exoticization' of non-western peoples in postcards, and Meethen (1996) analyses the promotional images of Brighton. One of Selwyn's most useful contributions, concerns his conceptualisation of authenticity. He distinguishes between the 'cool authenticity' of objective approaches, and the 'hot authenticity' in a more experiential sense. Whilst 'cool authenticity' is concerned with the authenticity of knowledge in relation to the 'real world', 'hot' authenticity refers to an existential evaluation by place consumers.

Another emergent genre of cultural studies of consumption focuses on promotional imagery and representations. Uncharacteristically, both pioneering work (Burgess, 1982) and recent contributions (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998), are concerned with tourism and

place marketing. As early as 1982, Burgess was concerned with urban images in the context of inward investment. A range of authors appear to have been influenced by the work of Burgess, and a substantial body of literature on the promotion of towns and cities has developed. Studies focus on attracting inward investment and tourism, including individual case studies (e.g., Burgess and Wood, 1988; Watson 1988; Goss, 1993; Bramwell and Rawding, 1996), edited collections (Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Kearns and Philo, 1993), and more theoretical contributions (Urry, 1995).

Recent years have seen human geographers engaging with the representations of advertising. This is despite the fact that, as Gregson (1995:137) puts it, 'advertising texts differ so markedly from the Gainboroughs and Constables so beloved of cultural geographers.' The advertising industry itself has been examined, including the use of space by television advertising companies (Clarke and Bradford, 1989). Sack's *Place modernity and the consumer's world* (1988) devotes considerable attention to advertising imagery, including the analysis of a range of advertisements. One of the few authors to consider the audience of representations, Jackson reminds geographers of the folly of purely academic readings of landscapes and representations (Jackson, 1994; Jackson and Taylor 1995). Jackson and Taylor (1995) argue that it is necessary to analyse both the content of advertising messages, and their reception by groups of consumers.

Human geographers have increasingly turned to issues of consumption, exemplified by texts such as Clarke (1991), Knox (1991), and Miller (1996). Consumption is also a dominant theme in some of the broader discussions of economic and social change, such as Glennie and Thrift (1992), Jackson and Thrift (1994), and Wrigley and Lowe (1995). A growing interest in consumption was apparent as early as the late 1980s, with international conferences devoted to the field. One such event, *Creation of Myth, Invention, and Tradition in America,* included contributions on the planning profession (Rees, 1988), built form (Domash, 1988), and representations of the American city (Krim, 1988; Letendre, 1988; Shapiro, 1988).

As Cosgove (1989) argues, although cultural geography has tended to be fairly retrospective, attention has increasingly turned to the emergence of new urban landscapes and representations. The Pacific Rim, the sunbelts of the USA, and post-industrial cities in Europe have all attracted attention. These newly created consumption spaces feature heavily in Ley's work (1987; 1989; Ley and Olds, 1988), and Mill's (1988) study of a new class of gentrifiers named 'lifestylers.' The theatrical nature of the consumer's world has emerged as a particularly attractive area of cultural research since it was introduced by authors such as Sack (1988).

Although the lack of interaction between tourism researchers and cultural geographers has been marked, cultural geographers have addressed cognate fields and used tourism metaphors. New approaches to textual interpretation have been explored, particularly through semiotics (Adler, 1989; Evans-Pritchard, 1989). National and regional identity has long been of interest to cultural geographers, and this features in work such as Taylor's study of photography and Englishness, *A Dream of England* (1992). Crang (1997) provides a refreshing approach to addressing the tourist gaze - through the photographs of tourists. Crang is one of the few researchers interested in the touristic practices by which representations are simultaneously produced and consumed. This is a useful alternative to the numerous studies which merely analyse representations themselves. Crang advocates the use of phenomenological approaches, in order to capture 'the future perfect experience' (*ibid*:359), embodied in social relations. As Crang points out, 'in this sense images are not so much counterposed to reality as a route through which worlds are created' (*ibid*:362).

The contradictory relationships between heritage and national identity is explored in the context of Ireland (Graham, 1994a; Innes 1994), Australia (Saunders, 1994), Cyprus (Papadajis, 1995), and England (Pick, 1994). Women's travel writing has inspired work such as Blunt (1994) and Monicat (1994). The rather questionable distinction between the 'sympathetic traveller' and the 'voyeuristic tourist' is developed in an article by

McDowell (1994). A more thought-provoking discussion of the rhetorics of 'travel' over 'tourism' in 'the new middle class' is provided by Munt (1994).

Although the subject of heritage tends to have the effect of polarising epistemologies and arguments, it is encouraging that cultural geographers are adding to literature, providing an alternative to the discourse characterised by authors such as Hewison (1987). Addressing themes such as the strengthening of local identity and residents' sense of belonging, and the generation of local heritage, authors such as Clifford and King (1993), Cooper (1994), Crow (1994), Rose (1994), and Willems-Braun (1994) go some way towards redressing the balance. Willems-Braun (1994), in particular, directs us along an alternative route to conceptualising and researching fringe festivals, emphasising intersubjective experience. The way in which heritage is a complex amalgam of spatial identity, time, memory, and history is illustrated in a study which emphasises 'temporal imagining' (Crang, 1994a). Crang also provides an innovative and amusing personal account of working in 'Smokey Joe's' restaurant whilst completing his doctorate, illustrating how consumption and the service sector blurs the boundaries between the social, the cultural, and the economic (Crang, 1994b). A similar (although less personal) approach is used by M.Smith (1996) in an analysis of Starbuck's coffee bars. This study explores the local-global relationships involved in consuming the product.

Cultural studies have often drawn upon Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (1977) concerned largely with morals, control, and exclusion. Foucault's later work (1980), however, has generated interest in the field of leisure and consumption. This includes work on pleasure and nature on the Norfolk Broads (Matless, 1994), and a report on contemporary leisure landscapes (Clarke, 1994) which emphasises conflict and social tensions between different groups of place consumers. Foucault's concept of 'Heterotopia' (1980, 1986), understood as a heterogeneous site which juxtaposes many incompatible places, has also been influential. The concept has inspired a proliferation of studies of the shopping mall. The shopping mall has been read as a new representation of the spatial, and as the ultimate postmodern consumption site.

Authors such as Shields (1989; 1990; 1992), Hopkins (1990; 1991), and Goss (1992; 1993) have drawn upon Foucault to understand the combinations of retail and leisure activities, and their sense of utopia and fantasy. The attention lavished upon the shopping mall is partly due to their apparent appropriation of representations of distant places, and the sense in which they replace 'real' places. The few attempts to evaluate consumers of shopping malls tend to draw upon Benjamin's 'flaneur' (Benjamin, 1979). It would seem that the epitome of these postmodern sites has been West Edmonton Mall, Alberta, inspiring work by Hopkins (1990), Shields (1989), Fairburn (1991), Butler (1991), and Jackson and Johnson (1991).

The concept of 'hyperreality' (Eco, 1986), and Baudrillard's 'simulation' (1983), have been influential in emphasising the superficiality of postmodern consumption, and the erosion of the distinction between the real and the imaginary. Authors such as Baudrillard (1983), Jameson, 1984), and Sorkin (1992) provide an alternative to 'heterotopia', emphasising the erosion of public space in Disney-style simulations. According to Sorkin's concept of 'ageographia' (1992), the real social order of the city is concealed by the simulation of an image-driven postmoden culture. Lees (1997) applies the contrasting concepts of 'heterotopia' and 'ageographia' to explore Vancouver's new public library. She concludes that elements of both are apparent, although the library may move further towards the 'ageographia' model in the future. The theoretical concepts used in studies of place consumption, and the various methods of cultural analysis, are considered in more detail below.

5.3   CULTURAL ANALYSIS

As the phenomenon of urban tourism is clearly within the concerns of cultural studies, it is useful to consider the potential of the epistemology in some detail. The 'cultural turn' refers to a reappraisal and re-emergence of cultural approaches within the social sciences.

The origins of cultural geography can be traced to the North American 'Berkeley School' and the work of Carl Sauer. In 'Morphology of Landscape', landscape was defined as 'the unit concept of geography' (Sauer, 1925:25), and the 'impress of the works of man (sic) upon an area' (Sauer, 1925:30). The early forms of cultural geography attributed causality to culture itself, asserting that 'Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and the cultural landscape is the result' (Sauer, 1925:46).

The Berkeley school essentially used a geological rather than social model, seeing landscape as a record of human activity, and physical and biological processes initiated by human intervention. Although claiming an interest in the aesthetic qualities of the landscape and the search for a subjective approach, Sauer's cultural geography was actually very naturalistic in tone. Indicative of the deterministic nature of the work was a belief in a 'super-organic approach', with culture conceptualised as belonging to a higher level than either individuals or social forces. According to Zelinsky, culture has 'a structure, set of processes, and momentum of its own', with individuals merely to 'flesh it out' (Zelinsky, 1973a:40-41).

Although early cultural geography was influential, the new cultural geography is more likely to draw on the work of Raymond Williams (e.g., Williams 1977) and the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies. Authors such as Duncan (1980) argue for the rejection of a reified notion of culture, and the development of a more sociological approach. The superorganic approach is seen as encouraging an obsession with objects and artefacts, at the expense of social processes. Contemporary approaches are more likely to recognise the importance of the non-material and symbolic aspects of culture, and the social relations and power underlying them. Researchers have increasingly considered 'the way cultures are produced and reproduced through actual social practices that take place in historically contingent and geographically specific contexts' (Jackson, 1989:23).

Authors such as Stuart Hall, therefore, paved the way for a reformation of the cultural approach which sees culture as 'the way, the forms, in which groups "handle" the raw

material of their social and material existence' (Clarke *et al.*, 1976:10). In this conceptualisation, culture refers to the codes by which meaning is constructed, conveyed and understood, or as Williams puts it, 'a realised signifying system' (Williams, 1981:207-209). As Cosgrove (1987:96) argues, the latter conceptualisation of landscapes as 'configurations of symbols and signs' implies the use of interpretative approaches rather than morphological techniques. Central to this genre of cultural geography is the 'landscape as text' model, drawing on post-war work in the field of semiotics and linguistics. In a similar way to the conceptualisation of anthropology by authors such as Clifford Geertz, the metaphor of 'text' is used to conceptualise the act of reading landscape as if it were a social document. Geertz (1973) argues that social life involves the interpretation and negotiation of meaning amongst a group of social actors, but that social scientists introduce another layer of meaning in their writing.

One of the most significant readers of landscape, and a major influences on the new cultural geography, is Barthes. In one of the first studies directly referring to tourism, *The Blue Guide* (1986), he evaluates the Alps and parts of Spain as represented in the Hachett World Travel Guides. This work is particularly notable for its illustration of the process through which meanings become buried under layers of 'ideological sediment'. Central to this view of culture is the belief that social reality is composed of many signifying systems, of which the landscape is one. Myth is also important, as it involves the appropriation of objects suitable for communication, including landscape and various representations.

In *The Blue Guide* (1986), Barthes argues that the travel guide acts as 'an agent of blindness', focusing the traveller's mind on a selected range of landscape features, and replacing inhabitants with 'ideal types'. In this work, and essays such as *The Eiffel Tower* (Barthes, 1984), he refused to accept landscape or culture as natural or neutral, showing how myths appear to de-politicise the world. His work paid relatively little attention to social processes, however, and there was some concern over his attempts to contrast representations with a 'reality'.

The allure of the poststructural approach is perhaps better illustrated with Barthes later work, which concentrated more on the text, and the power associated with it. In *Empire of Signs* (1987), and *Semiology of the Urban* (1986b), he argues that landscape is a text in which signifiers become signifieds in an endless chain of metaphors. Actors are seen as writing their own 'landscape poetry' as they interact with one another and the landscape, this social interaction termed 'erotic discourse'. Although Barthes has been inspirational to contemporary cultural geographers, there has been a subsequent attempt to combine literary theory with social theory, changing the emphasis towards social relations. As Duncan and Duncan (1988:117) argue, literary theory provides ways of examining the text-like quality of landscapes, and the ways in which they are transformations of ideologies. Literary theory also provides theories of reading and authorship which can shed light on the ways in which landscapes are incorporated into social processes.

In the textual model, which is fundamental to cultural studies, text is taken to mean not merely print on a page, but a range of cultural productions such as paintings, maps, landscapes, and even social, economic, and political institutions. Consistent with the postmodern view, these are seen as constituting reality, rather than mimicking it (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). Such practices of significations are intertextual, in the sense that they embody a range of other cultural texts. Significantly, as Riccoeur (1971) argues, texts often have an importance beyond the context in which they were originally written. Social events and institutions, as well as literary texts, are interpreted and re-interpreted as circumstances change. Both literary texts and cultural texts have meaning and consequences unintended by their author, with the text effectively escaping its author (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). The meaning of texts is unstable, as it is subject to a wide range of interpretations by various readers. As the text becomes detached from its original authorial intentions, the social, psychological, and material consequences of landscape are closely related to the various possible readings.

Semiotic analysis is concerned with the mechanics of how language uses signs to produce meaning. Cultural objects and practices are believed to convey meaning in the form of signs, and these signs can be read by the researcher (Manning, 1997). As Gale (1996) argues, semiotics was effectively pioneered by de Saussure, in his *Course in General Linguistics* (1966). According to de Saussure, the sign consists of two components, the *signifier* and the *signified*. Whilst signifiers are the expressions carrying a message, the signifier is the concept that it represents. The relationship between signifier and signified is determined within a particular culture by language. In the context of tourism, it is possible, for example, to identify signifiers within the brochure images of a destination. The signifiers may include groups of people, heritage attractions, food, drink, watersports. The signifieds may relate to high quality lifestyle, up-market destination, a thriving yet historical area. Accordingly, the researcher may then explore the ideology behind the signifieds.

Although Peirce was also an early pioneer in semiotic analysis (see Sless, 1996), Barthes (1972) developed a particularly useful distinction between the *denotative* and *connotative* function of the sign. Whilst denotation is the simple or literal description of signs, connotation allows the sign to be interpreted in terms of social, political, and ideological processes. The approach has inspired researchers such as Gottdiener (1995), who are eager to develop a *socio-semiotics*, capable of linking symbolic processes to the material world. The potential of semiotics in the analysis of tourism has been noted by authors such as Urry (1990) and Culler (1981), who point out that all tourists are, in effect, amateur semioticians, eagerly consuming the representations and landscapes of contemporary tourism. As Culler notes:

> *All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are*
> *fanning out in search of the signs of frenchness, typical Italian*
> *behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes . . .* (Culler, 1981:127)

In poststructural work there is an effort to 'go beyond linguistic and literary theory in order to deal with the sociohistorical processes through which meaning arises' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:118). This involves questioning the naturalisation of meaning, and any

claim by academics of deciphering the true and authentic meaning. Texts are conceptualised as a web of complex and unstable meanings, and this is considered to be the key to the application of the textual metaphor to landscape. The potential of the textual metaphor in place consumption studies, and a surprising convergence with phenomenological approaches, is revealed in Eagleton's view of reading, in which:

> *our initial expectations generate a frame of reference within which to interpret what comes next, but what comes next may retrospectively transform our original understanding, highlighting some features of it and backgrounding others . . . each sentence opens up a new horizon which is confirmed, challenged, or undermined by the next.* (Eagleton, 1983:77).

According to this conceptualisation, texts have 'backgrounds' and 'foregrounds', which appear as 'alternative layers of meaning between which we are constantly moving' (Eagleton, 1983:77-78). Texts, therefore, are both the product of the society which creates them, and the result of the intertextual creations of the reader.

It is possible to use the textual metaphor on a larger, more open-ended basis, referring to discourse (Cloke *et al.*, 1991). Discourse is understood as a framework which contains sets of concepts, narratives, signs, and ideologies, underlying social action (Barnes and Duncan, 1992). A discourse is seen as constituting the limits within which ideas and practices are seen to be natural, although they are always open to negotiation and contest. It is, therefore, through the medium of discourse that power relations are communicated and resisted. In the context of tourism, for example, it is possible to identify a discourse which represents the people of Africa, South America, and Eastern Europe as primitive and static (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998:37). Closer to home, an anti-Welsh discourse represents the Welsh as antiquated, primitive, and untalented (*ibid*:153).

Discourses, and the 'truth' they supposedly represent, are seen to vary between different cultural groups, classes, gender, and other interest groups. Different groups may generally support the hegemonic discourse, or there may be open clashes between different groups. In Wales, for example, whilst the London-based national press has been

instrumental in the anti-Welsh discourse, the Welsh Language Board, and the WTB have fostered a positive cultural identity (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998:153). Foucault (1967), showed how representations themselves are a form of power. Discourses have a 'naturalising' power whereby certain types of knowledge become 'common sense' or scientific fact. Foucault (1967) argues that it is the association of discourse with institutions which legitimises the 'truths' they produce. The contemporary emphasis on travel writing as a form of tourism promotion is an indication of the significance of national media institutions. These 'truths' have a material basis in institutions and practices, and in this way, discourse exercises great power.

The power of discourse in relation to different groups also depends on the reception of this knowledge. The meaning of a text is unstable, and depends on the range of interpretations of different discourses made by a great variety of readers. If we introduce social relations into this process, however, it is soon apparent that interpreters are subject to the discursive practices of their particular social groups. In other words, they are subject to the practices of different *textual communities*. A textual community can be defined as 'a group of people who have a common understanding of a text, spoken or read, and who organise aspects of their lives as the playing of a script' (Stock, 1983:294).

Stock (1983) believes that despite the inherent instability of meanings, textual communities create some fixity or intersubjectivity within particular groups. In the same vein, intertextuality is taken to refer not only to different texts, but also the relationship between texts and social practices. The concept of textual community, in the context of the discussion above, implies that landscapes and a range of representations are read:

> *inattentively at a practical or nondiscursive level . . . inculcating their readers with a set of notions about how society is organised: and their readers may be largely unaware of this.* (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:123).

It follows that if such information is received as if it were neutral and accepted unquestionably, the knowledge reinforces the institutional structure producing the representations. The representations therefore, are not only linked to the action of the individuals within the textual community, but they are also naturalised and rendered 'innocent' in the process. In tourism, it is clear that consumers act upon the 'truths' of localities encountered through various sources, and in doing so, they reinforce such representations. Studies such as Duncan's evaluation of attitudes and practices in an exclusive suburb of New York (Duncan and Duncan,1988), illustrate the way in which ideologies can become concretised in the landscape and reinforced by readings. They are seen as 'contributing to a structuration process to create and maintain landscapes' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:124). Whether landscapes exist as a conscious application of written texts, or they are the unintended consequences of social practices, they tend to naturalise social relations. Many see the cultural geographer's role as denaturalising the landscape. This is most often achieved through an 'attempt to "approximate" and subject to critique the interpretations which particular people attach to specific landscapes at particular times in particular places' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:125).

Although somewhat out of the scope of this thesis, this endeavour has far reaching consequences for writing social science itself. Whereas geographical writing has long been influenced by a philosophy of naive realism and considered unproblematic, writing is now seen as extremely problematic. Under the banner 'crisis of representation', researchers have increasingly recognised that the world is not given, but it is represented. As there is no reason why academics should be exempt from the textual model, it is impossible to maintain that there is a pre-interpreted reality about which to write.

Academic texts draw upon a range of other texts. This intertextuality means that we can no longer privilege one text over another. To authors such as Clifford, this is a 'tectonic' shift, and 'there is no longer any place of overview (mountaintop) from which to map human ways of life' (Clifford, 1986:22). Even economics and physical science must be re-evaluated in terms of the ideological influences behind their metaphors. It is clear that

in addition to providing a model of great relevance to place consumption, cultural approaches raise fundamental questions relating to the whole research process.

5.4 URBAN CULTURE

5.4.1 Researching Urban Culture

The 'cultural turn' profoundly affects the way the city is conceptualised and researched. Recent years have seen an intensification of debate concerning the postmodern aesthetic, the socio-economic aspects of postmodernity, and the postmodern attitude as a paradigm of knowledge. Images and representations of the city are central to the majority of discussions of postmodernism, and place consumption.

In terms of aesthetics, postmodernism has been linked to the rise of reproductive media such as photography and global electronic communications systems (Bishop, 1992:5). It has been argued that there has been a fragmentation of time and space, and in effect, reality has been transformed into images (e.g., Featherstone, 1988; Sack, 1988). This image-making process is argued to occur in numerous spheres, with the appropriation of a profusion of styles from earlier periods. The creation of this pastiche, from art to academic disciplines, has even been represented as a change from consuming beliefs to endlessly consuming images. Sontag (1978:24), for example, argues that 'industrial societies turn their citizens into image junkies; it is the most irresistible form of mental pollution'. Images have therefore been linked to fragmentation, irrationalism, and even schizophrenia (Foster, 1983; Schmidt, 1984).

As discussed in chapter two, several influential materialist writers have taken up the issue of urban culture, seeking to locate it firmly within the global economic process of flexible accumulation. Harvey emphasises a bewildering collection of signs and images in *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989b:3), drawing upon Raban's *Soft City* (1974).

Emphasising a mistrust of the artificial and ephemeral nature of urban life, Jameson uses an analysis of the Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles to conclude his account of the postmodern condition. Reading architectural peculiarities such as unmarked entrances and reflective exteriors as the 'latest mutation in space . . . transcending the ability of the human body to locate itself . . .', Jameson addresses the 'imaginary city' (1991:45).

Somewhat ironic considering his obsession with appropriation, however, Harvey is accused of flattening the nuances of Raban's account to set the scene for his own meta-theory (Patton, 1995:115). Whilst Harvey's city is merely a reflection of a deeper reality, Raban does not believe in a distinction between the real and the imaginary. Instead of the accumulation of capital, *The Soft City* can be read as emphasising the changing relationships between *people*. If the contemporary city is a community of people who are strangers, it is because members of that community increasingly rely on fragments of knowledge, images, and stereotypes. These cues are socially conditioned, and there is an intersubjective nature to this process. If 'in cities people are given to acting, putting on a show of themselves' (Raban, 1974:37), not only is there a culture of theatricality, but there is a constant striving for identity. As Eco (1986) demonstrates, the boundary between the sign and reality has been dissolved. According to Baudrillard (1983:83), the 'contradictory process of true and false, of real and the imaginary, is abolished.' This dissolution of the real and imaginary, subject and object, in the deconstructive sense, plays a crucial role in the experience of urban tourism.

In both materialist and behaviouralist accounts of place consumption, the discovery (rather than construction) of a reality is only possible by denying the existence of true subjectivity. This involves rejecting other viewpoints, dismissing the discursive nature of objects, and elevating oneself to a privileged and unconflicted place (Deutsche, 1991:7). Harvey, for example, reveals that he prefers to climb to the highest point in a city and look down at 'the city as a whole' (Harvey, 1989b:1). The cultural approach, however, has profound implications for how researchers conceptualise the real and the imagined in the context of place consumption.

5.4.2 Views of the City

Of inspiration to the new cultural geography, de Certeau (1988:92) believes that disembodied viewpoints produce 'imaginary totalisations' and a fiction of knowledge.' According to de Certeau, imagination and knowledge are far from neutral, always having a social function. Using the example of the CN Tower in Toronto, de Certeau considers the way the planner's objectifying 'bird's eye' view leaves behind the realities of everyday life in the city. It is, therefore, when 'Icarus can ignore the tricks of Daedalus in his shifting and endless labyrinths' that the 'fiction of knowledge' is created (de Certeau, 1985:122).

As Shields (1995:229) argues, 'a shroud of representations stands between us and even the concrete objects which are the elements of the city.' Everyday life involves the conception and reception of numerous different representations, although some are accepted as more official and therefore realistic than others. The everyday 'noise' of difference which is so problematic to both materialists and behaviouralists, is argued to be the very life blood of the city. To rid the city of this is to 'interdict the possibility of a living and "mythical" practice of the city', leaving '. . . its inhabitants only the scraps of programming produced by the power of the other and altered by the event.' (de Certeau, 1988:203).

Authors such as de Certeau (1988) and Benjamin (1979) provide inspiration to cultural geographers concerned with exposing the treachery of representations accepted as neutral. Shields comments that the non-resemblance of representations to everyday experience is rarely considered, due to the 'bustle of everyday activities - including the pressurised atmosphere of city councils' (Shields, 1995:229). Plans of cities, for example replace the complex interactions and social processes, 'freezing' them, and removing differences and idiosyncrasies. Benjamin (1979) has been influential to cultural geographers in his attempt to introduce ethnographic approaches, getting back to the everyday level of the street. The prowling approach of the flaneur, although not exactly

popular with feminist writers (e.g., Pile and Rose 1993), draws attention to the ways in which different groups of people read the city. This theme, taken up by Buck-Morss (1989), reveals the city as 'the repository of people's memories and of the past' and 'a receptacle of cultural symbols' (Urry, 1995:24). The memories embedded in buildings, for example, can have both a significance very different from that intended by the architect, and form part of a collective myth which is socially conditioned.

Representations of localities can actually replace the locality so that one's social interaction is more often than not mediated through signs. Shields (1991) develops a useful account of material and imaginary place, using the phrase 'social spatialisation'. He shows how places become accepted as suitable for particular activities and practices, acquiring 'connotations and symbolic meanings' (*ibid*: 60). Places are therefore labelled by their place images, and the constancy of place images can lead to the formation of 'place myths' (*ibid*:61).

Disneyland has been used as the ultimate example of 'hyperreality' by Eco (1986), and 'simulation' by Baudrillard (1983). Eco (1986) has been inspirational to authors concerned with the use of fantasy and imagination to construct a place which is actually more 'real' than 'authentic' places. In Disneyland, 'the lines between the real and the fake are systematically blurred' (Fjellman, 1992:225). Following Baudrillard (1983), Marin (1984:240), states that the 'distorted and fantasmatic representations of daily life' obscure the 'violence and exploitation' used to acquire such values. Despite the contrived origins of Disneyland, E.Cohen (1995) suggests that it now has deep structural meaning within American culture. From the perspective of tourist experience, Morgan and Pritchard (1998:26) point out that whilst Main Street, Disneyland may be the epitome of 'inauthenticity', to place consumers it is just as real as any American street.

In his work on the nineteenth century city, Benjamin (1989) classified people according to their spatial activities, including groups as diverse as people wearing sandwich boards, and prostitutes. Benjamin emphasised the ideal-typical figures on which people based

their own identity and action. Through his flaneurial approach he sought to uncover the impulses, aspirations, and meaning motivating social interaction. Despite a mixed reaction to his voyeuristic approach, Benjamin's approach has potential in understanding groups of tourists, based on their experience of the locality, rather than universal and *a priori* classifications.

The city itself as a physical entity can be treated as a representation of the society which constructed it; yet there are also 'unofficial texts' (Shields, 1995:231) linked to myths, self-identity, and typical roles. These are bound up with the landscape of the city, and with power in the form of domination and repression, but certainly not in any universal or deterministic way. The notion of memory as embodied is a theme in the work of Bachelard (1969). The house, for example was used to show how memory is inherently spatial. Spaces are not merely physical, but are imbued with meaning and memory. The embodied and spatial nature of memory is largely consistent with the emphasis on space in the formation of identity and stereotypical roles. Increasingly, cultural researchers are recognising the need for more sophisticated conceptualisations of place image, with Urry commenting that (by way of contrast) 'phenomenology is concerned with experiencing image in its reverberations' (Urry, 1995:27).

5.4.3 Difference

Lyotard's influential challenge to meta-theories in his discussion of postmodern epistemologies advances a model based on *difference* (Lyotard, 1979, 1984). It is argued that consensus is accepted, not in any universal way, but in terms of a local consensus limited in space and time. Lyotard borrows from Wittgenstein (1978) in emphasising language games. Because of the variations in these language games and their rules, there cannot be any meta-prescriptions or universal rules. This 'heteromorphy' of language games cannot be accommodated or smothered under a grand materialist (or any other) theory.

As Shields (1995:236) argues, Derrida develops an alternative conceptualisation based on the idea of *difference*. Another major influence on cultural studies of the city, Derrida's theory of deconstruction is particularly powerful in highlighting the political nature of language (Derrida, 1978). *Difference* or *Gramme* refers to the structured movement which produces the differential effects within semiotic systems. Difference is linked to the formal ways in which linguistic entities are linked together, with each one having traces of others. These interconnections, applicable to whole texts, form the basis of intertextuality. Derrida's radical approach dismissed the existence of both subjects and objects, as both are constructed through the semiotic movement of difference. At least in theory this leaves no room for any reality outside the semiotic, as this would imply that one text should transgress all others.

Derrida's theory of deconstruction is particularly useful in emphasising the way that official and rational representations dismiss contradictory phenomena as anomalies (Derrida, 1978). This has obvious applications in the study of both induced and organic representations of tourist destinations. As Spivac comments, ' . . . we exclude the possibility of the existence of things so radically different that they can't be explained within our system of rational thought' (Spivac, 1990:80). As Shields argues (Shields, 1995), this implies devoting attention to dualisms such as urban-rural, public-private, and developed-undeveloped. *Difference* refers to the way in which these constructs are generated and defined. It is argued that it is necessary to examine the systems which underpin such definitions. It would seem that such ideas have important implications for both the language of place marketing, and for research into the images and experiences of tourists.

Derrida (1987) also influences feminist work questioning public-private distinctions (e.g., Wilson, 1991: Stansell, 1986), and 'postcolonial' work focusing on racial *difference* (e.g., Spivac, 1987; Said, 1991). A useful line of enquiry therefore is to ask how and through what institutions does language become accepted as neutral. This implies a concern for alternative representations of the city, and how they frame the possibilities for

action within a particular textual community (see Shields, 1991). The emphasis on difference in terms of texts alone would appear to encourage a rather partial treatment of urban culture, actually directing attention away from the spatial context which is so crucial to the meaning of such differences (See Werlen, 1992). Derrida's theory of difference, however, has been influential in cultural studies of the city due to its emphasis on questioning hegemonic 'world-view' representations.

5.4.4 Foucault's Influence

Cultural studies of cities have been heavily influenced by the work of Foucault (e.g., 1986, 1979). In particular, we are encouraged to treat the image not as indicative of a deeper reality, but as being substantive and constitutive in itself. Not only are images central to contemporary culture, but they are closely bound up with the distribution of power in society. In relation to landscape, too, Foucault has been influential in a conceptualisation emphasising meaning rather than quantifiable physical matter. In arguing that the representation should be considered as constituting reality rather than reflecting it, the notion of truth itself is challenged (Foucault, 1986:60). Foucault was particularly concerned with 'seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false' (Foucault, 1986:60).

The Foucauldian conceptualisation of power emphasises how it 'produces reality . . . produces domains of objects and rituals of truth' (Foucault, 1979:194). Power, therefore, can be enabling and positive, despite the disproportionate attention generated by *Discipline and Punish* (see Philo, 1989a; Driver, 1985a, 1985b; Dear, 1981). The potential of such an approach to power, not unlike Deleuze and Guattari's notion of *desire* (1983), lies particularly in linking power to knowledge, as 'relations of power are not static . . . they are matrices of transformations' (Foucault, 1981:99). Truth is conceptualised as power, linked in a 'circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extends it' (Foucault, 1986:74). Crucial in this process are the fine capillaries of power, focusing

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attention on the systems of transmission and the geometry. Indirectly, Foucault offers alternative insights into researching images of localities. Instead of treating images as distortions of reality, researchers are encouraged to uncover the politics, ideologies, and structure behind particular representations.

As Philo (1992) argues, a major contribution of Foucault lies in him seeing only spaces of dispersion:

> *spaces where things proliferate in a jumbled up manner on the same "level" as one another - one where advanced capitalism and the toy rabbit beating a drum no longer exist in any hierarchical relation of the one being considered most important or fundamental than the other.* (Philo, 1992:139).

This reading of Foucault draws upon *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972) and *Death and the Labyrinth* (1986a), particularly his discussion of Roussel's writing, to emphasise an existential quality in which there is no deeper truth beyond existence, nor a hierarchy of objects or qualities. This again draws attention to 'the local, changing rules' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:55) in a particular locality and in relation to a particular phenomenon. This implies a methodology which avoids '*a priori* constructs not rooted in the empirical materials at hand' (Philo, 1992:150). Linked to Foucault's concepts of truth and history, this approach also convincingly challenges the discourse dismissing heritage as 'bogus history' (Hewison, 1987:144).

Perhaps Foucault's most explicit engagement with space has resulted in a range of studies developing and drawing on the concept of 'heterotopia'. Theorists have drawn upon a lecture entitled *Of Other Spaces* (1984) to discuss socially constructed 'external' sites which have a function which is different to all others. First mentioned briefly in *The Order of Things* (1980), the heterotopia can be defined as a heterogeneous site capable of juxtaposing in a single place several incompatible spaces. In a fairly optimistic conceptualisation, such sites can offer opportunities for political praxis and resistance.

Drawing on phenomenology, Foucault emphasises the experience of relations of proximity between points or elements, and places which are collections of several spatio-temporal sites and the relations between them. Supplying a diverse range of examples, including brothels, churches, hotel rooms, museums, asylums, and Scandinavian Saunas, *Of Other Spaces* was largely concerned with imaginary places. This is not to say that they do not have a concrete existence, but that they add up to more than the sum of the parts in terms of meaning. In heterotopia, real existing sites are 'simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted' (*ibid*:24). Heterotopia change with time according to the 'synchrony of the culture' (ibid:25), and they often incorporate different slices of time, appearing to both abolish and preserve time.

Authors such as Soja (1989) draw upon such ideas in an effort to reassert space into social theory. The notion of 'other places' which consist of a plethora of fragmented and contradictory representations, has also had a more pragmatic influence on geographers concerned with particular landscapes (e.g., Shields, 1989). A useful illustration of the contradictory nature of such places, and the way in which they challenge all notions of universal truth, reality, and coherence, appears in the introduction to *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1980). Quoting Borges' recollection of a Chinese encyclopaedia, all animals are to be classified as:

> *a) belonging to the Emperor, b) embalmed, c) tame, d) sucking pigs, e) sirens, f) fabulous, g) stray dogs, h) included in the present classification, i) frenzied, j) innumerable, k) drawn with a fine camel-hair brush, l) et cetera, m) having just broken the water pitcher, n) those that from a long way off look like flies.* (Borges, 1988:103)

5.4.5 Implications for conceptualising urban tourism

Donald draws upon such insights and states that 'there is no such thing as a city', instead:

> *the city constitutes an imagined environment . . . the discourses, symbols, metaphors and fantasies through which we ascribe meaning to the*

modern experience of urban living - is as important a topic for the social sciences as the material determinants of the physical environment. (Donald, 1992:427).

This conceptualisation clearly provides alternatives to both materialist approaches, and the behaviouralist methodologies common in tourism and place marketing research. The endless intertextuality through a plethora of media is enough for some authors to claim that 'the boundary between social reality and representations of that reality has collapsed' (Jacobs, 1993:830). The relationship between 'the real city, the discursive city and the disappearing city' (Wolff, 1992:553) has been fundamentally blurred. The deterministic approaches permeating the place marketing and tourism literature, therefore, become even more difficult to justify.

It is worth summarising the main avenues of enquiry opened up by cultural studies. The textual model is useful not only in terms of objects of study, but also in the transposition of 'texts' for 'space'. We thus have a model consisting of the agent, the text, and the researcher, so that the various forms of space are analogous to the literary theorist's understanding of 'text'. This should enable an analysis of the text in terms of not only linguistic aspects, but also social, political, institutional influences. Attention is also focused on the textual communities who interpret the representations according to their assumptions and horizons of expectation (see Fish, 1980). If the city can be read as a text it would seem that attention should be devoted to these textual communities, rather than groups or classes defined on *a priori* grounds.

As Derrida aims to 'pay the sharpest and broadest attention possible to context' (Derrida, 1977:136), the concept of intersubjectivity, rather than objectivity, is highlighted. There is potential, therefore, in utilising notions of difference to examine the differences between both various representations, and the reading of representations in different textual communities. It would also seem that the full spectrum of representations should be treated with equal importance by researchers, avoiding the privileging of a particular representation or discourse. Overcoming rigid distinctions between the 'material' and the

'representational', recognises their mutual determination, and should prevent any one from being privileged. The rejection of meta-narratives implies that it is the researcher's task to apply these approaches in uncovering the local ground rules in relation to a particular phenomenon.

5.5   OVERLOOKING CONSUMERS

The developments within cultural studies have created potential in terms of studying urban tourism, offering alternatives to both the materialist and the behaviouralist approaches which dominate much of the literature. Cultural studies of place consumption are not without their problems, however, and voices of dissent ultimately point towards a rather serious shortcoming in the context of both tourism landscapes and representations. Perhaps the most sensitive (and perceptive) critics have been feminist geographers. Whilst their objections are convincing and valuable *per se*, they point to a more general omission from cultural studies of place consumption - people.

As Gregson points out in the context of shopping malls:

> *amid all the talk of the ludic and the carnivalesque, of iconization and simulation, there is one gaping absence: nowhere here is anything more than a passing reference made to the activity of shopping and to the skills of the shopper.* (Gregson, 1995:136).

Gregson notes that the majority of cultural studies of shopping malls are by men, whilst the overwhelming majority of retail consumers (see Moore, 1991), and retail employees, are women (Lowe and Crews, 1991). There is also understandable concern amongst feminist writers over the use of Benjamin's voyeuristic concept of the flaneur (see Rose, 1993). This concern over the masculine representations masquerading as the universal is well founded, particularly as authors such as Shields (1989) suggest that flanerie is a universal activity. Whilst not wishing to appropriate these arguments, there is a strong

sense in which they are indicative of a more fundamental problem within cultural geography, revealed by contemporary consumption.

The appeal of landscapes of consumption such as shopping malls, theme parks, and festivals, to commentators of the postmodern, is not difficult to understand. They exhibit in one site a plethora of characteristics of the postmodern, and they lend themselves easily to the application of concepts such as 'heterotopia', 'hyper-reality' and 'flaneur'. However, despite an interest in everyday experience by influential authors such as de Certeau (1985), the everyday experience of place consumers rarely figures. As Gregson argues, 'the mall is about the Santa Maria experience, dolphinarians, Metroland and the Spanish Village' (Gregson, 1995:136). It is not about Marks and Spencer, Asda, Ikea, and Toys R Us. The shopping mall of Sack (1988) and Hopkins (1990, 1991) is a 'communicative text' (1988), yet there is no regard for how this text is read by place consumers. This lack of interest in the place consumer is not confined to the shopping mall. World fairs are read as 'heroic consumption' and 'spectacle' (Ley and Olds, 1988), irrespective of the experiences of different groups of consumers, and Stonehenge is read on behalf of place consumers by Hetherington (1992).

As Jackson and Taylor argue (1995), even some of the more subtle and perceptive studies of advertising texts (e.g., Miller, 1991), have little regard for how those texts might be read by contemporary consumers. If would seem that exactly the same problems pertain to both landscapes and promotional representations. Advertising texts themselves are certainly of interest, but it is unclear why so little attention is given to the everyday lives of the consumers, and how such promotional material is related to their decision-making. The audience's culturally constructed knowledge obviously plays a major role in 'decoding' media messages, with great variations between places and contexts.

It would seem that only limited progress has been made in escaping from the conceptualisation of audiences as 'passive dupes' and victims to be manipulated (e.g.,

Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972). The affinity of Dann (1996) with Boorstin (1964, 1990) is indicative of this problem within the context of tourism. Although the view of the uncritical recipient of messages has been convincingly challenged by authors such as Hall (1973), it persists in advertising literature and appears to be accepted by many cultural geographers. Jackson and Taylor (1995) argue that advertising is still regarded as the lowest and most ominous aspect of the 'culture industries' (See Young, 1990; Myers, 1986). As Glennie and Thrift (1992) argue, much of the contemporary consumption literature relies on a myopic and rather simplistic history of modern consumption.

It would seem that many of the problems emerging in cultural geographical studies of consumption stem from an over-emphasis on the production of texts rather than their consumption. This not only prevents a full understanding of the texts themselves, but it misses the process of interaction between the producer and consumer of the text. As Crang (1996:360) argues, 'there are limitations in looking solely at cultural products without looking at how they are taken up and used.' A number of studies (e.g., Morley, 1986) indicate that audiences are far from passive, and readings are far from homogeneous. Advertising has increasingly used parody and irony, and any simplistic relationships between representations of place, gender, and race have been called into question.

Whilst theories on globalisation (e.g., Harvey, 1989) suggest that audiences have become more universal, many multinationals are becoming increasingly 'multilocal', recognising local differences in audience reception and reaction. Parkin (1971) was one of the first to consider the differential reading of media texts, developing the concept of 'codes' and meaning systems. Morley has also emphasised the 'socially governed distribution of codes across different sections of the audience' (Morley 1992:57), whilst others have emphasised the dynamic nature of socialisation (Giddens, 1991; Gillespie, 1995:53). O'Barr (1994) focuses on representations of 'foreign places' and suggests that the audience is effectively divided into 'insiders' and 'outsiders' depending on the market segments targeted. In the context of place marketing, the process is even more complex,

with promotional messages understood differently by various groups of place consumers. These perspectives raise serious questions regarding the lack of interest amongst cultural researchers in the reception of cultural texts by consumers.

In the context of urban tourism, it is clear that significance of cultural texts is related to 'not only transmission (but) also reception and response' (Williams 1958:313). Tourism involves patterns of social and cultural communication which are mediated by the meanings created by different groups of consumers. This process involves a dynamic and interactive process of creating, transmitting, and receiving tourism representations. This overwhelming concern with 'how social meanings are made' (Corner, 1986:61) ignores a large part of tourism, including its social significance.

The cultural study of tourism raises questions about context and the positionality of producers and consumers. As Squire (1994) argues, industrial restructuring alters 'not only the tourist services created, but also the relationship between producers and consumers of tourism products, and how meanings of the tourist experience are negotiated by various agencies' (Squire, 1994:8). Johnson reminds us that 'the individual text is only a means to cultural study, a raw material for the part of practice' (Johnson, 1986:8). It is possible that the persistent retrospective bias of cultural geography (see Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987), causes cultural geographers to overlook what happens following production. As Burgess noted at the start of the decade, 'few geographers seem willing, as yet, to undertake empirical research with the consumers of post-modern meanings' (Burgess, 1990:140). Despite the importance of understanding the ways in which visitors read the texts of post-industrial tourism, the researcher still 'retains the position of power, telling readers what tourism means' (Squire, 1994:8).

5.6   THE PEOPLING PROGNOSIS

The lack of attention paid to consumers by cultural geographers would seem to be a major blow in the endeavour to introduce concepts and methods from cultural geography

into tourism studies. Despite the emphasis on images, representations, and imaginary places, there is still some way to go in conceptualising urban tourist experience. Returning to Duncan and Duncan (1988), we are instructed to maintain contact with 'textual communities', defined as people 'who have a common understanding of a text, spoken or read, and who organise aspects of their lives as the playing out of a script' (Duncan and Duncan, 1988:117). Overly scriptocentric and logocenentric approaches marginalise textual communities and abolish the relationships between author and audience.

Cultural geographers would do well to reconsider the process of communication, and Jakobson's (1960) model is useful in this respect (*Figure 5.1*). As Squire (1995) points out, the model incorporates both the addresser who produces the text, and the addressee or reader who receives it. The code of the text comprises the rules structuring the message itself. The model emphasises the relationship between the addresser and addressee, and the fact that meaning is transformed during the process. In the same way that Natter and Jones (1993) substitute 'space' for 'text', if for the moment the researcher is left out, we can adapt the model to represent the producer and consumer in place consumption. The model can be further adapted to conceptualise not individual producers and consumers, but market segments.

Figure 5.1   Jakobson's model of linguistic communication
Source: Jakobson (1960:353)

The importance of negotiation and dialogue in the case of tourism texts, however, would seem to devalue linear models of cultural communication. It would seem that a number

of authors have chosen a similar path (or circuit) in attempting to solve this problem (e.g., Jackson and Taylor, 1995; Squire, 1995; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). Johnson's circuit of culture framework (Johnson, 1986:284), provides a description of the fragmentation of cultural studies into three main forms: production-based studies, text-based studies, and research into lived cultures *(Figure 5.2)*. Johnson argues, however, that 'cultural processes do not correspond to the contours of academic knowledge as they stand' *(ibid*:279). This is because each approach is 'theoretically partisan, but also very partial in its objects' *(ibid*:279). This framework helps to transgress the divisions, in terms of both developing new skills and seizing upon the inner connections between the moments. Johnson argues that in analysing cultural phenomena:

> *we must not limit ourselves to particular kinds of text, or specialised practice or institutional site. All social practices can be looked at from a cultural point of view.* (Johnson,1986:282-83).

Along with authors such as Burgess (1990), Johnson emphasises the transformation of meaning as representations are encoded and decoded over time and in different contexts. Meaning is therefore transformed at each stage of the circuit of culture, including the incorporation of texts into larger symbolic systems, the transformation upon reading (which depends on the social characteristics of the audience), and the changes the text makes to lived cultures. Meaning can be further transformed in subsequent circuits.

In the framework *(Figure 5.2)*, each box represents a 'moment' in this circuit, each depending on the other. Preoccupation with any one moment prevents the others from being recognised. If the researcher is interested in the text alone, they will not be able to understand either the complex acts of production, or the consumption of the text by readers. As cultural texts are read by persons other than cultural researchers, the forms of reading may differ significantly between different groups of readers. Whilst academics consider themselves exclusively equipped to read texts, it may be the 'mis-readings'*(ibid*:284) which are more significant. To understand texts as transformations of meaning, it is necessary to:

> *grasp the specific conditions and practices through which the product was 'consumed' or 'read'. These include all the asymmetries of power, cultural resources and knowledge that relate readers to both producers and analysts, as well as the more fundamental social relations . . .* (*ibid*:284)

Johnson also emphasises the need for researchers to have a knowledge of the cultural elements already encountered by the reader. The act of reading a cultural text makes an impression on *lived cultures*, - 'reservoirs of discourses and meanings' (*ibid*: 285). These lived cultures, underpinned by *social relations*, in turn shape the environment in which fresh cultural texts are produced.

Returning to the framework itself (*Figure 5.2*), it is significant that the circuit involves a movement from private to public forms, and back again (represented by the poles to the left and right of the diagram). In general, production is a process of rendering a cultural object public, and consumption is a process of rendering the cultural object private again. More specifically, production consists of a transition from the *private lives* of producers, to *public representations*. Consumption involves a transition from an *abstract/universal* form of cultural object, to a *concrete/particular* form.

To illustrate these changes, it is useful to use an urban tourism example. For a particular destination both the place product itself, and promotional activity can begin life as the idea or concept of a developer or marketer. The partnership forming the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, for example, brought together many 'private' ideas and aspirations. The ideas themselves were developed in the course of practical activities, whether in the boardroom or on the golf course. By giving the ideas and concepts the name 'Cardiff Bay', even before development took place there was a change in form as the 'product' is subjected to the glare of publicity and becomes a public issue (*ibid*: 286). Eventually its 'public' status is complete when it can actually be consumed by visitors.

In terms of consumption, the change is towards a more concrete and particular form of cultural object. Cardiff Bay is initially consumed as a news item, a topic of discussion

and debate, and part of a discourse emphasising the benefits to residents, visitors, and inward investors. To consumers the development is initially an idea and a plan, claiming to offer benefits to the whole region. Once the product is actually consumed by individuals, however, it becomes a private activity, as consumers gain different subjective experiences. For actual visitors or inward investors, the Cardiff Bay product takes on a *concrete* and *particular* reality.
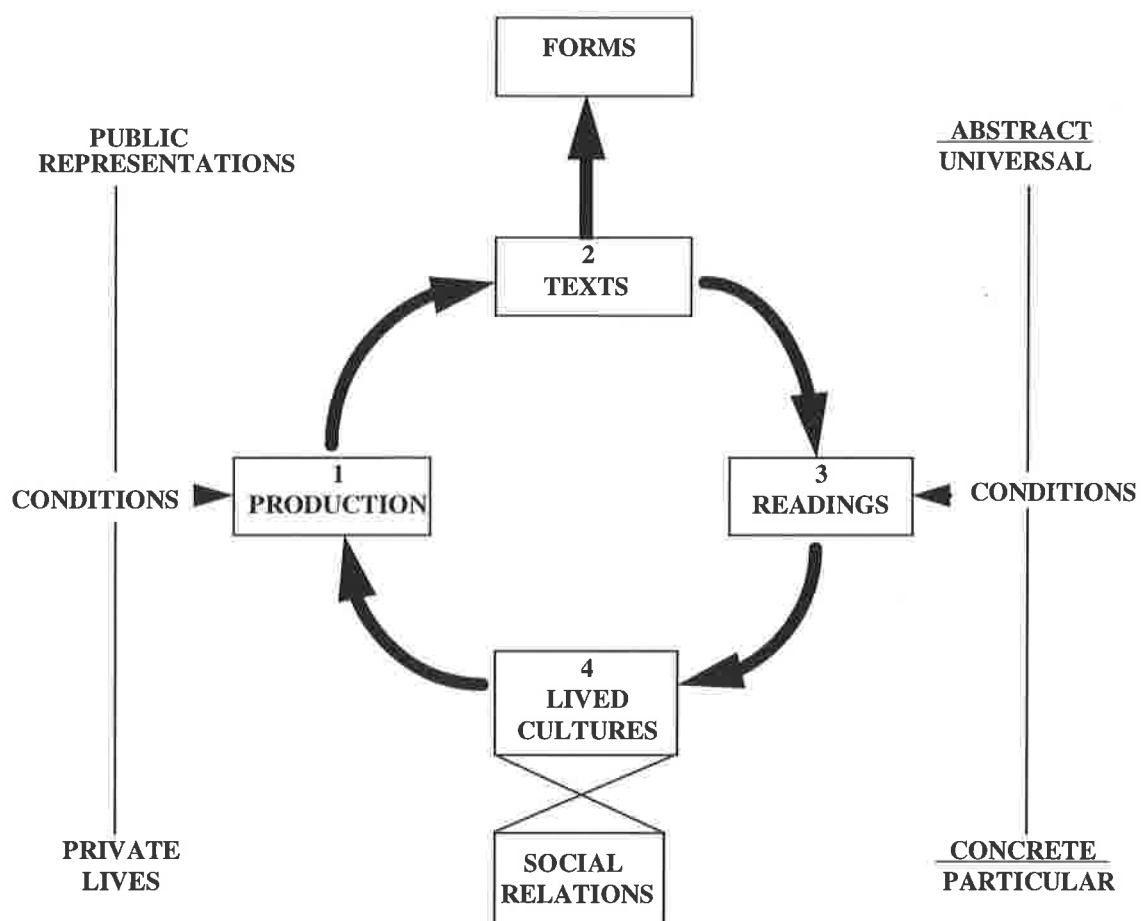
Figure 5.2   Circuit of Culture Framework

Source: Johnson (1986:284)

Johnson's conceptualisation has both theoretical and methodological implications for researching urban tourist experience. Theoretically, texts should not be separated from their social production and reproduction, as they have always been given meaning in some other social practice. It is by researching the different versions, therefore, that the transformations across the representational practices can be charted. The reading of texts should be as multi-layered as possible, incorporating different sets of common-sense knowledge which produce meaning. This implies also using the 'amateur knowledge' of different groups of consumers. Johnson (1986) argues that the methodological implications point towards ethnographic studies and possibly action research.

It would seem that there is plenty of room for developing ethnographic studies in tourism and place marketing, conceptualising tourism as cultural communication. Dann makes a similar point, recognising the potential of interpretive techniques such as semi-structured and open-ended interviews (Dann, 1988). Eyles and Smith (1988) illustrate the potential of such techniques, particularly in the context of the city. In the context of tourism, very little attention has been devoted to understanding the social and cultural meanings of the tourism experience amongst different groups of tourists. Meanings have often been constructed *a priori* by the researcher (e.g., Pocock, 1987; Urry, 1990:111). This is whether or not the meanings have any salience to the tourists themselves. Burgess once more leads the way in her study of the dialogue of different groups of inner-city residents, focusing on their experience of the countryside (Burgess *et al.*, 1990: 160). Johnson concludes by implying that the study of culture would be considerably more fruitful if it began with everyday lived (inter)subjectivities, before moving around the circuit framework.

5.7   CONCLUSION

It is apparent that tourism and place marketing studies can benefit from an engagement with developments within the new cultural geography. Indeed many tourism studies cling

to rather outdated epistemologies and methodologies, lacking theoretical sophistication. By reconceptualising the city as 'imaginary', consisting of landscapes and representations, cultural studies provide opportunities. Tourism, always tending to be marginalised within human geography, has the potential to play an important role in the cultural literature, representing an important form of cultural communication. Despite the encouraging signs and potential, however, place consumption reveals an over-emphasis on the linguistic structure of the text itself, at the expense of consumers. This dramatically reduces the potential of incorporating cultural perspectives into place marketing and tourism studies.

It is apparent that a 'peopling' manoeuvre of some sort is needed. The adoption of a model which incorporates the addressee, enables the interactive nature of cultural texts, or dialogue, to be captured. Rather than a linear model, the circuit of culture framework establishes everyday lived experience as a crucial element. Together, these lines of discussion, to use another spatial metaphor, point towards the incorporation of qualitative interpretive research within the analysis of the cultural communication of tourism.

CHAPTER 6

'PEOPLING' URBAN TOURISM

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Urban tourism has now been examined from the perspectives of the tourism and place marketing literature, and cultural geography. The tourism literature offers potential in terms of conceptualising both service quality, and the range of place images corresponding to the different stages of a consumer's decision-making cycle. The work of cultural geographers offers the potential of reconceptualising images, emphasising the relative truths of competing representations, rather than distortions of an objective reality. In the sphere of consumption, however, we encounter certain problems which are yet to be resolved. The use of deconstruction and metaphor is perhaps more convincing in retrospective studies of the Other, than in studies in which groups of place consumers read the same cultural texts, as part of their everyday existence. There is a risk that cultural studies of consumption will drown in a sea of metaphors and deconstruction, whilst on dry land, the everyday reading of cultural texts by place consumers is ignored. It is becoming increasingly necessary, therefore, to find ways of incorporating the *experience* of place consumers into cultural studies.

Incorporating *action*, *place*, and *experience* into geographical studies was the aim of the humanistic geography which developed as a challenge to 'spatial science' in the 1970s. It is argued in this chapter, that the context in which humanistic geography initially developed, forced it to take on a somewhat extreme and unpalatable tone. To be heard above the din of quantitative models, there tended to be an emphasis on an individualistic search for essences at the scale of the individual, drawing on Husserl (1936). It is argued in this chapter, however, that alternative versions of phenomenology can make fundamental contributions to studies of place consumption. A phenomenology relevant to place consumption is discussed, drawing particularly on the constitutive

phenomenology of Schutz (1962, 1972; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974). It is argued that conceptualising the *intersubjective experience* of representations of a locality provides an essential link between representations and landscapes, images and experiences, and consumer action.

Following a discussion of the historical development of humanistic geography, aspects of existential phenomenology are examined. The transcendence of dichotomies such as subject and object, together with theories of perception and 'intentionality', are of benefit to conceptualising and researching the city as consumed. The constitutive phenomenology of Alfred Schutz, however, is considered to offer more fundamental insights into urban tourist experience. This is particularly through Schutz's comprehensive development of the concept of intersubjectivity (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974), and his theory of action (1970). Following an initial introduction to Schutz's work, the concepts of *intersubjectivity*, *stock of knowledge*, and *action* are explored in some detail. Their potential application to urban tourism research is discussed. It is concluded that both the conceptualisation of intersubjective knowledge, and the development of a rigorous action theory, are of immeasurable benefit to place consumption research. Schutz provides both a means of escaping from the limitations of consumer decision-making *behaviour;* and a way of incorporating both first-hand experience and intersubjective mediated knowledge into cultural studies of consumption.

6.2 'PEOPLING' IN THEORY

The aftershocks of the 'crisis of representation' are encouraging contemporary human geographers to engage with phenomenology (e.g., Werlen, 1993; Crang, 1997; Strohmayer, 1998). The most notable application of phenomenology to geographical studies, however, was motivated by the dominance of the 'peopleless' spatial science of the 1950s and 1960s. The conceptualisation of geography as spatial science employed a reductionist view of humans which was 'overly objective, mechanistic and deterministic'

(Entrikin, 1976:616).   Under the assumption of perfect knowledge, the values, and emotions of humans were completely omitted. Two main strands of criticism can be identified. One is related to spatial science's insistence on the use of law-like statements and certainty in referring to human decision-making, rather than the more ambiguous language of human action (see Olsson, 1980; Philo, 1984). The other main line of criticism relates to the conceptualisation of the decision-maker as 'rational economic man' (see Wallace, 1978).   It follows from the discussion above that behavioural geography was considered by many to be incapable of escaping from the constraints of spatial science, with even the subtler studies tending to complement rather than challenge the hegemony.

Not surprisingly, the development of a law-seeking scientific geography, with a reliance on economic models, did not go unchallenged. Dissatisfaction with attempts to provide a cognitive-behavioural alternative, (see Harvey,1969), increased the need to truly capture the human perspective and 'people' human geography. The total rejection of human agency in spatial science, and its partial treatment in behavioural geography, thus prompted an orientation towards human values, meaning, and sense of place.

Increasingly, human geographers began to draw upon phenomenology in an attempt at 'understanding meaning, value, and human significance of life events' (Buttimer, 1979:7), seeking 'an expansive view of what the human person is and can do' (Tuan, 1976:34). For phenomenologists, knowledge of the world does not exist independently of the knower.   Knowledge is produced through experiencing the world, and can only be analysed on that basis.   Rather than seeking explanations, the researcher should be interested in a sensitive appreciation of experiences of place. Lowenthal (1961:257) argued for 'personal geographies. . . inspired, edited, and distorted by feeling', thereby placing a much greater emphasis on the interpretation of environments. Tuan puts a more explicit emphasis on phenomenology, advocating that humanistic geography fosters:

an understanding of the human world by studying people's relations with
nature, their geographical behaviour, as well as their feeling and ideas in
regard to space and place. (Tuan, 1976:266).

Topophila is devoted to 'all the human beings' active ties with the material environment' (Tuan, 1974:93). Another geographer who drew upon phenomenology was Relph, who argued that:

> *. . . it is man's intentionality that gives meaning to the world and it is*
> *only through an examination of these intentions that we can attempt to*
> *comprehend . . .* (Relph,1970:197)

Humanistic geographers of the 1970s engaged with two main types of phenomenology - a pure Husserlian form, and existential phenomenology. Edmond Husserl (1936) is considered to be the founder of the movement, and he advocated a rather strict and pure search for essences. Essences refer to the essential characteristics of phenomena, beyond the surface manifestations. As Spiedelberg states:

> *The phenomenological approach . . . confines itself to the direct evidence*
> *of intuitive seeing . . . it constitutes a determined attempt to enrich our*
> *experience by bringing out hitherto neglected aspects of experience. . .an*
> *unusually obstinate attempt to look at the phenomena and to remain*
> *faithful to them before even thinking about them.* (Spiedelburg,1976:700)

Husserl's motto, 'to the things themselves' implied that the researcher must focus on the meaning given to the items in an individual's world. It is considered essential to gain direct access to the subject's consciousness. This involves a study of the 'natural attitude' in which individuals live, without questioning their existence. Husserl's 'pure science of the mind', however, was not a science in the positivist sense of assuming that the relationships between objects is simply observable and quantifiable. He was more concerned with stripping away meanings deposited by scientific and everyday understandings of the world, attempting to 'bracket' them out through phenomenological reduction in order to discover the deepest relationships that humans have with phenomena.

Husserl actually wanted to establish a framework of concepts on which to ground all the sciences or to 'disclose the world as it shows itself before scientific inquiry' (Pickles,1985:3). This included a determined and comprehensive critique of positivism, particularly the assumption that objects can be known to humans in unproblematic ways. Husserl used the term 'epoch' to refer to that which consists of:

> *only such judgements as which do not depend for their validity on a spatio-temporal world . . . pure consciousness: consciousness which is not anybody's, consciousness free of all earthly attachments . . . the tough nucleus which is explicable only for itself, and not reducible any more to either tradition, culture, or society.* (Husserl, 1936:119-121)

Husserl, therefore, believed in a transcendal subjectivity, a search for fundamental truths. The main attraction to geographers, though, was the powerful critique of the way in which scientific and positivist researchers ignored their own role in the research process, a mistake he termed the 'sickness of European society' (1936,1965). This 'universal and pure science of the spirit' (*ibid*:154) was particularly influential in considering how the humanity of the researcher should be incorporated into the research process. Researchers would be required, therefore, to uncover the essence of their discipline, based on the 'primordial relationships' between subjects and objects.

An alternative form of phenomenology, of inspiration to other humanistic geographers, is existentialism. Existentialist philosophers, such as Sartre (1948), Merleau-Ponty (1962), and Heidegger (1980), although differing in their emphases, sought to escape from the obsession with essences. They focused instead on existence, and dismissed the search for pure consciousness and ultimate knowledge. Reality is conceptualised as that which is created by actors themselves. Human beings are seen as possessing will and consciousness, creating meaning through their actions. Sartre, for example, insisted that 'man (sic) is nothing more than that which he makes of himself' (Sartre,1948:28).

To existentialists, therefore, humans are not initially in possession of meaning, but create it through decisions. The notion of 'alienation' in existentialism stems from the need to

constantly strive to create meaning in the world, and fill the 'existential void'. This latter concept was attractive to Marxists, as the capitalist mode of production was believed to alienate humanity from nature, and encourage people to fill the void with ever-increasing amounts of material possessions. To humanistic geographers, however, the emphasis on experience, meaning, and identity is particularly attractive when related to localities and the 'sense of place' of consumers.

Fiction was often used by existentialists (and 'closet existentialists' such as Camus) to emphasise the absurd and tragic aspects of the search for an authentic self. Merleau-Ponty (1963) was particularly notable for his emphasis on perception, particularly the way in which the various projects of different individuals influences their gaze. Significantly for place consumption, any movement towards an understanding of society would start from the level of the individual. Heidegger (1980) became renowned for his conceptualisation of 'Dasein' or 'Being-in the-world'. This is a state dominated by the spatial and temporal relationships between humans and objects in the world. Whilst perhaps a little more concerned with essences than other existentialists, it is worth noting that Heidegger's notion of Dasein remains attractive to contemporary social and cultural geographers.

6.3   'PEOPLING' IN PRACTICE

Perhaps one of the clearest calls for the use of Husselian phenomenology was from Pickles (1985). He was also one of the least accommodating humanist geographers, finding serious problems in any movement away from a rigorous and pure phenomenological geography. He was absolutely opposed to any form of 'geographical phenomenology. . . concerned with lifeworld as object of study and as everyday mundane experience' (Pickles 1985:45). Instead, he advocated an understanding 'of the universal structures characteristic of man's spatiality' (Pickles 1985:155). He was interested, therefore, in excluding lifeworlds, and searching for deeper essences. The former

approach, he believes 'has fostered a widely-held misconception that a phenomenological geography takes the lifeworld as its object of study' (Pickles, 1985:60). Pickles would therefore consider anything other than a pure application of phenomenology to human geography invalid.

Relph (1970), provides an outline of phenomenology, and goes on to argue that many concepts have been successfully and implicitly incorporated into geography by authors such as Lowenthal (1961). Perhaps with writers such as Pickles in mind, Relph (1981:102) points out that the language of phenomenology is 'exceedingly difficult to penetrate.' Billinge (1977) is pessimistic about any adoption of 'pure' phenomenology, writing of:

> *a fundamental misconception of the purist nature of phenomenology - at best a misnomer; at worst yet more evidence of the disturbing tendency to adopt terminology the exact meaning of which is manifestly misunderstood.* (Billinge,1977:64).

An innovative quasi-Husserian application of phenomenology is Seamon's exploration of daily lifeworlds (1979). Three main themes are used: movement, rest, and encounter. *Movement* denotes everyday environmental transactions, *rest* represents person to place attachments, and *encounter* is interaction and observation of the world. Using 'environmental experience groups', Seamon (1979:17) developed the concept of 'place ballets - an interaction of many time-space routines' (Seamon, 1979:56). This approach emphasises everyday experience, and also addresses the spatial dialogues of different groups. An example of such dialogues is the way planners' notions of place are contested by various groups of place consumers. It is debatable, however, whether Seamon's ideas fall foul of Relph's concern about the accessibility of humanistic terminology (Relph, 1981).

The effectiveness of applying phenomenology within Tuan's renowned work is also difficult to assess. Tuan (1974) uses the term 'existential response' to reject spatial science in preference for the meaning of space as 'it is a sign of something beyond itself,

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to its own past and future, and to other objects' (Tuan 1971:184). Tuan goes on to state that 'under "existentialism" he seeks meaning in the landscape, as he would in literature, because it is a repository of human striving' (*ibid*:184). Using examples such as the front-back symmetry of the human body, and the social proximity of Greenland Eskimos, Tuan shows an unusual sensitivity to place.

It is doubtful, however, to what extent Tuan's work actually engages with existentialism. Tuan is primarily concerned with teasing out universal essences of people-place relations, uncovering the essential ways in which meaning exists *a priori* in the world. Furthermore, it could be argued that Tuan's work exemplifies another flaw of humanistic geography - romanticism. As Relph argues in a retrospective review, the contemporary significance of place consumption makes aspects of Tuan's work problematic:

> *Topophilia seems almost too positive in its account of environmental experiences and it is tempting to see it almost as a work of nostalgia . . . environmental attitudes and values, even in former nonliterate cultures, are now profoundly influenced by everyday processes of imposition and distortion, such as those of television, advertising, heritage invention and the deliberate exploitation of place identities by entrepreneurs seeking attractive locations for flexible capital. How can these be ignored?* (Relph,1994:359)

Relph himself is perhaps more loyal to the ethos of existentialism in his 'phenomenology of geography'. He argues that human geography exists precisely to codify the everyday experiences of people:

> *the experience of places, spaces and landscapes in which academic geography originates are a fundamental part of everyone's experience, and geography has no exclusive claim to them.* (Relph, 1985:16)

A worthwhile aim of Relph is to recover the true character of everyday experiences, and to prevent a situation where 'abstract technical thinking has begun to submerge geographical experiences' (*ibid:*28). Through examining four basic concepts - region, landscape, space, and place - he seeks to build an interest in 'sense of place'. Relph also contributes to an impressive collection of humanistic writing contained in *Dwelling, Place*

and Environment (Seamon and Mugeraurer, 1985). 'Sense of place' has also been taken up by authors such as Samuels, concerned with 'the existential origins of spatial arrangements, relations and attachments' (Samuels 1981:125). An existential geography aims to 'reconstruct a landscape in the eyes of its occupants, users, explorers, and students' (Samuels 1981:129). Recognising the potential of existential geography in examining social knowledge and meaning, Jackson (1981:303) claimed that 'it allows an analysis of the spatial structure of social relations.'

Despite some useful applications of existential forms of phenomenology, it would seem that in order to challenge positivist social science, the humanistic endeavour has been rather fragmented. A tendency towards a Husserlian search for essences, or the atomistic individualism of existentialism, has made much humanist geography rather inaccessible to the majority. It is interesting that even recent attempts to apply phenomenology to the social theory of space (Strohmayer, 1998) have drawn largely upon a Husserlian perspective.

In relation to the early phenomenological studies, Mercer and Powell stated that 'it is not possible to prove anything by the phenomenological method, and . . . argument is impossible' (Mercer and Powell 1972:14). Gould was particularly scathing, asking 'how much further do we push back - to psychoanalytic studies that tell us that some "lolits" (Little Old ladies in Tennis Shoes) avoid certain stores because they have red shutters. . .' (Gould 1976:87). Given the interest in intersubjectivity by authors such as Samuels (1981), however, it is surprising that so few authors have drawn upon the work of writers such as Schutz (e.g., 1962, 1972).

Ley was perhaps the first geographer to recognise the significance of the intersubjective and taken-for-granted meanings of different groups in their experience of place. Long arguing for the sensitive incorporation of *place* into geographical research (Ley, 1980a, 1981a, 1981b, 1982), he made considerable progress in his study of inner-city Philadelphia (Ley, 1974). Both explicitly (Ley 1977, 1981a), and implicitly, Ley

recognised the fundamental (yet largely unrealised) contribution of Alfred Schutz to human geography. In particular, a Schutzian framework allows geographers to escape from restrictive Husserlian traditions of phenomenology. Instead, the geographer can gain an understanding of the shared meanings and everyday 'common sense' knowledge of groups of people. Rather than encouraging individualistic or subjective studies, this provides a means of exploring the consumption of cultural texts.

6.4 AN EXISTENTIAL PERSPECTIVE

Before focusing on the potential of a Schutzian approach, it is worth examining the unfulfilled potential of existential approaches in the context of place consumption. Existential phenomenology is concerned with the notion of *Gestalt,* meaning form or structure. There is an implicit belief that neither behaviour nor experience is reducible to the sum of the parts but displays a primordial structure (Merleau-Ponty, 1963: 125-128). It follows that this holistic conceptualisation of the city is not consistent with positivist or rationalist approaches, which are concerned with (possibly irrelevant) causal relationships between separate components. This is consistent with Schutz, who believes that the sciences passed down to us are often 'emptied of meaning' because the 'basis of this meaning is forgotten' (1967:138). The complexity, ambiguity, and blurring of the boundaries between constituent parts of the postmodern city would consequently seem to make for an ever more impossible positivist project.

An individual's existence in the world is posited by existentialists to be characterised by the transcendence of both an 'objective' world, and of pure, self-constituting consciousness. The individual is neither completely knowledgeable of their surroundings (objective); nor are they psychologically constituting their environment (subjective). Merleau-Ponty writes of 'a certain consistency in our "world", relatively independent of stimuli . . .' and '. . . a certain energy in the pulsation of existence, relatively independent of our voluntary thoughts' (Merleau-Ponty,1962: xviii). It is necessary, therefore, to

look at the 'the whole mode of existence of the subject(s) in question, on the way he (sic) projects an environment around himself, on the way he is in the world' (Spurling, 1977:15). It is this intentional arc, as it 'projects round us our past, our future, our human setting, our physical, ideological and moral situation', which sets the scene for intentional behaviour (Merleau-Ponty,1962:xviii).

Consistent with a gestalt approach to the city, it is argued that there are 'lived' impressions of the city which are not immediately open to logical deductions by individuals. Both Husserl (1969) and Merleau-Ponty (1962) differentiate 'operative intentionality', from the more conscious and voluntary judgements involved in the 'intentionality of acts'. Crucial to phenomenology, the former is a common (if neglected) aspect 'of the world and of our life, being apparent in our desires, our evaluations and in the landscape we see, more clearly than in objective knowledge' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:xviii). It is through operative intentionality that individuals can project an environment around themselves, setting the context for more explicit and voluntary acts and reasoning. This is considered to represent a more profound sense of intentionality in which the individual evaluates the potentialities of their whole environment, imbuing localities and objects with properties. Unfortunately, this pre-thematic ground is often 'concealed behind the objective world which it helps to build up' (Merleau-Ponty,1962:138). It is, then, by striving to closely examine the foundations of pre-reflective experience in specific contexts, that social scientists can understand, and eventually begin to predict, the building of intentional acts.

For phenomenologists, perception is 'the always presupposed foundation of all rationality, all value, and all existence' (Merleau-Ponty,1963:7). In many epistemologies, including both materialism and behaviouralism, there is a basic dichotomy between subject and object, inside and outside, the physical world and the psychological world (See Luckmann, 1973). The objective world is conceptualised as given, data passes into sense organs, data is deciphered, and the picture re-assembled. Images become mere distortions of the objective world, inadequacies of the re-assembling process. Schutz

(1962) emphasises a 'dualistic cleavage' and the predominance of an 'unclarified rationalism of the mathematical sciences.'

It is possible, however, to break away from this 'dualism of being and appearance' (Sartre, 1969) and the search for a hidden reality, replacing them with the 'monism of phenomenon.' Perception is posited by phenomenologists to represent a primitive patterning of perceptions into fields. Significantly, the contents of these fields, and the patterning of perceived objects, depends on how individuals focus their gaze. This depends on their interests at hand, as much as on the nature of the object itself (Spurling, 1977). Each individual's unique perspective, therefore, causes perception to be *embodied.* As Crang (1997:365) argues, 'images, sights, activities are all linked through the embodied motion of the observer. . . ' Individuals, in their everyday 'natural attitude', live through perception, with each perceptual subject charged with different emotions and motivations, and each perceptual object viewed from a particular perspective.

6.5   PERCEIVING THE URBAN TOURIST DESTINATION

If 'perception is the background from which all acts stand out, and is pre-supposed by them' Merleau-Ponty,1962:x-xi), the significance of the perceived city becomes apparent. Furthermore, the perspectival nature of perception, allied with individuals' general lack of awareness of that perspective, implies that intentional acts are based on only profiles of objects, parts of conversations, and chance encounters with representations and landscapes. Different groups of place consumers, therefore, will base their intentional acts on the foundations of operative intentionality. These foundations, therefore, are built from fragments of experience, imperfect knowledge from a plethora of sources. This perspective challenges theories conceptualising universal tourist experience (e.g., MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1990).

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Where existential phenomenology goes further than most epistemologies, is its transcendence of the subject-object dichotomy. If there are 'no things, only physiognomies' (Merleau-Ponty,1963:168), objects are not determinate and external to the perceiver, but the embodiment of perceptual intentions, and are themselves intentional. An individual's positioning within, gaze upon, and openness to the city, creates its form. Objects are not, however, inert and passive receptacles of this gaze; instead they form systems of inter-locking objects, some emphasising other objects, some obscuring them. In vision, it is the visual field as a whole which directs ones gaze, assigning value and significance to each part. The openness of a city, its atmosphere, its people, and its style, will influence the first-hand experience of individual objects (see Canter, 1988).

Perception, therefore, involves a 'drawing together, by the subject, of the meaning diffused through the object, and by the object, of the subject's intentions'(Merleau-Ponty, 1962:132). This process 'arranges around the subject a world which speaks to him (sic) of himself (see Canter, 1979), and gives his own thoughts their place in the world' (Merleau-Ponty, 1962:132). The fragmented and schizophrenic nature of the postmodern city has received considerable attention (e.g., Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1984). It has been suggested that this is primarily due to a breakdown of traditional signifying chains, producing 'a rubble of distinct and unrelated signifiers' (Jameson, 1984). A consequence of this plethora of messages is an increase in the instances of dissonance between different signifiers. From the perspective of urban tourists, it is also clear that these messages influence expectations of geographical experience. The perceived absence of phenomena, therefore, can be particularly significant to experiences of the city, resulting in a feeling of 'non-being' (Sartre, 1969a:11).

Existential phenomenology conceptualises meaning as that which makes a difference, whether directly intended or not, 'as reliefs and configurations . . . in the landscape of praxis'(Merleau-Ponty, 1963). Humans create meaning in the world, even when they do not intend to signify anything, as every gesture, or even the lack of a gesture, signifies

something. Furthermore, this represents a primordial layer of significance, the fact that existence is synonymous with expression. Inter-related and inter-locking layers of significance are produced, and these are always open to different interpretations. Of relevance to the contemporary city, this is 'enough to question the cleavage between the real and the imaginary' (Merleau-Ponty,1970).

The transcendence of the subject-object dichotomy is particularly relevant to urban tourism. The city is increasingly a stage for media-led participation, spectacle, and images (Ley and Olds, 1988). The urban tourist is an object of economic development, the recipient of promotional messages and 'staged authenticity'; yet also an agent of capital, consuming commodified culture, and objectifying people and places. Crang (1997:366) argues that in holiday photographs, the tourist may be the object of a photograph, but they are simultaneously involved in an act of self-expression. It is quite possible that the ambiguous attitudes towards tourism in general, and the polarised academic perspectives discussed in chapter three, stem from the challenging ontological status of the tourist.

6.6 THE SCHUTZIAN LIFEWORLD

Whilst it is apparent that existential phenomenology can provide insights into urban tourism, Schutz's emphasis on intersubjectivity and action (1972) has more potential. Schutz grounds his work with the belief that 'everyday life is . . . man's fundamental and paramount reality' (Schutz and Luckmann,1974:3). It is also the province of reality in which the individual takes experiences for granted as common sense, whilst also sharing experiences with others in an intersubjective world. The world, therefore is not created merely out of material objects, but 'all the meaning-strata which transform natural things into cultural objects, human bodies into fellow men, and the movements of fellow-men into acts, gestures, and communications' (*ibid*:6).

The lifeworld is conceptualised as 'a reality which we modify through our acts and which, on the other hand, modifies our actions' (*ibid*:6). Humans' understanding of world has as its basis a great variety of both immediate and mediated experiences, the totality of which is termed 'stock of knowledge'. An actor explicates experience on the basis of typically similar previous experiences. Furthermore, an actor only becomes aware of the deficiencies of their stock of knowledge if a novel experience does not fit into what had previously been taken for granted. In some cases, the reference schemes themselves may be modified, and new types constructed. This incongruency, when 'the taken for granted experience *explodes*' (*ibid*:11), demands a re-explication of experience and interrupts the chain of self-evidency. The core of the stock of knowledge, therefore, develops with new experiences. Furthermore, the stock of knowledge, and its 'correlative schemata of typification' (*ibid*:13) is actually the sedimentation of past incongruencies. Of course, in situations where further explication is not necessary, the actor can rely on previously proven 'recipes', and these are likely to have been socially transmitted.

Also socially transmitted are sign systems, language, and works of art, all of which are experienced as the past action of predecessors. As Schutz and Luckmann explain:

> *In the natural attitude, these diverse cultural strata of meaning adhere to the object, even when I do not reflectively hold the meaning-bestowing acts in front of me.* (*ibid*:17)

Cultural meaning, therefore, exists in linguistic typifications and 'recipes for behavior' (*ibid*:17), in which explications by predecessors are passed down. In the natural attitude, however, 'everyone' experiences and takes for granted these meaning contexts. In this way, every actor belongs to a social system which is divided into familial relationships, age groups, generations, divisions of labour, occupations - all hierarchies and networks of power. Each individual, therefore, partly experiences the world through positions and perspectives forced upon him or her through an intersubjective 'natural world view'.

In every situation, actors find elements of the lifeworld which are unalterable, and elements which can be modified. The individual knows that 'open' elements of a

situation can be altered, and 'closed' elements are out of their control. Actors are in a 'spatiotemporal and social situation . . . in a naturally and socially articulated surrounding world,' (*ibid*:19). It is in this context that 'relevance structures' exist in the natural attitude, constituted from past acts and sedimented meanings. A hierarchy of plans exists, related to different timescales, to work, to leisure, as well as a superordinate life-plan. Each actor understands the typical consequences of typical acts, and has, therefore, 'a system of motivations for *practicable* goals' (*ibid*:20).

The stock of knowledge is, therefore, constructed out of sedimentations of previous experiences, and each experience is classified according to its type and relevance. Of particular significance for place consumption studies, is the theorised modification, idealisation, and typification of experience, and its arrangement into 'various provinces of finite meaning structure' (*ibid*:122). This suggests that knowledge of places is adapted with each new experience, (first-hand or socially-transmitted), and this leads to typifications similar to stereotypes within the stock of knowledge.

6.7   THE STOCK OF KNOWLEDGE

Because language has such an influence, 'we can grasp the knowledge based on it as the core area of the lifewordly stock of knowledge' (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:123). Experiences may bring nothing new to the stock of knowledge, and are merely fitted into existing types. Alternatively, they may be regarded as worthy of forming new types. Furthermore:

> *in every actual situation, one can delineate a difference between*
> *unquestioned and problematic experience, and this can serve to define*
> *the acquisition of knowledge in the narrower sense.* (*ibid*:124).

Knowledge is obviously acquired in different provinces of reality, whether they be work, leisure, education, the mass media, or different social contexts. The style of lived experience determines what is taken for granted, and what is problematic amongst the

knowledge acquired. It is not argued, therefore, that each province of reality is accorded an equal level of priority by the individual, as previous meaning structures are often left behind with the arrival of new provinces of reality.

Elements within the stock of knowledge can be considered in terms of their familiarity, their compatibility, and their degree of credibility. The concept of familiarity is particularly important, as the plan at hand determines familiarisation with elements of knowledge adequate to mastering the situation. An individual recognises objects in various levels of similarity to those experienced in the past, and these typifications form the core of knowledge. They also contain a negative contrast, referring to what, according to the project at hand, they are not. The further the type from the project at hand (the more anonymous), the more events can be grasped under it, yet the less useful it is for mastering a specific situation. These ideas appear to have had a significant influence on George Kelly's subsequent conceptualisation of 'personal constructs' (Kelly, 1955).

A contradiction or conflict only occurs if elements which have been taken for granted as relevant do not suffice for mastering the situation, and additional less relevant elements are drawn upon. These may be inconsistent with the elements originally used, leading to both sets being assessed in terms of their credibility. One element may be confirmed, and one annulled, or a new element formed. Elements are unlikely to contradict each other, however, if they are perceived as having nothing to do with one another. It is interesting that this process is conceptualised very differently from the 'information search' process in consumer decision-making models.

It is, therefore, only when an individual is faced with contradictory information that an active attempt to confirm or reject an element of knowledge is sought through the accumulation of further information. Of interest to image marketers, it would seem that contradictions are less likely if knowledge is gained in different provinces of reality. It would seem, therefore, that 'image reconstruction' may be considerably more complex

than commonly thought. The montage of representations which consumers encounter results in a vast stock of knowledge to be drawn upon. Although 'information search' is a universal component of consumer decision-making theory, Schutz maintains that additional information is only sought when there are contradictory or insufficient elements of knowledge.

The credibility of elements of knowledge is also extremely relevant to place consumption studies. Although the individual is hardly aware of credibility, the relative value attached to knowledge is crucially determined by the 'authority of the source' (*ibid*:163). An element of knowledge deemed 'least credible' does not disappear from the stock of knowledge. Often it is 'provisionally retained in the horizon, so to speak, with a negative sign' (*ibid*:166). It is significant that the positive determinations form the core of knowledge, yet 'the lifeworld is grasped not only as that which is, but rather also that which it is not' (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:173). The stock of knowledge therefore contains 'not only . . . "positive" aspects of knowledge, but also. . . "negative" determinations contained in the horizon of these element of knowledge' (*ibid*:167).

Drawing on William James (1890), Schutz and Luckmann (1974) discuss the 'reality' of representations. In particular, it is stressed that reality does not become constituted through the ontological structure of their objects, but rather through the meaning of our experience. As different provinces of reality are emphasised at different times, the province of meaning considered 'less real' depends on the prevailing style of experience. In this way, a locality appears 'real' through mediated representations outside the locality in the absence of immediate experience. Similarly, with immediate experience, some experiences and representations seem 'real', whilst others seem less real. Faced with a project, the individual turns to the province of reality which seems the most relevant. Different representations are salient in different styles of lived experience:

> *from solitude . . . to the various forms of experience of others; of their communications and "products" in the intersubjective everyday life-world shared by us in which communication and intersubjectivity are the rule.* (*ibid*:27)

Citing the Greek sceptic Carneades, Schutz emphasises that representations cannot be either true or false; instead, more or less plausible truths exist for different individuals. Rather than there being a determinate truth, a representation's plausibility depends on the state of the individual at the time, and whether or not it contradicts other representations. The individual, therefore, 'acts on the basis of more or less probable representations, which serve more or less as his "consilia adendi ut non agendi"' *(ibid*:184). This implies that cultural researchers should avoid privileging particular landscapes or representations, without establishing which are salient to place consumers. As Crang (1997:364) argues in the context of tourism, it is important 'to avoid dichotomising the world of representations and experience.'

The individual is primarily interested in the province of meaning in the sector of everyday life which lies within reach, both temporally and spatially. This includes memories, some of which 'become more and more vivid through typifications embedded in contexts of significations that are socially objectivated and made linguistic' (*ibid*:38). Experiences are said to be in 'restorable reach' (*ibid*:38), when they are stored in the stock of knowledge and can be re-experienced. The spatial zone of the future is termed 'the world within attainable reach' (*ibid*:39). Dependent on practical ability, it is assumed by individuals that they can experience zones in the future which are still unknown to them. Schutz recognises that practical ability depends on the level of development and technology in a society. This also influences the extent to which individuals are already familiar with the world in attainable reach. Of particular importance in the latter concept is the classification of future experiences into types already sedimented in the stock of knowledge. Schutz, writing some years ago, recognised that even the modern era 'enormously extended our possibilities of action in respect to distance, quantity, and results' (*ibid*:44), and that:

> *through technological development there has entered here a qualitative*
> *leap in the range of experience and an enlargement of the zone of*
> *operation . . . In the end, this concerns the questions of the nonmediated*

and mediated character of action and experience in general. (ibid:44)

Social structures are seen as conditioning access to the means of extending zones of operation, and in some cases there is strict institutional control of these means. The transition between immediate and mediated experience is rarely problematic, and eased through the use of 'ideal types', formed intersubjectively and established within the 'relative natural world view' (*ibid*:57). Postmodern society, to a much greater extent than in the past, is characterised by a blurring and overlapping of what is primary and what is secondary knowledge, and therefore a seemingly endless extension of what is within attainable reach.

Whilst the world in actual reach has the temporal character of the present, the world in potential reach forms that part of the world which is attainable in the future. The world in restorable reach is based on restoring past experiences to the present. Whilst not wishing to discuss Schutz's conceptualisation of time in any detail, is worth noting that contrary to the apparent trade-off between space and time in much of the human geography literature (see Soja, 1989), the two are inescapably bound together. The horizons of the present zone of operation are formed from the current stock of knowledge in relation to the project at hand; places that have been visited in the past, or (restorable reach) are determined by memory; and places which could be visited (attainable reach) are formed through expectations. Thus 'every actual lived experience necessarily carries a horizon of the past and a horizon of the future' (*ibid*:52).

Typifications or ideal types are also used to understand ancestors. There are significant differences between understanding friends and contemporaries, and understanding the precedent world. Whilst it is possible to examine contemporary phenomena from the perspective of various groups of contemporaries, retrospective historical/cultural studies can only attempt to reconstruct a natural attitude backwards, filtering out the contemporary attitude. In the case of historical/cultural studies there is a risk of applying more or less content-filled typifications to ancestors. The meaning of sign systems has

often been 'deposited in the past' (*ibid*:92). Whilst the tendency in cultural studies to concentrate on the text itself (rather than the consumption of the text) is necessary in retrospective studies, it is not the case in the context of contemporary consumption. In studies of tourism, the natural attitude of current consumers is vital to cultural research.

Some typifications, however, have been handed down to individuals, through socially objectivated sign systems and language. Also significant are the 'legitimatizations of social institutions, laws, and recipes for acts' (*ibid*:95). The position of actors within the social structure is also influential in forming the 'possibilities, impossibilities, and taken-for-grantedness for his (sic) course of life' (*ibid*:95). Social structure, therefore, fundamentally determines the 'degree of freedom in the choice of various courses of life' (*ibid*:95), and these degrees of freedom are socially distributed. The typifications used by individuals, therefore, depend largely on their social position, particularly as perceived by the actors themselves. Whilst typifications are first formed through the influence of significant others, particularly parents and teachers, throughout an individual's life the social structure continues to have a strong influence on the stock of knowledge.

6.8   INTERSUBJECTIVITY

The social nature of knowledge is developed in two ways. Immediate experiences are socially determinable in the sense that society influences the experiences which are considered relevant and communicable. In addition, the majority of an individual's knowledge itself is gained socially rather than individually. Therefore, the larger part of the stock of knowledge is mediated, rather than immediately acquired. Of particular significance, then, is the fact that the individual, whilst having subjective experience, learns through intersubjective events. From the start of human life, social relations are imposed upon the child, particularly by parents and teachers. These Others are in turn influenced by social institutions, 'their experiences stamped by the relative natural world view, their knowledge determined extensively from the social stock of knowledge'

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(*ibid*:246). It is significant that from early childhood, even experiences acquired first-hand and pre-linguistically are 'embedded in intersubjectively relevant, socially determined, and predelineated contexts' (*ibid*:246-7).

Language plays a fundamental role in intersubjectivity, particularly as individuals are born into a situation where language is already given as 'a component of the historical social world' (*ibid*:233). Experience in a society is represented by 'the arrangement of language into semantic-syntactical fields' (*ibid*:233). Language, therefore, contains relevant types, built up from experience over generations. The objectivation of types, however, is dynamic, with 'place values' constantly changing with the accumulation of new experience within a society. Whilst the individual is free to form their own types, society removes the burden of so doing, and also indirectly influences type construction through imposing 'semantic matrices' reflecting society's priorities. The semantic arrangement of language, therefore, corresponds to the 'typically relevant experiential schemata dominant in a society' (*ibid*:235), and this influences types within an individual's 'subjective' stock of knowledge.

Language, therefore, functions as a socially objective system of signs and a model for everyone's subjective experiences. Furthermore, this model affects the themes considered relevant, the interpretation of experience, and information relevant for motivation.

> *It determines which objects, properties, and events are routinely related to each other, and which belong to heterogeneous provinces of meaning, systems of classification, etc; which goals are binding generally or only under special circumstances, and which are approved, disapproved, or tolerated; which are desirable and praiseworthy, etc; which typical means lead to such goals; and finally, which typical moments of typical experiences are conjoined with typical attitudes.* (ibid:248)

The subjective experiences of members of a society are, in effect, stabilised around median values for typical experiences. In this way, 'subjective experiences become comparable to each other' (*ibid*:250) within the flow of experience. These experiences

form the basis for both planning future projects and interpreting the past. It is significant for place consumption studies that the typical contexts of acts would be the same for all members of society if it were not for fundamental differentials such as divisions in terms of labour, gender, social class, etc. If knowledge about a locality is socially distributed, therefore, analysing the distribution of this knowledge becomes a fundamental activity for place consumption researchers.

Two main influences on the social character of everyday situations can be identified. Firstly, the level of mediacy or immediacy influences the character of the everyday world. Secondly, the level of anonymity of experience plays a role. Although social relations are graduated according to the level of mediacy, this does not imply that some sources are more significant than others. Indeed, in the case of place consumption, the larger proportions of knowledge will be acquired through mediated sources. Only in immediate situations can actors share the same spatial and temporal sectors, and therefore, similar 'thematic relevances' (*ibid*:254). They will not be identical, however, as the interpretation and motivation of individuals will be different. In general, congruence between individuals is likely to be greater in the case of immediate, first-hand experience. In the context of place consumption, this would seem to suggest that attention should be paid to the diverse range of mediated experiences of a locality.

Schutz describes how the actor brings to each situation 'definite attitudes, plans, designs of acts' and ' a stock of performed typifications and explications' (*ibid*:257). This system influences both what is grasped, and how it is interpreted. These form a prehistory, as they are formed from previous social, or at least socially conditioned experiences. These attitudes, patterns of acts, and models of explication, originally subjectively acquired, subsequently from 'objective' knowledge. This knowledge is transmitted through language, signs, and institutional processes. As well as having important implications for the formation of stereotypes, there is an additional implication. It follows that the social structure fundamentally influences the communication of this knowledge, having a filter effect. Whilst the level of individualisation varies between different societies, one's role

within the social structure largely determines the knowledge gained. If the social structure acts in this way, there are important implications in terms of knowledge-power networks. The division of labour is likely to be a major influence on the distribution of knowledge, but in contemporary society configurations may be based on a wide variety of social roles. One can therefore 'seek the origin of the social stock of knowledge' (*ibid*:263), identifying the way in which groups with similar knowledge acquired that knowledge.

6.9   INTERSUBJECTIVITY AND CULTURE

The term objectivation is used to denote the 'embodiment of subjective processes in the objects of the everyday life-world' (*ibid*:264). It refers to the use of a sign system, and the possibility of interpreting the 'results of acts' (*ibid*:271). It is possible to distinguish between the 'embodiment of the subjective stock of knowledge in lifewordly events' (*ibid*:271), and 'objectivation of subjective processes in objects. . .' (*ibid*:272). Certain acts 'leave behind traces in lifewordly objects which are also apprehendable through everyday attentional advertences' (*ibid*:272). These traces may vary in terms of how intentional they were, but they refer back to determinate action. Provided the object is sufficiently durable, knowledge can be passed not only to contemporaries but to successors.

Of particular relevance to contemporary cultural geographers is the objectivation of knowledge in signs. As knowledge can only be transmitted if it can be interpreted, transference of knowledge in signs requires:

> *Far reaching agreement between (1) the structures of experience and relevance, out of which the one who originally acquires the knowledge develops a specific element of knowledge, and (2) the structures of experience and relevance of the Other, who interprets certain of the former's objectivations of subjective processes as indications of a specific element of knowledge.* (*ibid*:282)

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The interpretation of this knowledge is detached from the original spatial, temporal, and social stratifications. It depends, therefore, on the familiarity between the interpreter and the objectivator of the signs. The interpreter must be familiar with the system of signs for the signs to be translated back to subjective knowledge. Conversely, the better the user of signs '. . . knows the Other, the better he can anticipate the Other's "retranslations"' (*ibid*:282).

Between the sign and that which it signifies, we can conceptualise 'the relation of representation' (Schutz, 1972:118). It is significant that 'the interpretation of signs in terms of what they signify is based on previous experience and is therefore itself a function of the scheme' (*ibid*:119). Furthermore, although the sign obviously signifies something, it is also an indication of an event in the mind of the sign-user. This, termed the 'expressive function' (*ibid*:119) should be distinguished from the 'interpretative function' (*ibid*:120) which depends on the past experience of the interpreter. Therefore:

> *A sign system is a meaning-context which is a configuration formed by interpretive schemes, the sign-user or sign-interpreter places the sign within this context of meaning.* (*ibid*:120)

In place consumption studies it is often assumed that the two coincide and are not problematic. This leads to an emphasis on the 'expressive function' of signs within the landscape or representations, with little emphasis on the 'interpretive functions' of groups of place consumers. Whilst this may be acceptable (and necessary) in retrospective studies, place consumption research should surely be concerned with both expressive and interpretive functions.

It is when knowledge can be objectivated and embodied in this way that it can be transmitted easily to others. Knowledge in signs, therefore, has some rather contradictory qualities; it can have an overwhelming and taken-for-granted independence, yet the meaning is also dependent on the experience of individuals underpinning their interpretation. It follows therefore, that new knowledge can only be transmitted if the categories of meaning in the sign system are familiar. Whilst categories of meaning

constantly evolve, in the fragmented and dynamic social structures of postmodern society, there seems to be some risk in assuming that the producers and consumers of cultural texts use the same categories of meaning.

It is important to note that only a fraction of subjective experience is objectivated, and only a fraction of objectivated knowledge enters the social stock of knowledge. The social structure plays a major role in determining which knowledge is objectivated. The contemporary significance of institutions such as the mass media, however, makes for complex power-knowledge relations which influence the process. Even in primitive societies, there is a differentiation of knowledge according to typical problems and typical members of society. 'Inherent in this is the tendency for the association of provinces of knowledge in social roles' (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:292). Not surprisingly, an individual believes that solutions to a particular problem contained within the social stock of knowledge are relevant for particular problems. Although, in principle, such knowledge could be comprehended by everyone, there are typical recipients of certain knowledge.

> *What is socially relevant, for whom it is relevant, and to whom and how it*
> *is to be transmitted belong to the stock of "socialized" interpretational*
> *and motivational relevances.* (*ibid*:293).

Certain provinces of knowledge are considered relevant for certain social roles, and the transmission of this knowledge is conditioned by these roles. The social stock of knowledge, therefore, contains a system of hypothetical relevances related to the problem at hand. Thus both the knowledge and the transmission of knowledge is conditioned by social roles. This process begins with the family, particularly through 'imposed' roles associated with gender, continues through education, and progresses to a complex amalgam of occupational and social roles. This transmission of knowledge is also affected in the roles of knowledge transferors, whether they be parents, teachers, priests, multinational companies, newspaper editors, or politicians.

The individual, through the solutions provided by the social stock of knowledge, is relieved of the need to find their own solutions. The maintenance of such knowledge, therefore, can be interrupted by changes in social structure, or by the discovery of alternative knowledge, including promotional activity. The latter, however, will not be taken for granted in the same way as social knowledge. Of interest to debates concerning the use of mythology and heritage in place marketing, it would seem that 'non-everyday knowledge' is likely to be particularly resilient. Such knowledge also occupies an important place in the hierarchy of knowledge. It follows that:

> *One of the most important tasks of empirical sociology of knowledge is the examination of structural factors (e.g., the density of communication) and the dimensions of the relative natural world view (e.g., the religiously strengthened "fixidity" of some traditions) which play a decisive role in the historical processes of the accumulation of knowledge. (ibid:299).*

As socially transmitted knowledge tends to free the individual to accumulate more elements of knowledge, and distribution of knowledge amongst different social groups becomes more complex. It is also important to monitor the distribution of 'higher knowledge' legitimised by institutions, and associated representations. Any assumption of a homogeneous distribution of knowledge is fatally flawed. According to Schutz and Luckmann (1974:330-331), the unequal distribution of knowledge creates configurations of the 'lack of knowledge, half-knowledge, and knowledge of "power" and dependence.' It is impossible, therefore, that all problems are imposed on every individual in the same way. In contrast to behavioural approaches:

> *The exclusion of the biographically conditioned sequences of acquiring knowledge, and of the intersubjective conditions for its communication, is in contradiction to one of the essential presuppositions for the development of any social knowledge whatever. (ibid:307).*

The unequal distribution of knowledge gives knowledge an active role in the formation and development of the social structure. Social knowledge if therefore both a cause and consequence of the existence of different social groups. Knowledge, throughout history, has influenced access to power. Contemporary groups of experts use the power

conveyed by monopolising knowledge, often leading to conflict and competition. If such a conceptualisation is to contribute to a model of urban tourist experience, however, there should also be a convincing link between intersubjective knowledge and intersubjective *action*.

6.10   A THEORY OF ACTION

A fundamental contribution of Schutz, with the potential to inform place consumption studies, is his theory of action. With behavioural models of decision-making, there is a lack of attention paid to the distinction between *behaviour* and *action*. As Werlen (1993:9) argues, behaviour is correctly used to describe observable responses to stimuli, even if these stimuli are filtered by a cognitive component. By contrast, *action* is reflexive and intentional, involving goal-orientated human activity. Furthermore, whilst action refers to 'effecting or preventing a change in the world' (Wright, 1971:83; cited in Werlen, 1993:11), an 'act' is 'the outcome of this ongoing process, that is, the accomplished action' (Schutz, 1962:67). Whilst there are undoubtedly activities which lack conscious attention and therefore 'action' (termed 'conduct' by Schutz), there are persuasive arguments for focusing on action, rather than behaviour, in relation to urban tourist experience.

By taking socio-cultural factors as given, and concentrating on the psychological, behaviouralist researchers are unable to capture social context. Social relations, institutions, rules, and class structures become mere responses to past stimuli, and are conceptualised as external to behaviour (Werlen, 1993:16). Schutz, however, shows how the intersubjective stock of knowledge, and the structure and limits imposed in the natural attitude, forms the basis for all action. By ignoring the meaning context of action, behavioural approaches will always fail to explain social phenomena, including consumer decision-making.

Central to Schutz's action theory is the projecting of action into the future, 'to bring about the projected state of affairs by bodily movements' (Schutz, 1970:126). Significant in any action is a form of 'map-consulting' (*ibid*:129). Only human activity without the process of either 'retention' or 'reproduction' can correctly be defined as 'behaviour' or 'unconscious'. Whilst retention is defined as 'holding the picture before our inner eye' (*ibid*:129), reproduction relates to memories of past experiences which are called to mind. Conscious actions, therefore, have been previously mapped out in the future perfect tense in terms of the completed act. Underlying this process of projection, is the belief that one can bring about a similar state of affairs as resulted from a previous similar action. In the natural attitude:

> *these anticipations and expectations follow the typical structures that*
> *have held good so far for our past experiences and are incorporated into*
> *our knowledge at hand.* (*ibid*:137)

Anticipations are essentially empty references to be filled by future occurrences, and they are based on 'types', rather than 'a unique setting within a unique context' (*ibid*:139). Of significance for place consumption, it is the structure of our stock of knowledge at hand which forms the basis for these projections, and these are only filled in by the event itself to 'make it a unique individual occurrence' (*ibid*:138). A further justification for monitoring intersubjective stocks of knowledge stems from their dynamic nature, as 'not only the range but also the structurization of our stock of knowledge changes continually' (*ibid*:138).

The actualisation of an event, therefore, leads to a change, however small, in 'our prevailing interests and therefore of our system of relevances' (*ibid*:139). As the system of relevances determines the structure of the stock of knowledge, elements of knowledge are redistributed. Previously marginal zones enter the central domain and vice versa. The shift in prevailing interests also affects the 'ideal types' - 'what was inside the illuminated circle of consciousness during the moment of projection now falls back into the darkness and is replaced by later lived experiences' (*ibid*:131). Expectations are met, therefore, if the typicality of the occurring event corresponds with the typicalities of the

stock of knowledge at the time of anticipating. Through viewing the action in hindsight, satisfaction or dissatisfaction can arise in relation to these typicalities.

According to Schutz, 'it is . . . the reference of projecting to a stock of knowledge at hand which distinguishes projecting from mere fancying' (Schutz, 1970:142). In 'phantasy', there are no limits imposed, and what is in reach is to the discretion of the individual. Contrary to the common misrepresentation of subjective approaches, projecting is a 'motivated phantasying' (*ibid*:142), which takes into account the practicalities of the project. The risk involved in a project, therefore, is weighed up according to the individual's current knowledge. In the natural attitude, some elements of the lifeworld are imposed and invariable, whilst others are within control or modifiable. To the actor, therefore, 'the ontological structure of the universe is imposed' (*ibid*:140), and it 'constitutes all (my) possible spontaneous activities' (*ibid*:140). The individual, therefore, has to negotiate these limits, and 'the practicability of carrying out the projected action within the imposed frame of reality of the lebenswelt is an essential characteristic of the project' (*ibid*:141).

The concept of projecting avoids a persistent problem encountered in the social sciences, known as 'the unity of action.' It is common for researchers to assume that the action to be examined can be defined in terms of a unity as designated by the researcher. This often leads to a dissonance between research observations and motivation theory, as the researcher 'defines the concrete action arbitrarily, without reference to the intended meaning of the actor' (Schutz, 1972:62). The total act tends to be divided into separate components, and the 'objective' researcher is in no position to know whether each separate goal has been reached, or whether there is more to observe. As Schutz puts it:

> *Of what use is it to talk about the intended meaning of an action if one ignores that phase which is relevant to the actor and substitutes for it as the interpretation an arbitrarily chosen segment of the observed performance - "the facts"? When one is watching a woodcutter it will make a great deal of difference whether we try to analyse 'objectively' the individual blows of the ax or whether we simply ask the man what he*

is doing and find that he is working for a lumber company. (Schutz, 1972:63)

The problem is avoided, therefore, if the act is conceptualised as existing 'in project', to be realised through the action. Significantly, it becomes clear that an act is 'meaningless as action apart from the project which defines it' (*ibid*:62).

6.11   ACTION, KNOWLEDGE, AND CHOICE

The *Phenomenology of the Social World* (Schutz, 1972) begins with a detailed critique of Weber's theory of action (Weber 1949,1957). An important strand of the critique relates to an ambiguity over motivation which Weber shares with a diverse range of social scientists. The term 'motive' is sometimes used to denote 'in order to', and sometimes synonymous with 'because' in conjunction with a past experience. Constitutive phenomenology seeks to make a clear distinction between the two, for a number of reasons. If we conceptualise the process of projecting, the actor's motive is related to their expectations of the outcome of that particular project. The act, projected in the future perfect tense, becomes the basis of the 'in-order-to motive' (Schutz, 1972:88). It is therefore, a context of meaning determined by the stock of knowledge available at the moment of projecting.

Many languages, however, confuse this point, by replacing 'in order to' with 'because', in a 'pseudo-because statement' (*ibid*:89). A genuine because motive, by contrast takes a past event, and links this with an influential event in the more distant past. Although this is fashionably termed 'the cause', we mean that past experiences created the disposition in an actor to achieve their goals in a certain way. As the true 'because motive' is always an explanation after the event, we should refer to it in the pluperfect tense. Whilst both types of motivation may be of interest to tourism researchers, it is important to clearly distinguish between them.

In contrast to the theories of consumer decision-making, Schutz argues that 'the Ego imaginatively runs through a series of psychic states' until 'the free act detaches itself from it like an overripe fruit' (*ibid*:67). The agent places themselves 'at a future time when this action will already have been accomplished, when the resulting act will already have materialised' (*ibid*:69). Once the act is projected in the future perfect tense, the 'actor becomes self-consciously aware of his phantasying' (*ibid*:68). The next act is projected, and this then becomes the focus of the actors reflective attention. These are then 'retained, reproduced, and compared' (*ibid*:68), and evaluated in terms of positive and negative attributes, according to the prevailing frame of reference. 'What is thus anticipated in the project is . . . the future act, and it is anticipated in the future perfect tense, modo futuri exacti' (*ibid*:69).

> *In our daily life our projected ends are means within a preconceived particular plan - for the hour or the year, for work or for leisure - and all these particular plans are subject to our plan for life as the most universal which determines the subordinate ones even when the latter conflict with one another.* (Schutz, 1970:149)

Any choice between projects, therefore, refers to a previously chosen system of projects. When there are overlapping or conflicting interests, the actor is not sure which elements of the stock of knowledge are relevant. This doubt necessitates deliberation, and according to Dewey each act 'takes its turn in projecting itself upon the screen of the imagination. It unrolls a pictures of its future history. . .' (cited in Schutz,1970:153). Contradictory 'propulsive tendencies' (*ibid*:153) also allow habit a role in choice.

> *The decision is reached in a process of clarification of the contesting tendencies by which either the weakness of the counterpossiblities become more and more visible or by which new motives arise which reinforce the prevailing weight of the first.* (*ibid*:155).

A distinction of relevance to urban tourism should be recognised, relating to the status of localities. Whilst most products are objects, and 'the problematic possibilities are, so to speak, ready made and well circumscribed' (*ibid*:159), choosing between places involves the rehearsal of future courses of action in the actor's imagination. The true problematic

alternatives have to be produced through the process of projecting. The alternatives do not coexist 'in the simultaneity of outer time' (*ibid*:159). Instead, by 'phantasying' acts, the mind successively creates the various projects in 'inner time'. One is dropped in favour of another, and then a previous act is returned to, or recreated (*ibid*:159). Because time has elapsed between the two, and the individual's experience has been enlarged, the original project has been modified since the original projecting. This last point, in particular, highlights the folly of approaching tourist decision-making though experimental methodologies.

6.12   CONCLUSION

Existential contributions suggest that studies of tourists should start not from the position of either universal theories, or a self-constituting consciousness. Instead, it is vital to focus on tourists' entire mode of existence in relation to the city - an existential dialectic (Canter, 1988). This should also include the way in which place consumers experience the locality without physically being there. The substantive contribution of phenomenology, however, is found in the work of Alfred Schutz. The intersubjective nature of knowledge, and its influence on action, is fundamental to urban tourist experience.

It has been seen how the re-enforcement and structuring of the 'natural attitude . . . of common-sense consciousness' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:23), creates intersubjective knowledge. In addition to immediate experience, the transformation of intersubjective experience into language and tradition plays a crucial role. The mediated representations produced by various institutions, therefore, shape the expectations of place consumers. Whether knowledge is constituted and transmitted linguistically or visually, it leads to accepted, taken for granted beliefs, and social realities. It is through understanding intersubjective stocks of knowledge, therefore, that researchers can begin to understand the action of place consumers.

The perceived subjectivism and inaccessibility of humanistic geography may have limited the contemporary influence of phenomenology. The conceptualisation of intersubjective knowledge and action proposed by Schutz (1970; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974), however, is invaluable in conceptualising and researching tourist experience. It is difficult to dismiss Schutzian phenomenology as 'subjective' or 'individualistic'. The detailed and rigorous theories of intersubjectivity, stock of knowledge, and action, offer considerable hope in capturing both the immediate and mediated knowledge which is fundamental to urban tourist experience.

CHAPTER 7

URBAN TOURIST EXPERIENCE

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In an attempt to develop an experiential framework, the study has drawn upon literature in the fields of tourism, marketing, and human geography. Despite the proliferation of contemporary references to the images and experience of localities, there are actually very few experiential frameworks for conceptualising and researching urban tourism. This chapter re-examines the epistemologies discussed, identifying concepts and principles of particular relevance to researching the images and experiences of urban tourists. There is an attempt to identify concepts which are amenable to inclusion within a framework for conceptualising the experience of urban tourists. Attention subsequently turns to the methodology, and an attempt is made to provide a methodological framework for analysing the images and experiences of urban tourists in Cardiff. The aim is not to develop a specific methodology at this stage, but to establish the structure and requirements of the methodology which is developed in chapter nine.

7.2 EPISTEMOLOGICAL TOURISM

7.2.1 Alternatives to Materialism

Materialist approaches, characterised by the work of authors such as Harvey (1989), identify the process by which localities attempt to differentiate themselves in global markets for inward investment and tourism. Authors such as Hewison (1987) are also interested in the use of urban tourism and heritage as a form of economic development. The use of urban tourism in economic development has come to be discussed in the context of the entrepreneurial approach to government developed by the 'New Right'.

The materialist approach, however provocative, dramatically fails to offer any insights into the experiences of tourists, or any place consumer. By developing meta-narratives, and by seeking to develop theories of the general process of capital accumulation, materialists leave no place for the actors within particular contexts. As Harvey himself concedes in the introduction to *The Urban Experience* (Harvey, 1989b:1), materialists usually prefer a vantage point on a hill, far above particular towns and cities, rather than within the everyday life on the streets.

This approach, to which feminist writers have also articulated their objections (e.g., Deutsch, 1991), denies the existence of human agency. In the context of consumption, the materialist approach denies the existence of actors who make conscious decisions. In references to place consumption, specifically tourism, the materialist approach avoids engaging with the action and decision-making of tourists themselves. This is in contrast to researchers who have engaged with the everyday experience, culture, and sense of place of localities, drawing upon authors such as Lefebvre (1970) and Lyotard (1986). Not surprisingly, despite, references to place consumption, the materialist literature offers little to the endeavour of conceptualising and researching the images and experiences of urban tourists.

7.2.2 Tourism and Marketing Literature

Despite the theoretical weaknesses of urban tourism research, there are several promising contributions. Prentice *et al.* (1998), for example, develop an experiential methodology for researching the experience of heritage consumers at various sites in Wales. This study, incorporating both expectations and levels of satisfaction, is one of the more theoretically informed experiential approaches to tourism research. Authors such as Postina and Jenkins (1997), and Gilbert and Joshi (1992), also contribute to an experiential understanding, in their application of the service quality model to urban tourism. It would seem, however, that many studies in the field of urban tourism have been less convincing. Page, for example, stresses the need 'to constantly evaluate to

establish if the actual experience met the tourist's expectations' (Page, 1995:24). It is disappointing, however, that such research draws mainly on a behavioural epistemology, which conceptualises images as distortions of an objective reality. Not only have the assumptions behind the behavioural approach been convincingly challenged within the contemporary social science literature, but the epistemology has severe limitations in capturing the subtleties of contemporary place images and experiences.

The expanding tourism and marketing literature devoted to place image makes several important contributions to an experiential framework. Although there have been myriad contradictory definitions of place image, there have also been some valuable advances in place image theory and research. Of particular interest are attempts to compare and contrast images formed at different stages of a consumer's decision-making process. The comparison of the naive images of tourists before visiting a destination, and the re-evaluated image incorporating first hand experience of a destination, can be particularly illuminating. Comparing different types of images can help to identify discrepancies between the two, and such discrepancies can have crucial policy implications. Discrepancies may be used to identify and rectify sources of dissatisfaction with the urban tourism product, or they may be used to identify negative images which can be addressed through promotion. In short, place image research can act as an invaluable tool in the crucial process of positioning the destination.

It is argued in chapter four, however, that the researcher again encounters a number of problems associated with the epistemologies underlying place image research. Most place image studies tend to take on a rather deterministic form, with little appreciation of whether constructs used are salient to consumers. The context in which decisions are made, social relations, and variations in the decision-making process itself, are neglected. Behaviouralist studies of place image assume that there is an objective reality of a destination, and that images are distortions of that objective reality. Many studies (e.g., Madsen, 1991) make use of maps, statistics, and 'facts', comparing them with the images of actual or potential tourists.

It is apparent, therefore, that an appreciation of the human geographical concept of *place* is extremely rare. This is a crucial limitation of place image studies, as researchers are often unable to access the contested values, meanings, and experiences between different consumers of the same locality. There is a striking contrast between the deterministic behaviouralist approaches used in place image research, and the cultural studies currently revitalising the social sciences. In human geography, for example, researchers have convincingly questioned the existence of accepted realities - the 'world-views' of a bewildering range of landscapes and representations.

7.2.3 Cultural Studies

Cultural geography asserts that the meanings and realities of both landscapes and representations are always subjective, unstable, and contested. It is significant that both tourist landscapes and representations of destinations can be read as texts. It is also crucial that the 'crisis of representation' most devastatingly questions the objectivity and validity of knowledge deemed by researchers to represent 'reality'. This applies to both the landscapes and representations of tourist destinations. Many tourism researchers, however, operate in something of a vacuum, divorced from the epistemological debates of the social sciences. As Squire argues:

> *Tourism research has become somewhat isolated from wider disciplinary trends; first from human geography and more recently from the theoretical and methodological questions that have revitalised social and cultural enquires.* (Squire, 1991:1)

Tourism represents an important cultural phenomenon, bound up in the ways that humans 'assess their world, defining their own sense of identity in the process' (Jackle, 1985:xi). Despite a handful of exceptions (Ringer, 1999; Morgan and Pritchard, 1998; Selwyn, 1996; Mellinger, 1994), however, there has been remarkably little dialogue between cultural studies and tourism research. The 'cultural turn', understood as a re-evaluation and re-emergence of the concept of culture in the social sciences, has profound implications for tourism research.

Contemporary cultural approaches are particularly concerned with the codes through which meaning is constructed. A crucial aspect of the contemporary cultural approach is 'the landscape as text' model, through which cultural researchers assert that it is possible, indeed essential, to read landscapes as if they were documents. As Duncan and Duncan (1988:117) argue, literary theory provides a means of examining the text-like qualities of landscapes. In this conceptualisation, texts may also be in the form of maps, paintings, photographs, and even social and political institutions. In a crucial and refreshing difference from behavioural approaches, these forms are seen as representing reality, rather than mimicking it.

Whether texts are in the form of tourist landscapes, promotional material, or mass media representations, their meaning is always contested and unstable. They can acquire meanings and consequences unintended by their authors, and it is these readings which have social, psychological, and material consequences. Furthermore, it is possible to conceptualise a discourse within urban tourism which represents a collection of narratives, concepts, signs, and ideologies developed by a particular group. In the context of urban tourism, it is also important that representations of a destination can effectively replace the destination - with the *objective reality* of the destination effectively becoming redundant. The 'reality' of the urban environment, and both official and unofficial representations, is unstable and contested. As meaning is only created when texts are interpreted by readers, it is also significant that different groups of readers fall into different textual communities, each gaining different sets of meanings from their readings.

The arguments of cultural researchers are especially convincing in the sphere of place consumption. As contemporary societies increasingly 'turn their citizens into image junkies' (Sontag, 1978:24), the significance of representations increases. As Shields argues, 'a shroud of representations stand between us and even the concrete objects in the city' (Shields, 1994:229). In the context of urban tourism therefore, research should

concentrate on reading the urban environments consumed by tourists, and the numerous representations encountered. Cultural researchers, although displaying a curious reticence in the field of tourism, have analysed numerous landscapes and representations of consumption. Whilst authors such as Shields (1990; 1992) and Goss (1992; 1993) have been concerned with leisure and retail activities, authors such as Jackson and Taylor (1995) have focused on advertising imagery.

It is apparent that although the cultural approach adds considerable sophistication to the conceptualisation of place images and experiences, the experiential framework is far from complete. As authors such a Gregson (1996) have argued from a feminist perspective, there is a tendency to read representations and landscapes *on behalf of* the consumers of localities, rather than seeking any insight into their experiences. Although cultural geographers make invaluable points concerning the subjectivity and relativity of representation and landscapes, there is very little concern for the *consumption* of cultural texts.

There is a tendency to ignore the people who read cultural texts on an everyday basis. In retrospective studies of culture, of which there are many, this does not pose significant problems. In studies of contemporary consumption, however, there seems to be less justification for reading landscapes and representations without considering the groups of people who intersubjectively experience the phenomena. Whilst cultural approaches to research are making valuable contributions, in the case of landscapes such as shopping malls and waterfronts, there is a risk of sinking in a sea of metaphors and self-destructive relativism, whilst avoiding place consumers who have collective experiences of the locality. Of even greater concern, and rather counter-productive, is the risk of privileging the academic readings of cultural researchers, over the everyday intersubjective experiences of place consumers.

A variation on the textual model with particular relevance to tourism and place marketing is the 'Circuit of Culture' framework developed by Johnson (1986). This model, rather

than concentrating merely on the text itself, focuses on the dynamic process by which representations are both produced and consumed. Cultural communication is conceptualised as a process of rendering a cultural text *public* through production, and subsequently *private* again on consumption. A crucial consequence of this private consumption, is the way in which cultural texts are read differently by consumers. Johnson's model (1986) is invaluable, therefore, in focusing attention on the consumption of cultural texts, and variations in experience between groups of place consumers.

7.2.4   Humanistic Perspectives

The framework for conceptualising images and experiences has developed with the contributions of both place image theory and cultural studies. There is a need, however, for concepts relating to the everyday experiences of urban tourists. The geographical experiences, meanings, and values of individuals was the focus of the humanistic geography of the 1970's which drew upon phenomenology. Central to this approach is the geographical concept of *place,* which implies an emotional and imaginary attachment to a particular locality. It was argued in chapter six that the mixed success of humanistic approaches, particularly the problems associated with an individualistic focus, may stem from the tradition of phenomenology drawn upon.

The basis of most humanistic geographical studies is the phenomenology of Husserl (1936). In its pure Husserlian form, phenomenology is concerned with observing and describing the experiences of individuals. Although humanistic geography came to be associated with individualistic studies and even 'romanticism', alternative traditions of phenomenology have considerable potential in the context of place consumption. Particularly influential is Alfred Schutz (1962, 1970, 1972; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974), who devoted much of his working life to developing an epistemology concerned with experience, yet focusing on groups within society. In a Schutzian conceptualisation, in their everyday *lifeworld*, humans experience phenomena both first-hand and through representations. Experiences, collected from childhood, become sedimented in a *stock of*

knowledge. This stock of knowledge has a vital influence on future action, forming the basis of decision-making.

In a crucial variation from much of the humanistic literature, however, social relations and structures create *intersubjective* stocks of knowledge, and consequently, intersubjective *action*. In the context of urban tourism, this focuses attention on groups of consumers who intersubjectively acquire similar images and experiences of a destination. This conceptualisation sits comfortably with both theories of tourist decision-making and place image, and the representations and landscapes of the cultural approach.

According to Schutz, everyday life should be the focus of research as it represents 'fundamental and paramount reality' (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:3). It is also in everyday life that all kinds of experiences are accepted and taken for granted as common sense. In an important deviation from individualistic forms of phenomenology, Schutz allows for the way in which meanings belong to particular cultures, passed down as second hand yet credible knowledge. In this way, knowledge in not the property merely of individuals, but is possessed by particular groups within society. Rather than over-emphasising human agency, it is argued that individuals have elements which are unalterable and closed, and elements which are open to manipulation.

The *stock of knowledge*, therefore, is a sedimentation of past experiences, some first hand, and some socially transmitted. Whatever the source of information, knowledge is arranged into 'types', and when little alternative information is available, stereotypes are formed. Questioning the assumptions underlying many behaviouralist decision-making models, it is only when an individual is faced with contradictory information that an active attempt to seek further information is made. It is also significant that it is possible to 'seek the origin of the stock of knowledge' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:263). This enables the researcher to trace the representations contained within the stock of knowledge.

Perhaps most importantly, *action* is crucially influenced not only by immediate experiences, but also by representations within the stock of knowledge. Using the term 'products' (Schutz and Luckmann, 1974:271), Schutz discusses 'the objectivation of subjective processes in objects' (*ibid*:272), allowing the researcher to conceptualise and research the sign systems of second-hand information. It is recognised, for example, that the transmission of knowledge is influenced by the roles and credibility of the knowledge communicators, be they parents, teachers, politicians, or journalists. Place consumers are therefore relieved of the need to experience phenomena first-hand, as knowledge is transmitted by a wide range of sources. Not only do social groups and roles within society have a significant influence on the accumulation of this knowledge, but the distribution of this knowledge helps to define different groups within society.

In addition to contributing the invaluable concept of the 'stock of knowledge', Schutz also develops a theory of action of immense value to researching tourist decision-making. By ignoring the context of action and attempting to split action into different stages, behaviouralist approaches will ultimately fail to explain decision-making. Action, in the Schutzian perspective, involves a process of projecting the likely consequences of a particular action into the future. As this 'map consulting' (*ibid*:129) draws upon both past experiences and knowledge at hand, anticipations and expectations cannot be researched in isolation from the social contexts in which they occur.

More important than individual stages of decision-making, therefore, is the formation of 'types' (*ibid*: 139) into which phenomena are classified. The act of visiting a particular tourist destination, according to constitutive phenomenology, is projected into the future and then becomes the focus of reflective attention. The same process may then be applied to another destination, and the projected consequences are evaluated and compared. In contrast to most goods, where the 'problematic possibilities, are, so to speak, ready made and well circumscribed' (*ibid*: 159), tourist decision-making always involves this process of projecting, drawing heavily upon the stock of knowledge.

It is apparent that the contributions from these very different epistemologies have the potential to form the basis of an experiential conceptualisation of the images and experiences of urban tourists. The tourism and marketing literature provides the impetus for analysing, comparing, and contrasting, different images. Cultural studies provide a critique of the deterministic approach, creating the potential to read both the landscapes and representations behind images and experiences. The Schutzian approach links the components together, contributing the *stock of knowledge*, and *action*, both of which exist intersubjectively in contemporary society.

7.3   TOWARDS AN EXPERIENTIAL FRAMEWORK

The detailed examination of literature in the fields of human geography, tourism, and marketing, has demonstrated how no single epistemology is capable of conceptualising the images and experiences of urban tourists. It has become clear, however, that the place image literature, cultural studies, and phenomenology all have contributions to make. In order to construct a framework or model of the experience of urban tourists, it is necessary to both identify the particular concepts which each epistemology has contributed, and decide how these concepts may be related to each other.

The most significant contribution of the place image studies concerns the attempt to differentiate between different types of images of a destination held by urban tourists. Several researchers (e.g., Madsen, 1991; Selby and Morgan, 1996) have attempted to develop methodologies to measure, analyse, and compare different types of images amongst tourists. Whilst there are important differences between a range of organic and induced images, it is considered that the most fundamental discrepancies exist between the naive images of a destination amongst potential visitors who do not have first hand experience; and actual visitors who have experienced the destination first-hand. This is also consistent with service quality models as applied to urban tourism (e.g., Gilbert and

Joshi, 1991), as the most important gap is between the expectations and perceptions of destination amongst consumers. One of the most useful concepts within the place image literature, therefore, would appear to be the concept of the *naive image*, representing expectations of the destination by potential visitors. This can be distinguished from the *experiences* of the destination which include first-hand (immediate) experience.

The growth of cultural studies has fundamental implications for social science research in general, far beyond the provision of *ad hoc* concepts. The application to tourism of research techniques such as semiotics (e.g., Gale, 1996), however, demonstrates that the cultural approach is also capable of less dramatic conceptual and methodological contributions. Although it has been extensively demonstrated that cultural texts come in diverse forms, it is useful to distinguish between *landscapes* and *representations*. Landscape, in this thesis, can be understood as a cultural text consisting of aspects of the physical environment which can be experienced first-hand by place consumers. Although landscapes have a physical 'reality' their meaning is always contested between different textual communities. Representations, in the context of tourism, can be understood as visual images, text, conversations, or any sign system conveying meaning in relation to particular localities. In this project, representations are understood to refer to mediated knowledge of localities.

Humanistic approaches, specifically the constitutive phenomenology of Alfred Schutz, also contribute fundamentally to philosophical issues within social science in general. *Intersubjectivity*, however, is obviously a vital contribution of the humanistic approaches discussed. Not only do groups of people (including tourists) have similar experiences of localities, but these experiences reproduce social divisions. The possibility of identifying and analysing groups of place consumers, as defined by their first-hand or mediated knowledge of a destination, has an obvious allure. For the purpose of this project, however, it is argued that intersubjectivity is a concept which runs through the veins of constitutive phenomenology, rather than being an organ which can be isolated and detached.

An obvious contribution of the humanistic approach is the (intersubjective) *stock of knowledge*. In the context of urban tourism, the stock of knowledge can be understood as the collection of sedimented knowledge of a destination, including both mediated and immediate experiences. Whether knowledge of a particular destination consists of mass media representations, or first-hand experience of the tourist landscape of the destination, it will enter the stock of knowledge. The stock of knowledge, therefore, is an archive of official and unofficial images and experiences of a destination, formed since childhood, and exerting a vital influence on tourist decision-making.

It has become apparent that Schutz also makes a vital contribution to conceptualising the tourist decision-making process. In contrast to the behaviouralist approach which emphasises distinct and universal stages of decision-making, Schutzian action theory is closely linked to the intersubjective stock of knowledge. In the context of urban tourism, the process of projecting the likely consequences of a visit in order to form expectations, is extremely useful. The Schutzian concept of *action*, therefore, makes up the final element in the experiential framework.

7.4 THE CIRCUIT OF URBAN TOURIST EXPERIENCE

7.4.1 Introducing the Model

It is now possible to conceptualise a framework which has been termed the 'Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience' (*Figure 7.1*). The model describes the cycle experienced by groups of both consumers and potential consumers of a destination. It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between a non-consumptive circuit, whereby potential consumers do not decide to visit the destination and continue to acquire knowledge of the destination from secondary sources; and a consumptive circuit whereby consumers decide to visit the destination, and therefore experience the locality first-hand. It is

important to acknowledge the influence of Johnson (1986) on the structure of the model, and the emphasis on the consumption of cultural texts. It is hoped, however, that the framework benefits from the inclusion of important concepts from phenomenology and place image theory, in addition to insights from cultural studies.

7.4.2 Stock of Knowledge

In the model, whether consumers are represented by the consumptive or non-consumptive circuit, the starting point is the *Stock of Knowledge* (1). The total stock of knowledge of potential consumers will consist of a vast array of information collected over a considerable number of years. Potential consumers of the destination may have come into contact with information through their education, through literature, through politics, through the mass media, through word of mouth; alternatively, they may have first hand experience of the destination. Whatever the source, information relating to a particular destination has become sedimented. This information, which for the majority of potential visitors is based on secondary sources rather than first-hand experience, has been sorted and classified into 'types'. Consumers use these typifications in order to better predict the outcome of their course of their action in the future. It follows that there will be intersubjective groups with similar stocks of knowledge of a particular destination. Furthermore, such groups will differ in their propensity to visit the destination and engage in either the consumptive or non-consumptive circuit.

7.4.3 Action

As discussed in chapter six, the act of deciding whether or not to visit a destination involves consumers projecting the likely outcome of their decision into the future. The process of projecting *action* (2) into the future draws upon the stock of knowledge. The accumulated information from a wide range of sources is used to predict the likely outcome of a decision to visit. Although it is possible that much of the information

within the stock of knowledge has been collected subconsciously, the action stage is a deliberate process.

EXPERIENCES (6)

IMAGES (4)

LANDSCAPE (5) - - - - **REPRESENTATIONS (3)**

STOCK OF KNOWLEDGE (1)

ACTION (2)
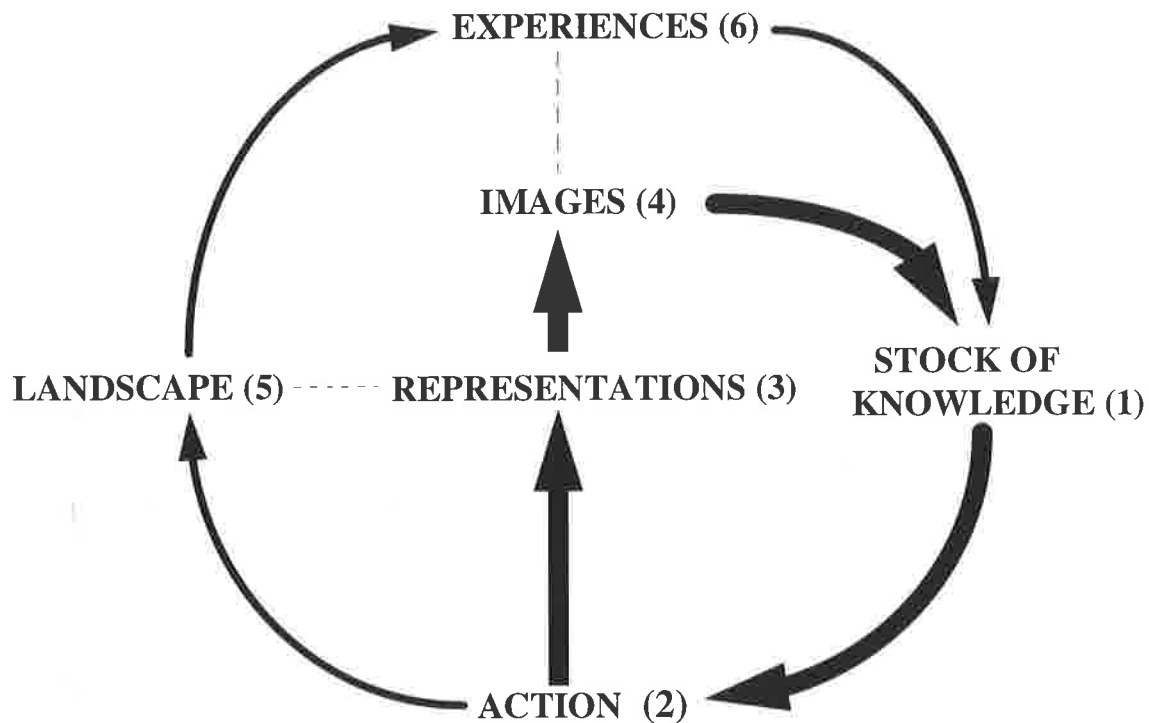
Figure 7.1   Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience

Only a very small minority of all potential consumers of the destination will project the act of visiting the destination into the future and believe that their goals will be achieved - the destination will satisfy their needs.   For this group of potential consumers, the information within the stock of knowledge pertaining to the particular destination is favourable enough for the process of projecting to have a positive outcome.   These consumers, having considered a range of positive and negative attributes of the destination - including quantitative considerations such as price - will decide to visit the destination in question, and therefore enter the consumptive circuit.   It should be added that although the role of intermediaries is not explicitly addressed, tour operators may have a significant influence on the stock of knowledge of consumers, thereby influencing action.   In addition, some consumers will make a positive decision to travel to a particular

destination, and later encounter constraints which prevent them from so doing. *Ceteris paribus*, however, a positive outcome in the act of projecting will result in the consumer entering the consumptive circuit.

For the vast majority of potential visitors to a particular destination, the decision-making process will result in a negative decision, and the consumer will continue in the non-consumptive circuit. The act of projecting into the future will only occur if there is sufficient awareness of the particular destination within the stock of knowledge. It is also necessary for the destination in question to appear as a credible candidate in the context of the needs of the particular market segment. For the majority of potential consumers - in this case, consumers with a propensity to visit UK cities - a low level of awareness of the destination will mean that it will not even be considered as a contender. Such consumers will continue to engage in the non-consumptive circuit for that particular destination.

If consumers do have at least some awareness of the particular destination, it will be possible for that destination to be considered as a possibility in terms of consumption. It is common for a particular destination to not be chosen because the information at hand is not sufficiently favourable. In this case, the sedimented information comprising the stock of knowledge results in the destination being dropped as a possibility for consumption. Projecting a visit to the destination produces a likely outcome which is not satisfactory to consumers. Such consumers will therefore continue around the non-consumptive circuit, and this cycle will continue indefinitely. They will only enter the consumptive circuit if they subsequently encounter information which is arranged into typifications sufficiently favourable as to enable a positive decision.

7.4.4 Representations

For potential consumers who decide not to visit a particular destination, either through a lack of awareness or through unfavourable information, the non-consumptive circuit of

tourist experience will apply. As such consumers will not gain first-hand experience of the destination, they will experience *representations* (**3**) of the destination. These representations could be through the mass media, education, politics, or through the promotional activity of destination marketers. Representations are read by consumers, and interpretations will vary. Although the same representations will be interpreted differently by consumers, there will be a degree of intersubjectivity amongst groups of consumers. Consumers will also differ in the representations encountered, depending on factors such as their lifestyle, interests, age, etc. Although cultural studies demonstrate that the meaning of representations is always contested and unstable, the intersubjectivity in interpretation amongst groups of consumers plays a crucial role in the model.

7.4.5 Images

Consumers who encounter the same representations of the destination, and interpret these representations in a similar way, will hold similar *images* (**4**) of the destination. Images are conceptualised as the interpretation of representations in the context of a particular tourist destination. For each set of representations consumed, within a particular period of time, consumers will gain an overall image of the destination. The image differs significantly from the representations themselves because it will comprise an overall impression made by representations of the destination on the minds of consumers.

Images of the destination will display a high degree of intersubjectivity amongst groups of consumers. Although they will differ with both the representations encountered, and different interpretations, it is assumed that intersubjective groups of consumers can be identified. Amongst the non-consumers of a destination, therefore, there will be intersubjective groups of consumers with similar images. These images may be similar due to either the types of representation encountered, similar readings of representations, or more usually, a combination of the two.

It should be noted that first-hand experience will have some influence on the images of a destination held by consumers. Representations may be based to an extent on the 'reality' of first-hand experience, particularly if word-of-mouth information is influential. It is likely, however, that images only partially correlate with first-hand experience of the destination, as indicated by the broken line in the model. The images formed will then enter the stock of knowledge, where they will be arranged according to existing information relating to the destination. Only when the newly formed images contradict the typologies already existing in the stock of knowledge, will they significantly change the information available to the consumer for the purpose of decision-making. If there is no discrepancy between new and existing images, the newly formed images will merely add depth to the stock of knowledge relating to the particular destination.

7.4.6 Landscape

Only when consumers make a positive decision to consume the place product and actually visit the destination, will they enter the consumptive circuit. It is only by participating in the consumptive circuit that they will have the opportunity to read the *landscape* (**5**) of the destination. By experiencing the destination first-hand, the consumer will not merely encounter representations of the locality, but they will experience the attractions, accommodation, transport network, and a range of ancillary services. As place consumers, it is likely that they will evaluate the urban tourist landscape and reflect upon their experiences, not unlike a cultural researcher. However, the meaning ascribed to tourist landscapes - the way that the locality is interpreted - may differ significantly from an academic reading.

It should be noted that the model contains a broken line between *landscapes* and *representations*. This is because the tourist, whilst encountering the landscape of the destination, will continue to read representations. Material published by tourist boards and attractions, such as guide books and maps, are likely to be particularly influential. In recent years, considerably more attention has been paid to interpretation at attractions,

heritage sites, monuments, and art galleries. A range of representations, often underpinned by commercial and political imperatives, will therefore complement first-hand tourist experience.

7.4.7 Experiences

It is important that similarities in experiences are likely to emerge, and that *experiences* (**6**) can also be considered at the level of intersubjective groups of consumers. Consistent with the conceptualisation of experience developed in chapter six, the experience component of the model is a reflective process subsequent to reading the tourist landscape (and representations) of a destination. The process of reading some tourist landscapes may add relatively little in terms of new experience, ultimately consolidating the existing typifications within the stock of knowledge. It is possible, however, for the process of reading a particular tourist landscape to add something significant in terms of experience. The place consumer may not reflect and analyse every aspect of the landscape encountered, yet some features of the landscapes may make a significant impression. The experience stage in the model therefore comprises an amalgamation of any additional knowledge provided by the process of reading and interpreting the landscape of the destination.

As with images, it is likely that there will be a degree of intersubjectivity amongst different groups of consumers. The interpretation of the destination will differ due to consumers experiencing different aspects of the urban environment. It is virtually impossible for two consumers visiting the destination to have an identical set of experiences during their visit. It is also likely that each consumer will interpret the same object in a slightly different way.

It is likely that first-hand experience will add to the stock of knowledge, as information is different from that gathered previously. It is probable, for example, that the stock of knowledge of first-time visitors to a destination will be changed by the process of reading

landscapes first-hand. The credibility of knowledge, however, may vary between different consumers. It is quite possible for images to persist, even if experiences do not support such images upon visiting. Consumers may, for example, still believe that a city is 'unsafe', even, if they do not have any first-hand experience to support that image. For this reason, there is a broken line in the model between *images* and *experiences*.

Although the tourist landscape and representations will always be read and interpreted differently by different place consumers, there will be a degree of consensus amongst groups, or intersubjectivity. Like images, experiences will enter the stock of knowledge, where they will be added to existing knowledge. Whether or not the typifications within the stock of knowledge have been changed by either a consumptive or non-consumptive circuit, it is still important for researchers to focus on the stock of knowledge. It has been argued that typifications within the stock of knowledge underpin decision-making, forming the frame of reference for action. The stock of knowledge, therefore, should be the initial focus of place consumption studies.

7.5   FROM CONCEPTUALISATION TO METHODOLOGY

7.5.1   Rationale

It is clear from the previous section that the experiential framework represents different stages in tourists' experiences of the destination. The model could conceivably allow the researcher to focus on landscapes, representations, images, or experiences. There would seem to be a strong case, however, for beginning primary research with the *stock of knowledge* of consumers. It is apparent from the humanistic literature, that the stock of knowledge is closely related to decision-making action. This confers particular importance on the stock of knowledge, especially if a study is have an input into tourism and marketing policy evaluation. The more accurately the data predicts the decisions made by tourists, the more useful the study is to practitioners.

Drawing on the place image literature, it is argued that there is particular value in comparing the *images* of potential tourists to a destination, with the *experiences* of actual visitors. The process of distinguishing between the two has important implications in terms of the data generated. By examining the discrepancies between the two, the researcher is in effect examining the discrepancies between expectations and perceptions of the place product, hence the term 'Destination Image-Experience Model' (*Figure 7.2*).

Although service quality models have had a relatively minor influence on the overall framework, it is interesting that the methodological model follows researchers such as Gilbert and Joshi (1992) and Postina and Jenkins (1997) who apply service quality models to urban tourism. It is hoped, however, that the emphasis on images and experiences salient to intersubjective groups, will avoid some of the problems identified in such applications (see Williams, 1998). The humanistic influence places a much greater emphasis on the perceptions, values, and interpretations of consumers, than most applications of service quality models. The engagement with cultural studies enables the vital link to be made between images/experiences and cultural texts. Likewise, the textual nature of the tourist experience obviously has no place in most applications of gap analysis. It can be seen from the diagram, therefore, that the crux of the methodological model is the comparison of intersubjective images and experiences of the destination. It can also be seen that *Figure 7.2* is effectively an enlarged representation of the *Images* (4) and *Experiences* (6) components of the 'Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience' framework.

It is hoped to gain some insight into how particular *representations* and *landscapes* have influenced images and experiences. A conclusion from the discussion of cultural studies was that the identification and analysis of contemporary representations and landscapes should be based on a prior understanding of how consumers read those texts in their everyday experience. It is argued, therefore, that landscapes and representations - at least in this project - should be considered in the later stages of the primary research.

It is now possible to develop a methodological structure, underpinned by the conceptual framework. By initially focusing on the stock of knowledge of urban tourists, it is hoped to understand their typical structure and content. It is particularly useful to identify 'types' into which different destinations are classified, as these appear to be closely linked to decision-making action. The methodology, therefore, should initially aim to develop a language which is salient to consumers, whether they be actual or potential visitors to the destination.

The next stage of the methodological framework is concerned with the *images* and *experiences* of the urban tourists more specifically. Once the types (constructs) used by urban tourists have been established - an intersubjective language - it is then possible to analyse images and experiences. It has been argued that it is particularly the gaps between images and experiences which are of interest, especially in the context of tourism and marketing policy analysis. It has also been established that a comparison of naive images and first-hand experiences is particularly useful. It would seem, therefore, that the sample used in the study should be split between actual visitors with first-hand experience of the destination's landscape, and potential visitors who have only experienced naive images.

It follows that images of the destination elicited by primary research will have representations of the city as their source. Likewise, experiences can be linked to the locality's landscape. Although a detailed analysis of specific representations and landscapes is beyond the scope of this project, it should at least be possible to suggest the type of 'texts' which have been intersubjectively read by place consumers.

7.5.2 The Image-Experience Gap

If the methodology begins by developing an understanding of the stock of knowledge of consumers in relation to the particular destination, it will be possible to establish a

language which is salient to consumers. This language should consist of the types within the stock of knowledge of consumers, commonly used to describe the destination. If urban tourist experience is considered from a methodological perspective, it becomes clear that the researcher is interested in eliciting experiences of the destination expressed in the form of the typifications within the stock of knowledge of consumers. The concept of intersubjectivity, therefore, can be used both to generate constructs through which the experiences of consumers can be elicited; and in the later phases of research, to analyse differences in experiences between groups of consumers.

It has been argued that any comparison of the images and experiences of different groups of consumer should be based upon an intersubjective language, salient to consumers' stocks of knowledge. The process of comparing and contrasting intersubjective images and experiences should provide useful data. Such as process, however, has the potential to direct a more sophisticated analysis of the characteristics of groups with particular images or experiences. The use of the *image-experience gap* (**1**), therefore, can enable the researcher to identify both the personal characteristics of consumers predisposed to have positive or negative images or experiences; and particular representations and landscapes encountered and 'read' by these groups.

7.5.3 Experiences

Consistent with the Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience model, immediate *Experiences* (**2**) of the destination play a crucial role. First-hand experiences are assumed to be intersubjective in nature, comprising the overall impression of the landscape on visitors. Although the experience of consumers will differ, it is possible to identify intersubjective groups of consumers. It is argued that within the methodological framework, the researcher should aim to identify intersubjective experiences within a sample of consumers, whether they be positive or negative. It is particularly when there appears to be a significant discrepancy between the images and experiences of consumers for a particular attribute of the destination (construct), that specific images and experiences are

of interest. It would seem, therefore, that the experiential methodology should be capable of identifying particularly positive or negative experiences of the destination, enabling further analysis of the composition of groups of consumers with such experiences.

7.5.4 Images

Likewise, *Images* (**3**) of the destination which are particularly positive or negative should be of interest within the methodological framework. Images may be positive or negative in an absolute sense, in terms of the number of consumers reporting such perceptions and the strength of their response. It may also be useful to examine images which are strong relative to first-hand experiences of the destination. In either case, it is hoped to subject particularly positive or negative images of the destination to further analysis, evaluating the characteristics of the groups, and the representations that consumers have encountered. It is useful, for example, to establish whether images are formed from organic or induced sources, and which specific representations of the destination have been encountered.

7.5.5 Landscape

As shown in *Figure 7.2*, a wide range of landscape components underpin the experiences of a destination. *Landscape* (**4**), in this model, includes all aspects of the destination amalgam which is read by consumers, in addition to a more conventional understanding of landscape associated with the physical environment. Landscape, therefore, includes the physical built environment of the destination such as its architecture, monuments, roads, parks, and open spaces. Also significant are various groups of people in the destination, whether they be other place consumers, tourism employees, or residents. The tourist landscape includes the attractions in the destination, whether they be natural or artificial, authentic or inauthentic; the augmented product comprising accommodation facilities, including both employees and other guests; the transport network contributing

to the experience of travelling to and from the locality; and a range of ancillary services targeting both consumers themselves and commercial organisations in the tourism sector. Landscape, in effect, is everything in the destination which can be read as a cultural text by visitors, contributing to their immediate experience of the destination.

If the methodology begins by focusing on variations in images and experiences amongst groups of consumers, the researcher can identify aspects of the tourist landscape which have been particularly influential in the experience of the particular destination. Whilst a cultural analysis of landscape can provide invaluable insights, the humanistic influence focuses attention on aspects of the urban landscape which are salient to place consumers. A comparison of the images and experiences of actual and potential tourists, helps to identify the sources of satisfaction or dissatisfaction amongst visitors. This approach combines the sensitivity and sophistication of cultural approaches, with the policy analysis strengths of place image and service quality studies.

7.5.6   Representations

The tourist may encounter a wide range of *representations* (5) of the destination. For those consumers who have purchased a tourism package, the representations created by intermediaries will be important. Promotional activity by destination marketers may also be influential in creating representations consumed by potential visitors. Advertising, sales promotion, public relations and media relations may all play a role in forming the representations of a destination encountered by the potential consumer. It is considerably more likely, however, that consumers will have encountered unofficial representations such as those in the mass media, travel writing, literature, education, politics, and the advice of family and friends. The latter type of representation (organic) is likely to have been encountered over a considerable number of years. It is also likely that the official representations of promotional activity are perceived as considerably less credible by potential consumers than organic representations.

Figure 7.2   Destination Image-Experience Model

ATTRACTIONS   ACCOMMODATION   ANCILLARY   ACCESS   ENVIRONMENT   MORPHOLOGY

LANDSCAPE (4) ------ REPRESENTATIONS

EXPERIENCES (2)

IMAGE / EXPERIENCE GAP (1)

IMAGES (3)

REPRESENTATIONS (5)

LITERATURE   MASS MEDIA   EDUCATION   POLITICS   DESTINATION MARKETING   INTERMEDIARIES (PACKAGES)
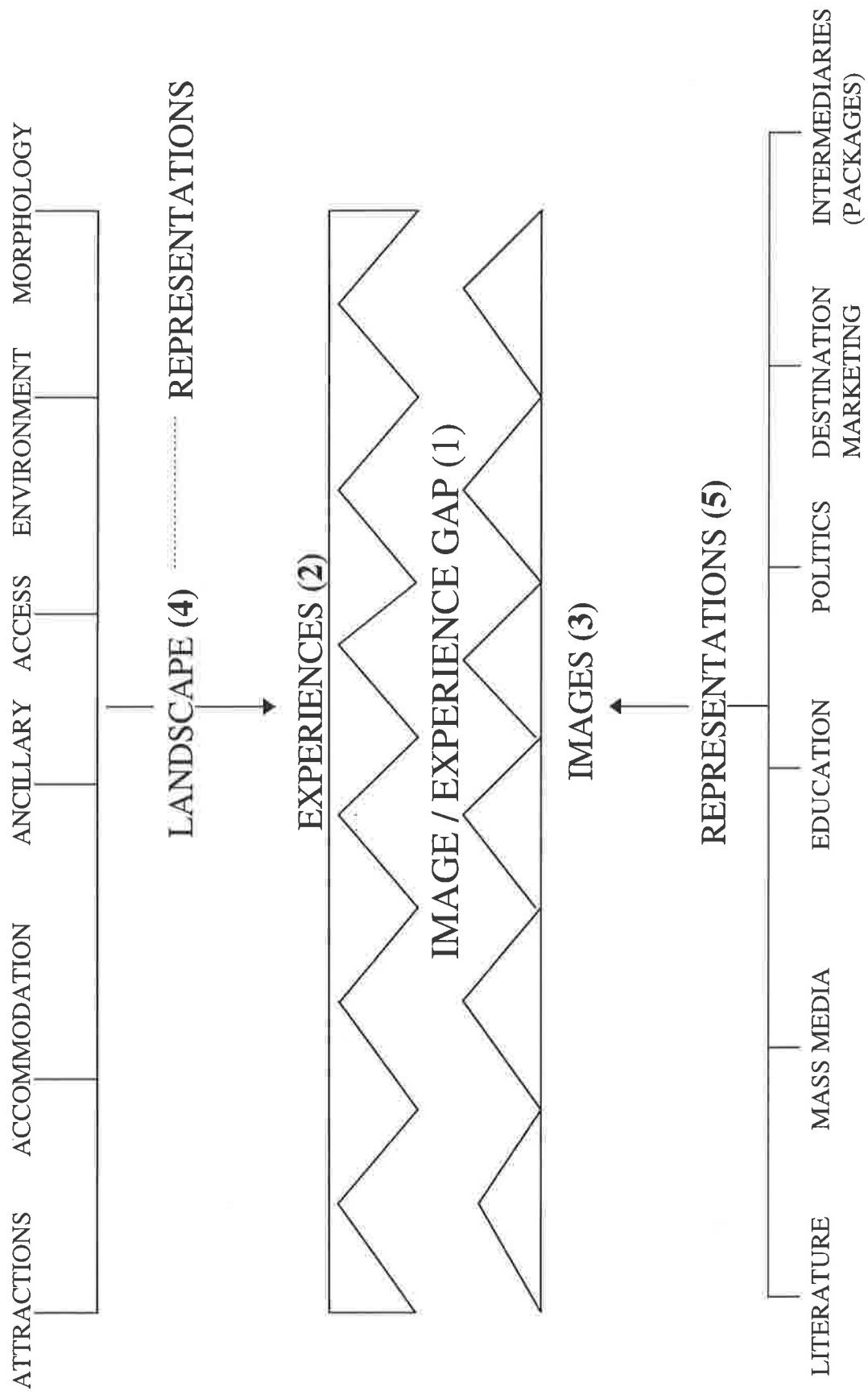
Within the methodological framework, a comparison of the images and experiences of a destination amongst different groups of consumers enables the researcher to work towards particularly salient representations. Rather than beginning with the analysis of a particular representation, whether or not it is salient to consumers, the researcher is able to identify the types of representations encountered by consumers. Through an emphasis on 'salient representations', the researcher is able to apply the powerful methods of cultural studies to the experience of tourists. Consistent with the conceptual model, *representations* (**6**) are linked to *landscape* by a broken line. This is to acknowledge the significance of representations on the first-hand experience of tourists, through phenomena such as interpretation at heritage attractions, and the influence of maps, guidebooks, and other promotional material.

7.5.7 'Personal Factors'

It is not by chance that neither the conceptual nor methodological model incorporates 'personal factors' in the fashion characteristic of behaviouralist models of consumer decision-making. Implicit within the conceptual and methodological models, however, is the possible correlation of a wide range of proxy variables relating to the personal characteristics of respondents with intersubjective images and experiences. Whilst these factors are unlikely to have causal relationships with particular images or experiences, they may be useful in helping to define groups of consumers. It is important, therefore, that the methodological model recognises that a wide range of factors (psychographic, socio-economic, lifecycle, geographical, income) may correlate with particular images and experiences. Textual communities will differ in the cultural texts encountered, and the same landscapes and representations will be interpreted differently by such textual communities. The personal characteristics of consumers, therefore, may play a crucial role in *defining* (rather than determining) intersubjective groups when images and experiences are subjected to further analysis.

7.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to draw together the concepts developed in the previous discussion, into both a conceptual and methodological framework. Having summarised the most significant contributions of each epistemology, an attempt has been made to identify concepts which can be linked together. This initially involved forming a theoretical framework, which has been termed the 'Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience'. The aim of this framework is to utilise the contributions from the three epistemologies, linking them together into a coherent model.

Whilst there will always be a risk of over-simplifying complex theoretical ideas, and worse still, linking together inconsistent concepts, it is hoped that this has been avoided. Hopefully, the detailed review and discussion of each epistemology has provided an insight into the spirit of the work, and not merely the semantics. Although such endeavours will always receive criticism from purists perceiving an unacceptable level of compromise, it is hoped that the concepts have been combined into a coherent and rigorous framework.

Having also turned towards methodological considerations, it would appear that methodological pluralism will have an important role to play. There would appear to be a strong case for beginning the study with a relatively emic approach, in an attempt to generate data concerning the stock of knowledge of respondents. Subsequent stages of the primary research should focus on the images and experiences of consumers more specifically. It is, therefore, considered appropriate to address specific landscapes and representations in the later stages. Finally, it is clear that the process of comparing and contrasting images and experiences of Cardiff has the potential to play a central role. Whilst the seeds of the conceptual framework have been sown slowly with each chapter, it is hoped that by gathering rich data relating to the images and experiences of Cardiff, the intensive approach will prove to be justified. It is with the aim of applying this framework to primary research, that attention now turns to introducing the city of Cardiff.

CHAPTER 8

CONSUMING CARDIFF

8.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to develop a conceptual framework for conceptualising the experience of urban tourists, it has been necessary to begin with a largely theoretical perspective. The Cardiff case study developed in subsequent chapters, however, provides an opportunity to use such conceptual foundations to influence the realm of practice. Cardiff, the Capital of Wales, lends itself particularly well to such an application, for several reasons. Cardiff is a particularly impressive example of a post-industrial city with has successfully embraced the service sectors. Emerging as the capital of coal a considerable time before becoming the Capital of Wales, Cardiff played a major role in industrial Britain. Along with the industrial regions of England and Scotland, however, Cardiff suffered massive de-industrialisation, inevitably resulting in severe urban problems including unemployment, poverty, crime, and environmental devastation.

Cardiff has also seen regeneration on a scale which is even more striking than its industrial decline. Few other European cities have experienced such an unprecedented reversal of fortunes. As 'Europe's Youngest Capital City', Cardiff has taken on a striking new economic and political role. Cardiff is the location of the new Welsh Assembly, and there seems little doubt that the city's emergent political importance has been a positive influence on its renaissance. Perhaps most notable of all, however, is the contribution of the service sector to Cardiff's economic and physical regeneration. Whilst industries such as electronics continue to be the focus of the Welsh Development Agency and the media, it is arguably tourism which has had the most dramatic economic, environmental, and social impacts.

The chapter begins by tracing the rise and fall of industrial Cardiff, before turning to the emergence of post-industrial Cardiff. To an extent the influence of mainly public sector

agencies is closely interrelated with Cardiff's renaissance, as Cardiff's economic regeneration, particularly Cardiff Bay, exhibits a number of best case examples. The sections on Cardiff's tourism are inevitably critical as well as descriptive, and an attempt is made to discuss the responsibilities of a range of organisations. If the primary research is to have useful policy implications, it is also necessary to consider Cardiff's tourism in terms of the place product, and activities such as place promotion. A background knowledge and understanding of the work of practitioners in a particular locale is considered essential. It is unlikely that academic studies conducted without sufficient 'local knowledge' will make meaningful and empathetic contributions to practice.

8.2   DE-INDUSTRIALISATION AND REGENERATION

8.2.1   (De)industrialisation

At the start of the century, Cardiff played an essential role within industrial South Wales. The whole region was dominated by coal and steel, and Cardiff was one of the major ports through which Wales exported its goods. Initially the ports provided the location for copper smelting, although it was not long before steel began to dominate the economy. In the 1920's, nearly half the male population of Wales was employed in mining, steel, shipping, or the railways (Middleton, 1991:120). Cardiff provided the location for the limited civic grandeur of South Wales to result from its industrial might. The acquisition of Cathays Park by the Third Marquess of Bute allowed the civic centre to be built at the start of the century. With its civic centre, shopping arcades, and castle, the centre of Cardiff contrasted with the modest working class character of the valleys. Merthyr Tydfil was for some time the largest town in Wales, having grown rapidly from a hamlet to being the focus of the Welsh iron ore, and subsequently, coal industry.

The scale of de-industrialisation in South Wales was also phenomenal. According to Middleton (1991:126), in 1920 over 270,000 were employed in coal industry, yet just a

decade later this had been reduced by 100,000. The coal industry was nationalised after World War II and there were still 214 active pits. Between 1970 and 1990 the industry lost nearly 70,000 jobs, and there are now hardly any working pits left in Wales. Although the Welsh valleys perhaps suffered the most severe dereliction, the major ports were also hit extremely hard. Cardiff had been ravished by decades of decline, and by the 1980s an industrial wasteland stretched along the waterfront which had once been a dynamic and invaluable link in the South Wales industrial economy. Post-war slum clearance had been extensive, and redevelopment schemes unsympathetic. One of the worst-hit areas was the Tiger Bay community, immediately inland from the docks. Once a vibrant and colourful inner city community, Tiger Bay saw its population decline at an unprecedented rate.

8.2.2 Regeneration

The regeneration of Cardiff Bay began in 1986, when a consensus emerged between the City Council, the County Council, the Welsh Office, and the Welsh Development Agency. The Welsh Office had secured agreement for £2.4 billion of central government funding over a period of ten years. The area had already received *Assisted Area Status* on account of its high unemployment, poor housing conditions, and social problems (Babalikis, 1998). Although some uncoordinated activities in the area had already taken place, the impetus came from a four-month report commissioned by the then Secretary of State, Nicholas Edwards. It was concluded that extensive regeneration and the construction of a barrage would not only substantially increase land values, but foster 'new pride, new wealth, and a totally new image in the outside world' (cited in Middleton,1991:132). The vision was of a 'superb environment which will have few if any competitors in Britain' (*ibid*:133).

The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation created in April 1987 differed from the English model. The three councils were represented by a board consisting of a total of five councillors, the planning authorities retained their designated powers over the area,

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and all land had to be purchased from scratch. There was a consensus from the start on the need to build a barrage, build a peripheral road, and link the area with the city centre. The 'Regeneration Strategy' was presented by Llewellyn-Davies Planning a year after the Corporation had been set up, outlining the longer-term vision. Having assembled a Design and Architecture Review Panel, the board designated each of the nine sectors of the area to developers. These included Benjamin Thompson and Associates of Boston, who emphasised the importance of attracting people into the Inner Harbour area (Middleton, 1991).

Work on Cardiff Bay has included the building of the new County Hall, housing 1,000 staff. Extensive areas of housing around the East Bute Dock have been built, and a warehouse transformed into a new hotel. Most controversially, the barrage is now virtually complete. A curving structure of some 1200 metres in length, it stretches from Penarth Head to the Queen Alexandra Dock. Although the barrage will replace the mudflats with a 200 ha freshwater lake, it has not been without its detractors. These include both residents concerned about the rising water table, and more vociferously, ecologists opposed to the destruction of a natural habitat for wading birds.

According to CBDC promotional material (1997), 'Cardiff Bay is planned to create 4 million sq ft of office space, 5 million sq ft of industrial space, 6,000 new homes and up to 30,000 new jobs.' In terms of tourism, Cardiff Bay aims, 'By the millennium to attract 2 million visitors a year, the majority visiting the arc of entertainment in the inner harbour.' The Corporation also estimates that it will attract £1 billion of private investment by the year 2000, representing a ratio of 2.4:1 in terms of public to private investment (CBDC, 1997). Cardiff Bay Development Corporation has certainly been successful in transforming the once dilapidated Waterfront. Compared to the more secretive and less democratic English UDC model, Cardiff Bay has become something of a best practice example. Numerous offices and large areas of housing have been built, and the ambitious targets are now looking distinctly feasible. Despite attractions such as

Techniquest, and the Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre, however, the aim of creating an 'arc of entertainment' may prove to be one of the greatest challenges.

The area is still relatively isolated from the city centre, and surrounded by disadvantaged inner city communities. Despite the rhetoric, it is far from certain whether such communities have benefited, or whether they have merely been displaced by land uses aimed at a totally different market. A major obstacle to the aims of CBDC in terms of tourism and recreation, is that Cardiff's coal trade did not allow it to inherit the derelict yet listed buildings which stretched along the waterfronts of Liverpool, Glasgow, or Bristol. With the exception of the Pierhead Building and Bute Street, the area is being developed from scratch. Whether an appropriately atmospheric and tourist-friendly 'honey-pot' of attractions and architecture can be developed is yet to be seen. It is possible that the pressure to accept *any development* will prove to be a major problem in the future.

8.2.3 The Next Phase

A recent agenda for regeneration has been provided by the Welsh Office. Within *Pathway to Prosperity* (Welsh Office, 1998), it is recognised that 'Tourism is already one of the five largest industries in the UK, worth about £40 Billion a year' (*ibid*:25). The report refers to WTB estimates of Tourism contributing nearly £2 Billion to the Welsh economy, around 7 per cent of GDP, and 9 per cent of the workforce. It is reported that the WTB is currently working on a new strategy 'for the tourism industry in Wales, not just for the Wales Tourist Board (*ibid*:25). The new strategy, presented to the National Assembly in 1999, follows consultation with the tourism industry, local authorities, consumers, and other interested parties.

Although *Pathway to Prosperity* is wide-ranging, covering various industrial sectors and objectives, it is significant that tourism is recognised as an important element of 'Generating Jobs and Investment.' Although there is also an emphasis on the

manufacturing sectors, the synergistic relationship between tourism and other sectors of industry and types of inward investment is recognised. Both the film and media industries and the cultural industries receive attention. The cultural industries are accredited with a 'value that extends beyond the direct employment they offer' (*ibid*:25). Their contribution to promoting a positive image of Wales is recognised, and this view supported by a major study commissioned by the Welsh Office. The current strategy also places an emphasis on 'Quality Environment, Strong Identity' (*ibid*:17) as one of the strengths of Wales. This includes:

> *A unique national identity; strong cultural heritage, dramatic scenery; and the national language.* **Living** *in Wales is one of the attractions of* **working** *in Wales.* (*ibid*:17)

The same section of the strategy, which could be mistaken for part of a WTB document, also refers to Wales' three national parks, areas of outstanding national beauty, and 'hundreds of miles of Heritage Coastline' (*ibid:*17). Cardiff Bay provides an example of the physical regeneration of Wales. The relationship between quality of life and economic development is repeated:

> *Individuals and companies attach a high value to cultural, social, political, environmental, and quality of life criteria in making investment decisions for the long term.* (*ibid*:17)

There is also a sense in which many of the concerns within the Welsh tourism industry are beginning to be shared by those involved in Welsh economic development in general. It is recognised that both physical and electronic infrastructure are a priority of business. Transport links and communications are considered to be major influences on inward investment, with this view supported by recent surveys of Japanese, German, and UK companies. Road, rail, air and sea links are considered in the strategy, and it is recognised that Wales is relatively peripheral to the European trading area. Pertinent to Cardiff's tourism sector, it is recognised that congestion on urban and strategic routes is a serious impediment to economic development.

It is interesting that air links receive particular attention in *Pathway to Prosperity*. The strategic importance of Cardiff International airport is recognised, as it is the only international airport linking Wales with locations such as Dublin, Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam. It is argued, however, that there is considerable scope for expansion from the 1 million passengers currently handled. In addition to plans to introduce a range of long-haul flights, it is hoped that scheduled flights between North and South Wales will be introduced. Both of these developments would greatly benefit tourism in Cardiff. Despite the impressive road and rail links to London and South West England, the lack of both international air links and internal transport links within Wales, represent a hindrance to Cardiff's tourism sector.

Education and training is currently an area of some concern to Cardiff's tourism sector, and this is also a theme of *Pathway to Prosperity*. As educational institutions in Wales have often been in needless competition, greater collaboration is intended through initiatives such as the Education and Training Action Group (ETAG). The partnership has representatives from educational establishments, trade unions, local authorities, and the private sector. Objectives salient to tourism organisations in Wales include the need to 'focus education and training more purposefully to deliver the skills needed by the Welsh economy' and to enable SME's to 'train more effectively and to develop better links with further and higher education' (*ibid*:32).

It is considered necessary to 'increase employer commitment and involvement in schools through education business links (*ibid*:33). It is hoped to address employer concerns about not only literacy and numeracy, but also decision-making, and leadership. Training in the workplace must be improved for Wales to compete and to provide quality products. There is recognition that in order to compete in both local and global markets, the whole workforce has to be appropriately trained. To this end, the Welsh Office plan to introduce schemes such as *University for Industry* and the *Wales Future Skills Needs Project*. Whilst the former is a programme emphasising lifelong learning and promoting access to high quality and innovative learning, the latter is a survey of over 5,000

employers and 4,000 residents. The Welsh Office also plans to extend quality assurance systems to all vocational training providers in Wales.

Crucial to the delivery of such a strategy, is the strengthening of Welsh institutions. The establishment of the Welsh Assembly is envisaged to make a major contribution to a coherent economic development strategy for Wales. According to the Welsh Office, a major benefit relates to 'the profile of Wales abroad, giving it more presence on both the national and international stage' (*ibid*:46). It is argued that the Assembly will create a better understanding of 'the business, cultural, and economic challenges of Wales (*ibid*:46). In addition to the impetus created by the Welsh Assembly, several other institutional changes are planned. The Welsh Development Agency is to incorporate the Development Board for Rural Wales, and the Land Authority for Wales. The accountability and responsiveness of TECs is addressed through changes to the composition of their boards, and there are plans to modernise councils, emphasising best value, responsiveness, and partnership. It will be some years before one can judge the success of the latest economic development strategy for Wales. It is certain, however, that the micro-environment of both public and private sector tourism organisations in Wales is greatly influenced by the wider national forces of economic development and government.

8.3   POST-INDUSTRIAL CARDIFF

8.3.1   A Contemporary Capital

It is not difficult to find economic development success stories in the Welsh Capital. Cardiff, with a population 300,000, is now linked to Newport, Bristol, Swindon, and London by the M4. Cardiff is less than two hours from London by rail, and is linked by road via two Severn Crossings (see *Appendix 3)*. The expanding Cardiff Wales airport is also making Cardiff considerably more accessible. The industrial diversification and

regeneration of the Cardiff and Wales economy has been remarkable, as has the success of Wales in attracting inward investment. Wales consistently gains 20 per cent of all inward investment to the UK. This is despite Wales having only 5 per cent of the UK population (Middleton, 1991).

The emphasis on inward investment began as a means of responding to the dramatic contraction of the heavy industries. In Wales as a whole, over 75,000 people are now employed in 300 overseas manufacturing companies (Welsh Office, 1998:11). New forms of manufacturing have certainly played an important role in the economic regeneration of Wales. Sectoral strengths have been build up in automotive components, consumer and office electronics, aerospace, and semiconductors. A range of specialist supply companies have also developed. It is recognised that tourism makes a substantial contribution to the Welsh economy, providing around 7 per cent of GDP, and employing over 90,000. It could be argued that Cardiff has made the transition from an industrial to a post-industrial city considerably earlier than elsewhere in the UK and Europe. It is remarkable, for example, that even between 1951 and 1981, total employment grew by 17.7 per cent, and the population by some 12.3 per cent (Hausner, 1986:30-31).

Whilst financial and business services in Wales as a whole significantly lag behind the UK, they make a much greater contribution to the Cardiff economy. The service sector has played a significantly greater role in the regeneration of the Cardiff economy than in the rest of Wales. Manufacturing and industrial employment now account for less than 15 per cent of Cardiff's workforce and total service employment accounts for 82.3 per cent of employment (Cardiff Research Centre, 1995). Cardiff has experienced a dramatic expansion of financial and professional services, as well as personal services.

The Financial Services Initiative, a partnership set up to strengthen the sector and attract new firms, cites a range of companies relocating to Cardiff. According to Gregory Bryne, FSI chairman and head of Cardiff Council's Economic Development Department, the availability of good quality staff at regional salary rates, combined with the high

quality of life, has encouraged many firms to relocate from South East England (Financial Times, May 11, 1995). Firms to recently locate in and around Cardiff include the National Provident Institution, Chemical Bank of the US, Chartered Trust, N.M. Rothschild, NCM Credit Insurance, AA Insurance Services, and Admiral Insurance.

The professional services sector has been equally buoyant in recent years. Law firms such as Morgan Bruce and Edwards Geldard have expanded, and accountancy companies such as Price Waterhouse Wales have increased their corporate financial activity. The largest financial institution in Wales, Principality Building Society, announced record results in 1994 (*ibid*). A major weakness of the financial sector, however, concerns the very small number of company headquarters located in Wales .

Typically 'post-industrial' sectors such as the media and communications have also expanded, playing a greater role in the Cardiff economy. National and local government have recognised the potential of Cardiff in terms of multimedia. The Welsh Development Agency, for example, has joined forces with Cardiff Bay Development Corporation and Screen Wales, developing an action plan to attract multi-media companies. The plan has the support of a range of private sector organisations including computer software companies, independent television companies, British Telecom, Cabletel, BBC Wales, and S4C. The 1990 legislation, compelling BBC and ITV to commission at least 25 per cent of their non-news output from independent companies, has led to a plethora of production companies setting up in Cardiff (*ibid*). The strength of the media industry in Cardiff, and the promotion of opportunities for location in Cardiff Bay, has also encouraged the development of a manufacturing support industry. These organisations also contribute to the development of the hi-tech sector in South Wales, with electronic giants such as Sony and Panasonic already established.

In terms of quality of life, a popular phrase in the post-industrial era, Cardiff is consistently voted to be in the top five of British cities. With the National Museum of Wales, the Millenium Stadium, Cardiff Castle, the Welsh National Opera, several

theatres, and excellent shopping, it is hardly surprising that the city is rated highly. Cardiff's role both as the Capital of Wales, and as a the centre of a large metropolitan area of 1.4 million people is a major advantage. With the unitary authority now established, and the Welsh Assembly no longer merely the stuff of dreams, Cardiff looks set to increase its influence on the European stage. A recent report for the Institute of Welsh Affairs found strong support for developing a 'high quality city with European significance in specific specialist areas' (cited in Financial Times, May 11, 1995).

8.3.2 Problems Remain

These successes do not imply that economic development in Wales as a whole is without its problems. Gross Domestic Product per head in Wales in still 80 per cent below the European Union average (Welsh Office, 1998:8). Furthermore, there is a significant regional variation, with the GDP of West Wales and the Valleys barely more than 70 per cent of the European average. By UK standards too, there is still a long way to go in the quest to regenerate the country's economy. Wales comes 11th out of 12 UK regions, followed only by Northern Ireland. Of particular concern, is a downward trend in the relative position of Wales throughout the 1990's, falling from 87 per cent of UK average GDP in 1988, to 83 per cent in 1996 (Welsh Office, 1998:9). CBI Wales (1996) calculated that, to equal the UK average, growth in Welsh GDP would have to outstrip UK growth by 0.5 per cent for 20-25 years.

According to the Welsh office, the collapse of the coal and steel industries has left 27 per cent of people of working age outside the labour market, compared to the UK average of 22 per cent. Other problems identified relate to an uncompetitive attitude amongst Welsh firms. In a 1995 survey, only 42 per cent of firms in Wales were interested in finding new markets (Welsh Office, 1998:11). A lack of interest in both information technology, and research and development has also been identified.

Average earnings in Wales have actually worsened in recent decades, from 98 per cent of the UK Average in 1979, to 89 per cent in 1997 (Welsh Office, 1998:13). Although unemployment in Wales has declined since December 1992, the percentage of economically inactive in certain parts of Wales is of considerable concern. Most significantly of all, Wales continues to have low skill levels, with 1,600 sixteen year olds in 1996 leaving school with no qualifications at all (*ibid*:13). Lagging behind the UK average for academic and vocational qualifications, Wales has around 370,000 people of working age with no qualifications (*ibid*:13). Improving access to education and training is therefore a major priority identified in 'Pathway to Prosperity: a new economic agenda for Wales' (Welsh Office, 1998).

8.4   CARDIFF'S TOURISM

8.4.1   Significance of Tourism

If one considers tourism in Wales as a whole, it is clear that tourism is far more important to the Welsh economy than it is for most other parts of the UK. Tourism supports 90,000 jobs in Wales, representing about 9 per cent of the workforce (WTB, 1997). It is estimated that in 1996 visitor-nights in Wales totalled 1.9 billion, an increase of 13 per cent over 1995, and representing approximately 7 per cent of GDP.

It is clear that the domestic market remains considerably more influential than the overseas market, with 11 million overnight stays by UK residents generating spending of £1,718 million in 1996 (WTB, 1997). The figures for overseas visitors are considerably less impressive and do not compare favourably with England, or Scotland. According to the *International Passenger Survey*, there were 740,000 visits to Wales from overseas, with a total expenditure of £203 million. In the same year, day trips accounted for approximately £550 million (WTB, 1997).

It is apparent that despite the considerably more diverse economy of the Welsh capital, tourism still makes an important contribution to economic activity. It is estimated that in 1995 Cardiff's tourism generated approximately £144 million of direct expenditure, supporting 7500 jobs (L & R Leisure, 1995:2). The Wales Tourist Board's 1994 target to attract 11.1 million visitors to Wales by the year 2000, depends largely on Cardiff acting as a 'critical mass of tourism, cultural, and leisure facilities (WTB, 1994). It is clear that the WTB see Cardiff acting as both a destination in its own right, and as an important gateway to Wales.

8.4.2   Market Characteristics

An examination of the overall market profile of tourism in Cardiff reveals that the top ranked 'magnets' in attracting tourists are 'attractions' (72 %), followed by 'accessibility' (69%), and 'shopping' (60%) (L & R Leisure, 1995:14). A study by *Beaufort Research* found that 47 per cent of staying visitors were on their first visit, and 90 per cent of new visitors had holiday/leisure purposes (*ibid*:14). The average length of stay in Cardiff was found to be short, with 58 per cent staying one to three nights. A strong bias towards the ABC1 socio-economic groups was found amongst staying visitors, with 27 per cent falling into these categories (*ibid*:15). According to the more recent *Cardiff Visitor Study*, there has been a slight increase in the importance of 'attractions' as a motivating factor, and a decline in the importance of 'accessibility' (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:12).

Both similarities and differences between domestic and overseas visitors have been revealed by the Beaufort Research Study. Accounting for 500,000 trips, domestic visitors are attracted for holidays (35%), business (25-30 %), VFR (25%), and other (10-15 %). Domestic visitors are likely to be from London and the South East (18%), Avon and South West (8%), Midlands (8%), with only 6 per cent from elsewhere in Wales. Amongst staying visitors, there is a marked bias towards VFR and host homes with about 45 per cent opting for such accommodation.

Accounting for 140,000 trips, Cardiff is the largest single concentration of overseas tourists in Wales. Overseas visitors, considerably more so than domestic visitors, are attracted for holidays (65-70%). Business accounts for 10 per cent, VFR (10-15%), and other (5-15%). There is also a tendency towards the accommodation offered by friends and relatives, perhaps accounting for up to 30 per cent of accommodation used. Overseas visitors tend to be from Europe (18%), US / Canada (15%), and Australasia (6%). Overseas visitors comprise 46 per cent of the total number of staying visitors (L & R Leisure, 1995).

According to the Cardiff Visitor Survey (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:2), almost half (48%) of staying visitors are visiting Cardiff city centre for the first time. Ten per cent of first-time visitors are from South of Britain, 5 per cent from the Midlands, and 6 per cent from the remainder of Britain. In terms of first-time overseas visitors, the survey found that 32 per cent are from Europe, 21 per cent from the North America, 11 per cent from the Far East, and 4 per cent from Australasia (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999). In the case of Cardiff visitors overall, it would seem that the advice of family and friends is an important source of information in deciding to visit, with a third of respondents reporting this as the main factor influencing their visit. This is followed by tourist information / brochure / leaflet (18.6%), with a previous visit accounting for 13 per cent (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999).

8.4.3 Planning and Marketing

The Wales Tourist Board, in the *Wales 2000 Tourism Strategy* (1994), locates Cardiff at the centre of the 'Urban Tourism Programme'. The emphasis of this programme is to increase the volume of international tourists, particularly through the provision of a cluster of high quality attractions in the city and at Cardiff Bay. It is hoped that this 'critical mass' of attractions, together with the development of Cardiff's business tourism, will help to 'internationalise' the Wales tourism market. Inherent in this focus, is the role

of Cardiff as a 'gateway' to Wales, and as the focus for international markets. This approach relies on Cardiff having attractions, accommodation, events, and culture of an international standard. The domestic market is still seen as important, however, with a need to complement overseas markets with business and day visit markets. Domestic visitors are important in sustaining a range of high quality services, and providing a 'critical mass' of attractions capable of attracting overseas visitors.

There are a number of organisations responsible for Cardiff's tourism. The Wales Tourist Board is one of the four co-equal organisations set up under the Tourism Act, 1969. Under this act, the British Tourist Authority, and the English, Scottish, and Wales Tourist Boards were established. The Wales Tourist Board is an independent statutory body, receiving most of its funding from the Welsh Office. With a chairman and board members appointed by the Secretary of State for Wales, the Board is responsible for promoting Wales within Britain. Under the 1969 Act, the British Tourist Authority was originally given sole responsibility for promoting Britain to overseas markets.

The WTB also undertakes a range of development and research activities, and has retained all the key activities with which it was originally vested. This situation is unique amongst the Tourist Boards, with the ETB in particular experiencing significant budgetary constraints since its inception. Neither the English nor Scottish Tourist Boards are able to offer financial incentives to lever new capital development projects, yet the WTB retains this function designated under the 1969 act. The WTB also acquired the right to promote Wales overseas, under the Tourism (Overseas Promotion) (Wales) Act 1992. These measures reflect a greater government emphasis on tourism as a form of economic development in Wales, and a recognition of the contribution tourism makes to the Welsh economy.

Another organisation with a considerable influence on tourism in Cardiff is Cardiff Marketing Ltd. Established in 1991, Cardiff Marketing provides a tourism and conference bureau, and is the organisation responsible for projecting a positive image of

Cardiff. During 1998 Cardiff Marketing has been significantly reorganised and streamlined, and is now contained within the Chamber of Commerce. The organisation now reports directly to a board of management, consisting of both founder members of Cardiff Marketing, and several non-voting private-sector organisations. According to the *Business Plan 1999-2001* Cardiff Marketing's main activities include producing a wide range of literature aimed at business and leisure travellers and intermediaries, participating in domestic and overseas trade missions, running public and media relations programmes, acting as a point of contact for conference organisers, providing an accommodation booking service, and operating a tourist information centre in the Central Station (Cardiff Marketing, 1998).

The mission statement of Cardiff Marketing is also indicative of its remit:

> *To harness the combined talents and resources of the city's people and key organisations to market Cardiff as a capital city of International status to the ultimate benefit of the people of the city and Wales. To develop new and exciting initiatives that will provide creative approaches to the delivery of a city and county marketing campaign.* (Cardiff Marketing, 1998:2)

More specifically, Cardiff Marketing aims to place 'Cardiff firmly on the UK and International map as a key strategic centre of investment' (Cardiff Marketing, 1998:2). The organisation states that its key target markets are 'conferences, tourism, incentives, leisure, travel, and events' (*ibid*:2). Another strand of Cardiff Marketing's activity, and crucial to its funding, is the need to work in partnership with both private and public sector organisations, through 'partnership development programmes' (*ibid*:2). Cardiff Marketing seeks 'to work proactively. . . to ensure a delivery orientated approach' (*ibid*:2). Equally important yet vague, Cardiff Marketing states that it develops 'new and exciting activities' intended to provide 'creative approaches to the delivery of a high profile city and county marketing campaign' (*ibid*:2). Of particular significance for this project, is Cardiff Marketing's responsibility for projecting a positive image of Cardiff and raising awareness. The organisation recognises that there is a lack of awareness of the Welsh capital, and is currently developing additional programmes to address Cardiff's

image. These include 'image development programmes' specifically designed to address the city's image, and initiatives aiming to indirectly influence 'outdated attitudes' *(ibid:4)*.

Despite the fact that Cardiff Marketing Ltd is charged with the crucial task of addressing Cardiff's image, its reorganisation was prompted by informed criticism of the quality and scope of its activities. Until 1998, Cardiff Marketing had an annual budget of £1.2 million, and employed fourteen full-time staff (L & R Leisure, 1995). Cardiff Marketing currently has approximately 200 members. The organisation has operated one small TIC at the railway station, two unmanned information points, and a conference bureau with 2 staff. A comparison with *Edinburgh Tourism Limited* (see *Appendix 6)* reveals a disturbing relative lack of provision. Edinburgh Tourism Limited has a budget of £3.1 million, employing a total of 86 staff. Edinburgh has two TICs, four electronic information points, and the conference bureau is run by six staff (L & R Leisure, 1995). The reorganisation of Cardiff Marketing, along the lines of that recommended in the *Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan* (L & R Leisure, 1995), is intended to address many of these comparative weaknesses. Cardiff Marketing's *Business Plan 1999-2001* sets out a number of programmes to improve both service delivery and image marketing. It is yet to be seen, however, to what extent the relative gaps in marketing provision will be closed, reflecting the needs of a European capital city.

In parallel to the relocation of Cardiff Marketing to within the Chamber of Commerce, the Economic Development Department of Cardiff County Council has recently taken on a more prominent role. Headed by a Senior Economic Development Officer, the Tourism Development Group is a small team which aims to co-ordinate Cardiff's tourism effort, encouraging partnership initiatives. The group, for example, conducted a mid-term review of the progress of the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan, consulting a range of public and private sector tourism organisations. The Tourism Development Group has also conducted a large-scale Cardiff Visitor survey, providing valuable quantitative and qualitative data on the city's tourism.

Indicative of the Tourism Development Group's role is its involvement in TEAM Cardiff, a partnership incorporating Cardiff County Council, South Glamorgan TEC, Wales Tourist Board, and Vale of Glamorgan Council. TEAM Cardiff seeks to address recruitment problems facing Cardiff's leisure, tourism, and hospitality industry. Despite the limited size and budget of the Tourism Development Group, its creation is significant for several reasons. A team within the Economic Development Department has the potential to provide a much needed co-ordinating role, fostering partnerships between public and private sector organisations, consulting Cardiff's tourism sector, and setting the agenda for tourism strategies. The team may provide a useful bridge between the development-orientated activities influencing Cardiff's tourism product, such as the City Centre Plan; and the promotion-orientated activities of Cardiff Marketing. The inclusion of the group within the Economic Development Department also projects an important message concerning the value of tourism to the city's economy, and need for local government to take the development of tourism seriously.

8.5   PROMOTING CARDIFF

8.5.1   Responsibilities and Activities

Cardiff is influenced by the promotional activities of a number of organisations, including the Wales Tourist Board, the Welsh Development Agency, and Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. With overseas offices, a wide range of publications, and considerable involvement with the travel trade, the Wales Tourist Board is responsible for promoting Wales as a whole in the UK and overseas. Cardiff, in much WTB promotional material is represented as 'the gateway to Wales', and obviously features heavily in the Tourism 2000 strategy and its successor currently in preparation. However, the main organisation with responsibility for promoting Cardiff is Cardiff Marketing Ltd (CML). Included in the organisation's mission statement is the objective of establishing:

a positive image awareness of Cardiff among national and International audiences in concert with others. (Cardiff Marketing, 1998:4)

Cardiff Marketing produces a range of publications, intended to meet several different objectives. In addition to persuading potential visitors to come to Cardiff, there is a need to serve the information needs of visitors, complement inward investment marketing by other organisations, and 'provide fulfilment literature for image advertisement campaigns' (*ibid*:13).

Promotional material is aimed at business and leisure travellers, the travel trade, print and broadcast journalists, and key opinion-formers. In order to target such groups, promotional material is distributed through a range of channels, including national and international trade missions and exhibitions; key tourist information centres in Southeast Wales and throughout the UK; BTA overseas offices and the British Travel Centre in London; Direct mail in the UK and overseas; promotions with transport companies; and newspapers and magazines (*ibid*:13).

8.5.2 Promotional Mix

According to Cardiff Marketing's Consumer Marketing Strategy (*Full Business Plan, CML*, 1998), a range of publications are planned for the period 1999 to 2001. The *Travel Trade Guide*, published in April 1999, is a colour A4 brochure. The Brochure is designed to sell Cardiff to UK and overseas tour operators, carriers, travel agents, and group travel organisers. It is planned to distribute 15,000 copies in response to enquires, at trade exhibitions and workshops, and through direct mail. The *Cardiff Guide* is a full colour brochure aimed at the weekend leisure break visitor. Also published in April 1999, the brochure includes accommodation, attractions, restaurants, night life, events, and entertainment. It is planned to distribute 100,000 copies of the brochure through CML's UK/Ireland Summer 1999 campaign (using radio, cinema, and direct mail); and in response to enquires at Cardiff and UK TICs, Britain Visitors Centre, and BTA overseas offices. The brochure is designed to have 'a user friendly factual format' (CML, 1998b).

Cardiff Marketing is also expanding its monthly events listing to complement the Cardiff Guide. The new *Events Guide* is distributed through the Tourist Information Centre, local press, hotels, attractions, venues, pubs and restaurants. The guide, which is produced in conjunction with a commercial partner, is also sent to CML's media contacts. Another collaborative venture is the *Cardiff and Glamorgan Heritage Coast* publication, produced in conjunction with the Vale of Glamorgan and Bridgend Councils. Produced in four different languages, it is distributed through Tourist Information Centres in the UK, UK and European exhibitions, and BTA overseas offices, and as fulfilment for the WTB's national advertising campaign.

Other initiatives planned for the next three years include the *Christmas and New Year Guide*, promoting events, shopping, and entertainment; the further development of the *Cardiff Card*; and the *Rugby World Cup Campaign*. The Cardiff Card, launched in April 1998, offers discounts on admission to attractions, public transport, restaurants, cafes, and other tourism services. Currently retailed through approximately thirty UK outlets, Britrail in New York, and the BTA in Germany, its distribution will be increased. It is also hoped to increase the number of organisations participating in the initiative, making it more attractive to visitors. The Rugby World Cup in 1999 will obviously create great potential in terms of promotional activities, and Cardiff Marketing will be hoping to capitalise through an 'integrated consumer campaign to targeted areas of the UK and Ireland' (CML, 1998b). The aim is to utilise the attention generated to develop the weekend break market. Using radio, cinema, press, direct mail, press/travel trade visits, and road shows, the campaign will target specific geographical areas. The campaign will target areas in South West England, the Midlands, Ireland, the North West, Yorkshire, the South East, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. It is hoped to involve CML's members as much as possible in this high profile initiative.

Cardiff Marketing identifies its key markets as ABC1 Couple / Singles living in the UK / Ireland with direct access to Cardiff by road, rail, or air; UK group organisers /

influencers; European Tour Operators / Carriers / Wholesalers with potential to introduce Cardiff in their programmes in France, Germany, Benelux, and Ireland (CML, 1998b). Whilst publications such as the Cardiff Guide are obviously intended to be distributed to independent potential visitors, there is a strong emphasis within Cardiff Marketing's promotional activities on the travel trade. CML plans to participate in a range of exhibitions throughout 1999 and 2000. In addition to participating in the renowned *World Travel Market* in 1999 - where Cardiff Marketing will have a millennium-themed stand in the Wales area - Cardiff will also be represented at the British Travel Trade Fair in Birmingham, and the I.T.B in Berlin. The emphasis at these events is to create lively, interactive stands, which will attract the attention of tour operators and group organisers.

It would seem that Cardiff Marketing is increasingly engaging in public and media relations activity, with an aim to raising awareness of Cardiff as a tourism destination. CML, for example, commissions media companies to target both national and local broadcast media. In February 1999, The Peterson Partnership - an advertising, design, marketing and public relations company - was commissioned to organise *Red Letter Day,* the formal opening of St David's Hotel and Spa. With a flypast by the Red Arrows, and a handover of 5 Star accreditation to Sir Rocco Forte, a newsworthy media event was created. A media company, based in Cardiff, was commissioned to arrange interviews and appearances on national television and radio. The extensive guest list for the event itself included a wide range of press and broadcast media journalists, employed by local, national, and overseas organisations. Media lists were supplied by the WTB, Cardiff County Council, Welsh Development Agency, and Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. In addition to the travel editors and correspondents of national broadsheets, lifestyle magazines at the top end of the market such as Company, Cosmopolitan, GQ, and Esquire were targeted. Although the rationale for choosing these particular journalists is perhaps open to debate, it is at least apparent that Cardiff Marketing is attempting to target key opinion forgers amongst both the press and broadcast media.

8.5.3 The Future

Although the provision of both marketing services and tourist information has been compared rather unfavourably with that of competitors, there are signs that the reorganisation, and the renewed impetus in developing Cardiff's tourism sector in general, are having some effect. It has been recognised, for example, that the extremely small and overcrowded TIC in the Central Station can actually be counterproductive, projecting a negative image of Cardiff's Tourism sector. Following recommendations in the *Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan* (L & R Leisure, 1995) concerning the need for a 'Gateway Tourist Information Centre', a new site on Wood Street was acquired and opened in time for the Rugby World Cup.

Following a detailed marketing audit, there is a heightened awareness of the unfulfilled potential of Cardiff's conference market. Consequently, a range of measures to increase Cardiff's market share have been introduced. Finally, it has become apparent that without additional members, Cardiff Marketing is unlikely to provide a marketing service to rival competitors such as Edinburgh. It would seem that this aspect of Cardiff Marketing's Business, so restrictive in the past, is finally starting to be addressed. The new Cardiff Marketing aims to triple the number of members between 1999 and 2001, producing additional turnover of approximately £50,000 per year (CML, 1998:10). Whether these ambitious aims will be successful remains to be seen. Unfortunately, the success of much of Cardiff Marketing's strategy will depend on the scope of activity permitted by the bottom line.

8.6 THE CARDIFF TOURISM PRODUCT

8.6.1 The Visitor Experience

According to the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan, Cardiff has:

a superb civic core, capital city museums, retailing and events, and
unique potential in the Bay to become a superlative maritime city. (L &
R Leisure, 1995:2)

The latest visitor survey conducted in 1998 by Cardiff County Council's Economic
Development Department shows that 97.6 per cent of visitors found their visit to be
either 'enjoyable' or 'very enjoyable' (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:14). Visitors are
particularly impressed with attractions such as the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff
Castle, open-top bus tours, and Cardiff Bay (*ibid*:14). According to the survey, a
significant proportion of total visitors are from South Wales (32%), with 13 per cent
from Europe, and 17 per cent from the rest of the world (*ibid*:3). The city's *attractions*
appear to have motivated most visits to Cardiff (*ibid*: 12). There was an increase in
Cardiff Bay's influence from previous years, although satisfaction with the bay was rather
lower than with other attractions, with 62.9% of respondents rating it highly (*ibid*: 14).

8.6.2 Attractions

Cardiff's attractions include historic properties, museums and arts galleries, craft and
visitor centres, and natural attractions. Cardiff Castle is perhaps the Capital's best known
historic property, playing an important role in attracting visitors to the city. According to
the Wales Tourist Board, Cardiff Castle attracted 187,915 visitors in 1997, representing a
an increase of 15 per cent on the previous year (WTB, 1998b:6). The castle charges an
entrance fee of £4.80 (1998), enabling the visitor to experience Roman Walls, a Norman
Keep, and medieval halls. Although the castle dates back some 1900 years, much of the
walls and interior were restored at the end of the last century.

Cardiff Castle's central location in the city centre ensures that it plays a vital role in
Cardiff's tourism product. An additional marketing manager has recently been appointed
to initially focus on increasing visits in off-peak periods by developing the educational and
special interest market and developing packages in liaison with the accommodation sector
(*Croeso*, Tourism Development Group, 1999). With a *Welcome Host* Gold Award, and

full registration with the Museums and Galleries Commission, the castle is expecting substantial increases in visitor numbers throughout 1999.

Although not in the city itself, Castle Coch at Tongwynlais in easily within reach for the Cardiff visitor. With 78,117 visitors in 1997, Castle Coch saw an increase of 8 per cent compared to 1996 (WTB, 1998b). Created by Lord Bute and William Burges as a country retreat, the castle is set in an attractive location above the River Taff. Llandaff Cathedral, several miles outside the city centre, also contributes to Cardiff's impressive range of architectural heritage. Built on the site of a sixth century religious community, the cathedral has survived Cromwell's soldiers and World War Two bombs. Of particular interest inside the cathedral is Eptein's sculpture of Christ.

Other sites of architectural interest include Cardiff City Hall in the civic centre, and the Coal Exchange and Norwegian church in Cardiff Bay. The City Hall stands in the impressive civic centre close to the heart of Cardiff, adjacent to the National Museum of Wales. The impressive Civic Centre, also housing the County Court, Cardiff University, and the Welsh Office, has even been compared to The White House in Washington D.C. Whilst the exterior of the City Hall consists of distinctive Portland Stone, wide avenues and parkland, the interior boasts impressive features such as The Marble Hall and the Assembly Room. In Cardiff Bay, the Norwegian Church, built in 1868, now has a coffee shop and exhibition room. Visitors' interest in the church is increased by its links with the author Roald Dahl, who was baptised in the church. The Coal exchange was built in 1884 in Cardiff's industrial heyday, and now hosts concerts and exhibitions.

Perhaps the most important heritage attraction in Cardiff is the National Museum and Gallery, located in the Civic Centre. The museum attracted 224,722 visitors in 1997. Although this represents a slight drop from the previous year (6%), there has generally been an upward trend in visitor numbers during the last decade (WTB, 1998b). Recent exhibitions have included a collection of French impressionist paintings, the permanent exhibition *The Evolution of Wales*, and a very successful *Princes of Patrons* exhibition in

1998. Open every day except Monday, the museum charges an admission fee of £3.25 (WTB, 1998b).

The Museum of Welsh Life at St Fagans, just outside Cardiff, is another important heritage attraction. An open-air museum covering some 100 acres, St Fagans recreates Welsh history and culture from several historical periods. The site includes an Elizabethan Mansion House, farmhouses, cottages, and houses in a range of styles. St Fagans attracted 338,792 visitors in 1997, charging an admission fee of £5.25 (WTB, 1998b). Although this represents a slight reduction on the previous year's attendance, the museum is an important component of Cardiff's tourism product offering.

In Cardiff Bay, attractions such as *Techniquest* - an interactive science museum for children - has proved to be hugely successful amongst both residents and visitors. Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre, located in the inner harbour, attracted 204,246 visitors in 1997, representing an increase of 8 per cent on the previous year (WTB, 1998b). With free entry, the centre offers a futuristic multi-media exhibition of the vision for Cardiff Bay. Although the Welsh Industrial and Maritime Museum has relocated from Cardiff Bay to Swansea Maritime Quarter, a new shopping and entertainment complex is under construction on the site.

Any review of attractions in Cardiff is obviously incomplete without mentioning rugby. The Millennium Stadium, replacing Cardiff Arms Park, has been completed in time for the 1999 Rugby World Cup. The new state of the art stadium, complete with retractable roof, has cost over £100 million. The stadium, constructed by John Laing, has not only increased the capacity to 73,000, but it will also house the Welsh governing body, the Welsh Rugby Union. The new stadium is set to have a major impact on both the city and the nation, as Cardiff Arms Park was in many ways an icon of Welsh culture. The Rugby World Cup has not only tested the recent renaissance of Welsh rugby on the field, but also Cardiff's tourism sector. There was a surge of demand for accommodation and a range of tourism services. Contingency measures included a hospitality village located in

Cooper's Field close to the city centre, incorporating an interactive sports exhibition. There were even plans to dock Cruise liners at Cardiff during the tournament to complement the city's more conventional accommodation.

It is significant that there is a synergistic relationship between a range of sports in Cardiff, and Cardiff's tourism product. This is in addition to the well-documented role that sport can play in urban regeneration. The city hosts 44 different sports associations and organisations, including 16 national governing bodies (Stevens, 1998). Whilst the importance to tourism of activities such as golf, riding and sailing to have long been recognised, recent research shows that 25 per cent of all domestic holidays in the UK have sports as their prime purpose. In addition, fifty per cent of domestic tourists participate incidentally in sport whilst on holiday (Stevens, 1998:503).

The relationship between sport and tourism is recognised in a 1995 Government White Paper *Raising the Game*. It is estimated that in addition to supporting 2100 fte employees in Cardiff, sport makes an economic impact of some £345 million per year (Stevens, 1998). This does not include the extensive capital expenditure currently taking place (estimated at £325 million by Stevens, 1998); or the influence of facilities such as Llandaf Rowing Club on quality of life and investment.

Other attractions in Cardiff include Roath Park in the inner suburbs of Cardiff, the Old Library and Museum of Magical Machines, St John's Church, and the Welsh Regiment Museum and 1st The Queen's Dragon Guards Museum in the city centre. Roath Park in the suburbs, and Bute Park closer to the city centre, provide attractive areas of open space. Whilst Bute Park borders Cardiff Castle and the River Taff, Roath Park includes rose gardens, tennis courts, and a large lake.

8.6.3 Accommodation

Cardiff currently has a total of 2,985 room nights, if one includes the M4 Corridor (Marketing Planning Associates, 1997:4). Within Cardiff City Centre and Cardiff Bay, there are five establishments with five crowns, and three with three or four crowns. Amongst the independents, there are 26 establishments with a room rate of over £30, 25 with room rates of £20-30, and 18 establishments with a rate of below £20 for a single room. Whilst the four and five crown hotels tend to be located in the city centre and Cardiff Bay, the independents are mainly located along the routes into the city (Marketing Planning Associates, 1997:4).

In terms of demand, the *Cardiff Serviced Accommodation Study* found that amongst the total of 738,600 rooms sold in 1996, there was an average occupancy rate of 68 per cent. Occupancy rates in the major hotels and lodges, accounting for 64 per cent of demand, averaged a respectable 72 per cent (Marketing Planning Associates, 1997:4). It is estimated that nearly two thirds of demand is generated by individual corporate travellers of various types, with leisure markets representing 24 per cent of room nights. It is significant that events such as conferences, summits, exhibitions, and sports events generate an estimated 8 per cent of demand, or some 58,000 room nights. According to the report, the main influences on demand are branding and marketing, location, and quality.

It is estimated that demand in the near future will grow by some 230,000 rooms by 2002, representing a 31 per cent increase. It is probable that almost a third of that growth will be driven by the marketing activities of Cardiff's tourism organisations, together with the local commercial sector. Significantly, the possibility of missed opportunities in the leisure sectors are recognised, with demand growth 'constrained by the projected level of marketing investment' (*ibid*:5). Furthermore, 'the city would benefit from a more focused approach to its markets and competition' (*ibid*:5).

The supply of accommodation will be increased in the near future with the opening of several new hotels. A total of 397 rooms were under development in 1998, and a further 600 are planned (*ibid*:6). A particularly noteworthy development is the 'Cardiff Hilton', currently under construction in the city centre, close to the Civic Centre. Several areas of Cardiff Bay have also been earmarked for development, although it is uncertain how much development will take place in the near future.

It is estimated that average occupancy in hotels and lodges would increase to 77 per cent by 2020 if no further addition to the 397 rooms developed in 1998 (*ibid*:8). As this is obviously not the case, it is reasonable to expect a slightly lower occupancy rate in the first two years of the new millennium. Cardiff is unlikely to see any substantial increases in the independent sector, so occupancy in the sector is likely to rise to over 80 per cent. Shortages of accommodation at the lower end of the market could have a detrimental effect on conference, leisure, and events-based tourism. The additions to the hotel stock in the City Centre and Cardiff Bay, however, are expected to create opportunities for new packaged products to be developed, and for branding to be used more effectively.

With the completion of current hotel developments, it is likely that the target of 400-600 additional rooms recommended in the *Cardiff Serviced Accommodation Study* will be met. It is less certain, however, whether there will be a suitable level of variety in terms of types of accommodation. In addition to the 5 crown accommodation, for example, it is recommended that an extra 50 rooms in the 'lodge' category are developed, up to 200 rooms in the '3/4 crown' category, and 200 rooms in the independent sector (*ibid*:7).

There is a need for the major hotels to offer internationally-recognised branded products in attractive locations. For growth within the independent sector, support on various levels is required. This includes grant schemes for improvements and increasing supply; support for product and service improvements; and advice on operating standards, finance, and marketing. This support should be provided by several organisations, including Cardiff Marketing, Wales Tourism Board, and Tourism South and West Wales.

It will also be important to promote an awareness of the business opportunities in this buoyant sector.

8.6.4 Improving the Cardiff Product

L & R Leisure conclude that Cardiff does not have any major gaps in its tourism facilities. The priority is seen to be upgrading what Cardiff does have to offer, in order to create the 'critical mass' of attractions and facilities which the *Tourism 2000 Strategy* envisaged. Some gaps in the tourism infrastructure were identified by L & R Leisure, and many of the shortcomings identified relate to Cardiff's image, and the 'welcome to visitors' (L & R Leisure, 1995:2). According to the Cardiff Visitor Survey (*ibid*:2), twenty per cent of visitors were dissatisfied with some aspect of their visit. The most common complaints relate to traffic congestion, parking, litter, and the inconvenience of construction work.

Amongst the recommendations of the L & R Leisure report, there is scope for the more effective packaging of Cardiff's tourism product, including the development of a Cardiff Tourist Passport' (L & R Leisure, 1995:3). It was suggested that the latter measure would incorporate retail facilities, cultural and arts attractions, together with transport and accommodation providers. The *Cardiff Card,* based on the Scandinavian model, is now in successful operation (*Croeso,* C.C.C, 1998). Costing from £11 (one day), the card offers unlimited travel on local transport, and free entry to major attractions.

Another priority is the improvement of the quality of visitor servicing and groundhandling. It believed that Cardiff is yet to achieve 'a capital city standard of visitor welcome and orientation' (L & R Leisure, 1995:3) and measures to improve this aspect of Cardiff's tourism product are proposed. Since the publication of the report, numerous projects aimed at training and service delivery have been initiated. These include training linguists to meet demand during the Rugby World Cup; a new accommodation rating system co-ordinated by the WTB; a four-day training course offering an introduction to the hospitality and tourism sector run by the Economic Development Department; and

the work of TEAM, a partnership aiming to address recruitment problems in Cardiff's hospitality and tourism sector.

An extensive programme of environmental improvements is currently exerting a major influence on Cardiff's tourism product. Providing a framework for the future of Cardiff City Centre, Cardiff County Council's *City Centre Strategy* (1997) sets out a range of measures to improve the experience of businesses, public sector organisations, and local communities. The strategy follows a consultation paper published in June 1996, and emphasises an integrated approach. It is recognised that the city centre provides employment for 40,000, and consists of an amalgam of commercial, retail, sporting, cultural, and government facilities. It is significant that Cardiff's role as a tourist destination is emphasised, along with the importance of the quality of the city centre in competing in national and international place markets. Amongst the main aims are to:

> *develop a vibrant visitor environment, with the range of facilities and activities which confirms Cardiff's position as an international tourist destination, whilst adding to the quality of life for local people.* (C.C.C, 1997:1)

The strategy is designed to provide an input into the Unitary Development Plan for Cardiff, currently under preparation, and link in with sustainability issues addressed by Local Agenda 21. Although much of the strategy will have an impact on Cardiff's tourism product (see appendices 5 and 6), both the role of tourism within the city centre, and the need to constantly update facilities, are explicitly recognised. Stating that an 'established City Centre provides a strong focus for visitor attractions' (*ibid*:3), the strategy targets the range and quality of visitor attractions; the quality of customer care; tourism services, marketing, and events; visitor access and signposting; and the provision of a 'gateway tourist information centre' (*ibid*:3).

In addition to the international perspective of the tourism components of the strategy, there is an emphasis on providing Cardiff with a more effective marketing and development capacity. Recognising the importance of arts, cultural, and sporting events,

there are measures to examine the tourism services and facilities available during the Rugby World Cup in 1999, develop a National Cricket Centre at Sophia Gardens, and develop a Millennium Centre of the Arts in Cardiff Bay. There are plans to improve facilities at Cardiff Castle, addressing pedestrian crossings, coach access points, and disabled access. Traffic management is also afforded priority, with measures to ease congestion and pollution.

It is recognised that there are significant shortcomings in Cardiff's tourism infrastructure. The Tourist Information Centre at Cardiff Station is seen as inadequate for a European Capital City. The strategy identifies an urgent need to provide a hierarchy of information points, ranging from a new TIC to satellite facilities (*ibid*:23). The strategy includes proposals to improve visitor signage, and there is a need to re-examine coach parking as a lack of capacity acts as a strong deterrent to coach operators choosing cities. Visitor access measures will also focus on Central Square, where improvements to the visitor welcome and orientation has already begun (*ibid*:25). Measures to develop cycle path routes, and to improve visitor access to public transport and taxi services are also being addressed. It is proposed to improve the pedestrian visitor environment through public art, improved maintenance and litter collection, the conservation and promotion of particularly distinctive areas of the city centre, and corridor improvements along access points to the city centre.

Service quality will be addressed through the development of *Cardiff Welcome Host*, and a *Quality Service Delivery Initiative* to raise standards. Attention has already been given to developing a tourism marketing strategy for the City Centre, with the reorganisation of Cardiff Marketing, and the creation of a more prominent role for the Economic Development Department. In addition to these changes, a high quality sports events programme is planned, along with a promotional strategy currently being developed by Cardiff Marketing. The Welsh language is to take on a greater role in relation to Cardiff's tourism product, reinforcing the uniqueness and identity of Cardiff as the Capital of Wales (*ibid*:25). For most of the measures identified in the action plan of the

strategy, partnerships between a range or organisations is necessary. Although Cardiff County Council is the lead agency in most initiatives, greater collaboration between organisations such as the Wales Tourist Board, Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, and Cardiff Marketing will be necessary.

8.7   A TOURISM CAPITAL ?

Although tourism accounts for about 5 per cent of the total Cardiff workforce, and almost 15 per cent of fte jobs in the South Wales region, tourism is considered to be undervalued as a sector of the Cardiff economy (L & R Leisure, 1995). Compared to Edinburgh, for example, Cardiff retains about fifty per cent of the income and jobs supported by tourism in the Scottish capital. A comparison conducted by L & R Leisure (1995) shows that not only does Cardiff significantly lag behind Edinburgh and Dublin, but also its nearest English competitor, Bristol (see *Appendix 5*). With Bristol receiving 0.91 million trips, compared to Cardiff's 0.64 million, there would appear to be unfulfilled potential for Cardiff's tourism.

The strategic objectives within the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan are certainly ambitious. In addition to broad objectives such as to 'ensure the creation of an effective organisation for tourism ' (L & R Leisure, 1995:5), there are a range of quantitative targets. By 2002, for example, it is hoped to 'triple the number of overseas tourists from 140,000 to over 420,000', and 'quadruple the direct spending of overseas visitors . . . to £133m (*ibid*:5). The targets are equally challenging for domestic visitors, with a target of a '25% increase in the number of UK visitors' (*ibid*:5), and an increase in expenditure of 60 per cent. Achieving these targets would result in a doubling of tourism related employment to 11,450.

In assessing the likelihood of meeting such targets, it is significant that there is a 'lack of understanding about the importance of tourism to Cardiff's economy' (L & R Leisure,

1995:2). It would seem, therefore, that the objectives of the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan cannot be achieved without the co-operation of a wide range of local organisations, and Cardiff residents. The comparison of international tourism cities, in addition to highlighting the under-performance of Cardiff in quantitative terms, reveals weaknesses in several areas of the tourism infrastructure relative to competitors. Serious areas of weakness identified include Cardiff's image, traffic congestion, parking, the poor quality of the central terminal, and the quality and quantity of visitor services.

The City Centre Strategy (C.C.C., 1997) has already begun to address some of the areas of weakness identified in the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan. The redevelopment of the Central Square area of Cardiff, for example, is almost complete. The project includes both substantial environmental improvements, and the improvement of facilities such as transport terminals. In addition to the extensive programme of improvements prescribed in the City Centre Strategy, the organisations responsible for marketing and developing Cardiff's tourism has been significantly reorganised. The Economic Development Department has taken on a much more prominent role through its Tourism Group, and Cardiff Marketing has undergone significant changes.

It would appear that there have been some moves towards 'integrated partnership marketing' (L & R Leisure, 1995:20). This approach, implying much greater co-operation and consistency between the various organisations with a stake in Cardiff's marketing, is seen as absolutely essential to improving both service delivery and the marketing effort. Internal marketing, packaging, and improvements in quality are seen to stem from a more integrated approach. It is hoped, for example, to create customised packages with a Welsh theme for both UK and overseas markets. The better co-ordination of activities following the reorganisation of Cardiff's marketing and tourism development organisations will improve the prospects of this integrated approach. According to current information, however, it is less clear which organisations will take on the responsibility for developing specific products and packages. The viability of

products provided will depend not merely on integrated marketing efforts, but also on the image and awareness of Cardiff as an international capital.

According to Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan, 'Image Building is the single most important task identified for Cardiff Marketing Ltd' (L & R Leisure, 1995:20). It is stated that image marketing needs to be consistent with the generic image promotion work of the WTB. The need for internal marketing is also identified, with Glasgow's 'Hearts and Minds' campaign cited as a best case example.

To continue the Scottish comparison, it is clear that successful marketing tends to be backed by an appropriate level of investment. Comparing Cardiff Marketing with Edinburgh Tourism Limited, one might wonder whether Cardiff is taking tourism seriously enough, and matching rhetoric with money. Whilst Cardiff Marketing has had an income of £1.2 million and 28 staff in total, it's Scottish equivalent has 86 staff, and an income of £3.1 million (L & R Leisure, 1995). Whilst the reorganised Cardiff Marketing are currently preparing a promotional strategy, it is far from certain to what extent this will address Cardiff's image or any of the other deficiencies identified. It is yet to be seen whether the new organisation has the funds or inclination to take a more proactive and long-term approach to service provision and image marketing than has been the norm in the past.

8.8   CONCLUSION

It is apparent that Cardiff provides an extremely useful case study of both the experience of a post-industrial city, and the development of a buoyant urban tourism sector. Along with most of South Wales, Cardiff endured a disastrous decline of its narrow industrial base, and in many ways provides a classic example of de-industialisation. Almost as striking as the significance of Cardiff in the South Wales industrial economy of old, is the

rapid and unprecedented decline in the city's industrial base, and the inevitable economic, social, and environmental problems which emerged as a result.

Cardiff, however, also provides a best case example of urban regeneration and economic development. As if the activities of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation were not remarkable enough, there has been a sustained and dramatic tertiarisation of the Cardiff economy. In addition to attracting financial institutions, media organisations, and management consultancies, there has been a dramatic growth in the tourism sector. Visitor surveys demonstrate the quantitative development of the city's tourism, as well as suggesting that satisfaction with the Cardiff tourism product amongst visitors is high. Whether one considers the Rugby World Cup, the Millennium Stadium, the new Cardiff Hilton, or the European Summit, opportunities for the further development of a tourism capital are seemingly ubiquitous.

With attractions including museums, galleries, and a castle, there would not appear to be too many weaknesses in Cardiff's tourism product. The accommodation sector is buoyant, with new hotels under construction, and accessibility is being further improved with the expansion of Cardiff Wales Airport. Following the publication of the *L & R Leisure Report,* attempts have been made to improve the management and marketing of Cardiff's tourism. The Economic Development Department have taken on a more prominent role, and Cardiff Marketing Limited has been reorganised. Deficiencies in the urban environment have been addressed through the *City Centre Strategy*, and initiatives to improve training and recruitment in the tourism sector have been developed. With events such as the Rugby World Cup and devolution - the stuff that Welsh dreams are made of - it would seem that Cardiff's tourism in an extremely healthy state.

Despite the undoubted dynamism and optimism, several symptoms serve to undermine the positive prognosis. It is perhaps unsurprising that Cardiff's tourism performance lags behind that of Edinburgh; yet even regional capitals such as Bristol are attracting considerably more visitors. Furthermore, overseas visitors are under-represented relative

to other capital and provincial cities. There is a strong sense in which the basics, such as providing tourist information and services, have traditionally left much to be desired. Research has indicated that the single most important challenge for Cardiff's marketing organisations is addressing the city's image. Whilst a lack of awareness has been identified amongst overseas potential visitors, there is evidence of negative images within the domestic UK market. It is significant that the majority of the weaknesses identified relate to promotion, branding, image marketing, and service quality. The prognosis, therefore, would be considerably more optimistic if it were not for the under-resourcing of Cardiff tourism organisations relative to those of comparable national cites.

CHAPTER 9

METHODOLOGY

PART ONE - REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Having devoted a large part of the discussion so far to the development of a conceptual framework for studying place consumption, it is now necessary to develop and demonstrate an appropriate methodology. The methodological framework developed in the chapter seven forms the starting point for the research design. It is argued that it is necessary to understand both the salient images and the salient experiences of urban tourists. Not only are they related to representations and landscapes, but they also form the basis for action.

It has been argued that the stock of knowledge forms a useful starting point for experiential research, particularly in order to establish the intersubjective language used by groups in their decision-making. By focusing on salient images and experiences, it is then possible to evaluate particular experiences of landscapes and representations. Ultimately, not only is the experience of intersubjective groups emphasised, but the researcher is able to focus on the consumption of cultural texts. From the practitioners' perspective, place marketers can act upon particularly salient representations and landscapes, applying the place marketing mix.

It is considered that a methodology which is capable of achieving these aims has to consist of a number of separate yet related stages. The following sections explain the different stages of research, and the techniques used. The chapter begins by describing the data collection and analysis associated with establishing an intersubjective language of consumer decision-making. The first stage of the research uses repertory grid analysis to generate constructs salient to consumers. Attention then turns to the use of a larger-scale

survey, based on the constructs elicited. The analysis of the surveys, including the application of factor analysis, is discussed in the latter sections of the chapter.

9.2 REPERTORY GRID ANALYSIS

9.2.1 The Language of Decision-making - Rationale

It follows from the discussion in previous chapters, particularly references to intersubjective stocks of knowledge, that it is first necessary to establish a language used by urban tourists in their decision-making. As discussed in the context of place image studies, very few researchers have attempted to uncover constructs salient to consumer decision-making, instead relying on 'researcher's judgement' and 'expert panels' (Echter and Brent Ritchie, 1991:6). There is a clear need, however, to use surveys which incorporate constructs as close as possible to those used in decision-making. This implies closely linking constructs used to decision-making *action*, particularly the process of *projecting* proposed by Schutz (1970:126). Although a degree of compromise will always be necessary in terms of the final choice of constructs, it is considered possible to establish an intersubjective language for actual and potential visitors to the city of Cardiff.

From the literature review it became apparent that phenomenologists such as Schutz advocate research based upon uncovering 'types' contained within the stock of knowledge, and linking these types to action (Schutz, 1972). Central to the formation of types is the intersubjective nature of language, and the stock of knowledge which forms the basis of decision-making. Schutz insists that individuals (and through intersubjectivity - groups) have a core area of knowledge formed from these typifications. He also suggests that there is a system of negative typifications delimiting what objects of knowledge, in effect, are not. The emphasis on the intersubjective flow of experience, the formation of types, and the linking of these types to action, is consistent with Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955).

Originally developed in the context of psychoanalysis, personal construct theory sought to uncover the positive and negative constructs by which individuals make sense of their world. Coining the phrase 'man as scientist' (1969:97), Kelly was interested in the framework into which an individual places their experiences. Although personal construct theory has been accused of being too 'mentalistic' in some quarters, it actually avoids many of the established dichotomies within psychology, such as the cognition-emotion division. Through the technique of Repertory Grid Analysis, it also represents a powerful research tool.

If consumer decisions are based upon the representations contained within consumers' stocks of knowledge, it is imperative to uncover the typifications (positive and negative) contained within those stocks of knowledge. The researcher may uncover constructs which are salient to consumers in their decision-making, yet seem rather unexpected or illogical to the researcher. Personal construct theory enables the formation of a consensus repertory grid for a particular population or market segment, reflecting an intersubjective language, and based on the most common typifications used in decision-making in relation to the phenomenon under study.

Of crucial importance in Kelly's work is the concept of 'constructive alternativism' (Kelly, 1955; 1969). This concept asserts that reality cannot reveal itself to us, instead it is subject to as many ways of construing it as we can invent. In order to understand and anticipate experience, each individual develops a system of constructions which can be imposed upon the events encountered. Thus 'all our present perceptions are open to question and reconsideration, and '. . . even the most obvious occurrences in everyday life might appear utterly transformed if we were inventive enough to construe them differently' (Kelly, 1970:1). This implies that most, if not all of an individual's interpretations of experiences will be revised and ultimately replaced by more useful ones. Since it is the meaning contained within these typifications which is argued to be central to anticipating, this meaning is vital in any attempt at predicting action.

Emphasising 'the anticipatory nature of behaviour and the person's use of hypotheses' (1955:129), Kelly rejects behaviourism. In an innovative critique of Skinnerian approaches, Kelly demolishes the distinction between scientist and object, asking why one is 'compelled to use one set of parameters when we describe man-the-scientist and another set when we describe man-the-laboratory-subject' (Kelly,1969:97). His alternative notion of 'man-as-scientist' has as its 'fundamental postulate' the statement that 'a person's processes are psychologically chanelised by the ways in which he anticipates events' (Kelly, 1955:46).

In addition to his 'fundamental postulate', Kelly also sets out twelve corollaries to explain his approach. Whilst is it not possible to discuss all of these at length, it is worth emphasising some of the more significant implications. The 'construction corollary' states that 'a person anticipates events by construing their replications' (Kelly, 1955:55). This is not to say that the events are the same, merely that they are construed as belonging to the same type. In this way, instead of stimuli, the researcher should be concerned with the constructions imposed upon experiences in their explication. This process involves a grouping of objects and events which are the same into types, and if separated by time , 'a carrying over of orientation, or attitude, from the original presentation to the re-presentation' (Bartlett, 1932:193). Furthermore, Kelly argued that a construct is both an integrating and differentiating process, whereby at least two events are perceived as similar to one another and different from at least one other event.

> *For a person to treat two incidents as different is to imply that one of them appears to be like another he knows. Conversely, for a person to treat two incidents as similar is to imply that he contrasts both with at least one other incident he knows.* (Kelly, 1969:102-103)

It follows that this differentiating process leads to constructs containing bi-polar distinctions. The construct denotes the perceived similarities and differences in relation to the objects or events at hand, one pole representing similarities, and the other differences. Perhaps influenced by Schutz, Kelly states that the contrast is just as

significant as the similarity in understanding meaning. Events are therefore understood both as what they are, and what they are not, an essential step in the formation of types within the stock of knowledge. Constructs, as binary distinctions, have a 'range of focus' which refers to the all the events and objects to which the construct could usefully be applied. According to Kelly, a construct also has a 'focus of convenience', which denotes the part of the range of convenience where the construct is optimally applied.

It is significant that if constructs are used to anticipate and predict a given event, these predictions are fundamentally influenced by the structure of the individual's personal construct system. It is believed that the individual first construes an object or event in terms of a construct, and then develops predictions or hypotheses based on related constructs. The effectiveness of predictions will increase with the number of related constructs available. As Kelly explains, rather than 'an event seen only in terms of its placement on one dimension . . . as the event finds its place in terms of many dimensions of consideration it develops psychological character and uniqueness' (Kelly, 1965:4).

The 'organisation corollary' relates to the assumption that constructs form a hierarchical system, and according to Bannister and Fransella (1971:23), the '. . . hierarchical quality of construct systems is what makes our world a manageable place.' The hierarchical nature of constructs, and simply the way they are related to each other, can also be examined statistically. According to the 'fragmentation corollary', events do not inherently belong to any particular set of constructs, but can be interpreted using different subsystems. These subsystems can then be compared in terms of their success in predicting events. If 'a person may successively employ a variety of construction subsystems which are inferentially incompatible with each other' (Kelly, 1955:83), it makes no sense to classify certain events (e.g., visiting a particular destination) as belonging to a universal motivation. Instead, the researcher should be concerned with the intersubjectivity of the personal construct systems of different consumers.

Because 'the number of constructs does not increase in direct ratio to the number of events' (Kelly, 1965:5), as the individual collects more information they use constructs of a higher level of abstraction. Consistent with Piaget (1960), the individual becomes increasingly adept at handling large amounts of environmental data through the use of types. This implies that the researcher need not search for a construct system which is totally unique to the context (e.g., visiting Cardiff), rather it is important to obtain constructs at the level of abstraction commonly used by individuals in anticipating such action. These 'permeable constructs' limit the variation in individuals' construct systems because 'new experience and new events can be discriminately added to those which it already embraces' (Kelly, 1955:81). So whilst an individual's construct system becomes differentiated into different subsystems, there is a sense in which the individual will attempt to incorporate new experiences into existing constructs.

Personal construct systems develop particularly when events are ambiguous or contradictory to the prevailing structure. The 'experience corollary', therefore, allows for changes to a person's construct system when he or she encounters events which do not fit into the available types. Consistent with both Schutz, and Piaget's 'need-to-function' (Piaget, 1960), Kelly believes that 'one's anticipations are successively revised in the light of the unfolding sequence of events' (Kelly, 1955:72). In effect, action forms the independent variable in the testing of hypothetical constructions of events. Each individual, therefore, uses their personal construct system both to anticipate events, and to assess the accuracy of expectations post hoc.

Finally, Kelly's 'sociality corollary' opens up the possibility of intersubjectivity. He emphasises the concept of 'role'. This can be defined as a course of action which is played out according to one's understanding of the personal construct systems of others (Kelly, 1955:117). This intersubjectivity of personal construct systems, is considered to make personal construct theory particularly appropriate to the first stage of the methodology.

9.2.2   Repertory Grid Analysis in Practice

Personal construct theory was originally developed in the field of psychoanalysis, and has been extensively used in studies of personality. Kelly himself, however suggests some wider applications, describing how researchers have used PCT to analyse the vocational choices of a young person faced with various occupations and professions (Kelly, 1961:a). Other early examples include measuring job satisfaction, and the influence of university training. Whilst it is worth considering variations in the grid method, it is also apparent there are a number of common aspects. Most are concerned with the relationships between sets of constructs. There is no fixed form or content, despite the use of the term 'test' by early writers. All grids are to be amenable to statistical analysis of significance, relating to the set of comparisons an individual has made. In this way, psychological relationships between two constructs will be reflected in the statistical association between them.

Whilst the *element* is the event which is construed, a *construct* can be defined as the way is which two things seem to be alike yet different from others. A construct is essentially two-ended, forming a basis for considering likenesses and differences. This involves a crucial assumption that positive statements would be meaningless without something being negated at the same time. A construct, therefore is always an interpretation imposed upon events, and it allows not only for the discrimination and organisation of events, but also for the anticipation of future events. These anticipations reflect the interlinkages between constructs within the system. In this way, 'the system of constructs which a person establishes for himself represents the network of pathways along which he is free to move' (Bannister and Mair, 1968:27).

In the original form of repertory grid, subjects were asked to name twenty or thirty people they knew and these were fitted into 'role titles' reflecting the perceived 'type'. Constructs were then elicited by selecting three of these elements and asking in what important way two of the people were alike and thereby different form the third. The

construct elicited enabled the clinician to gain insight into the way the person construed their interpersonal environment. A later modification involved writing role titles along the top of the grid, and constructs down the side. This was followed some years later by the development of the seven-point scale which remains popular today.

Many of the variations in eliciting constructs are related to the way in which elements are presented to the respondent. In the *minimum content form*, Kelly's original version, the elements are elicited by giving each respondent a list of role titles, representing a wide variety of people considered important in their life. Three elements are selected for consideration, by separating them from the 'pack' of elements and laying them before the respondent. The respondent is then asked to suggest some important way in which two of them are alike. In relation to the third card, the respondent is asked how this person is different from the other two. The interviewer can then explore different combinations of triads, according to their specific interests. The *full context form*, by contrast, confronts the respondent with all the elements at once and asks them to arrange them into groups of people who were alike. Constructs are then elicited by adding and taking away cards, and a record is kept of both the sequence of constructs and elements, and the final arrangement. Adaptations of repertory grid analysis are to be encouraged rather than avoided, as long as the fundamental underpinnings of the method are understood.

In the various forms of repertory grid interview, the interviewer writes the construct and contract pole, and uses ticks and crosses to indicate the relevant elements. When this has been repeated a number of times, the interviewer has a grid consisting of ticks, crosses and blanks, or in some versions, rankings of each element. In all cases this process 'formalises and represents the intersection of various bipolar construct dimensions with various external events in the subject's life' (Bannister and Mair, 1968:57). Once the respondent has used their constructs to categorise several different elements, the interviewer can begin to analyse the relationships between constructs as they function in the system. For a congruence between constructs used for particular elements, the

degree of association between constructs can be calculated, together with a statistical significance estimated by a binomial expansion formula.

The matrix form of the grid also makes it amenable to factor analysis, which simplifies the array of data so that it can be more easily conceptualised. Kelly himself suggested a simplified manual factor analysis method, using the matched pairs of intersects on a grid. The use of cluster analysis is common, with the most sophisticated applications analysing both the orthogonal structure of constructs in relation to elements, and elements in relation to constructs. All of these methods of analysis represent empirical statements about the mathematical features of construct systems.

Kelly notes that the analysis of grids can be applied to a wide range of phenomena, exploring the perceptual relationships between events 'interwoven into a person's psychological space' (Kelly, 1955:301). It is significant, however, that 'it is only as the sample is representative along essential dimensional lines that it can be called representative of a population' (Kelly, 1955:270). It would seem that adequately conceived 'role groups' are particularly important. These must be salient to the subject and be representative of the events with which they interact in the areas of life under examination.

Recent applications which do not adequately specify role groups, or more seriously, supply all the elements to the interviewee, are obviously a cause for concern. Similarly, the sorting and presentation of elements should be similar to the process in the actual choice situation. The dangers of supplying constructs which are not salient to the subjects, has already been discussed at length. Care must also be taken in allowing for elements outside the 'range of convenience'. Although allowing a 'neither' response may ease the problem, this may cause problems when statistical analysis is attempted.

9.2.3 Previous Applications

Personal construct theory has been used in human geography, in leisure studies, and in disciplines such as architecture. Within the tourism literature, several studies seek to build a 'consensus repertory grid' to be used in survey research (e.g., Gyte, 1988). Although PCT has been applied effectively to tourism studies, it is argued in this section that the full potential of personal construct theory has not always been fulfilled. A number of researchers in the field of environmental perception have been drawn to PCT through an interest in predicting human environmental behaviour. Stringer (1970) comprehensively reviews a range of applications of PCT to environmental studies, and describes his own research in the context of town planning. Kelly's work is generally seen to combine a sophisticated form of scaling amenable to statistical analysis, with sound theoretical foundations.

An early demonstration of the use of PCT in predicting decision-making was Reid and Holley's 1972 study of university choice. The study explored images of universities and their relation to both environmental factors and applicant's actual choices. Although they successfully demonstrated the suitability of PCT in replicating the discrimination inherent in such decision-making, the grids consisted of nine *supplied* constructs. In a study designed to elicit stereotypes, it is curious that the researcher suggested that findings would only be of interest to policy-makers if universal patterns emerged. Despite the apparent suitability of a PCT methodology, in many ways the study 'misconstrued' Kelly's philosophy.

Constructs were also supplied to respondents in Harrison and Sarre's study of retail images (1973). Elements and constructs were selected on an *a priori* basis, mainly from aspects of central place theory. This cognitive-behavioural application of PCT diverged considerably from Kelly's approach in epistemological terms, and perhaps consequently, generated few remarkable findings. A study of perceptions of the city of Bath amongst middle-class women was slightly more convincing (Harrison and Sarre, 1973). The study

supplied twenty-five elements and nine constructs, although constructs were also elicited. Principal components analysis was used to plot perceptions on a multi-dimensional representation.

Considerably more empathy with the ethos of PCT is shown in Stringer's study of perceptions of planning proposals in South London (Stringer, 1972). Six alternative proposals were presented to female residents, each relating to the redevelopment of a Victorian shopping centre. Grids were completed for 197 respondents, and socio-demographic data collected. On average fifteen constructs emerged, and the grids were analysed using 'biographical variables' as covariates. The total variance of the grids was calculated, along with the sizes of components, and the number of functionally distinct constructs. Stringer concluded that the measures of both the structure and content of grids provided valuable information on the process of 'construing'. The study also provided important data of use in the planning process. A limitation was the problem of respondents allocating a disproportionate amount of attention to individual proposals. There was also some debate regarding the optimum level of background information provided to respondents. Overall, however, both the data collection and analysis were effective, and consistent with the ethos of PCT.

An application specifically addressing tourism decision-making was Riley and Palmer's study (1976). Repertory grid analysis is introduced as a powerful solution to the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy prevalent in market research. Riley and Palmer are strongly in favour of a thorough analysis of grids, as an alternative to either full-scale quantitative studies, or 'impressionistic reports on attitudes' (Riley and Palmer, 1976:154). Using seaside resorts presented in triads, and a representative sample of sixty respondents from six major cities, the researchers produced a 25 by 672 grid. This was subjected to principle components analysis, producing twenty-four components. A dendrogram was produced, along with a three-dimensional representation of location of resorts on the first three components. Despite the impressive presentation of the data, the excessive simplification of grids through principal components analysis was problematic.

In Gyte's 1988 examination of images of Mallorca, it is noted that repertory grid analysis can be used to identify recurrent images. Using a seven-point scale and a sample of seventeen, Gyte aimed to measure the various dimensions of image and evaluate how images changed, including 'the dimensions of image that are most relevant at the group level' (Gyte, 1988:1). Gyte's study is notable for the formation of a 'consensus repertory grid', representing intersubjective images. Gyte initially presented triads of elements elicited from seven questions or role titles. This was later abandoned as too time consuming, and replaced by a method which supplied elements and used them in triads.

Gyte reports success both in terms of forming a consensus grid, and in terms of insights into decision-making behaviour. The small sample size, however, makes it even more important to ensure that the constructs are salient to the tourists in their decision-making. This implies freely eliciting elements as well as constructs, rather than supplying them as in Gyte's study. This has, in fact, been a consistent and frustrating flaw within a range of PCT studies. Too often, researchers have abandoned measures which would ensure a greater degree of salience - and a much more powerful technique - in a misguided attempt to save time. Ironically, by filtering out any differences in construing between different individuals and groups, they greatly reduce the richness of the data produced.

9.2.4 Repertory Grid Preparation and Piloting

As discussed in the previous section, repertory grid analysis has been used in a number of geographical, tourism, and marketing studies. Several studies have attempted to form a 'consensus repertory grid', representing the language used by groups in their decision-making. Whilst this has largely been successful, it is considered that such an application of personal construct theory should remain as close as possible to the ethos of Kelly's work. In the context of place consumption, there is a fundamental need to ensure that constructs are salient to the individuals under study. Whilst Gyte's study (1988) effectively demonstrates the use of consensus repertory grids, concern remains over

whether such constructs are significant in predicting action. The emphasis in the first phase of primary research, therefore, is on developing a 'conversational science' which is both rigorous and capable of uncovering constructs used in decision-making.

Having reviewed a range of literature relating to repertory grid methodology, it was decided to use a variation on the triad approach. In the initial piloting stage, a data recording sheet was produced (see *Appendix 7*), with space to record both elements and constructs elicited. Consistent with the aim of maximising salience, it was decided that, in contrast to previous studies, both the elements and the constructs would be freely elicited. In other words, the individual would be required to supply the elements which are to be arranged into triads, before supplying constructs based on the similarities and differences perceived in relation to these elements.

If the elements are to be elicited, the choice of role group becomes crucial. As indicated above, the role group provides the orientation for the construing of events, determining the range of convenience. Whilst it is essential for the researcher to indicate this, the role groups should not intrude upon the free elicitation of salient constructs. It was decided to link the role groups as closely as possible to decision-making action, whilst keeping the classifications as broad as possible. It was also considered important to use role groups appropriate to the phenomenon under study, including the sector of tourism. The role groups devised for the pilot study consisted of:

i)   'Cities that you have visited and would like to visit again in the future.'

ii)   'Cities that you have visited in the past, and would not like to visit again in the future.'

iii)   'Cities that you have not visited, but would like to visit in the future.'

iv)   'Cities that you have not visited, and would not like to visit in the future.'

The pilot study consisted of six trial repertory grid interviews, with discussions after each one to identify possible improvements. The pilot study, conducted in May 1995 aimed to

both develop a successful conversational technique, and to test the use of the role groups and elements in eliciting constructs. Before the piloting took place there was some consideration of the practicalities of setting triads in front of interviewees, and the timescale for interviews. It was also decided to include a limited trial of laddering where appropriate, allowing variations in the degree of abstraction. The data recording sheets were modified to include a range of socio-demographic data, for reference purposes rather than as data for the study itself. Coloured cards were used to so that elements could be placed in triads, and small cards were also available for writing constructs so that the interviewee could easily picture the relationships they were discussing.

All six of the pilot interviews were successful, eliciting between eight and seventeen constructs. The elements proved easy to elicit using the role groups, and the researcher was satisfied that they were appropriate for the study. The conversational style was extremely successful, with the interviews generally proving enjoyable to the interviewees. The constructs elicited seemed to be useful and appropriate to the study. Limitations of the technique revealed by the pilot study related particularly to the time constraints, as some interviews lasted an hour. This was not considered appropriate for interviews in outdoor sites, and there was some concern that incentives would be necessary to recruit interviewees.

Although the conversational style was extremely successful, the use of the triad cards took some practice, and was somewhat cumbersome and repetitive at first. A later variation was to elicit constructs as the elements were elicited, asking 'can you think of any cities that are different from that/them?' and 'how would you describe that/them?' In this way in was possible to elicit constructs in a more integrated way, rather than splitting the interview into two time-consuming stages. This enhanced the conversational style, and reduced the overall time considerably. This is not to say that triads could not still be presented in the conventional way. Once both elements and constructs had been elicited, the colour-coded cards can then be randomly arranged, and the interviewee asked 'in what ways are these two similar?' and 'how are they different from this one?' In the pilot

study, the latter stage appeared to confirm the constructs already elicited, occasionally adding superordinate constructs.

Consistent with the overall aim of the study, it was considered desirable to conduct the interviews both in Cardiff, and in competing and comparable destinations. As discussed in chapter four, place image studies are most usefully used as a policy analysis instrument when naive images are compared to first-hand experiences. This requires the eventual formation of a consensus repertory grid which is salient to both consumers' naive images, and their experiences. As discussed above, this also implies eliciting constructs at the appropriate level of abstraction.

It was considered important to access a representative sample, and provide interviewees with a feeling of security and reassurance. Following permission from the relevant authorities, three sites in Cardiff were chosen: Cardiff Castle, the Civic Centre, and Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre. Drawing upon the *Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan* (L & R Leisure, 1995:2), it was decided to use the comparable cities of Bristol and Edinburgh to elicit 'naive images'. Edinburgh is obviously a capital city, and in many ways represents a best case UK example of urban tourism development. Bristol is Cardiff's closest English competitor, with a comparable population and volume of visitors (see *Appendix 5*). A timetable was drawn up to allocate time between June and September 1995 as evenly as financial constraints would allow. A variety of equipment was obtained, including cards and a pin-board to help interviewees in the process of eliciting. With these modifications and arrangements in place, it was decided to begin the interviews proper at the beginning of June 1995.

9.2.5 Towards a Consensus Repertory Grid

Beginning the interviews in Cardiff, it was apparent that the data collection benefited from the modifications following the pilot study. Initially shopping vouchers were used as incentives in recruiting interviewees both in Cardiff and outside. It later became

apparent, however, that visitors were either interested in the study or not, and once the technique was perfected, interviewees actually enjoyed the interview process. This was exemplified by a couple from the United States visiting Edinburgh. Following an hour-long interview, they were eager to resume during a chance meeting later in the evening. One variation from the pilot study which was attempted, but with little success, was the introduction of 'Cardiff' as one of the elements. In Edinburgh and Bristol an overwhelming lack of awareness of Cardiff was soon apparent. As it was considered desirable to use the same technique in all sites, this approach was soon abandoned and any associated data excluded.

The interviews took place between June 1 and September 30, 1995, with a total sample of sixty divided equally between the three cities. The sample consisted of independent English-speaking leisure visitors to the cities. Independent tourists - as opposed to those consuming a package - were chosen in order to elicit organic images. In addition, it was noted that a large proportion of visitors to the cities are in fact independent. In retrospect, however, it is apparent that both the conceptual and methodological framework developed in chapter seven are quite capable of incorporating the influence of travel intermediaries.

On average the interviews lasted forty minutes, which surprisingly, seemed to pass fairly quickly for both researcher and interviewees. The on-site sampling involved approaching visitors exiting the Tourist Information Centre or attraction. A short explanation of the study, and an approximate duration was offered to all available visitors. Visitors deliberately not approached included those clearly in a hurry, those involved in conversation, those attempting to control young children etc. If the initial approach was not understood, most commonly because of language difficulties, an apology was offered and no further attempt was made at recruitment. Along with socio-demographic data, externalities such as the weather, events and festivals, and any other unusual conditions were noted. An effort was made to balance these conditions between the sites and the cities.

Excluding the interviews where there was an attempt to introduce Cardiff as an element, and a small number where it was decided that there was too much of a language barrier for useful results, data from sixty interviews was collected. The number of constructs elicited varied from five to twenty-eight, averaging eleven. Although socio-demographic data was collected, and a considerable number of elements elicited, the consensus repertory grid requires only the most commonly occurring constructs. It was important, however, to check the socio-demographic composition of the data against published urban tourism data in order to be sure of a representative sample. The researcher was satisfied that the sample was respresentative of independent English-speaking leisure visitors to British cities.

Once the researcher was satisfied that the sample generating the 669 constructs was representative, and validity had been optimised, the study could progress to the next stage. This entailed the formation of a consensus repertory grid consisting of the most commonly occurring (intersubjective) constructs. It was decided to input the data into a data-base so that it could be examined in terms of the most common phrases used. The package, *Microsoft Access,* enables the operator to use various sorting procedures, and to search the database for phrases, words, and parts of words. Following several sorting procedures, commonly reoccurring constructs were identified. A series of searches were then made in order to establish the most commonly occurring for both construct and contrast poles (see *Appendix 8* for example). Once the researcher was satisfied that all permutations had been thoroughly covered, constructs (including the contrast poles) were finalised. From the 669 constructs collected, therefore, a consensus repertory grid of eleven was constructed. This would then allow a larger scale survey to be conducted, using constructs which are closely related to decision-making and salient to the consumers under study.

PART TWO - SURVEY RESEARCH

9.3   THE SURVEY

9.3.1   A Salient Survey - Rationale

It was decided that the second phase of research should have a similar structure to the first phase, in that the sample should be split between sites in Cardiff, and in Edinburgh and Bristol. The researcher was also concerned that the respondents should be able to complete the survey at their leisure in the units which make travel decisions. Consistent with the development of a consensus repertory grid, it was also desirable for purposes of comparability to use identical surveys in Cardiff, as in Edinburgh and Bristol. It was considered that once the crucial groundwork in the form of the repertory grid analysis had been completed, it would be appropriate to use a fairly structured survey which would allow coding and various forms of statistical analysis. It was desirable, however, to allow respondents to cite more specific examples and additional constructs should they feel that they are important.

Consistent with both Schutz and Kelly's concept of 'role', it was considered important to collect personal data from respondents related to a range of social roles. It was intended to move beyond geographical and socio-economic data, using variables which are of use in grouping consumers with similar stocks of knowledge. Whilst it is not feasible to include an endless list of open-ended questions in the personal information section of the survey, there was an attempt to gain clues to the respondent's 'self-image'. Work in fields such as environmental psychology (e.g., Canter, 1979) has indicated the influence on decision-making of the social role that individuals perceive of themselves. It was decided, therefore, to collect data on the social group that the respondent perceived that they belong to, interests, and any societies/professional bodies. Although this would probably only scratch the surface, it would give important clues as to the types of social influences on the stock of knowledge of consumers and the representations encountered.

The geographical data relating to place of residence was also to be given priority, along with information relating to the sources of representations of Cardiff that the consumers could recall. Demographic and socio-economic data such as age, income, and educational attainment was also included. Consistent with the aim of identifying salient representations of Cardiff, a range of variables relating to sources of representations were used. This process was designed to create a number of dimensions of variables: geographical, socio-demographic, role/self-identity, and representations/landscapes.

It was considered important that the surveys be completed by the unit which normally made purchase decisions, and this was to be encouraged in the field. It was noted that an incentive should be offered to encourage the careful completion and return of surveys, and the survey design itself would need to encourage completion. In considering the most appropriate scale to use, the use of a consensus repertory grid may appear to make for the unproblematic use of the semantic differential. As authors such as Osgood (1962:40) explain, 'a relatively small number of basic dimensional attributes (or semantic features) of the adjectives will serve to characterise their multitudinous diversity.' The semantic differential scale requires concepts to be rated on bi-polar scales by different respondents. This reveals either differences in the ratings of two words, or more commonly, the way different respondents rate the same object. Multidimensional matrices which are amenable to factor analysis can then be formed.

According to Osgood (1962:7), however, words 'represent things because they produce in human organisms some replica of the actual behaviour towards those things, as a mediation process.' Osgood regards the word as a stimulus creating a predictable response in a given context. Considerable caution is needed, therefore, in equating the use of a consensus repertory grid format with the use of a semantic differential scale. A fundamental difference relates to the use by authors such as Osgood of distinctly behaviourist terminology. Personal construct theory and phenomenology strongly opposes such a deterministic approach. Personal construct theory maintains that

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individuals erect their own personal contrasts, and although many of these are intersubjective, the individual's construing cannot be understood with the use of universal *a priori* constructs.

Although the semantic differential has been used successfully in numerous environmental perception studies, it has been criticised in some quarters as it 'permits only partial and biased responses to multi-form reality (Lowenthal, 1972:191). Authors such as Gulliksen (1958), and Dalziel (1960) have demonstrated statistically how the semantic differential neglects another concept of personal construct theory - range of convenience. In particular, without reference to the specific context of phenomena, irrelevant constructs can undermine any statistical inferences. By ignoring the possibility of a single word having different meanings, the subtler connotations of words in particular contexts is lost. In this project, it is necessary to acknowledge the different ranges of convenience possessed by constructs and sub-systems.

A consensus repertory grid is a collection of the most frequently reoccurring constructs within a particular group of subjects. This essentially implies a stretching of Kelly's 'sociality corollary', focusing on the way groups of subjects explicate phenomena. Personal construct theory is therefore modified in order to capture intersubjectivity, in a manoeuvre not unlike Schutzian phenonenology. The success of the consensus repertory grid in uncovering intersubjective language is apparent in a number of studies. Lowenthal (1972), for example, used repertory grid analysis to create a list of constituents of environmental experience. Consensus repertory grids have been formed successfully in the context of tourism by authors such as Gyte (1988), Pearce (1982), Hudson (1976), and Riley and Palmer (1976). Gyte commented on the success of consensus grids in uncovering intersubjective constructs, stating that 'no new constructs emerged after the first ten interviews' (Gyte, 1988:3). In terms of the sample size, it is encouraging that Gyte (1988) used only seventeen tourists to generate a consensus repertory grid, and in other studies sample sizes have been even smaller.

Before actually starting the survey design, careful consideration of the types of analysis and the additional data requirements was necessary. As the repertory grid analysis had hopefully uncovered salient constructs and produced rich data, the survey could be more tightly structured. This is not to say, however, that we should discourage additional constructs, examples, or personal data. It seemed desirable to use a scaling system which would subsequently enable responses to be coded, into 'naive images' and 'first-hand experiences', and both 'positive' and 'negative'. This would then allow constructs exhibiting significant discrepancies to be identified, and analysed through a statistical method such as factor analysis. However, it was considered important not to lose the richness of the data at the analysis stage. The personal data also had to be open enough to capture salient data, whilst still amenable to coding and analysis. The overall aim of the second phase of primary research was to efficiently collect salient data which was also in a manageable form, having already done the essential groundwork in the first phase.

9.3.2 Survey Design

With the raw material of the consensus repertory grid consisting of eleven constructs, the survey design commenced in April 1996. Following the rationale discussed, it was decided to design a survey which would be handed to visitors on-site, and be mailed back to the university following completion. Originally, enquires were made regarding self-adhesive paper which could be folded and posted, although it became apparent that this option was not financially viable. Enquires with the Post Office concerning a business reply licence indicated that second class stamps would be the most viable option. It was therefore decided to produce the survey on a single sheet, to which a stamped addressed envelope was attached. The survey was printed on coloured paper, and in a user-friendly style. It was decided that assuming a 30-40 per cent response rate, 2500 surveys would be produced (see *Appendix 9*).

The instructions and the format were intended to encourage a positive response. To avoid the respondent from being over-burdened with information and questions, and as

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space was at a premium, the survey was designed to be concise. Consideration was also given to the instructions, including the information available once the survey had been folded and the envelope attached. The aim was to keep the information concise and lively, yet provide all the information necessary for completion.

With the initial preparation in place, it was necessary to design the survey itself. The core would be the consensus repertory grid consisting of eleven constructs (see *Appendix 9*). As discussed, although the study uses a seven-point scale, it should be distinguished from semantic differential studies. It is considered that the use of a comprehensive consensus repertory grid overcomes many of the theoretical limitations associated with the semantic differential, whilst capitalising on the methodological strengths. As authors such as Phelps (1984) have argued that numerical scales are not always understood by respondents, it was decided to use a seven point scale from 'very strongly agree' to 'very strongly disagree'. A 'neither' option was also included to accommodate respondents who felt unable to respond to a particular construct. It was noted that comparative studies in psychology have shown the optimal interval to be between seven and eleven.

An attempt was made to randomly mix the constructs so that those with either positive or negative construct poles were not bunched together. This has been shown to encourage the respondent to think about each construct individually. In addition to the scale using the eleven constructs, space was left for up to five additional constructs. To allow this, the respondent was offered blank spaces in the same format as the construct scales. The respondent was instructed to 'write any additional perceptions on the left', to 'write the opposite (for cities) on the right', and to 'tick the best box and write in any examples.' This approach was finalised following a short period of piloting. In addition to the constructs themselves, respondents were again requested to provide examples if possible (see *Appendix 9*).

As discussed in the rationale, it was desirable to include some less conventional social role-related data in the personal information section, as well as the more typical

demographic and socio-economic data (see Table 9.1). The basic personal information included family name, place of residence (village, town, or city), county or state, country of residence, and nationality. The respondent was encouraged to indicate their age group, the length of visit, whether they had visited Cardiff before (and the date if applicable), the nature of their occupation, and their approximate household income. All the above information was considered essential and it was acknowledged that there was only limited space for the role-related data.

The final format consisted of additional questions relating to membership of any societies/professional bodies, their education, and hobbies and interests. They were also asked how they would describe their social class, and where they thought that they had heard/read/watched things about Cardiff. The full survey was piloted amongst six respondents, testing the clarity of instructions and the ease of use. No significant limitations were identified, although it is acknowledged that additional variables relating to experiences of the tourist landscape would have been useful if space had allowed. As it was, there was an effort to prioritise the data on the basis of social roles likely to influence the stock of knowledge.

9.3.3 Sampling and Data Collection

The data collection for the second phase took place between May 1996 and May 1997. As with the first phase, access was gained to Cardiff Castle, Cardiff Civic Centre, Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre, Bristol Tourist Information Centre, and Edinburgh Tourist Information Centre. An additional site was chosen in both Edinburgh and Bristol, in Princes Street Gardens and on the Broad Quay respectively. It was decided to use a convenience sample of visitors exiting the TIC or attraction. A timetable was constructed, with an attempt to devote an equal amount of time to each of the sites between May 15 and November 1. Attention was paid to the occurrence of major festivals, particularly the Edinburgh Festival, and measures were taken to ensure similar overall conditions in each city. An attempt was made to spend an appropriate number of

evenings and weekends at each location, and allocate times of the day equitably. Estimates of the required number of surveys to be distributed at each site were calculated, and it was decided to approach every third person. Again it was decided not to bother people engaged in conversation or those clearly occupied.

People exiting the attraction or TIC was approached with a short explanation of the survey. If they agreed to participate, the survey was taken away and completed in their own time. In general, there was considerable interest in the survey, and the consensus grid seemed to have successfully captured the concerns of the visitors. It was apparent, however, that at busy times visitors would reject the advance without listening to the purpose of the study. This was particularly apparent in Edinburgh, where visitors often encountered salespeople. Whilst not considered a major problem, it became apparent that the response rate for the 'images' sub-sample would be fairly low. Special conditions at each of the sites were noted, including the weather and any events, festivals, or other special circumstances. Not surprisingly, the take-up rate was greater in Cardiff, where visitors were keen to pass on their views. Care had to be taken at every site to explain the subject of the survey in a concise way, whilst ensuring that visitors did not think that they had picked up a survey about Edinburgh, Bristol, or a specific attraction.

Although the quality of the response was very encouraging, as was feed-back concerning ease of use, it became apparent that the overall response rate would no higher than twenty-five per cent. It was encouraging that respondents were frequently providing examples on the surveys received, yet only occasionally adding additional constructs. This was taken to indicate that the constructs used were salient. It was also noted that the personal information section was being fully completed by most respondents, including the question relating to where they might have encountered representations of Cardiff. A small minority of respondents wished to complete the survey on-site, and hand it back personally. In these circumstances, care was taken to avoid offering any additional guidance to the instructions on the survey.

By November 1, 1996, slightly less than 1300 surveys had been distributed equally between Cardiff and the two other cities. The overall response rate had proved to be about twenty-five per cent, although it was significantly higher in Cardiff than in Bristol and Edinburgh. Although urban tourism is not renowned for its seasonally, by late October the visitor numbers had dropped considerably. As approximately three hundred useable surveys had been returned, it was decided to operate an additional data collection period during Spring 1997. An additional two hundred surveys were distributed between March and May, resulting in forty useable responses. The combined response, excluding spoilt or incomplete surveys, was therefore three hundred and thirty-five. Although the response rate was slightly disappointing, the quality of the responses was considered to be extremely high, and the consensus repertory grid had proved to be most successful.

Although not part of the data collection phase in chronological terms, one additional form of data collection was conducted. In the early stages of analysis, when preliminary results were available, a workshop was held in Cardiff to disseminate findings to representatives of the city's tourism authorities. Participants included Tim Bell (Cardiff Marketing Limited), Ffion Lloyd and Susanah Bulpin (Tourism Development, Economic Development Department), and Elwyn Owen (UWIC Visiting Professor, and consultant). The main aim of the event, held on May 6, 1998, was to inform tourism policy in Cardiff. As the results had not been fully interpreted at that time, it was considered useful to engage practitioners in an informed discussion of the implications of the findings. It was hoped that insights into tourism policy-making provided by the event, would enable a more informed and perceptive discussion of the results.

9.4   INITIAL ANALYSIS

Distinct phases of data analysis had been planned before the survey was designed. The initial task was to code the survey responses, including both the construct scales and the personal data. The construct scales obviously lend themselves easily to coding, and it was decided to use codes between -3 and 3, with zero as the 'neither' code. In this way, negative perceptions can be identified, and in the initial stage of analysis, profiles of the overall images constructed. Any additional constructs added by the respondent were coded in the same way. It was necessary to ensure that there was consistency in the coding of the 'positive' and 'negative' poles, particularly as there had already been an attempt to mix them in the survey itself. The personal information was slightly more complicated, but on the whole, lent itself easily to coding. Thought obviously had to given to decisions such as the geographical scale appropriate e.g., whether it is feasible to code states in the US. It was also realised that however thorough the coding (see *Table 9.1*), open questions, such as the examples of experiences of Cardiff, would also have to be analysed qualitatively. Once the data had been coded, and entered onto a spread-sheet using Microsoft Excel, a 52 by 335 matrix of data had been formed. This data would later be transferred to a version of SPSS capable of factor analysis.

Graphical techniques were used to identify salient discrepancies in experience, enabling analysis to concentrate on them. Whilst more sophisticated techniques are used in the later stages of analysis, the initial priority was to identify any significant discrepancies between images inside and outside Cardiff. As argued in previous chapters, discrepancies in relation to certain constructs - between first-hand experiences and images - are particularly informative. It is of paramount importance, therefore, to identify which constructs exhibit the most significant discrepancies, and focus further analysis on them.

Table 9.1   Variables Used in the Survey

Variable Name	Abreviation	Description
Inside	INSIDE	Experience of Cardiff amongst actual visitors.
Outside	OUTSIDE	Image of Cardiff amongst potential visitors.
Britain	BRITAIN	Geographical data - country of residence.
Europe	EUROPE	Geographical data - country of residence.
North America	NAMERICA	Geographical data - country of residence.
Rest of the World	ROFWORLD	Geographical data - country of residence.
Fifteen to Twenty-nine	YOUNG	Demographic data - youngest age group.
Thirty to forty-four	LOWMIDAGE	Demographic data - lower middle age.
Forty-five to fifty-nine	HIMIDAGE	Demographic data - higher middle age.
Over Sixty	OVSIXTY	Demographic data - over sixty years
Male	MALE	Demographic data - male.
Female	FEMALE	Demographic data - female.
Professional	PROF	Socio-demographic data - respondents who considers themselves to be 'professional'.
Non-professional	NONPROF	Socio-demographic data - respondents who consider themselves to be 'non-professional'
Retired	RETIRED	Socio-demographic data - respondents who state that they have retired from paid employment.
Student	STUDENT	Socio-demographic data - respondents who state that they are in full-time education.
Professional Group or Society.	GRPSOC	Lifestyle data - respondents who belong to at least one professional body or society.
Literary Hobby	LITHOBBY	Lifestyle data and possible source of representations - respondents who state that they regularly read literature.
Sport	SPORT	Lifestyle data and possible source of representations/experiences - respondents who state that they play or watch sport.
Higher Education	HIGHERED	Socio-demographic data - respondents who are educated to degree level.
Low Income	LOWINCOM	Socio-demographic data - respondents who state that their income is less that fifteen thousand per annum.
Middle Income	MIDINCOM	Socio-demographic data - respondents who state that their income is between fifteen and fifty thousand per annum.
High Income	HIINCOME	Socio-demographic data - respondents who state that their income is greater than fifty thousand per annum.
Past Visit	PASVISIT	Experience data - respondents who state that they have visited Cardiff more than five years previously.
Promotion	PROMOTN	Possible source of representations - respondent has experienced official promotional material or 'projected' image.
Television and Radio	TVRADIO	Possible source of representations - respondent has experienced representations of Cardiff on the television and radio.

Table 9.1 (continued)

Newspapers	PAPER	Possible source of representations - respondent has experienced representations of Cardiff in newspapers.
Literature	LITERAT	Possible source of representations - respondent has experienced representations of Cardiff in art and literature.
Word of Mouth	WOFMOUTH	Possible source of representations - respondent has experienced word of mouth recommendations of Cardiff
No Representations	NOREPS	Respondent states that they have not experienced any representations of Cardiff, indicative of a lack of awareness.

It was decided to represent the data in a graphical form so that the constructs with significant discrepancies could be identified. Although factor analysis is conducted after this stage, authors such as Schroader (1984) argue that simple techniques are appropriate for experiential studies as they maintain the richness of the data. It is argued that images are better summarised initially by graphical techniques rather than statistical analysis. Following the coding, four indices were formed to represent 'positive' and 'negative' responses for both 'Cardiff' and 'Outside'.

To provide further general data, a net index was also calculated for the two sub-samples. Although it was recognised that the image index obscures the distribution of responses along the scale, and obviously does not incorporate possible correlations with the personal data, it was felt that it was a priority to effectively summarise the data to gain an initial picture. *Microsoft Excel* was then used to form a bar chart of the indices so that discrepancies between the indices on each construct could be identified (see *Figure 10.1*). A bar chart was considered to best represent the data for this particular purpose.

The bar chart was extremely useful for identifying constructs for which there were significant discrepancies between images and experiences of Cardiff. There were notable discrepancies on four constructs, with three showing large variations. It was also noted

that on two constructs, although there was not a significant variation between inside and outside Cardiff, there was a high absolute index score. These constructs were also considered to be worthy of further investigation, in terms of examining the profile of these respondents.

The general data in graphical form proved to be useful and interesting in itself. The graphical technique, however, only shows very general trends in the data. It is argued that the strength of this approach comes from identifying both possible sources of experiences and images, and defining the characteristics of the actual and potential visitors with such perceptions. The initial stage of analysis, therefore, yielded a total of thirteen construct or contrast poles for further analysis, the aim of which was to identify the socio-demographic, geographical, and lifestyle characteristics linked to consumers' experiences of either the Cardiff landscape, or representations of Cardiff.

9.5   FACTOR ANALYSIS

9.5.1   Rationale

Although simple graphical methods of presentation have the potential to provide insight into the sample-wide responses for each construct, more specific data relating to the geographical, socio-demographic, and psychographic profiles of respondents is essential. It is considered particularly important to identify any common characteristics of respondents with particular images or experiences of Cardiff. The graphical representation is used to highlight particularly interesting constructs, usually where there is a discrepancy between the two sub-samples. It is then necessary to examine the degree of correlation between responses to particular constructs and other variables. The subsequent stages of analysis, therefore, are aimed at constructing profiles of groups of respondents based on the multiple correlations between variables.

This exercise is complicated slightly by the nature of the data. The second phase of primary research was designed to be consistent with the qualitative ethos of the project, allowing a wide range of non-standard personal data to be collected. This makes for a relatively large number of variables in relation to the sample size. Rather than attempting to examine correlations between constructs through multivariate analysis, it was intended from the start of the project to use a method of simplifying and aggregating variables. Although a range of methods were considered, it was decided that the most appropriate analytical method is factor analysis, specifically principal components analysis. As Bryman and Cramer (1990) point out, to examine the relationship between pairs of variables, we would have to conduct numerous separate analyses. It would not only be difficult to gain an overall understanding of the data, but each new test would increase the risk of results being significant only by chance.

The majority of authors describe factor analysis as a means of simplifying complex sets of data, so that 'a relatively small number of factors can be used to represent relationships among sets of many interrelated variables' (Norusis, 1993:47). The identification of underlying dimensions, or factors, simplifies the data and enables the researcher to understand complex social science data sets. Factor analysis is often used to generate constructs derived from a group of directly measurable variables. As Norusis puts it:

> *answers of "strongly agree" to items such as "sends me flowers "listens to my problems", "reads my manuscripts", "laughs at my jokes", and "gazes deeply into my soul" may lead you to conclude that love is present.* (Norusis, 1993:47)

When the variables are the characteristics of respondents to a survey, it can also be used to generate profiles of respondents, or market segments. A linear combination of variables can thus be used to describe a particular type of respondent. A group of variables which are correlated with one another will form a factor. In this project, we are concerned with factors which contain a range of personal data variables, together with constructs which have been identified as of particular interest in the initial analysis. Any groups of place consumers identified by the factor analysis, can then be discussed in the

context of policy analysis, and could possibly be targeted by place marketing practitioners in Cardiff.

9.5.2 The Factor Analysis Model

Although factor analysis forms the final stage of analysis for this project, it can be termed 'exploratory factor analysis' as opposed to 'confimatory factor analysis'. Whilst the latter uses the method to confirm whether the solution fits a hypothetical model, the former does not relate the results to any hypothesis. In this application, we will instead be concerned with both the theoretical and the policy implications of factors. The statistical package chosen for the analysis is SPSS For Windows, Professional Statistics, Release 6.0. In addition to the proven strengths of the package for data analysis in social science disciplines, the 'Professional Statistics' package has supporting literature. It also incorporates associated models to test the reliability of the data and survey scales.

The factors produced by the analysis, representing underlying dimensions, are based on the correlations between variables. Although resembling a multiple regression equation, the mathematical model is not concerned with single independent variables. Instead, variables are expressed as functions of the factor, with factor score coefficients indicating the strength of the correlation with the factor. In addition to the *common factors*, representing each variable expressed as a function of the factor, a *unique factor* is formed, representing variance that cannot be explained by the factors used in the solution. If all the factors are used in the solution, then all of the variance is explained, and there is no need for a unique factor.

Principal components analysis is the most suitable type of factor analysis for nominal and dichotomous data. The aim of principal components analysis is to form linear combinations of the observed variables, with the first principal component accounting for the largest amount of variance in the sample. The second principal component explains the next largest amount of variance, and each successive principal component or factor

explains a smaller amount of variance. It is important that none of the principal components or factors are correlated with each other. This makes the model particularly useful for examining distinct groups of respondents (market segments).

The proportion of variance accounted for by the common factors for each variable is called the commonality. In principal components analysis the commonality is *one* for all of the variables. Principal components analysis differs somewhat from factor analysis in its handling of different types of variance. *Common variance*, the primary concern of factor analysis, is the variance shared by three or more variables (Bryman and Cramer, 1990:257). *Specific variance* describes the variance which is unique to a variable, and is not shared by any other variable. *Error variance* is the variation which is due to sampling and measurement error, in other words, to a lack of reliability. As factor analysis cannot distinguish specific from error variance, they are combined to form *unique variance*. The total variance of a test therefore combines the common and unique variance (Bryman and Cramer, 1990:257). In principal components analysis, all of the variance of a variable is analysed, including the unique variance. It is assumed, therefore that the test is reliable. Whilst the commonality for principal axis factoring varies between 0 and 1, in principal components analysis, the commonality is always set at one.

The output of principal components analysis cannot be interpreted without an understanding of eigenvalues. Eigenvalues represent the amount of variance accounted for by a factor. Factors are only considered to represent an acceptable amount of variance if they have an eigenvalue of at least *1.0*. SPSS provides the percentage of variance accounted for by each factor, together with a cumulative percentage of variance for the factors. In SPSS, the variables, eigenvalues, and commonalties are given in both 'Initial Statistics', and 'Final Statistics'. Because of the way principal components analysis treats the different types of variance, the two sets of output are identical.

The most important output produced by factor analysis is the 'Factor Matrix', consisting of the factors in columns. Each row contains the correlation coefficients between each

variable and the factor. The coefficients are called *factor loadings* as they represent the extent to which the variable is related to the factor. The factor loadings are the standardised regression coefficients as in a multiple regression equation, with the variable as the dependant variable, and the factor as the independent variable.

9.5.3 Initial Considerations

The first stage in factor analysis (and that performed by SPSS) is to compute a correlation matrix for the variables. As a rough guide based on the standard error, it is possible to estimate the minimum significant correlation coefficient for the sample at the 95% confidence level. Multiplying the square root of the sample by 2.5 provides a rough estimate of correlation coefficients considered significant. It was realised, however, that the complexity of the sample as a whole may reduce the appropriateness of such a guide. In particular, the existence of two sub-samples creates the potential for two or more groups of respondents to 'cancel each other out' in terms of the overall correlation coefficient. Even when the data is split into the two sub-samples, this is still a possibility. Despite these complications, an examination of the correlation matrix is a first step in factor analysis. Although the nature of the data does generally make for small correlation coefficients, it was decided that the correlations within the data set as a whole do make factor analysis feasible.

Another consideration before factor analysis should proceed is the sample size. Although there is no consensus on an absolute sample size, Gorsuch (1983) proposes an absolute minimum of five subjects per variable, and not less than 100 individuals per analysis. Although factor analysis will produce output on samples smaller than these guidelines, it is generally agreed that reliability will be low. These guidelines imply that factor analysis on the sample as a whole (n=335) is feasible with the fifty-two variables. Extractions on the two subsamples of 165 and 170 would need a reduction in the number of variables to a maximum of thirty-two.

The criteria discussed above, however, can only be treated as a series of rough guidelines. It is also necessary to carefully consider the reliability and validity of the data. To an extent, the internal and external validity of the data has already been addressed. In terms of internal validity, an attempt has been made to address questions concerning whether responses in surveys can be assumed to represent respondents' images and experiences, and to what extent these responses replicate decision-making. A concern for internal validity is hopefully built into the design of the methodology, and it was a motivation for underpinning the survey research with repertory grid analysis.

An attempt has been made to ensure the saliency to respondents of the questions and language used in the survey. There has been an emphasis on generating a language of decision-making through the use of repertory grid analysis. The data for the interviews was examined to establish *face validity*, ensuring that the concept reflects the content of the concept in question. The repertory grid method also has an inherent concern for *construct validity* and *convergent validity*. Whilst construct validity is related to the logical relationship between different constructs, convergent validity is concerned with whether or not different methods would yield the same results. The repertory grid interviews were used precisely because they allow a conversational style which enables the meaning that respondents attach to constructs to be understood. Possible trade-offs between qualitative and quantitative image research were considered in some detail in chapter four. Although it is debatable to what extent validity can be increased, it is hoped that a concern for internal and external validity has been demonstrated throughout both the literature review and the methodology.

Ensuring the reliability of the survey data, however, is rather more challenging. Authors such as Bryman and Cramer (1990) and Norusis (1993) agree on the important measures of reliability in the context of factor analysis. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity tests the hypothesis that the correlation matrix is an identity matrix, with all diagonal terms equalling 1, and off-diagonal terms being 0 (Norusis, 1993:50). This test requires the data to be a sample from a normal population. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of

Sampling Adequacy compares the magnitudes of the observed correlation coefficients to the magnitudes of the partial correlation coefficients. Finally, one of the most common tests of reliability is the Cronbach Alpha, based on the internal consistency of data. Testing the reliability of the data in this project, however, provides an interesting insight into the issues facing researchers who chose to amalgamate qualitative and quantitative analysis. For this reason, reliability is discussed separately in the following section. Two sets of factor analysis extractions are also described, one where reliability measures are adhered to, and the other where they are not.

9.5.4 Reliability Analysis

Reliability is principally concerned with the consistency of the scales used in research. Survey research obviously uses a very small proportion of the total number of possible items or variables. Although there has been an attempt to base the selection of variables on the theoretical debates within the literature review, it is still important to scrutinise the stability and consistency of the survey scale. In short, a reliable scale performs in a similar way when different people administer it, or when alternative forms of the research are used (Norusis, 1993).

It is usual to differentiate between two types of reliability, internal and external. External reliability is taken to refer to the consistency of a scale over time. *Ceteris Paribus*, one would expect the same results if the same respondents were tested at a later date. It is notoriously difficult, however, to examine test-retest reliability, as intervening events cause discrepancies. Perhaps more relevant to the multiple item scales used in this project is internal consistency. One purpose of tests of internal consistency is to determine whether the items on the scale are measuring a single idea. All measures of reliability are testing the internal consistency of the scales used in the research. According to Bryman and Cramer (1990), if the scale consists of separate dimensions, it is normal to conduct reliability tests on each of the dimensions.

A preliminary step in ensuring the reliability of the data is to consider the type of variables present. As Bryman and Cramer (1990) argue, the majority of writers on statistics adopt a distinction developed by Steven (1946), between nominal, ordinal, and ratio/interval scales. Nominal scales are taken to involve the classification of individuals in terms of a concept. Respondents can be allocated to a category, but there is no particular order to such categories. In the context of data from this project, ordinal variables include the twenty-two constructs, the geographical 'generating region' variables (Britain, Europe, N. America, Rest of World), the employment status variables (professional, non-professional, retired, student), membership of professional or social groups, type of hobby/interests (literary hobby, sport), and the representations of Cardiff variables (past visit, promotion, literature, TV/radio, newspapers, word of mouth, no representations).

Ordinal variables, however, can be ordered in terms of more or less of the concept. An example of ordinal variables used in this project include income (low income, middle income, high income). Ordinal variables, however, do not have an arithmetic quality, as it is impossible to infer, for example, that a high income is three times higher than a low income.

Interval/ratio variables do have an arithmetic quality, as for example, one respondent can be twice as old as another. Interval scales are defined as having identical intervals between categories, whilst ration scales have a fixed zero point (Bryman and Cramer, 1990). The distinction in the social sciences, however, often becomes blurred, and the term interval variable is more commonly used. Variables such as age and income are interval/ratio variables, although when they are grouped into the categories (15-29, 30-44, 45-59, 60+) they become ordinal variables. Dichotomous variables, when there are two possible responses, can be considered to be either nominal or ordinal, depending on the nature of the categories. Examples of dichotomous variables in the data for this project include the male and female categories.

Bryman and Cramer (1990) identify a trend towards a greater leniency in the treatment of ordinal variables. It has become fairly common, for example, to treat multiple-item scales as interval variables. Labovitz (1970) argues that almost all ordinal variables should be treated as interval variables, claiming that the amount of error is minimal in relation to the gains in terms of analysis and interpretation. Labovitz would argue that ordinal variables are suitable for techniques such as correlation and regression. It is important that both nominal and ordinal variables are considered appropriate for methods of aggregating variables such as factor analysis. In fact, factor analysis is often used as a means of uncovering the various dimensions within a wide range of variables (e.g., Lazarsfeld, 1968; Hall, 1968). It would seem, however, that principal components analysis is the most suitable type of factor analysis for such variables.

There is a general consensus amongst authors concerning the reliability measures deemed suitable for data used in factor analysis. It should be noted at the outset, however, that authors such as Bryman and Cramer (1990) raise doubts about the value of examining the reliability of the data set as a whole:

> *Indeed, if a factor analysis confirms that a measure comprises a number of dimensions the overall scale will probably exhibit a low level of internal reliability. . .* (Bryman and Cramer, 1990:71)

Although authors addressing statistical techniques, and particularly factor analysis, tend to prescribe a variety of reliability tests to be conducted before factors are extracted, there seems to be little agreement on the precise form of the data to be tested. As the section below describes, two sets of extractions were actually conducted, one complying to reliability tests and guidelines, whilst the other applied reliability tests only after the extractions had been conducted. It would also have been possible to test the reliability of separate dimensions of variables. As the aim of the factor analysis is to simplify a range of variables, however, this was not considered to be a particularly useful option.

It was decided, therefore, to conduct reliability tests according to the two sets of extractions conducted. For the 'non-reliable' extractions this involved reliability tests *following* the extractions and using:

i) the whole sample.

ii) the two sub-samples.

iii) the constructs and the variables used in each of the five separate extractions.

For the 'reliable' extractions, a Cronbach Alpha test was first conducted on the variables used in each of the five extractions, and all variables with negative correlations were removed. A knowledge of the sample and the context of the study made negative or very small correlations quite understandable in subjective terms. The overall correlation coefficient may reflect the opposing tendencies of two or more groups of respondents, and these groups would actually be revealed by the factor analysis. Negative correlations between two variables, however, either violates the conditions for reliability models, or it results in very low values. Likewise, the greater the number of statistically insignificant correlation coefficients, the less statistically reliable the data and the measurement scales.

In both cases, however, a range of reliability models were used to examine the statistical reliability if the data. A well-known reliability model is the Cronbach Alpha Coefficient, which is based on either the observed correlations of the items if their standard deviation is standardised at one, or the covariance of items in a scale. An important assumption is that the items are positively correlated. This is the reason that the data from the first set of extractions violates this reliability test. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient can be viewed as the correlation between the scale in question, and all other possible scales containing the same number of items measuring the same concept. Another interpretation is:

> *the squared correlation between the score a person obtains on a particular scale, (the observed score), and the score he would have obtained if questioned on all of the possible items in the universe (the true score).* (Norusis, 1993:147)

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Like all correlation coefficients, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient ranges from 0 to 1. Examination of the descriptive statistics indicates to what extent the variances differ between items. If the variances do differ considerably, the Standardised Item Alpha coefficient may be the more suitable measure. Values of over 0.6 are considered to be acceptable for both types. If the data consists of a number of dimensions, it is preferable to test each dimension as the overall Alpha coefficient may be low. In general, the value depends on both the average correlation between items and the number of items. In the context of this project, it is important to note that scales with a large number of items with relatively small correlations can have high Alpha values, although negative correlations violate the model. The SPSS output for the Cronbach Alpha measure also indicates the effect on the coefficient of removing each variable from the analysis.

Another reliability indictor is the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy. This measure compares the magnitudes of the observed correlation coefficients to the magnitudes of the partial correlation coefficients. If there are common factors within the data, the partial correlation coefficients between pairs of variables should be small once the linear combinations of variables have been arranged into factors. The measure is close to one if the sum of the squared partial correlation coefficients is small in relation to the sum of the squared correlation coefficients. If the correlations between pairs of variables can be explained by other variables - the purpose of factor analysis - the values of the measure will be over 0.5. According to Norusis (1993:52-53), Kaiser (1974) describes values of over 0.80 as 'meritorious', values of 0.60 as 'middling', values in the 0.50's as 'miserable', and values of below 0.5 as 'unacceptable'. A value for each variable can also be calculated, and displayed in SPSS along the diagonals of the 'anti-image correlation matrix'. Again, the latter measure is useful in indicating the variables which could be excluded to increase the overall reliability of the scale.

The hypothesis that the correlation matrix is an identity matrix can be tested with Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. An identity matrix has diagonal terms of 1, and off-diagonal term are 0. An identity matrix exhibits the property of having no correlation between the

variables, a condition which obviously violates that factor analysis model. A high value for the Bartlett's test of sphericity is large, and more importantly, the significance is low, then the hypothesis can be rejected, and the measure indicates that the data is suitable for factor analysis.

9.5.5   Extracting the Factors

As discussed in the previous section, two sets of factor analysis extraction were conducted. The first deliberately paid little attention to the reliability of the data and the scales, according to the tests commonly used in the context of factor analysis. The second set of extractions adhered to a range of reliability tests. In the case of the variables used in the second set, any variables with negative correlations were excluded. The variables were then tested for their reliability before any extractions were conducted. The factor analysis output for the second set was scrutinised to a greater extent in terms of the size of factor loadings deemed to be significant.

In conducting the first set of extractions, there was no attempt to consider the possibility of the factor analysis model being violated by the existence of the two subsamples. In the second set of extractions, it was recognised that the existence of two subsamples could violate the model in a number of ways. The risk of 'multicollinearity' is considerably increased. This is a situation where two or more variables are highly correlated with each other so that they actually represent the same concept. This creates unstable regression coefficients, and the potential for considerable variation between different samples. The risk of 'singularities' may also be increased if the two subsamples act in opposite ways on the correlation coefficient between two variables. A variable may appear to correlate with no other variable when the two subsamples are aggregated.

For the first set of extractions, the whole sample of 335 respondents was used. Although each separate extraction is described below, the format was similar. Constructs were selected on the basis of the graphical representation. The choice of extractions, using

different groups of constructs, was based on the value of the image index for constructs, and discrepancies between the image index score for the two subsamples. It was also based on the relevance of groups of constructs to practitioners in the context of place marketing/tourism policy analysis. In addition to the constructs selected for each extraction, the full range of geographical, demographic, socio-economic, role-identity, and representation variables were used. In addition to these variables, two variables representing each of the subsamples was added: *inside* and *outside*. There was no attempt to exclude variables with low or negative correlation coefficients.

The following extractions were conducted:

1) Negative Images, including: industrial, unsafe, inaccessible, congested, few impressive buildings.

2) Strongly Negative Images, including: industrial.

3) Negative Experiences, including: congested, dirty.

4) Positive Images, including: historical, friendly, arts and culture, interesting, impressive buildings, good atmosphere.

5) Positive Experiences, including: friendly, historical, interesting, impressive buildings.

For the second set of extractions, the process was somewhat different. A Cronbach Alpha test was performed on the variables used for each of the extraction's above. Instead of using the whole sample, however, the two subsamples were used. Using the 'reliability' option on SPSS, the correlation matrix was also examined. With one or two exceptions, the variables used in the first set of extractions did not score highly in the Cronbach Alpha Test. They tended to actually violate the other reliability models, and it was not in fact possible to obtain output for measures such as Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. Examination of the correlation matrix enabled certain variables to be excluded. As negative correlations violate reliability models, the priority was to exclude other variables which had negative correlations. The implications of this process, in

terms of abandoning otherwise useful data, are discussed in the subsequent two chapters. The process was successful, however, in significantly increasing the values of the Cronbach Alpha Coefficient, Bartlett's Test of Sphericity, and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy. These measures were considerably more acceptable for the variables used in the second set of extractions.

The actual process of extracting factors was the same for both the original and revised set of variables. Once the spread sheet had been loaded, it was necessary to initially name the variables. The 'Descriptives' option in SPSS was used to provide both the correlation matrix, and run reliability measures such as Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. The 'Extraction' option was then selected, including the option to produce a 'scree diagram' of the eigenvalues for each factor. By default, SPSS only extracts factors with eigenvalues above one. The output consists of the correlation matrix, 'initial statistics', and 'final statistics'. In principal components analysis the initial and final statistics are identical, both showing the eignevalues of each factor extracted.

The scree diagram is useful in deciding how many factors to consider in explaining the data (Cattell, 1966). The point where the scree starts, - a gradual trailing-off of eigenvalues - is where the maximum number of factors necessary to explain the data is considered to lie. Eigenvalues are obviously important as they represent the amount of variance explained by each factor. The break between the steep slope of the first few factors, and the gradual slope of the later ones is a useful guide. Another method for determining the number of factors to retain is known as *Kaiser's criterion*, and involves selecting only factors with eigenvalues over one. SPSS does this by default, and since the total variance that a variable can have is standardised at one, it means that factors which explain less variance than a single variable are excluded. Kaiser's Criterion is recommended for situations where there are less than thirty variables and an average communality of greater than 0.70, or when the number of respondents is greater than 250 and the average commonality is equal to 0.60 (Stevens, 1966, cited in Bryman and Cramer, 1990).

In this project, there are several additional considerations in examining factors. For each extraction the focus is either images from outside Cardiff, or experiences inside Cardiff. In the first set of extractions, therefore, one is also concerned with the factors with high loadings for either the variable 'Outside', or the variable 'Inside'. This is not a consideration in the second set of extractions as the two subsamples are treated separately. In addition, in the case of both sets of extractions, one is concerned with factors which have high loadings for the constructs specific to the extraction (as listed above).

Once it has been decided which factors are useful in explaining the variance for each extraction, it is possible to use SPSS to make interpretation easier. A simple procedure is to opt for the variables in each factor to be presented in the descending order of their factor loadings. This enables the factor to be interpreted in terms of both the constructs and the other variables. It is then possible to suggest names, typologies, or market segments for factors. The place marketing and tourism policy implications of factors was a consideration in the interpretation stage.

If interpretation of the factors in an extraction is still difficult, a technique called factor rotation can be used. The factors produced by SPSS can be difficult to interpret if factors contain small loadings and a large number of variables. The two main varieties of factor rotation are *orthogonal* and *oblique*. The orthogonal rotation essentially follows the same format as the original principal components extraction, in that it produces factors which are not correlated with each other. This is an advantage in the context of this project, as the researcher can attempt to identify distinct market segments or typologies. As the purpose of rotation is to achieve a simple structure, with distinct factors, this method can prove to be useful. It is hoped that the rotation will produce as few factors as possible with high loadings on particular variables. Although the commonalties and the total amount of variance accounted for does not alter with rotation, the proportion of

variance accounted for by each factor does alter. The explained variance is redistributed between the factors.

SPSS allows three different algorithms to be used in the rotation. The most common is the *Varimax* method, which minimises the number of variables that have high loadings on a factor. The *Quartimax* method attempts to minimise the number of factors needed to explain a variable, whilst the *equamax* method is a combination of the two methods. In a data set with a large number of variables, it can have the useful effect of increasing factor loadings for certain variables, and reducing moderate or low loadings. The main type of rotation attempted was the varimax method, although the interpretation of the factors was not improved by factor rotation in this case.

9.6   CONCLUSION

The two phases of primary research have now been described, along with two phases of data analysis. The methodology drew upon theoretical contributions from the tourism/marketing literature, cultural studies, and phenomenology. The concepts and research techniques developed by Kelly (1955) have also been influential. As the methodology is influenced by several different epistemologies, considerable attention has been paid to ensuring consistency and the development of a coherent research design. It is encouraging that the quality of the data produced by both phases of primary research is high. Both phases of the analysis progressed as envisaged, creating powerful data of interest to both academics and practitioners.

The primary research has not been conducted without some problems and limitations. These particularly relate to response rates for the surveys, which despite the high quality of the replies, was lower than envisaged. This problem also affected the factor analysis, adding to the challenge of ensuring the statistical reliability of the data. The issue of

reliability, however, forms the basis of a useful discussion in subsequent chapters, concerning the implications of methodological pluralism.

The initial stage of analysis, using graphical representations of the data, was successful in allowing the identification of constructs worthy of further analysis. Although merely presenting an overview of the responses to the constructs, the graphical representation clearly showed the discrepancies existing between images and experiences. As the graphical representation can only provide a rather simplistic overview, factor analysis offers the potential of analysing the typologies of consumers - market segments - with particular images or experiences.

Overall, factor analysis proved to be an extremely powerful tool for examining the multiple correlations between the variables. Meaningful factors representing groups of consumers with particular images or experiences were identified. These intersubjective groups are of great relevance to both the practice of place marketing and tourism, and academic debates. The identification of such groups has potential in terms of both targeting tourism and marketing strategies to both particular groups of consumers, and understanding the landscapes and representations experienced intersubjectively. It would seem that overall, the methodology has been successful in taking the conceptual framework into the realm of practice.

CHAPTER 10
ANALYSIS

10.1 INTRODUCTION

As discussed in the methodology, and in a similar fashion to the primary data collection, the analysis proceeds in two stages. The first stage is concerned with the overall image index scores expressed as a percentage of the maximum possible for each construct. The bar chart of the twenty-two different constructs was used in the initial stage of analysis. Initial inspection revealed general trends concerning levels of satisfaction at the destination, and images of Cardiff from outside. A number of constructs were identified as priorities in terms of further analysis. In particular, negative images of Cardiff as 'industrial' and 'inaccessible' were identified, and prioritised for further analysis. Whilst the graphical representation permitted general observations and discussion of these constructs, it is considered vital to examine the *characteristics* of both visitors and potential visitors with particular experiences or images.

The factor analysis using SPSS enabled the evaluation of small groups of interesting or problematic constructs to take place. The analysis also included a range of psychographic, geographic, demographic, and socio-economic data collected in the survey. Although both skill and caution are of paramount importance in interpreting the factor analysis output, some rich data emerged. The analysis revealed factors with high loadings for the constructs in question (whether they are images or experiences), and a range of other variables In this way it proved possible to build up profiles or typologies of both visitors and potential visitors who have particularly problematic experiences or images. This enabled subsequent discussion of the personal characteristics associated with particular experiences or images, the representations and aspects of landscape experienced, and the tourism and place marketing policy implications.

As discussed in chapter nine, a number of tests of the validity and reliability of the data were performed. It became apparent from the tests that reliability is an issue worth considering in some detail. Two sets of factor analysis extractions are presented, one which satisfies a range of reliability models, and one which does not. Overall, however, it is believed that this particular application of factor analysis, where the researcher is only interested in factors containing specific variables with high factor loadings, proves to be a powerful analytical tool. Factor analysis, in this application, is useful for examining the characteristics of consumers *most likely* to have particular images or experiences.

10.2   GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION

10.2.1 Overall

The bar chart (*Figure 10.1*) proved to be useful in making general observations about the data, and identifying interesting or problematic constructs. It can be seen that overall, both images of Cardiff amongst potential visitors, and experiences of Cardiff amongst actual visitors, tend to be positive. The graphical representation assigns the unfavourable or derogatory constructs a negative image index score, whilst the favourable constructs have a positive image index. It can clearly be seen that for both experiences and images of Cardiff (inside and outside respectively), the positive scores by far outweigh the negative scores. It can also be seen that although there is a general correlation between the two sub-samples of data, the *Experiences* sub-sample is characterised by higher scores than the *Images* sub-sample. Although it is important to examine discrepancies between the two for particular constructs, this general observation applies to both favourable and unfavourable constructs.

Figure 10.1 Graphical Representation of Images and Experiences of Cardiff

Constructs

1. Modern	7. Uninteresting	13. Industrial	19. Lacks Atmosphere
2. Historical	8. Interesting	14. Countryside	20. Good Atmosphere
3. Unfriendly	9. Unimpressive Buildings	15. Unsafe	21. Dirty
4. Friendly	10. Impressive Buildings	16. Safe	22. Clean
5. Lacks Culture	11. Congested	17. Inaccessible	
6. Arts/Culture	12. Open	18. Accessible	
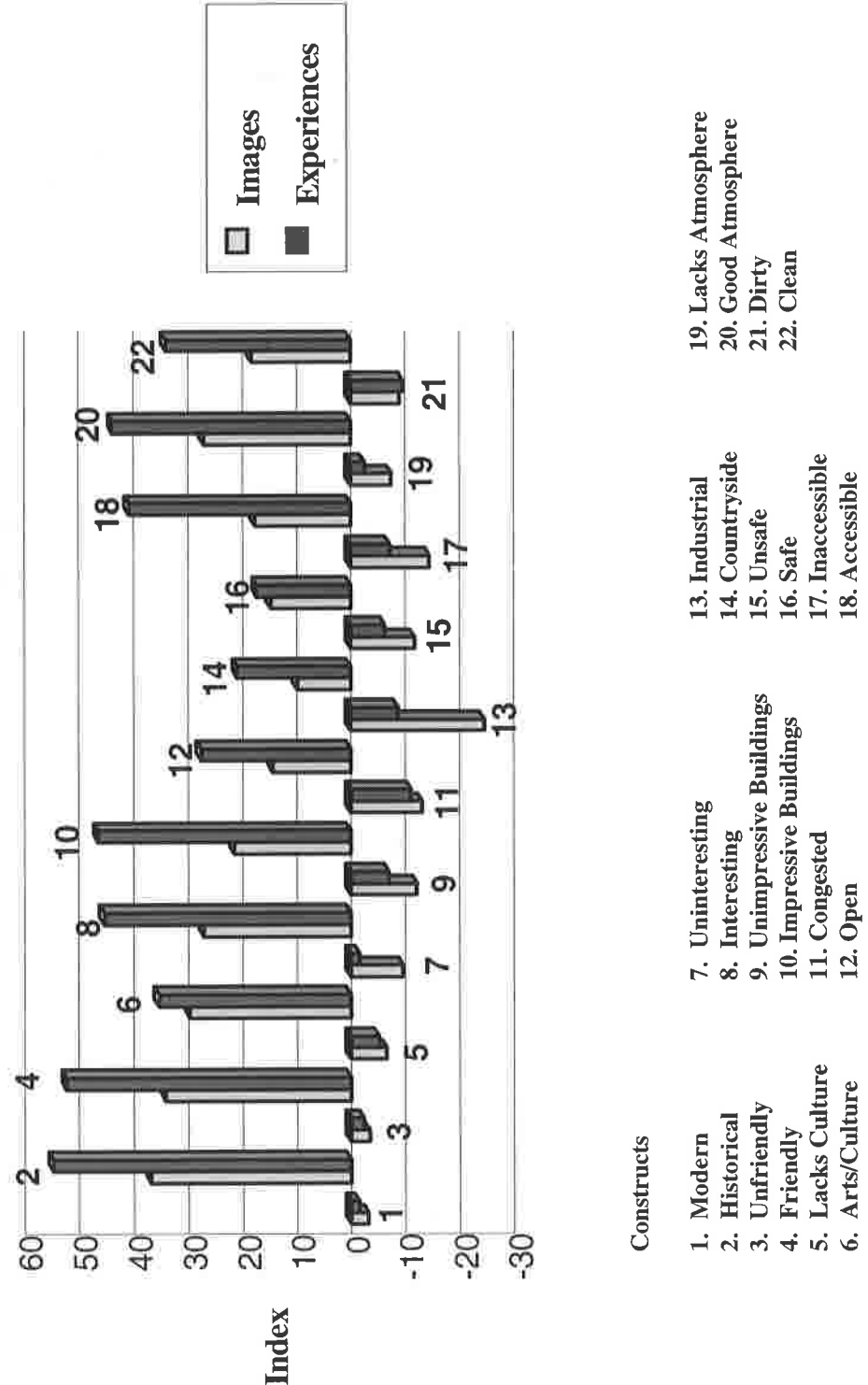
10.2.2 Images versus Experiences

It is significant that the sub-sample of *Experiences* is considerably more positive than the sub-sample of *Images*. The graphical representation clearly shows that for the favourable constructs (positive index) the scores are higher for the *Experiences* sub-sample, than for the *Images* sub-sample (with the exception of construct twenty-one). The unfavourable constructs (negative image index) clearly show greater negative scores for the *Images* sub-sample. Overall, the higher index scores for experiences than images, in very general terms, would seem to indicate that the place product generally meets or exceeds expectations, whilst the image of Cardiff could be problematic.

The one exception to the observation above (construct twenty-one) is concerned with the experience of Cardiff as 'Dirty'. The image index score is relatively low at -10, representing a small proportion of total visitors to Cardiff. However, it is of some concern that experiences of Cardiff as 'Dirty' actually score slightly higher than images of Cardiff as 'Dirty'. It would seem that that this construct deserves particular attention at the factor analysis stage.

10.2.3 Experiences of Cardiff

Amongst the positive constructs for *Experiences*, it can be seen that a number of aspects of Cardiff's place product are perceived extremely positively. Construct two 'Historical', construct four 'Friendly', construct eight 'Interesting', construct ten 'Impressive Buildings', construct eighteen 'Accessible', and construct twenty 'Good Atmosphere', all score highly. 'Historical' and 'Friendly' score particularly highly at 55 and 52 respectively. An initial examination of the graph would seem to indicate high levels of satisfaction with these aspects of the place product, and this would seem to be of relevance to the subsequent discussion concerning the positioning of Cardiff as an urban tourist destination. It is noteworthy that Cardiff is perceived as being 'Accessible' by

actual visitors, yet 'Inaccessible' is one of the strongest negative images from outside the city.

In terms of *negative experiences*, a brief examination of the unfavourable constructs with high negative index scores highlights construct eleven 'Congested', and construct thirteen 'Industrial'. Together with 'Dirty', these constructs represent the negative experiences of visitors to Cardiff. These constructs therefore merit further analysis, and the data relating to these is likely to have important policy implications. These constructs represent the flaws within the Cardiff place product, and in the subsequent stages of analysis it is important to explore the characteristics of both the visitors and the experiences concerned.

10.2.4 Images of Cardiff

It is immediately apparent that images of Cardiff from outside - the perceptions of visitors to Edinburgh and Bristol who have not visited Cardiff recently - are considerably less favourable than experiences of Cardiff upon visiting. All of the favourable constructs which score highly in the *Experiences* sub-sample, score considerably less in the *Images* sub-sample. For instance, 'Historical' has an index of 38, as opposed to 55 for the *Experiences* sub-sample. 'Impressive buildings' has an index of 22 in the *Images* sub-sample, compared to 48 in the *Experiences* sub-sample.

It has already been noted that there is a general correlation between the two series, with the positive constructs displaying higher index scores in the *Experiences* sub-sample. The index score for *Images*, however, is much closer to that of *Experiences* on construct six 'Arts and Culture', and construct sixteen 'Safe', suggesting that expectations are only just being exceeded.

Much more significant, and arguably the most important observation from the graphical representation, are the strongly negative images for certain constructs. This is apparent

for construct seven 'Uninteresting', construct nine 'Few impressive buildings', construct eleven 'Congested', construct thirteen 'Industrial', construct fifteen 'Unsafe', and construct seventeen 'Inaccessible'. It has been noted that construct eleven 'Congested' also has a negative score of some -11 for the *Experiences* sub-sample. The *Images* sub-sample is particularly negative for construct 13 'Industrial', and construct seventeen 'Inaccessible'.

These constructs are important because they represent the aspects of Cardiff where images (and expectations) are particularly low in relation to first-hand experience. Of these constructs, construct thirteen 'Industrial' is particularly noteworthy with a negative index scores of -24. Not only do a significant minority of potential visitors expect Cardiff to be industrial and inaccessible, but these perceptions are very different from visitors' experiences of Cardiff.

10.3   FACTOR ANALYSIS - SET ONE

10.3.1 Introduction

As discussed in the methodology, the aim of the factor analysis is to examine the characteristics of respondents with particular images or experiences. Constructs which have been revealed as interesting or problematic by the graphical representation are therefore used in the factor analysis extractions, along with the other variables. The criteria for the selection of constructs for factor analysis consists of both the score in the image index, and the degree of discrepancy between the 'image' and 'experience' sub-samples. Results for the following factor analysis extractions are presented:

Extraction 1   *Negative Images*: Industrial, Unsafe, Inaccessible, Congested, Few
                          Impressive Buildings.

Extraction 2   *Strongly Negative Image*: Industrial.

Extraction 3	*Negative Experiences*: Congested, Dirty.
Extraction 4	*Positive Images*: Historical, Friendly, Arts and Culture.
Extraction 5	*Positive Experiences*: Historical, Friendly, Interesting, Impressive Buildings, Accessible, Good Atmosphere.

10.3.2 Negative Images

For this extraction the constructs listed above, and the variables listed in *Table 9.1* were used. Factors which contained high factor loadings for the variable 'outside', together with high loadings for the constructs in question, were identified. From the 'Final Statistics' (*Table 10.1*), it can be seen that a total of 13 factors were extracted. The scree plot indicates that the optimum number of factors is three. It should be noted, however, that in this analysis one is not concerned with the total amount of variance in each extraction. The main concern is identifying the factors which contain high loadings for either 'inside' or 'outside', and the constructs in question. It is then a case of identifying other variables with high loadings for that particular factor.

It can be seen from the factor matrix (*Table 10.2*) that the factors with loadings for variables including 'Outside', 'Congested' 'No Buildings', 'Industrial', 'Unsafe', and 'Inaccessible' are Factors One and Two. Factor One has an eigenvalue of 3.08824 and accounts for 8.8 % of total variance. Factor Two has an eigenvalue of 2.98294, and represents 8.5 % of variance.

Factor One also has a high loading for 'Industrial' (0.45), and high values for 'Congested' (0.32), and 'Unsafe' (0.36). It can be seen that factor loadings are also high for 'Higher Education' (0.33), 'Low Income' (0.55), 'Student'(0.56), and 'Young' (0.65). Although lower (0.23), the loading is also relatively high for 'Sport', representing an interest amongst respondents in sport. It would seem that there is a high level of correlation amongst these variables, including both the negative images, and the personal

characteristics. The factor can be considered to represent a typology of consumer or a market segment. With the aim of discussing this factor in the context of policy implications, the factor can tentatively be named 'Young, Educated, but Negative.'

Table 10.1   Final Statistics for 'Negative Images'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
CONGEST	.41877	*	1	3.08824	8.8	8.8
EUROPE	.70667	*	2	2.98294	8.5	17.3
FEMALE	.96441	*	3	2.87249	8.2	25.6
GRPSOC	.45328	*	4	2.21355	6.3	31.9
HIGHERED	.65364	*	5	1.98229	5.7	37.5
HIGHINC	.70759	*	6	1.87814	5.4	42.9
HIMIDAG	.82372	*	7	1.66729	4.8	47.7
INACCESS	.58786	*	8	1.63535	4.7	52.3
INDUST	.54232	*	9	1.31073	3.7	56.1
INSIDE	.93366	*	10	1.28857	3.7	59.8
LITERAT	.50256	*	11	1.23948	3.5	63.3
LITHOBBY	.49842	*	12	1.15161	3.3	66.6
LOWINC	.81038	*	13	1.13587	3.2	69.8
LOWMIDAG	.88953	*				
MALE	.96441	*				
MIDINC	.96537	*				
NAMERICA	.70687	*				
NONPROF	.80207	*				
NOREPS	.70768	*				
OUTSIDE	.93366	*				
OVSIXTY	.86636	*				
PAPER	.63051	*				
PASTVIS	.54339	*				
PROFESS	.82651	*				
PROMO	.35833	*				
RETIRED	.85461	*				
ROFWORLD	.84555	*				
SPORT	.36049	*				
TVRADIO	.71542	*				
WMOUTH	.64320	*				
YOUNG	.79191	*				
UNSAFE	.35473	*				
NOBUILDS	.58257	*				
BRITAIN	.83334	*				
STUDENT	.66675	*				

Table 10.2 Factor Loadings for 'Negative Images'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
CONGEST	.32078	.01523	.13574	.05630	.11686
EUROPE	.13276	-.35450	.01894	.10022	-.10428
FEMALE	-.11277	-.43603	-.27272	-.51948	-.31530
GRPSOC	-.24467	.09469	.33958	.12142	.12127
HIGHERED	.32983	-.12152	.52176	.11748	.10491
HIGHINC	.07010	.06640	.46292	.29020	-.11697
HIMIDAG	-.24887	.05983	.16022	-.03754	-.03812
INACCESS	.03775	.08295	.19701	-.23942	-.25796
INDUST	.44893	.19713	.04886	-.16363	-.10121
INSIDE	-.49143	-.52844	-.21473	.36382	.35173
LITERAT	-.18185	-.20777	.15510	.34121	-.05680
LITHOBBY	-.03621	-.15679	.07086	-.08650	-.19240
LOWINC	.54868	-.12640	-.46436	.31105	-.01332
LOWMIDAG	-.16466	-.12191	.23654	-.34948	.39562
MALE	.11277	.43603	.27272	.51948	.31530
MIDINC	-.50773	.06791	.10238	-.46411	.10367
NAMERICA	-.12144	-.02719	.51684	.20753	-.32700
NONPROF	-.03949	-.03483	-.41976	-.26888	.17261
NOREPS	.03827	-.01884	.11712	-.28285	-.29831
OUTSIDE	.49143	.52844	.21473	-.36382	-.35173
OVSIXTY	-.34372	.45361	-.25693	.35497	-.42034
PAPER	-.02281	.49255	-.04205	.07660	.22668
PASTVIS	.04652	.33775	-.08521	-.24235	.08822
PROFESS	-.06987	-.07535	.79622	-.13542	.24695
PROMO	-.32850	-.23780	-.04105	.10167	-.05336
RETIRED	-.36331	.45087	-.31250	.31747	-.45717
ROFWORLD	.15429	-.29664	.08554	-.01058	-.06605
SPORT	.22695	.11342	-.09176	-.12949	.32181
TVRADIO	.05335	.48953	-.12571	.03842	.31168
WMOUTH	.08224	-.31175	-.12741	.00771	.25536
YOUNG	.65207	-.31086	-.14189	.06553	.00126
UNSAFE	.35801	.23480	.03785	.06494	.19259
NOBUILDS	.23981	.08446	.16176	-.11432	-.08139
BRITAIN	-.08880	.47255	-.45427	-.19501	.36354
STUDENT	.55982	-.29580	-.25618	.21446	-.07504

Factor Two is of interest because it also has a high loading for 'Outside'. It also has a loading of 0.23 for 'Unsafe', and 0.20 for 'Industrial'. Although the latter loadings are high relative to other variables, they are below the 0.3 threshold commonly considered as the minimal acceptable coefficient. The protocol of factor analysis would only allow the

researcher to consider the factor loadings for the constructs in Factor One of this extraction as acceptable. It is acknowledged, however, that the nature of the data, particularly the existence of the two sub-samples, will considerably lower factor loadings in the first set of extractions.

10.3.3 Strongly Negative Image

This extraction consisted of the construct 'Industrial', together with the thirty variables (see *Table 9.1*). This construct had a significantly stronger negative index score than the others forming the group of 'negative images'. From the Final Statistics (*Table 10.3*), it can be seen that a total of 12 factors were extracted, the scree plot indicating that the optimum number of factors to explain the total variance is three. Factors two is of particular interest, as it has acceptable loadings for both 'Outside', and 'Industrial' (0.32). The total eigenvalue of factor two is 2.89910, representing 9.4 % of total variance.

It can be seen from *Table 10.4* that Factor Two has a high (and acceptable) loading for 'Outside' (0.49), 'Industrial' (0.32), and for 'Low Income' (0.48), 'Non-professional', 'Newspapers'(0.31), 'Television and Radio' (0.40). Again it would seem that this type of respondent is characterised by exposure to representations of Cardiff in newspapers, and on the television and radio. The 'Couch Potato', if a little derogatory, would seem to be a useful label. The difference between this extraction and the previous one, however, is that the typology seems to be much tighter and more accurate for the 'Industrial' image alone. This is illustrated by the acceptable factor loadings for 'Low Income', 'Non-professional', 'Newspapers', and 'Television and Radio'.

Table 10.3   Final Statistics for 'Strongly Negative Image'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of variance	Cum Pct
EUROPE	.69892	*	1	2.99692	9.7	9.7
FEMALE	.96828	*	2	2.89910	9.4	19.0
GRPSOC	.45305	*	3	2.77667	9.0	28.0
HIGHERED	.66343	*	4	2.17961	7.0	35.0
HIGHINC	.70959	*	5	1.92589	6.2	41.2
HIMIDAG	.78799	*	6	1.84155	5.9	47.2
INDUST	.49435	*	7	1.63788	5.3	52.4
INSIDE	.92756	*	8	1.52126	4.9	57.4
LITERAT	.49731	*	9	1.29470	4.2	61.5
LITHOBBY	.37574	*	10	1.23919	4.0	65.5
LOWINC	.81708	*	11	1.17432	3.8	69.3
LOWMIDAG	.90711	*	12	1.05673	3.4	72.7
MALE	.96828	*				
MIDINC	.97826	*				
NAMERICA	.74836	*				
NONPROF	.80674	*				
NOREPS	.73268	*				
OUTSIDE	.92756	*				
OVSIXTY	.86533	*				
PAPER	.63417	*				
PASTVIS	.60080	*				
PROFESS	.82525	*				
PROMO	.30986	*				
RETIRED	.84620	*				
ROFWORLD	.88269	*				
SPORT	.41527	*				
TVRADIO	.72507	*				
WMOUTH	.67115	*				
YOUNG	.77505	*				
BRITAIN	.84044	*				
STUDENT	.69025	*				

Table 10.4   Factor Loadings for 'Strongly Negative Image'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
EUROPE	-.35341	-.13473	.00676	.11966	-.04830
FEMALE	-.28418	-.14940	-.44260	-.46857	.58186
GRPSOC	.28708	-.29456	.16517	.07064	.04611
HIGHERED	-.23441	-.22183	.55523	.04775	.10836
HIGHINC	.07583	-.21103	.42701	.27015	.11264
HIMIDAG	.22429	-.18335	.02244	-.02355	-.06235
INDUST	-.14220	.31698	.28511	-.13751	.12104
INSIDE	-.06194	-.48843	-.61743	.31867	-.32626
LITERAT	-.00935	-.31151	-.01783	.35137	-.01427
LITHOBBY	-.09593	-.13331	-.00041	-.04897	.27153
LOWINC	-.51741	.47942	-.12144	.32438	-.02586
LOWMIDAG	.06362	-.31929	.02886	-.41831	-.30102
MALE	.28418	.14940	.44260	.46857	-.58186
MIDINC	.39035	-.27166	-.16096	-.46831	-.05515
NAMERICA	.13468	-.38170	.33933	.24083	.24904
NONPROF	-.06157	.21711	-.37108	-.25024	-.37377
NOREPS	-.03164	-.04096	.09663	-.21952	.14235
OUTSIDE	.06194	.48843	.61743	-.31867	.32626
OVSIXTY	.53200	.24048	-.23839	.42493	.41449
PAPER	.37042	.31367	.14363	.01628	-.12672
PASTVIS	.20731	.27455	.05038	-.26487	.01835
PROFESS	.10808	-.56922	.55906	-.22575	-.04357
PROMO	.04403	-.29979	-.27169	.09919	.10888
RETIRED	.52858	.26862	-.28741	.40185	.43401
ROFWORLD	-.32328	-.13247	.06356	.02188	-.01800
SPORT	-.07495	.23700	.07181	-.17431	-.33224
TVRADIO	.29765	.39759	.12736	-.03558	-.22423
WMOUTH	-.28473	-.10047	-.20477	-.02316	-.14284
YOUNG	-.68981	.25484	.15120	.06292	.00516
BRITAIN	.35601	.48014	-.28186	-.25949	-.14411
STUDENT	-.62787	.27323	.01009	.22793	.07557

10.3.4 Negative Experiences

The constructs used in this extraction were 'Congested' and 'Dirty', representing the only significant negative constructs in the *Experience*s sub-sample. Factors with high coefficients for the variable 'Inside' can be identified, although one of these factors also has acceptable coefficients for the two constructs 'Congested' or 'Dirty'. The scree plot

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shows that the optimum number of constructs for explaining the total variance in this extraction is be eight. It can be seen from *Table 10.6* that the factors with highest loadings for 'Inside', 'Congested', and 'Dirty' are Factor Four, and Factor Five. *Table 10.5* shows that Factor Four has an eigenvalue of 2.18439, and the percentage of variance is 6.8%. The eigenvalue of factor five is 1.93383, and the percentage of variance is 6.0%.

Examination of *Table 10.6* indicates a lack of correlation between the experiences of Cardiff as 'Congested' and 'Dirty', and the other variables. It is possible that the nature of the data, particularly the existence of the two sub-samples has played a part. As the respondents rating their experiences of Cardiff in terms of 'Congested' or 'Dirty' are relatively few, it is possible that any correlations existing between those constructs and other variables do not produce significant factor loadings overall.

It is also possible that there is indeed only a moderate correlation between experiences of Cardiff as 'dirty' and 'congested', and the other variables used in the survey. It is quite plausible for such experiences to be linked more to the specific areas of the city experienced, or particular readings of the Cardiff landscape. This lack of correlation would seem to suggest that negative experiences of Cardiff are linked more to features of the urban environment, than the characteristics of tourists. This issue will be pursued in the 'Qualitative Data' section of the analysis, as the survey format specifically asked for examples of each experience.

It should be noted that although examples of experiences were recorded in a qualitative form in the surveys, the variables do not contain 'landscape' equivalents to the sources of representations. The survey may have been more revealing if it had incorporated variables specific to aspects of the landscape. It is also worth examining whether the second set of extractions, taking each sub-sample in turn, is better able to reveal correlations for this extraction. It is considered essential, however, to examine the

qualitative data on the urban landscape experiences, and this data is incorporated into the subsequent discussion.

Table 10.5   Final Statistics for 'Negative Experiences'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var.	Cum Pct.
EUROPE	.72464	*	1	3.01354	9.4	9.4
FEMALE	.95895	*	2	2.85652	8.9	18.3
GRPSOC	.41640	*	3	2.75069	8.6	26.9
HIGHERED	.65439	*	4	2.18439	6.8	33.8
HIGHINC	.69092	*	5	1.93383	6.0	39.8
HIMIDAG	.81346	*	6	1.84936	5.8	45.6
INSIDE	.92917	*	7	1.63888	5.1	50.7
LITERAT	.46295	*	8	1.60775	5.0	55.7
LITHOBBY	.26920	*	9	1.29101	4.0	59.8
LOWINC	.80408	*	10	1.26866	4.0	63.7
LOWMIDAG	.89899	*	11	1.22595	3.8	67.6
MALE	.95895	*	12	1.17118	3.7	71.2
MIDINC	.97678	*				
NAMERICA	.64071	*				
NONPROF	.80644	*				
NOREPS	.70678	*				
OUTSIDE	.92917	*				
OVSIXTY	.86407	*				
PAPER	.63016	*				
PASTVIS	.55764	*				
PROFESS	.82537	*				
PROMO	.31289	*				
RETIRED	.85099	*				
ROFWORLD	.82238	*				
SPORT	.35647	*				
STUDENT	.66046	*				
TVRADIO	.69979	*				
WMOUTH	.67177	*				
YOUNG	.79089	*				
BRITAIN	.82602	*				
CONGEST	.64824	*				
DIRTY	.63266	*				

Table 10.6   Factor loadings for 'Negative Experiences'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factors 5
EUROPE	.36069	.06236	-.06183	.09330	-.01412
FEMALE	.24839	-.10527	-.53633	-.41989	-.50662
GRPSOC	-.22772	.37336	.02126	.08184	-.01340
HIGHERED	.29989	.41915	.38698	-.00208	-.10935
HIGHINC	-.00991	.39597	.29509	.24798	-.12826
HIMIDAG	-.20262	.19691	-.07300	-.02829	.02145
INSIDE	.11073	.11605	-.70435	.41773	.39485
LITERAT	.05169	.25477	-.14443	.36463	-.00160
LITHOBBY	.09690	.10106	-.09572	-.06161	-.27768
LOWINC	.45387	-.55832	.16687	.27706	-.00654
LOWMIDAG	-.02270	.30858	-.15100	-.37401	.34971
MALE	-.24839	.10527	.53633	.41989	.50662
MIDINC	-.37968	.22452	-.32561	-.41598	.09209
NAMERICA	-.05517	.51625	.12115	.24950	-.24961
NONPROF	.00107	-.37163	-.23837	-.22734	.35068
NOREPS	.03670	.07625	.04751	-.23331	-.17373
OUTSIDE	-.11073	-.11605	.70435	-.41773	-.39485
OVSIXTY	-.56401	-.24178	-.07233	.45745	-.37755
PAPER	-.39487	-.14846	.28014	.00267	.13287
PASTVIS	-.23900	-.18367	.16594	-.28721	-.01483
PROFESS	.00603	.77859	.20926	-.23211	.06880
PROMO	-.02461	.13603	-.38161	.13308	-.09723
RETIRED	-.57234	-.29235	-.10786	.42934	-.40738
ROFWORLD	.32792	.09637	-.03094	.00306	-.01070
SPORT	.05120	-.17731	.17507	-.17347	.34725
STUDENT	.58849	-.33267	.15987	.16927	-.11633
TVRADIO	-.34453	-.24123	.28962	-.06420	.20847
WMOUTH	.29122	-.04336	-.21650	.02061	.20954
YOUNG	.66001	-.25495	.26302	-.00050	-.04387
BRITAIN	-.42372	-.49756	-.00181	-.24077	.20132
CONGEST	.19835	.03756	.27144	.07487	.13577
DIRTY	.10773	.01136	.18223	.18897	.18166

10.3.5 Positive Images

For this extraction, factors with variables with high coefficients for 'Outside', 'Historical', 'Friendly', 'Arts and Culture' are sought. The extraction did not produce any factors which have significant loadings for these variables (see *Table 10.8*). The only factor which has relatively high loadings for these variables is Factor Nine. The

scree plot raises further doubts about the merits of this factor, suggesting that the optimum number of factors is 7. As *Table 10.7* shows, factor nine has an eigenvalue of 1.36041, and accounts for only 4.1 per cent of total variance. The scree plot does not recommend factor nine for consideration, and it accounts for a very small amount of total variance.

Table 10.7   Final Statistics for 'Positive Images'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
EUROPE	.78592	*	1	3.07807	9.6	9.6
FEMALE	.95598	*	2	3.01996	9.4	19.1
GRPSOC	.47626	*	3	2.72418	8.5	27.6
HIGHERED	.69666	*	4	2.16329	6.8	34.3
HIMIDAG	.87558	*	5	1.92053	6.0	40.3
INSIDE	.92351	*	6	1.89509	5.9	46.3
LITERAT	.54561	*	7	1.57298	4.9	51.2
LITHOBBY	.48816	*	8	1.39738	4.4	55.5
LOWINC	.87798	*	9	1.33374	4.2	59.7
LOWMIDAG	.91252	*	10	1.25516	3.9	63.6
MALE	.95598	*	11	1.21590	3.8	67.4
MIDINC	.87260	*	12	1.12323	3.5	70.9
NAMERICA	.81648	*	13	1.01495	3.2	74.1
NONPROF	.80288	*				
NOREPS	.72968	*				
OUTSIDE	.92351	*				
OVSIXTY	.86612	*				
PAPER	.61932	*				
PASTVIS	.57655	*				
PROFESS	.82322	*				
PROMO	.47348	*				
RETIRED	.85719	*				
ROFWORLD	.86240	*				
SPORT	.39178	*				
STUDENT	.70876	*				
TVRADIO	.72561	*				
WMOUTH	.67621	*				
YOUNG	.81300	*				
BRITAIN	.84116	*				
HISTORIC	.69546	*				
FRIENDLY	.54301	*				
ARTS	.60187	*				

10.8   Factor Loadings for 'Positive Images'

Factor Matrix

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
EUROPE	.10564	-.36934	-.06212	-.14590	-.06809
FEMALE	.43374	-.15188	.28084	.52171	-.48716
GRPSOC	.08376	.24418	-.33704	-.09522	.06049
HIGHERED	-.10491	-.31797	-.51128	-.02038	.09179
HIMIDAG	.09755	.20978	-.12157	.04560	-.00472
INSIDE	.73918	.05744	.21254	-.28792	.37467
LITERAT	.23560	-.01951	-.15034	-.36551	.04992
LITHOBBY	.15569	-.06887	-.06245	.06256	-.15119
LOWINC	-.23670	-.50826	.50941	-.20343	.09610
LOWMIDAG	.19694	.07902	-.28714	.38004	.24197
MALE	-.43374	.15188	-.28084	-.52171	.48716
MIDINC	.23507	.43993	-.25781	.29700	-.04192
NAMERICA	.12476	.06309	-.45787	-.29835	-.26893
NONPROF	.04866	.01136	.41505	.28575	.18645
NOREPS	-.06280	-.06753	-.12601	.17425	-.37260
OUTSIDE	-.73918	-.05744	-.21254	.28792	-.37467
OVSIXTY	-.11725	.54186	.29130	-.46253	-.37020
PAPER	-.34813	.34421	.03699	-.00147	.26725
PASTVIS	-.25436	.20981	.10083	.30523	.02713
PROFESS	.11651	.02420	-.80460	.17925	.13947
PROMO	.36631	.09426	.03004	-.09414	-.07823
RETIRED	-.14052	.53733	.33174	-.43794	-.41006
ROFWORLD	.12360	-.33384	-.10325	-.06667	-.01984
SPORT	-.22091	-.08096	.08088	.19292	.30797
STUDENT	-.12063	-.61907	.26111	-.15803	.01840
TVRADIO	-.36981	.28922	.10739	.05812	.35952
WMOUTH	.26761	-.21402	.14534	.06556	.23109
YOUNG	-.16737	-.69754	.13070	-.01401	.07731
BRITAIN	-.27766	.42173	.44738	.35345	.26553
HISTORIC	.50915	.15328	.09194	-.00132	.10332
FRIENDLY	.50410	.04929	.14782	-.07693	.05358
ARTS	.21455	.28074	.17160	.24996	.19075

Although Factor Nine is not acceptable due to the low factor loadings and small proportion of the total variance, it is important to re-examine 'positive images' through the second set of extractions. It is possible that the nature of the data, consisting of two sub-samples, makes positive images difficult to detect. It is also possible, of course, that the variables used in the study simply do not correlate with the positive image constructs. The data from this extraction would seem to suggest that positive images of Cardiff are not specific to a particular type of urban tourist, or particular types of representations.

10.3.6 Positive Experiences

This extraction was used to examine the *positive experiences* of visitors to Cardiff. Again, a degree of caution is necessary, as it is also important to use the qualitative data from the surveys to establish salient aspects of the urban environment. *Table 10.9* shows that Factor One has an eigenvalue of 3.98016, and accounts for 11.1 % of variance. The scree plot suggest that the optimum number of factors would be three, if one was concerned with accounting for the variance of the whole data set.

Examining *Table 10.10*, it can be seen that it is particularly Factor One which is of interest, as it has high factor loadings for 'Inside' (0.74), and for 'Historic' (0.58), 'Friendly' (0.59), 'Interesting' (0.65), 'Impressive Buildings' (0.60), 'Accessible' (0.52), and 'Good Atmosphere' (0.60). Other variables with high loadings for factor one include 'Female' (0.30), and 'Promotion' (0.30). It is interesting that despite evidence suggesting that promotional activity has relatively little influence on the naive image of a destination, it does appear to improve the experience at the destination. This merits further discussion, as it is consistent with the conclusions of authors such as Page (1995). It is plausible that positive attributes such as Cardiff's unique history, accessibility, and friendly atmosphere can be enhanced if the tourist has adequate information and guidance whilst at the destination.

Table 10.9   Final Statistics for 'Positive Experiences'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eignevalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
EUROPE	.75148	*	1	3.98016	11.1	11.1
FEMALE	.94748	*	2	3.01667	8.4	19.4
GRPSOC	.49706	*	3	2.91137	8.1	27.5
HIGHERED	.67086	*	4	2.18728	6.1	33.6
HIGHINC	.69646	*	5	2.06094	5.7	39.3
HIMIDAG	.84894	*	6	1.87557	5.2	44.5
INSIDE	.90103	*	7	1.67364	4.6	49.2
LITERAT	.51875	*	8	1.59038	4.4	53.6
LITHOBBY	.42262	*	9	1.47245	4.1	57.7
LOWINC	.79450	*	10	1.29095	3.6	61.3
LOWMIDAG	.89449	*	11	1.24105	3.4	64.7
MALE	.94748	*	12	1.14784	3.2	67.9
MIDINC	.97264	*	13	1.07080	3.0	70.9
NAMERICA	.72285	*				
NONPROF	.79746	*				
NOREPS	.71327	*				
OUTSIDE	.90103	*				
OVSIXTY	.86330	*				
PAPER	.61162	*				
PASTVIS	.54704	*				
PROFESS	.81864	*				
PROMO	.50474	*				
RETIRED	.85313	*				
ROFWORLD	.86808	*				
SPORT	.35870	*				
STUDENT	.69575	*				
TVRADIO	.69477	*				
WMOUTH	.70650	*				
YOUNG	.79757	*				
BRITAIN	.82113	*				
HISTORIC	.51159	*				
FRIENDLY	.58902	*				
INTEREST	.60318	*				
IMPBUILD	.47628	*				
ACCESS	.54861	*				
GOODATMO	.65102	*				

Table 10.10   Factor Loadings for 'Positive Experiences'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
EUROPE	-.03216	-.37878	.05462	.08489	-.10326
FEMALE	.29688	-.30824	-.12053	-.54848	-.42545
GRPSOC	.04550	.22228	.37745	.08993	.07497
HIGHERED	-.29687	-.27103	.41040	.12857	.25660
HIGHINC	-.18797	.03168	.39064	.30186	-.00653
HIMIDAG	.07926	.18581	.19829	-.03796	-.01645
INSIDE	.74055	-.14862	.05725	.24681	.04822
LITERAT	.15645	-.06814	.24868	.32993	-.05709
LITHOBBY	.09069	-.12070	.11403	-.04535	-.09051
LOWINC	-.15274	-.41727	-.56993	.33138	.03694
LOWMIDAG	.08703	.00434	.28316	-.41471	.24482
MALE	-.29688	.30824	.12053	.54848	.42545
MIDINC	.24642	.33512	.23700	-.48992	-.00939
NAMERICA	-.06572	.05291	.53663	.23931	-.24759
NONPROF	.18362	-.01005	-.38141	-.27421	.09682
NOREPS	-.18923	-.04379	.09172	-.27879	-.29496
OUTSIDE	-.74055	.14862	-.05725	-.24681	-.04822
OVSIXTY	.08492	.55824	-.21073	.36641	-.47896
PAPER	-.11248	.42896	-.14623	.09878	.33897
PASTVIS	-.06685	.25811	-.17857	-.21218	.17405
PROFESS	-.11354	-.00018	.76217	-.15268	.31243
PROMO	.30048	-.01525	.11335	.03768	-.18150
RETIRED	.04830	.56103	-.25849	.32414	-.53134
ROFWORLD	-.00352	-.34494	.10478	.02686	-.01136
SPORT	-.10367	-.01670	-.19587	-.11517	.36276
STUDENT	-.15237	-.56664	-.33341	.24484	.02604
TVRADIO	-.09960	.37232	-.23970	.06470	.43400
WMOUTH	.22483	-.29161	-.06024	-.01468	.11891
YOUNG	-.21429	-.62382	-.25748	.12064	.17640
BRITAIN	.04128	.45131	-.51376	-.23814	.26832
HISTORIC	.58427	-.01288	.10594	.02950	.02215
FRIENDLY	.59470	-.10650	.06405	.11090	-.01430
INTEREST	.64825	.06483	.09606	.08325	.16070
IMPBUILD	.59517	.13667	-.12269	.06892	.18037
ACCESS	.52456	-.02495	-.20495	.02745	.25806
GOODATMO	.59954	-.03209	.01988	.04957	.17374

10.4   FACTOR ANALYSIS - SECOND SET OF EXTRACTIONS

10.4.1 Negative Images

As discussed in the methodology, the second set of extractions was based upon the same sets of construct variables, but it was ensured that reliability model values were maximised before extractions were performed. Once variables with a negative correlation overall had been removed, the *Negative Images* extraction consisted of the construct variables 'Industrial', 'No Impressive Buildings', and 'Unsafe'. Also included were the variables 'Higher Education', 'Newspaper', 'Sport', and 'Television and Radio'. The extraction produced three factors (see *Table 10.11)*, the first having an eigenvalue of 1.70921, and accounting for 24.4 per cent of the variance. Factor Two has an eigenvalue of 1.38566, and accounts for 19.8 per cent of the variance. Factor Three has an eigenvalue 1.07097, and accounts for 13.4 per cent of the total variance.

It can be seen from the factor matrix (*Table 10.12*), that Factor One and Factor Two are of interest. Factor One has high loadings for the constructs 'Industrial' (0.56) and 'Unsafe' (0.45). Variables with high loadings again include 'Television and Radio' (0.68), and 'Newspapers' (0.62). Other variables with acceptable factor loadings include 'Sport', with a loading of 0.37, and 'Higher Education' a loadings of 0.38.

Again, there is a clear correlation between negative images of Cardiff, and representations in the mass media. In the 'reliable' second extraction, both 'Television and Radio' and 'Newspapers' have high loadings within the factors also containing the negative image variables. It is interesting and of some concern that 'Sport' again appears to be linked to negative images of Cardiff.

Table 10.11   Final Statistics for 'Negative Images' (Set 2)

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
HIGHERED	.15256	*	1	1.70921	24.4	24.4
PAPER	.68919	*	2	1.38566	19.8	44.2
SPORT	.31145	*				
TVRADIO	.72496	*				
INDUST	.47664	*				
NOBUILDS	.46534	*				
UNSAFE	.27473	*				

Table 10.12   Factor Loadings for 'Negative Images' (Set 2)

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2
HIGHERED	.38183	.08227
PAPER	.62356	-.54805
SPORT	.36977	.41800
TVRADIO	.67613	-.51750
INDUST	.56001	.40376
NOBUILDS	.25133	.63417
UNSAFE	.45158	.26610

Factor Two is also of interest as there are high loadings for 'Industrial' (0.40), 'No Impressive Buildings' (0.63), and 'Sport' (0.42). This factor, having so few variables of interest, is rather difficult to interpret, and it may be unwise to draw any conclusion from it, other to point out that there again appears to be a correlation between 'Sport' and negative images of Cardiff.

10.4.2 Strongly Negative Image

The Final Statistics list (*Table 10.13*), shows that four factors were extracted, accounting for 63.9 per cent of the variance. Factor One has an eigenvalue of 1.97614,

and accounts for 22 per cent of the variance. Factor Two has an eigenvalue of 1.52165, and accounts for 16.9 per cent, followed by Factor Three with 13.3 per cent, and Factor Four with 11.7 per cent. Examination of the factor matrix (*Table 10.14*) indicates that Factors One, Three, and Four are of interest as they have factor loadings of over 0.3 for the construct 'Industrial'.

Factor one has a loading of 0.36 for 'Industrial', and high loadings for 'Higher Education' (0.45), 'Literary Hobby' (0.32), 'Low Income' (0.60), 'Student' (0.67), 'Television and Radio' (0.36), and 'Young' (0.69). Although not acceptable as they are less than 0.3, 'Newspaper' (0.25), and 'Sport' (0.25) are also relatively high. This factor certainly deserves further discussion, as there is an implication that young, educated people hold negative images of Cardiff as 'Industrial', and these people have experienced representations of Cardiff on the television and radio. As this group of potential tourists is likely to gain in importance as a market segment in urban tourism, particularly due their earning potential in the future, these findings should be of some concern to Cardiff's tourism and marketing practitioners.

Factor Three has high loadings for 'Industrial' (0.39), 'Higher Education' (0.40), 'Literary Hobby' (0.54), and 'Sport' (0.50). Whilst not dissimilar to Factor One, it is interesting that low income of not a feature of this factor, and sport has a higher correlation. This factor appears to represent respondents with higher education qualifications and in employment. Although such a respondent appears to be well-read, it is noticeable that an interest in sport correlates with these other variables, rather than an experience of mass-media representations of Cardiff. Considering Cardiff authorities' understandable enthusiasm towards hosting sporting events such as the Rugby World Cup in 1999, this surprising finding receives further attention in chapter eleven. As if to reiterate this point Factor Four also has a high loading for 'Industrial' (0.43), and a high loading for 'Sport' (0.60).

Table 10.13   Final Statistics for 'Strongly Negative Images' (Set 2)

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
HIGHERED	.56378	*	1	1.97614	22.0	22.0
INDUST	.51952	*	2	1.52165	16.9	38.9
LITHOBBY	.67093	*	3	1.20146	13.3	52.2
LOWINCOM	.48028	*	4	1.05385	11.7	63.9
PAPER	.74604	*				
SPORT	.68644	*				
STUDENT	.70821	*				
TVRADIO	.74966	*				
YOUNG	.62824	*				

Table 10.14   Factor Loadings for 'Strongly Negative Images' (Set 2)

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
HIGHERED	.45462	.06785	.40641	-.43281
INDUST	.36104	.23805	.38707	.42741
LITHOBBY	.31875	-.08246	.54634	-.51384
LOWINCOM	.59477	-.16921	-.29646	-.10005
PAPER	.25361	.79744	-.14356	-.15873
SPORT	.25452	.10729	.50227	.59823
STUDENT	.66827	-.34037	-.35395	.14317
TVRADIO	.36475	.72372	-.30448	.01166
YOUNG	.68923	-.37134	-.09600	.07808

It should be noted that although the 'Industrial' loading in factor two is only 0.24, 'Newspapers' (0.80), and 'Television and Radio' (0.72) have extremely high loadings. The variable expressing 'representations of Cardiff experienced on television and radio' also features in Factor One. It would appear, therefore, that although not all representations of Cardiff in the mass media can be linked to negative images, such representations are extremely significant in general, and form an immensely important source of unofficial information and naive images.

10.4.3 Negative Experiences

The refined procedure for extracting factors based on *Negative Experiences* produced two factors. Factor One has an eigenvalue of 2.09113, and accounts for 29.9 per cent of the variance. Factor Two has an eignevalue of 1.36401, and accounts for 19.5 per net of the total variance (see *Table 10.15*).

Table 10.15 Final Statistics for 'Negative Experiences' (Set 2)

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct	Cum Pct
CONGEST	.67217	*	1	2.09113	29.9	29.9
DIRTY	.67925	*	2	1.36401	19.5	49.4
PROF	.71341	*				
LITHOBBY	.13721	*				
HIINCOME	.28272	*				
GRPSOC	.34960	*				
HIGHERED	.62078	*				

Table 10.16 Factor Loadings for 'Negative Experiences' (Set 2)

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2
CONGEST	.46528	.67505
DIRTY	.24186	.78788
PROF	.82159	-.19595
LITHOBBY	.24862	-.27458
HIINCOME	.52814	-.06153
GRPSOC	.43275	-.40291
HIGHERED	.78302	-.08753

From *Table 10.16,* it is apparent that factor one has a high loading for 'Congested' at 0.47, and high loadings for 'Professional' (0.82), 'Groups and Societies' (0.43), 'High Income' (0.53), and 'Higher Education' (0.78). Caution still needs to be exercised in

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interpreting these impressive factor loadings, as the qualitative data relating to areas of the city and aspects of the urban environment is analysed in a separate section. Despite this word of caution, the data does appear to indicate a clear tendency for those tourists who find Cardiff congested, to be professional, educated, and to belong to groups and societies.

Although these groups are well-represented amongst Cardiff's visitors, it is likely that these tourists are well-read, well-travelled, and rather more discerning than the average urban tourist. It is perhaps unsurprising that the satisfaction of this type of visitor can be reduced by problems such as traffic congestion. It is interesting that the qualitative data adds clarity to this picture, indicating areas of the city where congestion does indeed detract from the experience of such visitors.

10.4.4 Positive Images

To examine the *Positive Images* constructs in the second set of extractions the procedure of removing variables with negative 'corrected item-total correlation' was again used. The modified data set produced five factors, accounting for 61.7 per cent of the total variance. Factor One is of particular interest as it has high factor loadings for all of the positive image constructs. Factor One has an eigenvalue of 1.69162, and accounts for 15.4 per cent of the total variance (*Table 10.17*). The scree plot is not particularly useful in determining the number of factors to explain the total variance, although the first four factors have eigenvalues above one.

Examination of Factor One (*Table 10.18*) shows that the construct 'Arts and Culture' has a factor loading of 0.66, 'Friendly' has a loading of 0.66, and 'Historic' a loading of 0.70. Other variables with high loadings are 'Past Visit' (0.35), and 'Promotion' (0.38). These results suggest that the respondents outside Cardiff who have positive images of the city tend to have experienced either promotional material, or they have visited before (although not in the last five years). Although the factor analysis has produced data

which suggests that unfavourable naive images are prevalent, it would seem that the official projected representations of promotional material do have a positive influence.

Table 10.17   Final Statistics for 'Positive Images'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum Pct
ARTSCULT	.54001	*	1	1.69162	15.4	15.4
FRIENDLY	.46111	*	2	1.59999	14.5	29.9
GRPSOC	.67768	*	3	1.37641	12.5	42.4
HIGHERED	.54457	*	4	1.12000	10.2	52.6
HISTORIC	.71228	*	5	1.00314	9.1	61.7
LITERAT	.60107	*				
LITHOBBY	.59285	*				
PAPER	.71663	*				
PASVISIT	.63833	*				
PROMOTN	.57427	*				
TVRADIO	.73235	*				

Table 10.19   Factor Loadings for 'Positive Images'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
ARTSCULT	.66406	.14791	-.22392	-.14248	.08197
FRIENDLY	.65694	-.14438	.00548	-.05461	-.07535
GRPSOC	.10728	.25517	.16707	.44992	-.60886
HIGHERED	.05894	.40716	.47425	.09259	-.37661
HISTORIC	.69556	-.01419	-.09251	-.43397	-.17715
LITERAT	-.05093	.16960	.60703	-.14189	.42556
LITHOBBY	.18623	.17767	.68898	-.22576	.03070
PAPER	-.08135	.78949	-.27625	-.10198	.00172
PASVISIT	.35220	.17468	-.19063	.62288	.24382
PROMOTN	.38120	-.00271	.24116	.45686	.40258
TVRADIO	-.08384	.78232	-.22553	-.13850	.20797

It is difficult to tell whether the respondents who have visited in the past are the same respondents who have experienced promotional material. In any case, this data would tend to suggest that there are indeed benefits to be gained from projecting a positive image of an urban destination, and that although negative naive images are persistent, place promotion can be effective. The correlation between past visits and positive images is also important. The possible link lends weight to the view that tourists are likely to be satisfied with the Cardiff product if only they could be persuaded to visit and experience it first-hand. Such findings have implications for destination marketing, and these will be discussed in chapter eleven.

10.4.5 Positive Experiences

To re-examine *Positive Experiences*, it was necessary to take the constructs 'Accessible', 'Good atmosphere', 'Impressive Buildings', 'Interesting', 'Friendly', and 'Historic', together with a revised group of variables. It can be seen from *Table 10.19* that five factors were produced, accounting for 59.8 per cent of variance between them. Factor One and Factor Four are of particular interest. Factor One has an eigenvalue of 2.67720, and accounts for 20.6 per cent of the variance. Factor Four has an eigenvalue of 1.17470, and accounts for 9.0 per cent of variance.

It can be seen from *Table 10.20* that Factor One has high loadings for 'Accessible' (0.46), 'Good Atmosphere' (0.70), 'Impressive Buildings' (0.53), 'Interesting' (0.75), 'Friendly' (0.63), and 'Historic' (0.62). There are no other variables, however, with loadings over 0.3 in Factor One. Again this seems to suggest that aspects of the place product (see qualitative data) are more influential in the experiences of urban tourists than personal characteristics linked to the way in which the product is perceived.

Table 10.19   Final Statistics for 'Positive Experiences'

Final Statistics:

Variable	Communality		Factor	Eigenvalue	Pct of Var	Cum pct
ACCESS	.70943	*	1	2.67720	20.6	20.6
GOODATMO	.59703	*	2	1.62371	12.5	33.1
IMPBUILD	.43539	*	3	1.25428	9.6	42.7
INTEREST	.66788	*	4	1.17470	9.0	51.8
FRIENDLY	.61850	*	5	1.04505	8.0	59.8
HISTORIC	.53899	*				
TVRADIO	.69722	*				
PASVISIT	.52385	*				
PAPER	.70728	*				
NONPROF	.49067	*				
MIDINCOM	.55048	*				
LITHOBBY	.59036	*				
FEMALE	.64787	*				

Table 10.20   Factor Loadings for 'Positive Experiences'

Factor Matrix:

Variable	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
ACCESS	.45664	.12228	.03812	.37206	-.58828
GOODATMO	.70401	-.15676	-.05599	-.25411	-.09545
IMPBUILD	.52785	.28394	.06796	.26421	.04151
INTEREST	.74897	-.02164	-.30148	-.08745	.08901
FRIENDLY	.62736	-.34154	-.07030	-.26724	-.17863
HISTORIC	.61644	-.27197	.07059	-.19019	.20946
TVRADIO	.28271	.67013	.26557	-.27884	-.14122
PASVISIT	.20985	.25523	-.09638	.61320	.17136
PAPER	.10961	.68668	.41347	-.22655	-.03813
NONPROF	.29195	.22983	-.45191	.31733	.21836
MIDINCOM	.27671	.14437	.18907	-.00202	.64600
LITHOBBY	.13076	-.34823	.61296	.12871	.24437
FEMALE	.21215	-.36304	.52705	.40534	-.17022

Factor Four has high loadings for 'Accessible' (0.37), and for 'Past Visit' (0.61), and for 'Female' (0.41). The high value for 'Past Visit' is interesting as 'Inaccessible' is one of the most serious negative images of Cardiff. Cardiff's marketing authorities are aware of

this negative image, and have attempted to address the problem through promotional techniques. It would appear that visitor perceptions are revised upon visiting Cardiff, and that the city's accessibility, particularly from London and South East England, is actually perceived as a strength of Cardiff as an urban destination.

10.4.6 Factor Rotation

As discussed in the methodology, the second set of extractions included the 'factor rotation' technique, the aim of which is to ease the interpretation of the factors. It was noted that due to the rather unconventional application of factor analysis in this thesis, factor rotation would not necessarily produce output which improved upon the initial factor matrices.

In the first extraction, examining *Negative Images*, the factors are actually less easy to interpret as the construct variables and the other variables are split between the factors. This is particularly the case for factors one and two. It would seem that although Factor Two has high values for 'Paper' and 'Television and Radio', it is the construct variables in Factor One which have high loadings, such as 0.62 for 'Industrial'. Similarly, the rotated *Positive Images* extraction is more difficult to interpret than the initial factor matrix. The rotation was not useful for creating a more useful interpretation of the factors.

The same is true of both the *Strongly Negative Image* extraction, and the *Negative Experiences* extraction. In the latter, 'Congested' and 'Dirty' are re-allocated to factor two, whilst variables such as 'Higher Education' (0.76) and 'High Income' (0.51) are allocated to Factor One. In the *Positive Experiences* extraction, the main effect of the rotation is again to separate the construct variables from the other variables, making interpretation more difficult, if not impossible.

The *Positive Experiences* extraction, however, does produce one rotated factor which contains a combination of construct variables and other variables. Factor Three has high values for 'accessible' (0.35), 'impressive buildings' (0.51), 'interesting' (0.33), 'past visit' (0.71), and 'non-professional' (0.62). This factor appears to represent a market segment which is satisfied with the Cardiff place product. They also appear to be loyal, possibly having a thorough knowledge of the city from past visits. This evidence supports previous indications that a prior knowledge of the destination from either a past visit or promotional material increases levels of satisfaction upon experiencing the city.

10.5   RELIABILITY TESTS

10.5.1 Reliability and Analysis

As discussed in the methodology, a range of reliability tests were conducted on the data sets used in the factor analysis extractions. For the first set of extractions, there was no attempt to ensure that reliability measures were acceptable before the extractions were conducted. In the second set of extractions, considerable attention was paid to reliability measures and variables which had a negative 'corrected item-total correlation' were excluded. Reliability measures for both sets of extraction are presented below.

10.5.2 Reliability Measures - First Set of Extractions

Although not used for the purpose of conducting extractions, the data set as a whole had a Cronbach Alpha coefficient value of 0.4, which is below the minimum value considered acceptable (0.6). It has been noted, however, that due to the presence of different dimensions within the data, this is not surprising. The data set as a whole is not considered suitable for the other reliability models such as Barlett's test of Sphericity, as the negative correlations within the data violate the model.

Reliability tests on the *Negative Images* extraction of set one is more revealing. The Cronbach Alpha value of -0.35 indicates that the negative correlations within the data set violate the reliability model. The same is true when the 35 items are tested with Bartlett's test of sphericity for which it is impossible to calculate a value. An SPSS error message reveals that the necessary operation of inverting the correlation matrix cannot be carried out.

The variables used in the extraction for *Strongly Negative Image*, incorporating the construct 'industrial', were also subjected to the Cronbach Alpha Test. A Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 1.25 was given. Again the reliability model had been violated, and this was the case for other reliability models such as Bartlett's Test of Sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.

The same reliability measures were attempted on the *Negative Experiences* extraction, with similar results. A Cronbach Alpha coefficient of -1.0 indicated that the reliability model had again been violated by the negative correlations amongst the 32 variables. It was again found to be impossible to run the other measures of reliability.

The extraction for *Positive Images* again had a fairly meaningless Cronbach Alpha coefficient of -0.28, and it proved impossible to run reliability measures such as Bartlett's test of sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.

Finally, the extraction for *Positive Experiences* produced a more meaningful Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.38. This is still below the 0.6 threshold, however, and it is again impossible to calculate other reliability measures such as the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy and Bartlett's test of sphericity.

It can be seen that the data set used in the first set of extractions either violated or produced low reliability measures. It is considered important, however, to note that the unconventional use of two sub-samples has a dramatic effect on these reliability models.

The presence of both low and negative correlation coefficients, is largely due to the 'cancelling out' effect of the two sub-samples. This has the effect of reducing or violating the reliability models. The second set of extractions were conducted to address this problem.

10.5.3 Reliability Measures - Second Set of Extractions

The second set of extractions for *Negative Images* showed a significant improvement in several of the reliability measures. The Cronbach Alpha coefficient for the seven items increased to 0.46, with a standardised item alpha of 0.47. Although this is still below the recommended threshold, it is a significant improvement.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy is no longer violated, providing an acceptable result of 0.54. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity is also acceptable at 82.43, with a significance of 0.0. Apart for the slightly disappointing Cronbach Alpha coefficient, these results do represent a significant improvement on the results for the first set of extractions.

In the second set of extractions for *Strongly Negative Image* there was also an improvement in the Cronbach Alpha coefficient. Although at 0.48 this is not as not as dramatic as one might have hoped, it is a significant improvement. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy is acceptable at 0.58, along with Bartlett's test of sphericity at 145.84 with a significance if 0.0.

The second set extractions for *Negative Experiences* revealed a Cronbach Alpha Coefficient of 0.53. This represents a considerable improvement on the first set of co-efficients. The other reliability measures, such as Bartlett's test of sphericity are acceptable at 171.17, significance 0.0. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measures of sampling adequacy is also acceptable at 0.61.

The extraction for *Positive Images* reveals a Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.43. This is a significant improvement on the first set of extractions, although it is below the acceptable threshold. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy for this extraction is 0.49. Bartlett's test of sphericity is acceptable at 138.10, significance 0.0.

The extraction for *Positive Experiences* produces an acceptable Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.66. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy is also most acceptable at 0.65, as is Bartlett's test of sphericity at an impressive 321.70, significance 0.0. It is noticeable that the experiences sub-sample generally fairs better that the images sub-sample in terms of reliability models. This is worth discussing below, as it would seem that the reliability models become problematic when the data set is complex Ironically, this appears to be due partly to the presence of a number of intersubjective groups of respondents within the data set, representing different dimensions. As factor analysis, by definition, does not encourage an *a priori* identification of dimensions or groups within the data, this is both surprising and of some concern. It would seem that if there is more of an overall consensus amongst respondents, reliability measures tend to be higher, irrespective of how meaningful individual factors are judged to be in subjective terms. The contradictions inherent in reliability measures as applied to factor analysis are discussed in chapter eleven.

Overall, however, it can be seen that the reliability measures are considerably improved for the second set of extractions. The negative correlations within each sub-sample, inevitable though they are, given the nature of the sample, were removed. This operation had the effect of improving every one of the reliability measures, and ensuring that none of the models were violated. Although the important variables from the first set of extractions were again revealed, the cost of the exercise is borne in terms of the richness of the data produced.

10.6 QUALITATIVE DATA

The qualitative data, elicited through requesting specific examples of images and experiences in the survey, provide interesting supplementary information. This data is particularly useful in providing an indication of the salient features of the urban landscape experienced by visitors to Cardiff. The sources and context of experiences amongst respondents who perceived Cardiff to be 'dirty' are particularly worthy of further examination. It would seem that despite only a minority of respondents finding Cardiff to be dirty, there is a common theme to the comments. A very common criticism concerned 'litter on the streets and pavements' (Middle-aged Californian male), specifically 'unswept streets and dog mess' (Pensioner from Guildford). One respondent commented that it was a 'shame about the rubbish piled up on the side of streets' (Australian backpacker). Although respondents were generally very positive about Bute Park, one respondent thought that more care could be taken of it. Respondents experiencing the city centre suggested that 'there are not enough garbage cans' (Canadian Accountant in twenties), although the parks and open spaces were generally well appreciated. According to one respondent, the problem is worse in 'the city centre and Butetown area', and there was some concern about the amount of smashed glass on the streets in Canton.

The majority of such comments referred to 'too much litter in the city centre' (Male teacher from London), although respondents also found 'a large amount of litter in residential areas on the way to Cardiff Bay' (Middle-aged woman form Hereford). Whilst contrasts between the character of regenerated areas and the non-tourist areas surrounding them has long been recognised as a problem, the extent to which corridor improvement is used in Cardiff Bay is worth discussing in the next chapter. In terms of Cardiff Bay, respondents also remarked on the poor quality of the environment around Harry Ramsden's restaurant. The air quality in the city centre also received attention, with one respondent commenting that Cardiff was 'very dirty, e.g. poor air quality due to traffic congestion.' Other respondents suggested that the worst areas were 'under

railway bridges' (Retired visitor from Surrey), or in the 'bus shelters, and station', where there is 'too much graffiti.' As one respondent emphasises, it certainly 'depends on where you go.'

Respondents were often willing to suggest reasons for experiencing litter problems. A medical laboratory assistant from Helsinki comments that 'you don't clean your streets and parks as often as you should.' One Canadian visitor commented that:

> *Coming from Canada, I find most of the UK and Ireland very dirty in comparison. You need to work on recycling and the environment.*

A young Danish visitor put it rather more bluntly, asking 'have you ever heard of recycling, and where are the bikers? (killed in traffic I suppose).' One visitor suggested that 'British people seem to be unaware of litter!' A middle-aged Swiss visitor pointed out that it had 'improved since our last visit.' Also on a brighter note, a woman from Hereford was extremely impressed with the 'lovely lavatories at the National Museum.' One visitor qualified their extensive criticism with the comment 'not as bad as Newport, though.' Also providing some sense of perspective, an American living in Italy conceded that it is 'much cleaner than Naples.'

The qualitative data also adds clarity to the other important negative experience of Cardiff as 'congested'. Many respondents commented that there is 'a lot of traffic', particularly in the city centre. Comments that Cardiff 'needs more pedestrian crossings' and 'more control of traffic', are common. Of particular concern, is the presence of 'HGV's on inner roads.' Observation by the researcher during the primary research confirms that the absence of a pedestrian crossing in Castle Street causes particular problems, and actually represents a major hazard to visitors walking between the city centre and Cardiff Castle. A number of visitors have no doubt that Cardiff 'requires a crossing in front of the castle gates.' As one ex-patriot visitor explains:

> *It seems to me that pedestrians are very low down on the list . . . I have never had to wait so long anywhere else to cross the road.*

There is a great deal of consensus concerning the problems of 'heavy traffic in the centre', and the theme is discussed in some detail in the next chapter. By contrast, the pedestrianised areas were greatly appreciated, as were the parks and open spaces which appear to provide an antidote to the congestion found in the centre of the city. As an elderly British visitor puts it, 'the parks are fine, the roads are terrible and dirty.'

There is also a large degree of consensus concerning the areas of the city which were considered interesting, historical, or impressive. Numerous visitors cited the castle and the civic centre as areas which they enjoy visiting. The Cathedral and the National Museum of Wales are well regarded, although visitors do seem particularly impressed with Cardiff Castle. Comments such as 'the Cardiff Castle grounds are beautiful' are common (Woman from North Wales). To a middle-aged couple from Tennessee, the castle was 'all we thought it would be and more.' Several respondents also mentioned being impressed by Castell Coch, and it was interesting that a number of visitors appeared to have digested information about Cardiff Castle. One respondent comments on 'the outstanding castle and roman wall' (a Californian doctor), and another is impressed by the roman foundations, whilst recognising that much of the wall was built in the nineteenth century.

The Civic Centre also appears to impress visitors, as the National Museum and Gallery, and the City Hall are frequently mentioned. A visitor from the US commented on the 'beautiful City Hall', and a UK visitor, echoing a recent advertising campaign, states that 'Cardiff is the Washington of Europe.' Comments such as 'superb civic centre' were common, although so also was disappointment concerning the museum being closed on Tuesdays. In addition to the well-regarded National Museum and Gallery, Techniquest was mentioned as a particularly interesting attraction. St. Fagans was described as 'one of the best of its kind I've seen' (Elderly lady from Missouri).

It was interesting that those demonstrating an interest in either industrial heritage or architecture, tended to be particularly satisfied with their visit. It was apparent that some

visitors impressed with Cardiff, took an interest in the city's history and architecture. A woman from the West Midlands, for example, commented on 'white stone . . . carried to Cardiff on vessels.' It was also striking just how many visitors pointed out that the buildings around the station are strikingly unimpressive, in contrast to the rest of the city centre. This is unfortunate considering that the area often provides visitors' first impressions of Cardiff. The area has been extensively redeveloped, however, as part of Cardiff County Councils' *City Centre Strategy*. The implications of this programme in the context of the research findings are discussed in *chapter eleven*.

It is also possible to identify 'miscellaneous comments', particularly from Section B of the survey where the respondent was asked to add any additional perceptions of Cardiff (see *Appendix 9*). The Welsh language is generally regarded as a unique and interesting asset, particularly by overseas visitors. Comments such as 'so interesting to hear Welsh spoken' were fairly common. Although for some visitors the Welsh language is little more than a curiosity, it is encouraging that to others it is considered an important component of 'arts and culture' (Malaysian Student). Respondents found 'the general area to be friendly' and were even prone to make comments along the lines of 'as an Englishman I find the Welsh very friendly. . . except on the rugby field' (Retired gentleman living in Vale of Glamorgan). On the other hand, a younger male visitor was not alone in finding that 'Welshmen are a bit aggressive.' Another found 'too many drunken crowds at night', and a young visitor from Northern Ireland reported 'getting into a punch-up without any provocation.'

Although 'arts and culture' generally received positive comments, including references to initiatives such as the 'Big Weekend', there are several negative themes. Several young visitors commented on a 'mainstream' culture with 'no spaces, bars, clubs for anything other than common tastes' (German student). A civil servant in his twenties considered Cardiff to be 'tacky/tarty', and 'like being in Croydon.' Although not representative, it is perhaps worth discussing such issues further in the context of catering for a range of market segments.

The qualitative data provides a very strong message concerning the potential impact of relatively inexpensive measures. Visitors comment on a lack of toilets, a lack of adequate road signs, a lack of translation into European languages, and a lack of facilities for the disabled. It was extremely common for visitors to comment on a city which is 'not helpful to tourists', and one which 'does not highlight its attractions.' A number of people were disappointed that there are still no foreign translations in the museum, and information in general seems to be difficult to come by. In some cases free maps were often considered to be inadequate or difficult to obtain. Details of how to travel to attractions by public transport appear to be even more problematic. Visitors commented that the staff at the bus stations 'couldn't care less.'

Day visitors often experience clashes resulting from poor planning, between the guided tour of the Castle and the open-top bus tour, for example. It was also extremely common for visitors to comment on the 'bad road signs' with 'the names of streets not posted at intersections.' One visitor 'was frustrated by trying to drive around', particularly as one was too often ' in the wrong lane of traffic - even with a map in hand.' This respondent summed up their experience as 'user-unfriendly.'

It would seem, however, that many of the improvements to the Cardiff product require a little common-sense planning rather than any significant expenditure. The qualitative data is particularly useful in indicating the strengths of the Cardiff place product, with implications for positioning the city in place markets. It would certainly seem that the combination of an often surprisingly distinct Welsh culture and history, with an impressive range of historical and cultural attractions, makes for a popular urban tourism product. Visitors often appear to be surprised by the unique identity of the Welsh capital, and their expectations concerning Cardiff's atmosphere and identity seem to be consistently exceeded. As Cardiff is widely considered to be 'a city with a future' (visitor from London), it is certainly worth discussing the specific identity that Cardiff should adopt as it moves into the next millennium.

10.7 CONCLUSION

The analysis stage consisted of two main stages: a graphical representation of an image index for the eleven constructs and their polar opposites, and factor analysis extractions. The graphical method proved to be extremely useful in allowing comparisons between the images sub-sample taken outside Cardiff, and the experiences sub-sample taken inside Cardiff. The method is particularly useful in highlighting discrepancies between images and experiences. In the language of service quality and gap analysis, this data can enable the identification of gaps between expectations and perceptions of the Cardiff place product. From the graphical representation, images of Cardiff as 'industrial' and 'inaccessible' were identified, and these pose particular problems for destination marketers. They contrast with the generally positive experiences amongst actual visitors. The graphical method, however, is only useful for a general overview as it is impossible to determine the characteristics of the respondents who have images or experiences worthy of further investigation.

The factor analysis method fulfilled its potential in terms of providing a profile of the respondents with interesting or extreme images or experiences. Based on the multiple correlations within the data set, the factor analysis method provided some extremely rich data, enabling meaningful factors to be identified. Factors containing both salient constructs, and variables representing information such as socio-demographic and psychographic characteristics, were identified. Some of the most striking findings related to corrrelations between negative images of Cardiff, and representations of Cardiff in the mass media. The personal characteristics of visitors to Cardiff with particularly positive, or particularly negative experiences of the city, were also identified.

It is argued that the combination of data collection and analysis methods, combining emic and etic approaches and qualitative and quantitative methods, does offer hope in transcending methodological and epistemological boundaries. Building upon the epistemological foundations of the literature review, the methodology produces some rich

and convincing data, and supports the case for a more informed relativism to refresh tourism research. Analysing the data, however, also reveals the tensions and contradictions inherent in many attempts at methodological pluralism. Conflicting ontologies were apparent in attempts to provide rich, meaningful, yet statistically reliable data. The following discussion will address the implications of the data in the context of tourism and place marketing policies, methodological issues, and epistemological implications.

CHAPTER 11

PEOPLE, PLACE, AND CONSUMPTION: IMPLICATIONS

11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research findings in the context of tourism and marketing policy in Cardiff. The discussion also addresses the academic implications of the study for both tourism research, and social science in general. As intended, in addition to engaging with academic issues, the study produced data of interest to the organisations responsible for marketing Cardiff. The graphical method of analysis revealed data which has implications for overall levels of satisfaction with the Cardiff tourism product, and the significance of naive images of the city. The process of comparing the images of potential tourists with the experiences of actual tourists provides a useful overview, with implications for the Cardiff tourism product, promotional strategies, and the positioning of Cardiff.

The factor analysis model, however, proved to be a much more powerful and revealing method of analysis. The rich data generated, based on the multiple correlations between a wide range of variables, revealed groups of consumers with intersubjective images or experiences. The data also proved to be compatible with the conceptual framework developed. The factor analysis, in effect, develops profiles of these groups in terms of demographic, socio-economic, and psychographic variables. Other variables used in the analysis indicate the types of representations or landscapes experienced by particular groups.

Such outcomes have both academic and commercial implications. Factors can be considered from a marketing perspective - in the context of market segments, products, promotion, and positioning. Alternatively, such phenomena can be considered in terms of their academic implications. The profundity of the academic implications is actually

increased by the lack of dialogue between tourism researchers and social theorists. Not only is it necessary to discuss the implications of the study for tourism research; but it has become increasingly clear that the phenomenon of urban tourist experience reveals unprecedented contradictions and weaknesses within the strata of social science epistemology.

11.2 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

11.2.1 Positive Images

Cardiff Marketing, in particular, is currently addressing the promotional strategy for Cardiff, and the benefits offered to different market segments. Although the leisure tourism market is one of a number of market segments, Cardiff Marketing is seeking to address the city's image and 'outdated attitudes' (Cardiff Marketing, 1998:2), particularly through image development programmes. Whilst negative images of Cardiff revealed by the study will be the subject of considerable discussion, it is important to recognise the strengths of the both Cardiff's image and the Cardiff product, *before* image marketing programmes are initiated.

As discussed below, the strengths of Cardiff's tourism product include Cardiff's history, atmosphere, accessibility, and the friendly nature of the city. Positive images of Cardiff amongst potential visitors include 'historical', 'friendly', and having 'arts and culture'. These positive images of Cardiff are significant both in terms of providing an identity to build promotional strategies upon; and in terms of the expectations which visitors have on arriving.

In terms of promotion, it is significant that there are signs that the process of creating an identity and brand image for a destination increasingly involves 'mood marketing' (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). Increasingly sophisticated destination promotional

strategies do not merely seek to inform or to counter negative images, but to convey the essence and identity of the place in subtle emotional terms. Associated with this process is the concept of positioning, in which the benefits of the destination relative to competing destinations are communicated to potential visitors. One only has to look at the WTB's recent award-winning 'Two Hours Away' campaign to see this strategy in action. It has been established that 'image building is the single most important task identified for Cardiff Marketing Ltd' (L & R Leisure, 1995:20). At present however, Cardiff Marketing is yet to capitalise on the positive components of the city's image in developing an effective brand image.

Within the mission statement of Cardiff Marketing is the objective of developing 'a positive image awareness among national and international audiences' (Cardiff Marketing, 1998:1). It has been established that Cardiff Marketing plan to use a range of channels to distribute promotional material to overseas and UK visitors, tour operators, carriers, travel agents, and group travel organisers. Promotional material is to include the *Travel Trade Guide*, *The Cardiff Guide,* the *Events Guide*, in addition to seasonal and events-based publications. In terms of the *Cardiff Guide*, which at the time of writing is yet to be published, it remains questionable to what extent an effective and consistent brand image has been developed. As qualitative data in a language salient to actual and potential visitors is relatively scarce, it is unlikely that both the perceived strengths of the city, and positive naive images will be taken into consideration. It is possible that an important opportunity for developing a brand image and identity for Cardiff has been missed, and there appear to be few plans to prioritise this area of promotion.

It is hoped, therefore, that the organisations involved in promoting Cardiff, including the WTB, will attempt to develop a brand image underpinned by consumer research. It would seem that an image of history, friendly people, a good atmosphere, arts and culture, and surprising accessibility, provides a sound basis for such an identity. Accessibility, and to an extent history, have already featured in WTB advertising campaigns. It would seem to be an opportune time to focus on Cardiff's strengths in an

integrated promotional effort, led by Cardiff Marketing, but involving all the organisations influencing the projected image of Cardiff.

11.2.2 Negative Images

It has been apparent that one of the most important aspects of the findings concerns negative images of Cardiff amongst urban tourists who have not recently visited the city. Although the strongest negative images of Cardiff are 'industrial', and 'inaccessible', there are also high scores for 'uninteresting', 'few impressive buildings', 'congested', and 'unsafe'. These naive images of Cardiff differ considerably from the first hand experience of Cardiff, suggesting that expectations are invariably exceeded upon visiting the city. The only possible exception to this trend concerns the construct 'dirty', where there is also a relatively high score for the experience sub-sample. Overall, however, images are considerably less positive than experiences, and Cardiff would appear to have something of an image problem in terms of these constructs.

The factor analysis enabled these constructs to be examined in greater detail, and provided useful data relating to correlations including both personal variables and sources of representations. In particular, there appears to be degree of correlation between images of Cardiff as 'congested' and 'industrial', and representations on the television, radio, and in newspapers. Consumers with an interest in sport, with higher education qualifications, also appear to be more likely to have negative images of Cardiff. These consumer characteristics appear to be correlated with images of Cardiff as 'industrial', and as having 'no impressive buildings'.

The separate factor analysis extraction for the strongly negative images 'industrial' and 'inaccessible' also revealed some interesting correlations. Consumers who rated Cardiff as 'industrial' were also likely to have experienced television and radio representations of the city. Of some concern considering the targeting of younger market segments in many urban marketing and city centre redevelopment strategies, is the suggestion that students

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and young adults perceive the city to be 'industrial'. Perhaps even more surprisingly, it would also seem that there is a correlation between such negative images of Cardiff, and an interest in sport.

The clear correlation between negative images of Cardiff and mass media representations of the city is interesting and has a number of policy implications. It would appear that Cardiff Marketing is correct to emphasise public and media relations in the new promotional strategy, particularly through the targeting of key opinion-formers. CML already targets journalists and editors associated with quality newspapers, television and radio programmes, and upmarket magazines. It is interesting that representatives of lifestyle magazines such as GQ, Esquire, Company, and Cosmopolitan are targeted, in an attempt to communicate with the young ABC1 market. It would seem, however, that the strategy of targeting opinion-formers and key decision-makers tends to be influenced more by the disposable income of these groups, rather than their images of the city. It is certainly difficult to overcome deep-rooted prejudices against Cardiff and Wales. Greater gains would surely accrue, however, if there was more of an attempt to identify sources of negative images in the mass media. Whether representations are in newspapers or in television programmes, it should be possible to target opinion-formers on the basis of their influence on potential consumers, and not merely the disposable income of the audience.

It is not uncommon for cities which have suffered de-industrialisation, associated social and environmental problems, to exist as 'media pegs' on which journalists hang particular stories. Cardiff has changed dramatically, even in the last decade. As CML suggests, it is indeed possible that both opinion-formers and members of the British public have outdated images of the Welsh capital. It is interesting that such negative images appear to be particularly related to television representations. It is possible that, despite the emergence and dominance of the service sectors in Cardiff, the city is used a peg on which to hang stories concerning heavy manufacturing industry. It is also possible that

Cardiff is used by journalists as a backdrop for stories concerning crime and environmental problems.

The WTB has recently addressed images of Wales as 'inaccessible' in its national 'Two Hours Away' advertising campaign, in which it is stressed that the beautiful landscape and relative tranquillity of Wales is only two hours away from London. It would certainly seem that the London-based mass media perpetuates images of Cardiff as inaccessible and remote. Not unlike cities such as Liverpool, it is also possible that the self-depreciating humour characteristic of South Wales can also encourage negative images. The depiction of South Wales by comedian Max Boyce, for example, may not contribute to a particularly positive image. Whilst rugby is indeed a passion of the inhabitants of South Wales, representations of an insular, unsophisticated, and impoverished South Wales by comedians do not bear much resemblance to contemporary Cardiff. It is suggested that it should be a priority of Cardiff Marketing to conduct further research to establish which television representations do contribute to negative images of Cardiff. This would enable a more refined targeting of opinion-formers, focusing on those who currently contribute to negative images, and not merely those who communicate with desirable market segments.

It should also be possible to communicate with consumers likely to have negative images of Cardiff, through more traditional promotional techniques. Although advertising is obviously an expensive technique, evidence that students and young people have negative images of the city creates the possibility of targeting promotion on the basis of geography, lifestyles, and age. It is possible, for example, that students and young adults in South West England could be encouraged to visit Cardiff through advertising and sales promotion. As it would seem that expectations are likely to be exceeded, the credibility of word of mouth recommendation would be particularly beneficial.

Another technique open to CML is the development of more events. The 'Big Weekend' is already popular, yet research indicates that awareness of events is extremely low. Only

16 per cent of visitors to Cardiff City Centre were able to name any event, and awareness of some major events was as low as 3.1 per cent (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:18). Whilst events have great potential to attract consumers who would not usually visit - leading to word of mouth recommendation - it would seem that existing events are being poorly promoted. Rather than missing opportunities, it is imperative to better promote existing events, and develop more high profile events.

It is certainly surprising that the findings suggest a link between negative images of Cardiff and an interest in sport. It is quite possible that this apparent link is misleading, and that sport is merely one of a number of variables helping to define the market segments in question. Although the findings are tentative and open to interpretation, it is important to consider, in light of the considerable investment in sporting events and facilities, whether sport is currently compatible with the positioning of Cardiff. The factor analysis revealed a degree of correlation between sport as a hobby/interest, and most of the negative images of Cardiff, including 'congested', 'industrial', 'no impressive buildings', and 'unsafe'.

Whilst it would be unwise to draw too many conclusions from these findings, it is unlikely that Cardiff Marketing, Cardiff County Council, or the WTB, currently pay much attention to the different components making up Cardiff's image. Despite the impressive economic impact of rugby, for example, particularly in the case of the Rugby World Cup, it should not be assumed that sport necessarily contributes to the *positioning* of the city. It is possible that rugby is inconsistent with the positioning of the city as a place of arts, culture, and history. It is hoped that, firstly, Cardiff Marketing will develop an understanding of the impact of sport in terms of marketing as well as in terms of economics; and secondly, that Cardiff is positioned according to strengths in terms of both its product, and its image. If this means communicating the message that there is more to Cardiff than rugby, then the organisations responsible for marketing Cardiff should take this bold step.

The implications of the negative images of Cardiff, therefore, concern both knowledge and action. It is necessary for Cardiff Marketing, in particular, to have a greater knowledge of negative images of the city, and the possible sources of representations contributing to such images. As it would seem that representations of Cardiff through the medium of television are particularly influential, it is imperative to then target the opinion-formers. Whereas media relations conventionally proceed on the basis of the audience characteristics of particular publications, it is suggested that more priority should be given to 'negative opinion-formers'.

11.2.3 Positive Experiences

One of the most basic findings with policy implications for the tourism and marketing organisations, is that experiences of the city of Cardiff are considerably more positive than images of Cardiff. It would seem that overall levels of satisfaction amongst visitors are high, and that the attractions, accommodation, and ancillary services are generally well-perceived. From the experience constructs, it would appear that there is a general consensus amongst visitors concerning the historical, friendly, and accessible nature of the destination. There would also seem to be degree of consensus concerning the good atmosphere experienced in Cardiff.

The significance of history, a good atmosphere, friendly people, and accessibility, are also highlighted in the Cardiff Visitor Study (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999). According to the study, the top ranked motivating factors are 'attractions', followed by 'accessibility' (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:12). Overall, 84 per cent of visitors found their visit to be 'very enjoyable', and the most popular attractions included the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff Castle, the open-top bus tour, and Cardiff Bay (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999).

The qualitative data in this study also reveals the strengths of the Cardiff tourism product. Cardiff Castle and the National Museum of Wales were cited as impressive by numerous

visitors, adding detail to their perception of Cardiff as 'interesting', 'historical, and 'impressive'. Consistent with visitor surveys such as the Cardiff Visitor Study and research cited in the Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan, Cardiff Castle is perceived particularly positively as an attraction. Also receiving a particularly positive response is the Civic Centre, especially the National Museum of Wales, and the City Hall. Attractions in Cardiff Bay also received positive remarks, with Techniquest perceived as particularly interesting.

According to the factor analysis, positive experiences of the Cardiff product tend to be related more to aspects of the urban landscape, than to the personal characteristics of the visitors. However, the first set of extractions revealed high factor loadings for the constructs 'historic', friendly', 'interesting', impressive buildings', 'accessible' and 'good atmosphere'. Personal variables with high loadings included 'word of mouth', and 'middle income'. Although the reliability of the first set of extractions is questionable and is the subject of discussion below, it would seem that word of mouth recommendations, possibly including opinions and advice relating to the city for friends and relatives, can improve the visitor experience.

Likewise, overall, the second set of extractions does not indicate many correlations between the personal characteristics of the respondents, and positive visitor experiences. This would also seem to suggest that specific aspects of the urban landscape have the most significant influence on the experiences of visitors. There would seem to be a link, however, between past visits and positive experiences, particularly on the question of whether or not Cardiff is 'accessible'. In this respect, first-hand experience of Cardiff would certainly appear to change naive images of the city.

Both the survey and the qualitative research also revealed aspects of Cardiff's tourism product where perceptions were mixed. 'Arts and Culture', for example, received relatively moderate scores overall in the survey, and also received mixed comments within the qualitative data collected. Whilst events such as 'The Big Weekend' were

perceived positively, along with facilities such as the National Museum of Wales and St David's Hall, questions concerning the breadth of cultural facilities and events were also raised. Both British and European visitors in their twenties remarked on the 'mainstream' nature of 'spaces, bars, and clubs', and a the 'tacky/tarty' nature of some establishments. In the context of events such as the less than overwhelming support for the proposed opera house in Cardiff Bay, this finding, however marginal to the overall results of the study, may represent a perception which has gone undetected by previous visitor surveys. It may be advisable for organisations such as Cardiff County Council and Cardiff Marketing to consider the breadth of arts and cultural attractions, as well as merely the quantity and quality of what is currently on offer.

As the L & R Leisure report (1995) argues, Cardiff generally has a strong tourism product. There is, however, a need to maintain and improve the quality of the visitor experience if the city is to remain competitive. This includes not only the attractions themselves, but also the visitor welcome and service quality within the attractions and accommodation sectors, and especially in ancillary services. An important initial stage of this process is conducting rigorous research which asks salient questions. It is encouraging that the Cardiff Visitor Study, conducted every two years, is providing useful data for tourism policy-makers and the industry in Cardiff. In the context of this study, the emphasis on 'motivating factors', and visitor experience is particularly welcome. There is also a welcome attempt to include qualitative data such as the 'attractions and facilities' influential in people's decisions to visit, and also sources of information influencing a visit.

It is regrettable, however, that this type of information always seems to be a minor consideration in visitor surveys. In the Cardiff Visitor Study (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999), for example, 'attractions and facilities' includes only conventionally recognised features such as 'shops', 'parks', and 'Cardiff Bay'. The data on sources of information influencing a visit includes just three categories: 'previous visit', 'advice of friends / family', and 'tourist inform / brochure / leaflet'. The Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan cites

the strengths of Cardiff's tourism offer consisting of 'Capital / Castle / Civic Core / Shopping / Stadium / Compact / Hinterland' (L & R Leisure, 1995). Although it is useful to identify such components of the tourism product, it is far from certain whether these aspects are salient to consumers and important within their decision-making process. Likewise, there is no attempt within visitor surveys to examine the sources of information about Cardiff in any detail.

Although the factors salient to consumer decision-making appear to be poorly understood, the need to maintain and improve the quality of Cardiff's most important attractions is recognised. For example, improvements to Cardiff Castle have recently been announced. In addition to improvements to physical aspects such as car parking, disabled access, and coach access points, there will also be a range of marketing measures. Following the appointment of a new marketing specialist, there are plans to target educational and special interest groups, develop packages (including accommodation), and further participate in schemes such as *Welcome Host* (Tourism Development Group, 1999).

The City Centre Strategy (Cardiff County Council 1997), in addition to addressing the weaknesses of Cardiff's tourism product discussed below, will also help the tourism sector to capitalise on strengths. There are plans, for example, to develop arts, cultural, and sports facilities, including a National Cricket Centre at Sophia Gardens, and a Millennium Centre of the Arts in Cardiff Bay. The Cardiff Serviced Accommodation Study (Marketing Planning Associates, 1997), in addition to generating useful strategic data, indicates that the future development of the accommodation sector is also being addressed. With detailed estimates of growth in demand for various types of accommodation, the report helps to set the agenda for the accommodation sector's contribution to the Cardiff tourism product in future years. The recent proliferation of information relating to Cardiff's tourism also extends to training needs in the tourism and hospitality sectors (Stevens and Associates, 1997). The latter study includes a welcome attempt at consulting a wide range of industry representatives, a process which

unfortunately does not often appear to be mirrored by attempts to elicit the views of consumers in the other areas of the tourism planning process.

The Cardiff Strategic Tourism Plan recognises the need to improve the visitor infrastructure and welcome experienced in Cardiff (L & R Leisure, 1995:2). This includes the information services offered to tourists through the TIC, and also the quality of the urban environment in general. The need for the more effective packaging of Cardiff's tourism product was also identified as a priority (L & R Leisure, 1995:3). According to Cardiff County Council (1997) and Cardiff Marketing (1999), some of these proposals have already been actioned. The City Centre Strategy (C.C.C., 1997) has already provided the impetus for the redevelopment of the Central Square area. This area of the city, which received unfavourable responses in the survey, has a crucial influence on the first impressions gained by visitors. Cardiff Marketing (1999) reports that a new site on Wood Street has been acquired for a 'Gateway Tourist Information Centre', improving the ancillary information services criticised in both the L & R Leisure Report (1995), and the City Centre Strategy (C.C.C., 1997).

Whilst these measures are most welcome, it is hoped that the experiences of different groups of visitors will be considered in policy-making. It is evident from scrutinising reports and strategies relating to Cardiff's tourism, just how much emphasis is placed on quantitative data. The language of policy-making is often dominated by targets in visitor numbers, occupancy rates, and visitor expenditure, with relatively little mention of the perceptions or decision-making of actual visitors. It is hoped that consumers have an input into a full range of measures to maintain and improve Cardiff's tourism product, including training, customer care, new hotel development, environmental improvements, and ancillary services.

11.2.4 Negative Experiences

Although experiences of Cardiff amongst visitors were considerably more positive than images of the city, the study did reveal some negative experiences. As the graphical method shows, overall, the constructs causing concern are 'dirty', and 'congested'. Perceptions of Cardiff as 'dirty' amongst visitors are of particular concern, as the index for experiences is actually slightly higher than the index representing images.

The first set of factor analysis extractions indicates a low level of correlation between negative experiences of Cardiff, and the personal characteristics of visitors. As the reliability of the first set of extractions is debatable, caution should be exercised in interpretation. It is possible, however, that negative experiences of Cardiff as dirty and congested are not limited to any particular groups of consumer or market segments. It is possible that such perceptions are influenced more by particular areas of the city experienced (landscape) than by socio-economic, demographic, or psychographic characteristics.

The second set of factor analysis extractions for 'negative experiences', however, does provide some indication of variations between different groups of consumers. A factor was identified, for example, with high loadings for 'congested' and also 'professional', 'high income', and 'higher education'. Whilst caution is necessary in interpreting such findings, it does seem plausible that this type of consumer is more discerning and critical of tourism experiences. This type of consumer - an educated professional with a high income - is likely to be well travelled. It is plausible that their stock of knowledge of urban destinations is based on considerable first-hand experience, having numerous experiences with which to compare Cardiff.

The qualitative data adds clarity to the dissatisfaction amongst a minority of visitors. A common theme amongst visitors related to perceptions of Cardiff as 'dirty'. It was extremely common for respondents to comment on litter, and parts of the city centre and

Bute Park were perceived as neglected. The area around Central Square, the source of first impressions of Cardiff for many visitors, was commonly criticised. It was also common for respondents to gain negative perceptions of areas outside the city centre itself - including the Butetown area, Canton, and areas of Cardiff Bay.

Whether perceptions of Cardiff as dirty are associated with the city centre itself, or areas on the periphery, there was a strong feeling that more could be done to avoid such problems. According to the qualitative data, comments relating to street cleaning and recycling were extremely common. Whilst some respondents were concerned that streets and parks were not cleaned often enough, other visitors commented on a lack of recycling.

It is interesting that extensive redevelopment and environmental improvements have been initiated through the *City Centre Strategy* (C.C.C., 1997). Work on the Central Square area, close to the railway station is already well underway, and represents a significant environmental improvement. Other projects to be given priority include a programme of refurbishment of shopping arcades, improvements to St Mary Street, and the enhancement of the quality and accessibility of Bute Park and Cathays Park (C.C.C., 1997:4).

St Mary Street is the focus of improved pedestrian facilities, designed to enhance the role of the castle as an attraction. There are also improvements to the 'area's physical fabric, environmental quality, and business performance' (C.C.C, 1997:4). According to the strategy, the 'Castle Quarter' will be enhanced, and Caroline Street - notorious for litter, crime, and violence - will be upgraded. It is interesting that corridor improvements are also planned, with the development of North Road as 'an attractive gateway to the city centre' (C.C.C, 1997:4).

The Bridge and Bute Avenue is also considered a priority, with the aim of establishing the highway and public transport links with the city centre, and creating an attractive

environment. The Inner Harbour is being addressed, with an emphasis on waterfront development capitalising on the freshwater created by the barrage, and providing facilities such as Hamadryad Park (C.C.C, 1997:4). The Taff Corridor is the focus of environmental improvements, and in the near future, it is planned to address the Queen Street area, Newport Road, Atlantic Wharf, and significantly, the City Centre Fringe area.

It is ironic, considering the scale of redevelopment, that the most important measures capable of influencing the experience of visitors are small scale and common-sense improvements. It has been apparent to anyone familiar with Cardiff that graffiti and litter in the Central Square area and St. Mary Street detract from the experience of visiting Cardiff City Centre. Certain areas, such as Caroline Street, are notorious to residents and visitors alike. Likewise, it is not surprising that areas around Cardiff Bay are perceived to be of a poor environmental quality. Whilst the improvements and redevelopment detailed in the *City Centre Strategy* are most welcome, Cardiff County Council should have acted much sooner with minor measures to improve the urban environment.

Whilst street cleaning is in evidence, the more effective collection of refuse has been necessary for some time. Refuse has tended to be piled up on pavements, and the unsightly and potentially dangerous obstacles appear to remain on the streets for too long. Of some concern in relation to the Rugby World Cup, are suggestions that street cleansing and the collection of refuse does not occur until some time after rugby matches and rock concerts. Observation in St Mary Street, Caroline Street, and in the Central Square areas, suggests that Cardiff County Council must examine the litter collection process in the city centre, as a matter of priority.

The qualitative data suggests that the quality of the environment in Cardiff Bay is rather variable. It is no coincidence that in addition to the environmental concerns revealed by this study, the *Cardiff Visitor Study* found relatively low levels of satisfaction amongst visitors with Cardiff Bay (Cardiff Research Centre, 1999:14). It is acknowledged that significant regeneration and economic development has been achieved in the area. There

are signs, however, that a much better understanding of the experience of visitors could have been achieved. Despite an emphasis within promotional literature on creating links between the Bay and the City Centre, is it is actually difficult for tourists to find their way by public transport. Qualitative data suggests an unhelpful response from staff at Cardiff Bus Station, and a lack of information explaining how to travel from the City Centre to Cardiff Bay.

Although the Cardiff Bay Visitor Centre is successful and popular, the environment in general is not always perceived positively by visitors. Even Bute Avenue, the subject of much rhetoric in the context of linking Cardiff Bay and the City Centre, presents a fairly inhospitable environment to the pedestrian. Although the Bay is now served by a rail link from Queen's Street Station, it is only relatively recently that visitors have been able to make use of a frequent service. Cardiff Bay is not blessed with the impressive range of listing buildings found on the waterfronts of cites such as Liverpool. Successful waterfronts tend have a tight cluster of attractions, restaurants, and other tourist facilities, contributing to a unique atmosphere. Despite the early involvement of the Rouse Corporation in Cardiff's redevelopment plans, as Cardiff Bay Development Corporation is wound up, it is debatable how successful the recreational, leisure, and tourism aims of the regeneration have proved. There is little doubt that the quality of the environment as experienced by visitors should have featured more in the planning process.

The qualitative data proved to be useful in considering perceptions of Cardiff as 'congested'. Respondents expressed concern at the amount of traffic in the city centre, and the resulting pollution. The qualitative data added detail to the 'congested' construct for which there was a high overall rating. It is significant that congestion in the city centre does appear to detract from the experience of visitors. It was fairly common, for example, for visitors to comment on the absence of pedestrian crossings, particularly opposite Cardiff Castle. Whilst the experience of visitors appears to have been significantly improved by the city's pedestrianised areas such as Queen Street and areas

around the Civic Centre, other areas such as St Mary Street and Castle Street are not perceived positively in this respect.

It is interesting that the factor analysis reveals some correlation between perceptions of Cardiff as congested, and personal characteristics such as high income, professional, and higher education. The qualitative data reveals that some respondents were surprised that measures to improve traffic congestion and provide facilities for pedestrians had not been taken. It is conceivable that visitors with such views also have the income and lifestyle to experience other large cities as tourists. Although, overall, in this case the personal characteristics of respondents do not appear to play a major role in influencing experiences, there is evidence that Cardiff is perceived as lagging behind competitors in this respect.

It is interesting that such problems are now being addressed by the City Centre Strategy. The St. Mary's Street area has been identified as a 'priority area for early action' (C.C.C., 1997:4). In particular, action will address pedestrian facilities, 'the area's physical fabric, environmental quality, and business performance' (C.C.C., 1997:4). The 'Castle Quarter Initiative' is also designed to enhance the environmental quality of the area, improving the experience of visitors. Other initiatives likely to improve traffic congestion include implementing a strategy for coach parking, and in the meantime, making shorter-term improvements. Visitor signage is to be initially addressed through improvements between the City Centre and the M4. The second phase of improvements to visitor signage, should funding be secured, will address the routes between the City Centre and Cardiff Bay.

It is also hoped to 'encourage provision for people with special needs' (C.C.C., 1997:27), to 'develop initiatives to improve the taxi service' (C.C.C., 1997:27), and to 'develop initiatives to assist visitors to use public transport' (C.C.C., 1997:27). Considering the negative experiences with public transport revealed by the qualitative data, these measures would seem to be most welcome. Whilst the first two measures have been

afforded priority and initiated in 1998, the public transport initiative will be implemented in 1999. An interesting scheme with the potential to reduce congestion and pollution is the development of cycle paths linking into the National Cycle Network.

There is little doubt that such measures will significantly improve the experience of visitors to Cardiff, and address perceptions of congestion. Improvement to St. Mary Street and Castle Street are particularly important. It is surprising, however, that it has taken the production of a detailed strategy to address such simple and inexpensive measures. Considering the location of transport termini in relation to Cardiff's attractions, it hardly takes a City Centre Strategy to understand that pedestrian crossings are necessary. Likewise, for many years there has been a common perception amongst residents that the environmental quality of the railway station, the bus station, and Central Square is poor, and that visitors do not gain a positive first impression of the city. If such problems are common knowledge in the city, it is remarkable that they have not been addressed earlier.

A possible reason for the failure to take simple and inexpensive measures, such as signposting and the creation of pedestrian crossings, concerns the understanding of visitor experience. Although comprehensive visitor surveys are conducted in the city, the research is unlikely to reveal the subtleties of visitor experience and perception. In the 1999 Cardiff Visitor Study, for example, although a graph representing visitor complaints is included, there is almost no commentary or analysis of negative experiences. Instead, it is emphasised that 'when visitors . . . were asked to name any aspect of the city that they particularly disliked 80 % felt unable to do so' (C.C.C., 1999). Whether this figure compares favourably or not with competing destinations, it is at best unhelpful, and likely to be dangerously diversionary. It is essential for the Tourism Development Group to understand the subtle experiences of the twenty percent, in terms which are salient to them.

It is also possible that there has traditionally been little co-operation between the different public and private sector organisations with a stake in Cardiff's tourism. In this sense, moves to increase co-ordination, whether through the Tourism Development Group, or thorough WDA initiatives, are welcome. Any initiatives should start by creating channels of communication between attractions, transport operators, hospitality organisations, the WTB, Cardiff Marketing, and Cardiff County Council, to name but a few. The establishment of the Cardiff Tourism Forum, bringing together a range of public and private sector organisations, should encourage co-operation. Such initiatives enable issues to be discussed, and in many cases, compromises sought. The lag-time between identifying a problem and acting upon it appears to have been far too long, with even simple measures neglected until comprehensive strategies can be implemented.

Although many of the deficiencies in the Cardiff tourism product are now being addressed, it is surprising that they have taken so long. Adding a pedestrian crossing in front of Cardiff Castle, for example, represents an inexpensive, common-sense measure. Both the repertory grid analysis and the survey suggest that visitors demand an urban environment which they perceive as hospitable. Not only are areas such as Castle Street unwelcoming to the tourist, but they are actually dangerous. During the collection of survey data, numerous visitors were observed dodging traffic to get to and from Cardiff Castle, often mistaking the box junction for a pedestrian crossing. Such problems, acknowledged for some time by Cardiff County Council and Cardiff Castle, should not take years to rectify. To lose a visitor to a competing destination may be regarded as a misfortune, but to lose a visitor in a traffic accident looks like carelessness.

It is appreciated that measures to improve the Cardiff tourism product may not always be seen as having a positive impact on residents or other sectors of the business community. As discussed in early chapters of the project, there is considerable evidence that urban tourism has a net positive impact on a locality. A tourism forum would also allow the dissemination of information concerning the city's tourism sector, hopefully involving residents and non-tourism organisations. A useful political move - which doesn't seem to

be lost on Cardiff County Council - involves attempts to dissolve the rather artificial boundaries between policies concerned with leisure and recreation and those concerned with tourism. Banning heavy goods vehicles from the city centre, for example, could be seen as privileging the needs of tourists over the needs of residents. Alternatively, such a policy could be positioned as an improvement in the health and well-being of all Cardiff consumers. Ironically, by emphasising the benefits of policies to residents, tourism may begin to be taken more seriously.

11.3   METHODOLOGY

Throughout the project there has been an attempt to develop sound theoretical foundations on which to build a methodology for analysing both the images and experiences of urban tourists. There has also been an attempt to avoid the weaknesses of many tourism studies. Methodological weaknesses include the over-dependence on statistical analysis at the expense of conducting research which is not salient to the respondents. Theoretical weaknesses particularly relate to the dominant epistemology within place image and perception studies - behaviouralism. Whilst there is little doubt that the use of a combination of methods, including repertory grid interviews, addresses many of the weaknesses of previous studies, new issues are raised. In addition to evaluating the degree of success in overcoming the methodological weaknesses associated with the epistemologies reviewed, the following section will also address the problems and issues arising from the methodology of this project.

The first stage of the methodology, before methods or data are even considered, and irrespective of specific epistemologies, is the development of a general philosophy. In this respect, the review of the debate on postmodernism as it relates to the city is particularly influential. Although the work of authors such as Lyotard (1984), and Lefebrvre (1966, 1970) has not directly influenced the methodology, it has inspired a humanistic and inductive approach, focusing on everyday experience, emotions, and a

sense of place. Although rarely carried into studies of tourism, these influences have inspired humanistic studies of the city such as those by Ley (1989), and Gregory (1989). It is argued that the ethos and spirit of such work should indirectly influence any study of urban tourist experience.

A major criticism of the methodologies of place image studies is that too often the researcher asks questions which are not salient to respondents. Exacerbating this, is an uncritical reliance on behaviourist epistemologies. The methodology developed in this thesis attempts to overcome both of these problems, whilst drawing on the ethos of 'local knowledge' (Geertz, 1983). The problems associated with place image studies in which constructs are generated by the researcher rather than consumers, has been discussed at length. The repertory grid analysis, using a sample of sixty urban tourists, was intended to overcome the problem of a lack a saliency, and instead focus on the everyday, intersubjective language of actual and potential visitors to Cardiff. The aim was not to use personal construct theory to develop an in-depth knowledge of individuals. Repertory grid interviews were instead used to develop an intersubjective language, representing a consensus concerning the attributes of Cardiff important in tourist decision-making.

In this respect, it would appear that the first stage of the methodology was extremely successful. The repertory grid interviews were conducted in a conversational style, which appeared to be very similar to the way in which tourists discuss destinations in everyday contexts. Respondents were quite willing to give up to forty minutes of their time, and the process of comparing and contrasting localities came very naturally to them. The process of forming 'types' and their polar opposites is, of course, crucial to the *stock of knowledge* and *action* in Schutzian terminology. In addition to uncovering the positive and negative typifications contained within the stock of knowledge of respondents, the repertory grid research appeared to uncover constructs which were unexpected and not necessarily predictable by the researcher. This represents a divergence from many place image studies which privilege constructs which seem logical and rational to the

researcher. The combination of the theoretical underpinning of humanistic studies, particularly the work of Schutz (e.g., 1972), and the enthusiasm and ease with which respondents participated in the repertory grid interviews, resulted in this phase of research generally proving extremely successful.

A common criticism of personal construct theory is that it is too 'mentalistic'. By this, detractors are concerned about the weight given to the experiences of individuals and their subjective understanding of the world. It has hopefully become apparent, however, that the use of repertory grid analysis in a Schutzian framework does not actually focus on individuals, but on intersubjective groups of people with similar experiences. Conversely, qualitative researchers may perceive repertory grid analysis as too structured and restrictive. For the purpose of generating an intersubjective language to be used in a survey, however, this did not appear to be the case. The informal style of the interviews and the freedom of the respondent to supply both elements and constructs, ensured that an inductive ethos was maintained.

The second phase of primary research, the survey, was influenced rather more by the contributions of the place image literature. In particular, the conceptualisation of different types of image corresponding to different stages of the consumer decision-making process was extremely influential. Authors such as Gunn (1972) provided the rationale for splitting both the repertory grid analysis and the survey samples into two sub-samples. This approach, enabling images and experiences to be compared and contrasted for each construct, was central to the methodology. As discussed in chapter four, place image researchers are increasingly realising the benefits of this approach, especially in providing an input into destination marketing strategies (e.g., Jenkins, 1999).

However, there are some practical problems associated with splitting the sample between actual and potential visitors. It is more difficult, for example, to gain the co-operation of respondents if the survey relates to another destination. Although an adequate sample was eventually achieved, response rates tend to be significantly lower than with surveys

distributed to actual visitors. Whilst this is hardly surprising, it can lead to sub-samples which are only just large enough to satisfy reliability models associated with the use of statistical techniques such as factor analysis.

In terms of the 'Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience', there was an attempt to incorporate into the survey phase a movement back towards the 'stock of knowledge' of consumers. This is apparent in the attempt to not only elicit perceptions of Cardiff, but also to elicit a range of personal data relating to respondents' 'lifeworld'. Less conventional information included membership of social groups and professional bodies, and hobbies/interests. This appeared to be a particularly welcome addition to conventional place image surveys. The factor analysis indicated correlations between some of these variables and particularly positive or negative images or experiences. There was an attempt to define intersubjective groups of consumers according to their self-images and their perceived role within society. Although this approach was rather exploratory, it did appear to provide useful data for identifying intersubjective groups - or in marketing terms - market segments.

As the methodology also drew upon cultural studies, it is worth considering whether the engagement with landscapes and representations was fruitful. Throught the 'Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience', there was also an attempt to use the survey and analysis phase to identify landscapes and representations encountered by consumers. Particularly important, was the inclusion within the survey of data relating to sources of representations of Cardiff. There was also a provision to allow respondents to indicate aspects of the urban landscape which had influenced their experiences of Cardiff. Both of these features provided useful data.

Qualitative data on experiences of Cardiff's tourist landscape enabled the sources of particularly positive or negative experiences to be identified. Areas of intersubjectivity, experiences of traffic congestion, for example, proved particularly useful in terms of policy recommendations. The most significant influence of the cultural approach,

however, was in identifying the possible sources of negative representations of Cardiff. There was little doubt, for example, that television and the national press has a significant influence on images of Cardiff, and is a major source of negative representations.

A possible limitation of the survey is related to the exploratory nature of including such variables. Although every effort was made to select variables according to the conceptual framework developed, not all of variables proved to correlate with the image and experience constructs. Whilst this is to be expected, it is interesting that even in a study concerned with salient variables, it was necessary to exercise care in ensuring that the number of variables did not make the factor analysis extractions statistically unreliable. The process used in the second set of extractions appeared to overcome this problem to an extent.

The analysis of the survey, which again proceeded in two distinct phases, was influenced by place image studies, cultural studies, and humanistic studies. Although *Images* and *Experiences* form the focus of the methodology, there is an attempt to ultimately capture both *Landscapes* and *Representations*, and intersubjective *Stocks of Knowledge*. To this end, the analysis began with images and experiences, focusing on the other concepts in the later stages of analysis. The advantages and disadvantages of the initial stages of analysis - the graphical method - are largely self evident. The graphical representation provides a general overview, allowing particularly positive or negative constructs to be identified. Aggregating the data, however, obscures more subtle variations in responses, and obviously does not utilise any of the variables apart from the constructs.

The merits and problems associated with an unconventional application of factor analysis, however, are more contentious. It is apparent that extremely rich data has been produced. The multiple correlations between variables, represented by the extraction of factors, provided invaluable information. Of particular interest are links between negative images of Cardiff and representations in the mass media. Although there is no simple causal relationship between representations on television and negative images, the

evidence seems convincing. It is difficult to suggest many better techniques, both in terms of conducting such time-consuming calculations to examine the data, and in producing profiles of respondents. It is the form of the factor analysis output which makes the technique particularly suitable for this type of study. In effect, through calculating the multiple correlations between variables, factor analysis produces market segments which are characterised by a high level of intersubjectivity.

The factor analysis method, however, is not without its problems. The attractiveness of the output to researchers in marketing is actually one of its pitfalls. There is a danger that whatever the quality of data inputted, the amount of planning, or the level of statistical understanding, the output will seem impressive and useful. In this project, considerable care was taken to maximise the validity of the data. The comprehensive theoretical underpinning was used to justify the use of factor analysis, leading to a considered and valid approach. The main concern in the context of this project, is not so much validity, but whether such methodological pluralism can produce data which is deemed to be both valid and statistically reliable.

The most striking example of this problem concerns the use of two sub-samples in the study. This approach can be convincingly justified in the context of the study, and is common to both the repertory grid interviews and the survey. Furthermore, the repertory grid interviews, with their extensive theoretical underpinning, are designed to increase saliency, and therefore the validity of the data. For factor analysis, however, the existence of two sub-samples is problematic. In the first set of extractions, using the whole sample, the data contained a high level of multicollinearity, invalidating reliability tests. Where tests where valid, a very low level of statistical reliability was reported. In terms of the rationale of splitting the sample in two, the 'problem' can be explained very simply: a case in which the correlation between two variables is very low or negative as the result of two or more groups of respondents 'cancelling each other out'. This occurrence means only one thing in factor analysis, however: the data is statistically

unreliable. There is, in fact, a contradiction within reliability tests of the whole data set, because:

> *. . . if a factor analysis confirms that a measure comprises a number of dimensions the overall scale will probably exhibit a low level of internal reliability . . .* (Bryman and Cramer, 1990:71)

As the rationale for using factor analysis in this project is to uncover different dimensions within the data, despite the obvious strengths of factor analysis, problems are bound to be encountered in terms of reliability models. A partial solution is to split the data into the sub-samples, and remove any variables for which there is a negative correlation coefficient. This makes the data considerably more statistically reliable. It means, however, that any variables for which there are divergent responses are liable to be excluded. This is readily justified in statistical terms, but not in the context of the study itself. The second set of extractions were generally deemed 'reliable', yet only at a cost. It would seem that the cost of reliable factor analysis extractions is borne in terms of the richness of the data, and consequently, the validity of the results. Although it is conventional within social science to only report 'statistically reliable' results, it is far from clear whether validity or reliability should take priority when qualitative and quantitative methods are combined.

The most important conclusion in relation to the methodology however, concerns the importance of methodological pluralism in researching images and experiences of place consumers. Despite the issues discussed above, overall, it is considered absolutely essential to underpin quantitative data collection and analysis, with both a theoretical underpinning, and in-depth qualitative research. There would have been very little confidence in the results of the factor analysis had it not been for the intersubjective language provided by the repertory grid interviews. Although factor analysis is a fairly sophisticated statistical technique, the conversational and interactive nature of the repertory grid interviews not only enabled a consensus repertory grid to be developed, but also enabled the factor analysis extractions to be interpreted in a more informed and cautious manner.

Qualitative and quantitative methods are obviously judged by very different criteria. Whereas validity was undoubtedly increased by the more qualitative aspects of research, reliability become more problematic. It is apparent that a degree of compromise is necessary when a combination of methods are used. Compromise here, however, does not imply an overall leniency in research design and levels of quality. Instead, the criteria for justifying the quality and worth of a research design should shift towards the theoretical underpinning. Only when the researcher has a thorough understanding of the epistemological foundations of their primary research, can the whole of the methodology add up to more than the sum of the parts.

11.4   EPISTEMOLOGY

It is also worth considering the overall epistemological implications of the study in terms of both tourism studies, and social science more generally. The conceptual framework, and the associated methodological model, have implications for research into tourist experience, and tourism research generally. It has also become apparent that the phenomena of urban tourism and place marketing provide significant challenges to social science in general. The unique combinations - image and experience, inside and outside, representation and landscape, production and consumption - have the effect of challenging conceptualisations within 'modern' social science. Interestingly, despite the renewed emphasis on place and subjectivity with the 'cultural turn', contemporary hegemonic epistemologies are also found lacking in the context of urban tourism.

In terms of place image research within the tourism and marketing literature, it is clear that epistemological myopia has been common. An important theme within the literature review has been the reliance on behaviouralist epistemologies, and a general ignorance of alternative epistemologies. It has become apparent that there has often been a failure to engage with debates within the social sciences, particularly the issues surrounding the

'crisis of representation' which have such a profound impact on the social and physical sciences.

This failure to engage with social science debate leads to the development of extremely deterministic methodologies. In place image studies, for example, there is a failure to question theories and methodologies, and a failure to consider alternatives. Researchers are content to refer to 'reality' and 'images', as if they are *a priori* and uncontested. It is not as if the theory and practice of marketing does not provide cues concerning the dangers of such an approach. As market segments become ever narrower and more dynamic, and mass media opinion-formers take on a greater role within promotional strategies, there are clear signs that consumer knowledge is increasingly relative, and contested by different groups within society.

In terms of place image research specifically, despite the recent advances based on comparing different types of images, there are clear lessons to be learnt. It is important to avoid a myopic approach to epistemology, whereby the assumptions of previous studies are accepted without questioning. It is vital to consider a variety of epistemologies and associated methodologies, depending on the context of the study. It is also hoped that place image and marketing studies will increasingly acknowledge and engage with debates within social science concerning the status of knowledge. Although neither tourism academics nor practitioners appear to have been particularly concerned with such issues, the validity of place image research must be increased. No amount of complex statistical applications and reliability models can compensate for myopic, deterministic, and theoretically impoverished research.

Tourism research in general does finally appear to be embracing certain of the debates and issues within social science disciplines. Cultural approaches are becoming more common - a special edition of *Annals of Tourism Research* (1989, Volume 16) devoted to semiotics was an early yet isolated landmark. In the field of place image, recent publications such as Morgan and Pritchard (1998) are adding a much more critical and

theoretically informed edge. Despite these and other notable exceptions, however, for a multidisciplinary subject area, there is a bland and restrictive range of epistemological debate. It is no coincidence that compared to established disciplines such as human geography, tourism journal pages contain precious little theoretical debate. It is surely time for researchers in the field of tourism to draw upon a wider range of epistemologies, and question the hegemony. This may entail dissolving artificial disciplinary boundaries - between tourism and leisure, for example (see Williams and Chapman, 1999). Achieving this may also involve challenging a complacent and conventional tourism academy, not just at the surface, but all the way to the journal referees at the core.

It is perhaps surprising that the phenomena of urban tourism and place marketing also appear to challenge social science research. It is unsurprising that materialists fail to acknowledge, let alone engage with, the experience of urban tourists. Universal, macro-scale theory cannot conceptualise the human agency of either tourists or place marketers. It is rather surprising, however, that within human geography there are few approaches capable of conceptualising both the production and consumption of cultural texts. One would perhaps expect much more, considering the cultural turn within human geography and the renewed focus on place and subjectivity. In a similar vein to the overstated individualistic humanism of the 1970's however, the need to challenge the hegemony has resulted in a rather extreme and restrictive version of cultural studies.

In an attempt to argue convincingly that knowledge is always relative and meanings are always unstable, cultural geographers have made a prolific impact on the literature. Both contemporary and retrospective landscapes and representations have been read and re-read. The reader can hardly fail to understand the profound implications of the crisis of representation. In retrospective studies, attempts to challenge imperialist versions of history have held a particular fascination. In contemporary studies however, cracks have appeared. In the case of urban tourism, representations and landscapes are *consumed*, meanings are contested, and knowledge is unstable. The cultural researcher has a vital

and refreshing role to play. From the extensive discussion in chapter five, however, it is apparent that place consumers themselves are rarely considered.

Place consumption is not only about landscapes and representations, but also people. Although every experience and every representation can be read in countless ways, urban tourism exists precisely because groups of people have similar readings of similar texts. Reading landscapes and representations on behalf of people, in order to once again prove that an infinite number of interpretations exist, fails to engage with the phenomenon of urban tourism. The phenomenon of urban tourist experience reveals a strong tendency within human geography, and social science more generally, towards a polarisation between the universal determinism of materialism, and the subjective and excessive relativism of cultural approaches. The insular activities of many cultural researchers rather betrays the profanity their potential contribution.

It would appear therefore, that in an attempt to make an indelible mark on the course of social science, cultural researchers have rather overstated their case, creating a place which is long way from the deterministic and the universal, but equally inaccessible to researchers in the field of place consumption. During the relativist coup, until very recently, humanistic approaches have been somewhat cast aside. In urban tourism, the significance of humans lies not with the cognitive processes of individuals, but with *groups of people*. If studies of consumption begin at the level of the intersubjective, it is possible to both trace the structural forces within which action is framed; and to move further towards the human agency of the actors constituting the intersubjective group. Whilst one may wonder whether similar ground has not already been trodden by Giddens (1984), it is argued here that the intersubjectivity of Schutz has considerably more methodological potential than structuration theory. Meanings are contested yet shared, and action is constrained by structure yet influenced by intersubjective experience.

11.5 CONCLUSION

It was intended that the experiential methodology would produce data of relevance to the strategies of tourism and place marketing organisations in the city of Cardiff. The research findings do indeed have implications for urban tourism development in Cardiff, in terms of promotional strategies, product development, and positioning. It is apparent that there are relatively few weaknesses with the Cardiff tourism product, and overall satisfaction amongst visitors is high. Cardiff's history and friendly atmosphere are particularly appreciated, and should form the basis of positioning the city within domestic and international tourism markets. The relatively few weaknesses with the Cardiff tourism product suggest that common-sense measures - many of which are being addressed through the *City Centre Strategy* (C.C.C., 1998) - will significantly improve the experience of visitors to Cardiff.

Images of Cardiff, however, appear to be considerably more problematic. The findings indicate that negative images of Cardiff as 'industrial' and 'inaccessible' are of particular concern. An interesting finding revealed by the factor analysis is that there appears to be a link between negative images of Cardiff and representations in the mass media, particularly television. Compounding the concern, is the indication that such representations contribute towards negative images amongst young, educated market segments. Although Cardiff Marketing is emphasising media relations in its new promotional strategy, there would appear to be an urgent need to carefully target opinion-formers within the mass-media. The targeting of such opinion-formers should not be based merely on the socio-economic characteristics of their audience, but also on the images of Cardiff amongst different target groups.

The findings have a number of positive implications for the methodology used in this project. It would seem that the repertory grid analysis - eliciting an intersubjective language used by urban tourists - was particularly effective. By generating constructs used in everyday conversation, the first phase of the methodology addressed many of the

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problems associated with place image studies. The survey phase of research effectively combined the contributions from place image theory, with an emphasis on landscape and representations inspired by cultural studies. The humanistic perspective was also influential, with an attempt to define intersubjective groups through 'lifestyle' and 'role group' variables influencing their stock of knowledge. The survey phase of research was successful in terms of juxtaposing the three different epistemological influences, and providing data which is rich yet also amenable to sophisticated analysis. The principal weakness of the survey phase of research relates to the low response rate outside Cardiff, and the effect of this on the overall sample size.

Factor analysis proved to be a powerful method of analysis, and although caution is necessary in interpreting extractions, an invaluable insight into the multiple correlations between variables was provided. Factor analysis extractions, for example, suggest that there is a link between particularly negative images of Cardiff amongst non-visitors, and television representations of the city. Considering both the size of the data set, and the format of factor analysis output, it is difficult to imagine a more suitable technique for forming typologies or market segments based on images and experiences of a destination. The technique is not without its problems, however, particularly with respect to reliability measures. A degree of trade-off was identified, between the validity provided by the research design, and models of reliability. Although decisions regarding the methodology can easily be justified in terms of validity, ensuring that factor analysis extractions were statistically reliable was a challenge.

The initial emphasis of the project was on the development of a conceptual model, and the research findings also have theoretical implications. The experiential framework - drawing on place image theory, cultural studies, and humanistic geography - appears to have provided a sound underpinning for both conceptualisation and research. Whilst an experiential framework, of use in researching tourists' images and experiences, proved to be elusive within each individual epistemology, it was possible to draw upon particular contributions. The priority in terms of conceptualisation, therefore, has been to integrate

the theoretical contributions into a coherent framework. It would seem that the conceptual model - the Circuit of Urban Tourist Experience - has generally been successful in this endeavour. The findings suggest that the experiential framework is useful in terms of both conceptualising the images and experiences of urban tourists, and in providing the underpinning for a powerful methodology.

Despite the apparent strengths of the experiential framework, important questions remain largely unanswered. In tourism research, for example, it is far from clear why so many studies demonstrate an ignorance of epistemological debate within the social sciences. It seems that tourism research in general would be enriched by a little more of the theoretical debate characteristic of disciplines such as human geography. It is also curious that human geographers have been content to avoid phenomena such as urban tourism, rather than acknowledging that a dichotomy has opened up between the dominant epistemologies within their discipline. Finally, it is remarkable that so little progress has been made within the social sciences since the structure-agency debate was first thrust onto the agenda. For too long, it would appear, social scientists have simply followed, eventually finding themselves constrained by the epistemological pens of the academy.

CHAPTER 12
CONCLUSION

12.1 CONCEPTUALISING

In order to conceptualise the images and experiences of urban tourists, the thesis has engaged with several different areas of literature. It has been necessary, in order to fully capitalise on the contribution of each theoretical area, to draw out the weaknesses as much as the strengths. Whilst each area of literature has made important contributions, it can be concluded that the most significant progress towards conceptualising urban tourist experience has occurred on the fissures and fault lines of hegemonic epistemologies.

It has been apparent throughout the project, that the phenomenon of urban tourism, particularly the images and experiences of urban tourists, is particularly liable to disclose such weaknesses. In chapters two and three, there is an attempt to demonstrate the centrality of the images and experiences of place consumers to the contemporary city. Through a discussion of the postmodern city, the aim was to uncover the polarisation of the postmodernism debate, between the universal meta-theories of materialism; and studies which can be characterised as acknowledging culture. This acknowledgement, implying an orientation towards everyday contexts and local knowledge, supplies little more than an ethos for the project. It is argued, however, that such a perspective is necessary for conceptualising and researching urban tourist experience.

The process of evaluating the limitations of place image theory have highlighted a lack of theoretical debate within much tourism research, and a lack of epistemological diversity within the tourism marketing literature. In addition to building on the strengths of place image research in terms of conceptualising different types of images, an exploration of weaknesses has enabled slightly more profound conclusions to be reached. These relate particularly to the importance of theoretical debate amongst tourism researchers; the

necessity of appreciating and engaging with past and present theoretical debates within the social sciences; the perils of unquestioningly relying on just one epistemology; and the dangers of an apparent obsession with statistical analysis at the expense of validity in research design.

Although cultural studies make an invaluable contribution to the experiential framework presented in chapter seven, the phenomenon of urban tourist experience also reveals interesting fault lines within the cultural approach. The surprisingly problematic inclusion of place consumers into studies concerned with reading landscapes and representations, raises fundamental questions. Particularly significant, are the problems associated with reading representations and landscapes on behalf of groups of people who regularly experience them in their everyday lives. In the quest to demonstrate that knowledge is subjective, unstable, and relative, crucial contradictions are apparent. Whilst such contradictions have been articulated by feminist researchers, it is ironic that people in general are overlooked in many cultural studies of consumption. It is argued, therefore, that the emphasis on the consumption of cultural texts provided by Johnson's 'Circuit of Culture' framework (1986) is invaluable to cultural studies of consumption.

The contribution of the humanistic approach, in many ways, is also born out of the limitations of previous studies. It is apparent that individualistic studies in the humanistic geography genre have little to contribute to this project. It is also clear, however, that cultural studies brings us only part of the journey towards an understanding of place consumers, not unlike the place image literature. As there is a tendency in humanistic studies to overstate the case in order to make an impression, it is considered necessary to re-examine the foundations. As humanistic geography is largely underpinned by phenomenology, chapter six revisits the epistemology, exploring contributions which focus on society, rather than individuals. Hopefully, it is apparent that this endeavour is not concerned with self-indulgence and reminiscing, but with gaining inspiration. In this thesis, the work of Schutz (1972; Schutz and Luckmann, 1974) is considered inspirational because it unites the concerns of cultural studies with theories of action and

decision-making. Through focusing on the intersubjective, therefore, Schutz provides a sophisticated link between the representations and landscapes encountered by groups of people, and the action of decision-making in the context of urban tourism.

An objective of the project was to develop an experiential framework. This has evolved with each theoretical contribution, enabling a more explicit discussion in chapter seven. It was intended to engage with each epistemology in sufficient depth to understand both the ethos and the underlying assumptions. Although purists will always experience some unease at a framework which cuts across established fields of enquiry, it is hoped that the concepts within the experiential framework are consistent and compatible. It is envisaged, in fact, that researching the consumption of cultural texts will increasingly be viewed as part of the cultural studies agenda. Authors such as Burgess (1990), Gregson, (1995), and Jackson and Taylor (1995) have shown an empathy with the circular model of culture for some time. It is hoped that concepts such as *stock of knowledge* and *action* sit comfortably with place image and marketing theory, despite the very different philosophical assumptions.

Although relativism (and methodological pluralism) is being advocated by the experiential framework, it is argued that this endeavour is absolutely necessary and appropriate in a multi-disciplinary field such as tourism. The project has actually been built upon the extraordinary failure of so many epistemologies to address the all-pervading, everyday phenomenon of urban tourist experience. It is hoped that the implications are not limited to directly researching this phenomenon, and that such multi-disciplinary work does indeed have the potential to contribute to the separate disciplines with which the project has engaged.

12.2   RESEARCHING

In order to operationalise the experiential framework, methodological pluralism has been essential. It is worth reflecting on the overall research design, and its ability to produce

rich yet rigorous data. There is little doubt that the various phases of research fit together coherently. It would seem that the experiential framework has been converted into an experiential methodology without any serious problems. The methodology is consistent with the intention of beginning research with *consumers*, and establishing areas of intersubjectivity between different groups. The researcher is then enabled to utilise intersubjective groups to identify structural influences on images and experiences. Rather than working at the extreme ends of the deductive-inductive spectrum, therefore, intersubjectivity provides the ideal starting point.

The development of the experiential methodology does not appear to have posed major problems in terms of the compatibility of individual components. It is not unusual for methodological pluralism to encounter contradictions between the different ontologies underlying methods. This does not appear to have been the case in this project, as it would seem that the conceptual framework has a coherency which extends into the methodology. The rich data produced by the factor analysis - embracing images, experiences, representations, landscapes, and a range of market segmentation criteria - would seem to indicate that an effective and powerful methodology has been developed.

The major methodological challenge, however, concerns the apparent trade-off between validity and reliability. It is clear that the comprehensive conceptual development led to an initial emphasis on the validity of research design. The process began, in fact, with a critique of the lack of validity of many place image studies. Although methodological decisions can be convincingly justified in terms of validity, and issues of validity dominate the early phases of research, statistical reliability has been more problematic.

Whilst splitting the sample between actual visitors and potential visitors is absolutely central to the project, it has caused problems in terms of the reliability models associated with factor analysis. It is rather ironic that the factor analysis method proved to be a particularly powerful tool in uncovering the dimensions within the complex data; yet it

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soon became apparent that the greater the number of dimensions, the lower the internal reliability of the data set.

Contradictions such as these represent flaws within an otherwise successful methodological framework. Such issues, however, are pertinent to any study which combines qualitative and qualitative data, a strategy increasingly necessary in multi-disciplinary research. The methodology, therefore produced data which exceeded expectations in terms of its richness and validity. In the second set of factor analysis extractions the data was also increasingly reliable. It would seem that in multi-disciplinary research a degree of balance and compromise between validity and reliability ultimately determines whether data is also judged to be 'rigorous'.

12.3 INFORMING AND CONTRIBUTING

12.3.1 Theory

It is not uncommon for a study to have both theoretical and practical implications, and in this case the implications are of interest to rather different audiences. In terms of academic communities, it would seem that the study has implications for place image researchers. It would appear that a convincing critique of many place image studies should begin from within, focusing particularly on the validity of research methodologies. There would appear to be a strong case for arguing that place image researchers should pay considerably more attention to the questions they are asking respondents, and the language used. Far too many studies use language which is not salient to respondents, and develop overly deterministic methodologies. This study clearly demonstrates the benefits of conducting comprehensive qualitative research with consumers before developing more quantitative research instruments. Repertory grid analysis is one way of proceeding, although in-depth interviews or focus groups may also have potential. Whatever the precise methods used, it is considered essential to establish an

intersubjective language which is salient to the decision-making of consumers in the particular context.

In addition to ensuring that context and social relations are included in place image studies, an obvious contribution of the project to place image research relates to utilising place image theory. A lengthy discussion has been based on the potential of focusing on different images of destination. This particularly draws upon the conceptualisation of different images according to stages in the consumer decision-making cycle. Relatively few place image researchers have taken advantage of this contribution to place image theory. Only a handful of academic studies engage with both actual and potential visitors to a destination, or with groups of consumers at different stages of decision-making. There are strong indications, however, that comparing and contrasting images relating to different stages of decision-making has great potential in terms of policy analysis and strategic planning. Far too often, however, place image theories do not use consumer research to elicit constructs, are vague about the sources of information encountered by respondents, and do not consider the crucial influence of non-visitors to a destination.

It would seem that the project also has a contribution to make to cultural studies. The evaluation of cultural studies highlighted a number of contradictions inherent in the cultural turn within human geography. The phenomenon of urban tourist experience, involving consumers as well as representations and landscapes, provides a significant challenge for cultural researchers. It is hoped that rather than being drawn further into a self-destructive and rather self-indulgent relativism, cultural researchers will begin to address the experience of consumers. Whilst reading texts on behalf of groups of people is necessary in retrospective studies, it is difficult to justify the same approach in studies of consumption.

Likewise, it is hoped that humanistic researchers will fight the currents taking them towards individualistic studies. Humanistic geography has at times displayed a self destructive streak. In order to be heard over the din of quantitative approaches,

humanistic researchers have often been attracted to the confines of an individual's mind. A thorough appreciation of phenomenology, however, is invaluable in reorienting humanistic approaches. If one leaves behind the debris of humanistic geographical studies influenced by 'pure' forms of Husserlian phenomenology, and engages with the work of Schutz (e.g., 1972) and Merleau-Ponty (1963), the implications are very different. Phenomenology is then about the everyday experiences of groups of people. It is about recognising that the same environment can be interpreted very differently by various groups of people. It is also about understanding how action is based upon past experiences, and how these past experiences can be used to predict decision-making. Both marketers and social scientists can benefit enormously from such an insight. It is necessary to look beyond the misconceptions regarding this neglected body of literature, and benefit from concepts such as stock of knowledge, intersubjectivity, and action.

12.3.2 Practice

In the realm of practice, the study has contributed to informing tourism and place marketing policy in the city of Cardiff. The most significant contribution to tourism and place marketing practitioners is in relation to the negative images of Cardiff, and possible sources of negative representations. The reorganised Cardiff Marketing is placing a greater emphasis on media relations, and targeting key opinion-formers. Given the clear indications of negative naive images, however, it would seem that more attention should be paid to unfavourable representations of Cardiff. Rather than merely targeting quality newspapers and up-market magazines, it is necessary to identify more accurately the journalists, editors, publications, and television programmes contributing to negative images of the city. Despite the undoubted strengths of the Cardiff tourism product, the severity of negative images amongst non-visitors means that carefully targeted image marketing is an urgent priority.

Another important policy implication of the study concerns the Cardiff tourism product. Although levels of satisfaction amongst visitors are generally very high, it is hoped that

Cardiff County Council will become more sensitive to the experiences of urban tourists. Whilst it is true that the City Centre Strategy (C.C.C., 1998) is already addressing many of the weaknesses of the urban environment identified by the study, and the Tourism Development Group will have a positive influence, there are several areas of concern.

Despite regular visitor surveys, there would appear to be a lack of understanding within organisations such as Cardiff County Council and Cardiff Marketing Ltd of the visitor experience. It is difficult to come to any other conclusion when simple, inexpensive measures have been overlooked for so long. It is difficult to justify, for example, the lack of a pedestrian crossing in front of Cardiff Castle, or the difficulty experienced by tourists wishing to use public transport. It is hoped that future visitor surveys will provide more detailed data on both the experiences of actual tourists, and the images of potential tourists. The Tourism Development Group has established a forum for the exchange of ideas, and will hopefully work to gain co-operation between the diverse range of organisations with a stake in Cardiff's tourism. This co-operation should be concerned with improving weaknesses through ad hoc, common-sense measures, in addition to high profile schemes. Whilst the benefits of the *City Centre Strategy* are undoubted, improving the tourism product should be an ongoing process of co-operation. This will require empathy and partnership, as much as financial commitments.

A principal contribution of the study to informing tourism policy concerns positioning the city. The research findings have provided data on both the positive experiences of Cardiff, and the positive images amongst non-visitors. It is important to build upon these positive perceptions in order to position the city within domestic and international tourism markets. Cardiff Marketing and the WTB should be looking at ways of positioning Cardiff as an impressive, historic capital with a unique and friendly atmosphere.

Whilst it is easy to understand the continued emphasis on sport for both economic, cultural, and political reasons, it is important that rugby does not overshadow the desired

brand image and identity of the city. This point is a subtle one, and tends to be poorly understood in discussions concerning the generic impact of sports events. Positioning a destination concerns its overall identity and image. Whilst components such as rugby are an essential part of Cardiff's culture and economy, positioning involves communicating and satisfying all of the key benefits sought by target market segments. To be successful in this process, the city's tourism and marketing organisations need to be absolutely clear about both the strengths and weakness of their product relative to competitors, and the precise benefits sought by each market segment. Not surprisingly, it is argued in this thesis that the starting point for this process is an appreciation of the intersubjective knowledge of groups of place consumers.

12.3.3 Praxis

The study also contributes to a critical understanding of the advancement of knowledge and the processes of research within several different disciplines and professions. Within the academic community of tourism research, it is important to ask why there is so little engagement with alternative epistemologies and social theory. There is convincing evidence that place images studies are at best impoverished, and in some cases fatally flawed by this theoretical naiveté. It is possible that part of the explanation lies with the need to address both the theory and practice of tourism. Some tourism researchers may be reluctant to dwell on theory for fear of alienating practitioners. It is also possible that tourism researchers are valued more in terms of their vocational contribution to their respective departments and institutions, than their academic contribution. In many cases, however, it would seem that there is a restrictive culture of etic research methodologies, and an over-emphasis on quantitative methods. This lack of epistemological diversity would also seem to explain the emphasis on reliability rather than validity, and research which is seemingly conducted in a theoretical vacuum. Whatever the explanation, it is certainly time that tourism researchers familiarised themselves with the epistemological debates raging in the social sciences, even if it means stepping outside the confines of the tourism academy.

Another important conclusion relating to tourism research concerns disciplinary boundaries. There is a growing unease about the disciplinary boundaries erected around tourism research. Not only is there a serious lack of dialogue between researchers in tourism and researchers in human geography, but there are rather artificial dichotomies within tourism research. If tourism is a multi-disciplinary field, it is difficult to understand why it has been delimited so rigidly. There are already signs that the tourism-leisure border is being breached (e.g., Williams and Chaplin, 1999), and it is envisaged that the further dissolution of artificial boundaries will bear fruit in terms of more theoretically informed research.

It is interesting that the project also reveals the political and institutional processes underlying place marketing in practice. It is interesting, for example, that the incorporation of tourism within the Economic Development Department has coincided with a wide range of measures aimed at increasing Cardiff's market share. When Cardiff Marketing has operated with a shorter-term perspective, and there has been a lack of co-operation between organisations with a stake in Cardiff's tourism, tourism was indeed undervalued. Now that tourism is seen as making a significant economic contribution, a range of initiatives have been conceived. Whilst these are overwhelmingly positive for Cardiff's tourism sector, there are also dangers. Tourism should not be seen in purely economic terms, but as part of the culture, identity, and positioning of the Welsh Capital. Perhaps most importantly, the elevated status of tourism in Cardiff's economy and urban fabric should not distract attention from the key to its success - the visitors themselves. It is hoped that more attention will be paid to understanding the images, experiences, and benefits sought by different groups of visitors.

The key to understanding visitors, of course, is research. Developing and conducting research with policy implications is not without its problems. There is a tendency for political imperatives to overshadow genuine insight. Whether the imperative is devolution, the Welsh language, or even the merits of rugby *vis-à-vis* opera, every

attempt should be made to attain politically impartial and rigorous research. If Cardiff's authorities are serious about embracing the techniques of marketing in order to compete on the world stage, then it is necessary to understand the market as fully as possible. The time is opportune for Cardiff to reap the rewards of its new-found professionalism in tourism. If this opportunity is missed, however, it is difficult to envisage Cardiff ever closing the gap on its competitors such as Edinburgh.

Finally, it is of some concern that a phenomenon so significant in economic, cultural, methodological, and epistemological terms, has remained so neglected by social scientists. It has been apparent that the major encounters with urban tourism from outside the tourism and marketing literature have either been to provide a universal critique, or read landscapes and representations on behalf of consumers. It is possible that dialogue between tourism researchers and those working in disciplines such as human geography can be improved through greater collaboration in research projects. There can be little doubt that multi-disciplinary research on the interface of fields such as tourism, marketing, and human geography can inspire greater contributions to knowledge than theoretically purer projects conforming to the epistemological hegemony.

In many ways, the reticence of social scientists on the phenomenon of urban tourist experience is an indication of its worth as a field of enquiry. Forcing the researcher to engage with dichotomous concepts - production and consumption, images and experiences, representations and landscapes - is a challenge with which many researchers are unwilling to grapple. Some writers prefer to stare across the landscape, searching for suitable metaphors; others become rather insensitive and heavy-handed in the manner in which they brandish research instruments; and there are those who would rather climb to the top of a hill and look down on the locality. Somewhere between deterministic approaches and a self-destructive relativism, however, is intersubjectivity. It is not a utopia, it is not a panacea, it is merely a place where groups of people can be heard.

APPENDIX 1

Service Quality Model (Parasuraman, Zeithaml, and Berry, 1985)

CONSUMER

| Word-of-Mouth Communications | Personal Needs | Past Experience |

Expected Service

GAP 5

Perceived Service

MARKETER

Service Delivery (including pre- and postcontacts) | GAP 4 | External Communications to Consumers

GAP 3

GAP 1

Translation of Perceptions into Service Quality Specifications

GAP 2

Management Perceptions of Consumer Expectations

Source: Lovelock (1991:407)

APPENDIX 2

Schmoll's Model of Travel Decision-Making (1977)

1. TRAVEL STIMULI
- Advertising and promotion
- Travel literature
- Suggestions/reports from other travellers
- Travel trade suggestions and recommendations

2. PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF TRAVEL BEHAVIOUR
- Socio-economic status
- Personality features
- Social influences and aspirations
- Attitudes and values
- MOTIVATIONS
- DESIRES/NEEDS
- EXPECTATIONS

3. EXTERNAL VARIABLES
- Confidence in travel trade intermediary
- Image of destination/service
- Previous travel experience
- Assessment of objective/subjective risks
- Constraints of time, cost, etc.

- TRAVEL DESIRES
- INFORMATION SEARCH
- ASSESSMENT/COMPARISON OF TRAVEL ALTERNATIVES
- DECISION

4. CHARACTERISTICS AND FEATURES OF SERVICE DESTINATION
- Cost/value relations
- Quality/quantity of travel information
- Attractions/amenities offered
- Type of travel arrangement offered
- Range of travel opportunities

Source: Cooper *et al.*, (1998:55)

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APPENDIX 3

Map of Wales

1:1 000 000

Source: Phillip (1983:31)

APPENDIX 4

City Centre Strategy Areas

NORTH ROAD
Completion of highway improvements
including bus priority measures 1997-2000+
Gateway Project
Corridor environmental improvements

BUTE PARK
Prepare Management Plan.
Enhancement of the Park and
access improvements.
Restoration of historic features.

SOPHIA GARDENS
Glamorgan County Cricket
Club ground improvements.
New river footbridge.

CASTLE
Conservation and restoration
of building fabric including new
visitor centre. Secure enhanced
visitor access.

RIVERSIDE

ST. JOHN'S AREA
Major public realm improvements
including landscaping and traffic
management. Focus for heritage/
cultural quarter.
Old Library Project
Centre for the Visual Arts
programmed for 1997/98
Central Market
Business Plan proposal for
comprehensive upgrading.
St. David's Hall
Feasibility Study to reveiw the
frontage, services, facilities and
public spaces.

MILLENNIUM STADIUM AREA
Building refurbishment, riverside walkway and
upgrading of public realm.
Millennium Stadium
Under construction for the 1999 Rugby World Cup.
Proposals include commercial leisure/visitor centre.

ST. MARY ST. AREA
Bring forward enhanced facilities for pedestrians
and other public realm improvements.
Continue building refurbishment and develop
vacant floorspace initiative.

CENTRAL SQUARE AREA
Development Stategy - new commercial development.
Railway Station upgrading and forecourt improvements.
Central Square Action Plan to improve public spaces
and pedestrian links, 1997-99.

GRANGETOWN

BUTE SQUARE
Comprehensive development including offices,
housing, retailing, and leisure. Major civic open
space. New road network

TAFF RIVER CORRIDOR
Revitalisation of the River Taff and its frontages,
promoting the river as a vital element of life in the
City. River transport for tourism and leisure.
Parks, pathways and cycle paths linking new
developments to local communities.

**NEW DEDICATED PUBLIC
TRANSPORT LINK**
Inner Harbour to Central Station.

MOUNT STUART SQUARE
Ongoing refurbishment, renewal and environmental
works to historic square. Media and cultural focus.

CATHAYS PARK AREA
Focus for public affairs, tourism and higher education
Enhancement of civic qualities
Restoration of historic character
European Summit 1998 to be hosted in City Hall

CATHAYS

Station

UWCC
Main College

City Hall

Castle

Queen Street

Millennium
Stadium

Central
Station

ROATH

TREDEGARVILLE
Saleguard residential use and amenity and
consider scope for environmental upgrading

THE FRIARY
Design appraisal to improve public realm and traffic
management in support of building regeneration.

NEWPORT ROAD AREA
Sustain area's role as principal office location
and reduce vacancy levels.
Gateway Project
Corridor environmental improvements.

QUEEN STREET
Bring forward new investment/
development opportunities and
public realm improvements

CARDIFF INTERNATIONAL ARENA
Focus for business, tourism and conference
activities
Secure public realm improvements

CITY CENTRE FRINGE
New development and highway improvements
committed
Review specific land use proposals.

RAIL GATEWAYS
Environmental improvements
recently completed.
Further phases planned.

BUTE AVENUE
Comprehensive development including
highway and mixed commercial, retail
and residential development linking the
established City Centre to the Inner
Harbour.

ATLANTIC WHARF
Major mixed use development
Incorporating offices, hotel and housing.

EASTERN BAY LINK
Completion of Peripheral Distributor
Road 1997-2002 onwards.

**MILLENNIUM CENTRE
FOR THE ARTS**
Music-Theatre incorporating IMAX
cinema and museum, and public
realm improvements to Oval Basin.

ROATH BASIN AREA
Comprehensive mixed use development
including commercial, retail, residential
and leisure schemes, possible extension
to the new dedicated public transport link
and access to the Barrage and Bristol
Channel Boat Terminal

INNER HARBOUR
Waterfront regeneration
Including hotel, leisure and retail
developments and infrastructure.

HAMADRYAD PARK
Proposed parkland with
recreation/leisure facilities.

BUTETOWN

County
Hall

James St.

Cardiff Bay

CITY CENTRE STRATEGY
PROPOSALS MAP

Source: Cardiff County Council (1998:2)

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APPENDIX 5
International City Comparisons

City	Population	Tourist Volume (trips)	Day Visits	Major Festivals	Airport Passenger Volume	The Tourist Offer: Strengths	The Tourist Offer: Weaknesses
Cardiff	300,000	0.64m	4.5m	4	1m	Capital / Civic Core / Shopping / Stadium / Compact / Hinterland	Image / Traffic Congestion / Central Terminal / Visitor Information
Bristol	376,000	0.91m	5m	3	1.2m	Maritime City with attractive harbour / Attractions / Accessible	Lacks Business Tourism Infrastructure / Fragmented Centre / Traffic Congestion
Newcastle	280,000	0.62m	4m	5	2m	Shopping / Accessibility / Sports Events / TICs / Target Marketing / Premier Football Club / Urban Transit System	Lacks Major Attractions / Not recognised as tourist destination / Lack Business Tourism Infrastructure
Edinburgh	420,000	1.9m	11m	9	2.5m	Capital / City of Festivals / Visitor Management and Information Services / Hinterland	Airport to City Link / Weather
Dublin	1,024,000	2.9m	N.A	5	5.8m	Image / Hinterland / Visitor Management & Information / Capital / Guinness	Small Domestic Market / Traffic Congestion
Nantes	250,000	N.A.	N.A	5	1m	Harbour / Parks & Gardens, TIC / Art Museum	Small Market
Stuttgart	575,000	630,000 (excl. VFR)	N.A.	9	5.1m	Regional Capital / Infrastructure - Airport / Stadium / Hinterland / Shopping / Business Tourism	Image / Attractions

N.A. - not available

Source: **L & R Leisure (1995:8)**

APPENDIX 6
Summary of Cardiff Marketing Ltd and Edinburgh Tourism Ltd

City	Cardiff	Edinburgh
Marketing Organisation	Cardiff Marketing Ltd	Edinburgh Tourist Board - Edinburgh Tourism Ltd.
Services and Marketing Roles	One small TIC, Unmanned information points at airport and library. Sales promotion to priority target markets. Event planning. 200 members.	Two TICs / Four electronic information units. Static information boards at lay-bys around city. Consumer promotions. Travel trade contact. Incentive promotions. 800 members from 22 sectors.
Business Tourism	*Cardiff Convention Unit*	*Edinburgh Convention Bureau*
	Cardiff Destination Directory. Familiarisation trips. Meet potential buyer at industry events. Involved directly with 150 conferences. 2 staff.	Range of publications on a biennial basis. Meet potential buyers at industry events. Conference Ambassadors Programme. Conference Incentive Programme. Destination Edinburgh presentation lunches. 1512 familiarisation trips. 432 conferences confirmed through ECB in first two years. 6 staff - Head of Sales, Senior Secretary, 2 Sales Managers, Sales Co-ordinator, Sales Secretary.
Income	£1.2m	£3.1m
Staff	28 staff in total - 14 full time	Total of 86 staff

Source: **L & R Leisure (1995:10)**

APPENDIX 7

Repertory Grid Data Collection Sheet

CONSTRUCT	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	CONTRAST

APPENDIX 8
Consensus Repertory Grid Formation - 'Historical'

CONSTRUCT	CONTRAST
ARTIFICIAL	FEELING OF HISTORY
COMMERCIALISED/EXPOITATIVE/SHALLOW	CULTURED/HAS LAYERS OF HISTORY
CONDENSED HISTORY OF WALES	INACESSIBLE HISTORY/ NO HISTORY
CRASS COMMERCILAISATION	CULTURED/HISTORIC
FEELING OF HISTORY	LACK OF PEACE
HISTORIC BUILDINGS	MODERN BUILDINGS
HISTORIC BUILDINGS	SPRAWLING/MODERN
HISTORICAL	LIKE MILTON KEYNES
HISTORICAL	MODERN
HISTORICAL	MODERN
HISTORICAL	MODERN
HISTORICAL BUILDINGS	MODERN/UNINTERESTING BUILDINGS
HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE	NO HISTORY
HISTORY	HIGH RISE/MODERN
HISTORY	HISTORY NOT ACCESSIBLE
HISTORY	LACK OF HISTORY
HISTORY	LACKS HISTORY
HISTORY	LESS HISTORY
HISTORY	MODERN
HISTORY	MODERN/ HIGHRISE/LACK OF HISTORY
HISTORY	MODERN/CONVENIENT
HISTORY	MODERN/SKYSCRAPERS
HISTORY	NO HISTORY
INDUSTRIAL CITY	OLD/HISTORIC
INTERESTING HISTORY	LACK OF HISTORY
LONG HISTORY/MANY EXHIBITS	LACKS HISTORY
MANY SITES/MUSEUMS	NOT HISTORICALLY INTERESTING
MODERN	OLD HISTORIC BUILDINGS
MODERN	RENNAISANCE/ HISTORIC BUILDINGS
MUSEUMS	NO HISTORY
MUSEUMS	NO MUSEUMS/HISTORY
NO HISTORICAL BEAUTY	HISTORICAL
NO SOUL/CULTURE	HISTORY/FEELING OF CULTURE
REFLECTS CULTURE/HISTORY	NO REFLECTION OF CULTURE/HISTORY
RURAL	HISTORICAL
UNIQUE HISTORY	NO HISTORY/NEW
WITHOUT SOUL	HAS CULTURE/HISTORY

APPENDIX 9

Survey of Images/Experiences of Cardiff

APPENDIX 10

Number and percentage of survey respondents by variable

Variable	Image (Total)	Image (%)	Experience (Total)	Experience (%)
Inside	0	0	179	100
Outside	156	100	0	0
Britain	92	59.0	101	56.4
Europe	17	10.9	22	12.3
N.America	28	18	27	15.1
Rest of the World	20	12.8	27	15.1
15-29	19	37.8	52	29
30-44	37	23.7	52	29
45-59	32	20.5	42	23.5
60+	28	17.9	33	18.4
Male	90	57.7	88	49.2
Female	66	42.3	91	50.8
Professional	71	45.5	75	41.9
Non-professional	34	21.8	47	26.3
Retired	28	17.9	32	17.9
Student	20	12.8	20	11.2
Group/society	66	42.3	85	47.7
Lit. Hobby	70	44.9	80	44.7
Sport	87	55.8	93	52
Higher Education	109	69.9	104	58.1
Low income	31	19.9	34	19.0
Mid. income	106	67.9	129	72
High income	20	12.8	15	8.4
Past visit	63	40.4	35	19.6
Promotion	21	13.5	58	32.4
TV / Radio	88	56.4	73	40.8
Paper	56	35.9	48	26.8
Literature	33	26.3	82	45.8
Word of Mouth	41	26.3	82	45.8
No representations	19	12.2	8	4.5

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