

**Marketing heritage tourism destinations: community and commercial
representations of the past**

A collective case study research investigation of Yorkshire and Huelva

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For Steve



Dedication

This study is dedicated to the memory of two of the most influential people in my life, who encouraged me to chase my dream of achieving a PhD, but sadly will never be able to read this final piece of work.

Firstly I would like to dedicate this thesis to my beloved father, Paul Biggins, an extraordinary dad who told me that I could do anything that I wanted to do but moreover, made me actually believe it. I miss you every day. I hope that I have made you proud.

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Abstract

The cultural practice of heritage is naturally and prominently about people. It is undeniably people who create, select, share, contest and construct heritage each and every day. Yet the hegemonic discourse of heritage currently disengages people from their past and reconstitutes our interactions with this past. The material realities of heritage are now selected, contested and represented for communities, by someone else. The authority of expertise and ancestry defines places for people, rather than defining those places with the people to whom they naturally belong, their communities.

As such the topic of community engagement is increasingly important. As such this study identifies a clear and concerning dissonance between commercial and community views and perceptions of heritage in the destinations of Yorkshire and Huelva province. The purpose of this study was to identify any dissonance between the community and commercial voices behind heritage tourism destinations and any possible agency this has. The cross-cultural, qualitative and interpretivist approach to this research identified several consequences of the exclusion of these community voices when marketing and branding heritage tourism destinations. The outcome is a widening ideological gap between these two stakeholder groups. Consequently, the brand identity and destination product suffer as the value present in destination communities is not harnessed. This thesis argues that a greater understanding of the value of the community voice is required, and that heritage communities need to be included in the heritage destination marketing process.

The findings of the thesis demonstrate that the dissonance between the community and commercial case study destinations studied here has direct implications upon both the community and commercial stakeholders of the destinations. The commercial implications are found to surround; word of mouth, friends and family, positive interactions and tourist perceptions. For the local community the agency of the dissonance has implications regarding the place attachment, place identity and place dependence. From the findings the model entitled “the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process” (Figure 21) has been developed. This was applied in the destination of Trigueros Andalucía, and is the central recommendation of this study for practitioners to apply and academics to study further.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	III
<i>For Steve</i>	IV
Dedication	V
Abstract.....	VI
List of Tables.....	XII
List of Figures	XIII
List of Images.....	XV
List of abbreviations	XVII
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Study context and purpose	1
1.1.1 The challenge of heritage dissonance.....	2
1.1.2 The challenge of representing the past	6
1.1.3 The challenge of stakeholder engagement	9
1.2 Research Aim	11
1.3 Research questions.....	12
1.4 Research Objectives.....	13
1.5 Research Focus and Motivation	17
1.6 Contributions to knowledge.....	19
1.6.1 Contribution 1: Development of the theoretical framework identifying the effects of dissonance upon the communities of heritage tourism communities.	21
1.6.2 Contribution 2: Development of the theoretical framework of the key effects of community impact on the heritage tourism destination brand.....	23
1.6.3 Contribution 3: A conceptual diagram identifying the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process	24
1.7 Outline of the study.....	26
Chapter 2: Understanding Heritage- what we know so far	30
2.1 Defining heritage	32
2.2 Conscious heritage.....	38
2.3 The Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)	43
2.4 The authorisation of heritage.....	46
2.5 Heritage selection.....	50

2.6 Heritage ownership	56
2.7 Dissonant heritage.....	60
2.8 The importance of Heritage	64
2.8.1 The importance of heritage for commercial purposes.....	65
2.8.2 The importance of heritage for community purposes	67
2.9 Conclusion.....	69
Chapter 3: Understanding heritage destination communities	71
3.1 Introduction	71
3.2 Stakeholder theory	73
3.3 Stakeholder theory-applications in tourism	76
3.4 Identifying and understanding heritage tourism stakeholders.....	78
3.5 Heritage destination communities	86
3.6 Community perspectives of tourism.....	92
3.6.1 Communities and place attachment.....	95
3.6.2 Communities and place identity	97
3.6.3 Communities and place dependence.....	100
3.7 Community and tourist interactions.....	102
3.8 Theoretical approaches to understanding heritage communities	103
3.9 The community voice of the destination.....	113
3.10 Conclusions	115
Chapter 4- Understanding commercial representations of heritage	119
4.1 Introduction	119
4.2 Marketing defined.....	120
4.3 Marketing tourism.....	122
4.4 Heritage objects as heritage products	124
4.5 Framing Heritage Tourism.....	128
4.6 The search for heritage value	130
4.7 The selective process of heritage tourism segmentation	131
4.8 Marketing dynamics in Heritage Tourism	139
4.8.1 The heritage tourism product	141
4.8.2 Putting a price on the past	145
4.8.3 Promoting heritage tourism destinations	150
4.9 Heritage tourism destination branding complexity	153
4.9.1 Heritage destination branding	153
4.9.2 Heritage tourism destination image	157
4.9.3 Commercial impact on destination image.....	159
4.9.4 Community impact on destination image	162
4.10 Conclusions	165

Chapter 5: Research Methodology	170
5.1 Introduction	170
5.2 Research Strategy	171
5.3 Epistemological perspective	175
5.4 Theoretical perspective	179
5.5 Qualitative Methodology	182
5.6 Case study research	188
5.6.1 Case studies	188
5.6.2 The collective case method	191
5.6.3 Justification of case study destinations	193
5.7 Methods	197
5.7.1 Semi-structured interviews	197
5.7.2 Conducting the interviews	203
5.7.3 Sampling	206
5.7.4 Analysis of secondary sources	209
5.8 Pilot Study	213
5.8.1 Pilot study reflections	218
5.9 Data analysis	220
5.9.1 The transcription process	220
5.9.2 Using NVivo	222
5.9.3 Thematic analysis	223
5.9.3.1 Phase Two – Generating Initial Codes	226
5.9.3.2 Phase Three – Searching for Themes	227
5.9.3.3 Phase Four – Reviewing Themes	228
5.9.3.4 Phase Five – Defining and Naming Themes	229
5.9.3.5 Phase Six – Producing the Report	231
5.10 Validity, Reliability, Generalisability and Trustworthiness	232
5.10.1 Reliability	233
5.10.2 Validity	234
5.10.3 Generalisability	235
5.10.4 Trustworthiness	237
5.11 Ethical considerations	239
5.12 Conclusion	242
Chapter 6: Yorkshire Case Study-The voice of a destination	245
6.1 Introduction	245
6.2 Portrait of Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination	247
6.2.1 The heritage and historical importance of Yorkshire	247
6.3 Thornborough henges	252

6.3.1 Commercial and community representations of Thornborough henges	254
6.4 York as a heritage tourism destination	264
6.5 Commercial representations of York's heritage	266
6.5.1 Commercialisation of York's heritage voice	267
6.5.2 Commercialisation of York's heritage assets.....	280
6.6 Community relationship with heritage	295
6.6.1 York's community and heritage tourism	298
6.6.2 Community relationship with heritage.....	307
6.6.3 Community heritage groups	313
6.6.4 Community heritage projects	316
6.6.5 Community heritage publications.....	319
6.7 Commercial and Community Collaboration	321
6.8 Conclusion.....	326
Chapter 7: Huelva Case Study-The voice of a destination.....	327
7.1 Introduction	327
7.2 Portrait of Huelva as a heritage tourism destination	328
7.2.1 The history of Huelva	328
7.3 Trigueros.....	330
7.3.1 Trigueros's heritage.....	330
7.3.2 Commercial and community representations of Trigueros	334
7.4 Commercial representations of Huelva's heritage.....	342
7.4.1 Commercialisation of Huelva's heritage voice	345
7.4.2 Commercialisation of Huelva's heritage assets.....	353
7.5 Community relationship with heritage	359
7.5.1 Huelva's community and heritage tourism	365
7.6 Community and commercial collaboration	369
7.7 Conclusions	371
Chapter 8: Building theory	374
8.1. Introduction	374
8.2 Research question one.....	376
8.2.1 Dissonance regarding heritage voice and heritage assets	376
8.2.2 Concluding remarks.....	386
8.3 Research question two	388
8.3.1 Dissonance and disinherited communities.....	388
8.3.2 Place Identity	392
8.3.3 Place attachment.....	401
8.3.4 Place dependence.....	404
8.3.5 Concluding remarks.....	407

8.4 Research question three	409
8.4.1 The value of heritage destination communities	409
8.4.2 Word-of-mouth	412
8.4.3 Friends and family	415
8.4.4 Positive interactions.....	417
8.4.5 Perception of tourists.....	420
8.4.6 Concluding remarks.....	424
8.5 Research question four	425
8.5.1 A proposed framework for community inclusion in the heritage tourism destination marketing process.....	427
8.5.2 Awareness and information.....	430
8.5.3 Collaboration	432
8.5.4 Schools and education.....	434
8.5.5 Community consultation	1
8.5.6 Concluding remarks.....	5
8.6 Conclusion.....	6
Chapter 9: Conclusions and Original Contributions	8
9.1 Introduction	8
9.3 Research Impact	9
9.6 Study limitations	11
9.7 Scope for Future Research	14
9.8 Concluding remarks	16
List of References	18
Appendix.....	85
Appendix H- Turismo Trigueros.....	99

List of Tables

Table 1:	The seven stages of an interview inquiry (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, p.102)	199
Table 2:	Study objectives and key themes	202
Table 3:	Pilot study interview respondents	216
Table 4:	Example of an interview transcript	221
Table 5:	Adapted from Braun and Clarke: The Thematic Analysis Framework (2006)	225
Table 6:	The application of Lincoln and Guba’s 1985 trustworthiness criteria in this study	238
Table 7:	Thornborough interview responses- community reasons for engaging	258
Table 8:	Thornborough interview responses- community identity	262
Table 9:	York Interview responses- Community attitude towards tourists	305
Table 10:	York Interview responses- Elements of heritage which the community feel are neglected	312
Table 11:	Trigueros interview responses-Community involvement	336
Table 12:	Huelva Interview responses- Destination representation	366

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Visual representation of the thesis structure 29**
- Figure 2: The theoretical drivers that emerged from the heritage literature 70**
- Figure 3: Stakeholder groups and the relationship between them (Garrod et al, 2012) 79**
- Figure 4: Stakeholders in tourism planning processes (Yigitcanalr, 2009) 80**
- Figure 5: The tourist-host relationships in four key phases (Adopted from Doxey, 1975) 106**
- Figure 6: Theoretical drivers emerging from the tourism stakeholder literature 118**
- Figure 7: The Travel Career Ladder (Pearce, 1991) 134**
- Figure 8: The three levels of product (Kotler, 1967) 143**
- Figure 9: Theoretical drivers emerging from the tourism marketing literature 167**
- Figure 10: Conceptual literature framework (the theoretical drivers that emerged from the literature) 169**
- Figure 11: The Four Elements of Research Design (Crotty, 1998, p.4) 174**
- Figure 12: The Four Elements of Research Design in this study (adapted from Crotty, 1998,p. 4)**
- Figure 13: The seven stages of interview in this study (adapted from Kvale and Brinkann, 2009, p.102) 200**
- Figure 14: The Thornborough henges (English Heritage, 2014) 253**
- Figure 15: Plans and priorities of make It York (York is what we make it, 2015) 280**
- Figure 16: Map of York (Visityork.org, n.d) 260**
- Figure 17: Map of Huelva (Visit Spain, 2014) 340**
- Figure 18: The homepage of the Huelva Tourist board (Turismo Huelva, 2014) 342**

Figure 19: The effects of dissonance upon the local community (Author's own)
391

Figure 20: The key effects of community impact upon the heritage tourism brand (Author's own)411

Figure 21: The key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage marketing process (Author's own) 429

List of Images

- Image 1: The Thornborough henges (Historic England, 2016)** 235
- Image 2: The Beltane Festival (Beltane at Thornbrough, 2015)** 237
- Image 3: The May pole dance at Beltane fire festival (Author's own, 2015)**
239
- Image 4: Dancing and music in celebration of the goddess of fire (Author's own, 2015)** 242
- Image 5: York Minster (Author's own, 2013)** 266
- Image 6: Image 6-The Shambles, York's medieval street (Author's own, 2013)**
269
- Image 7: The York daffodils in commemoration of the 1190 massacre at Clifford's Tower (Duncan, 2013)** 271
- Image 8: Clifford's Tower (Author's own, 2013)** 275
- Image 9: Write your own York plaque day (Yorksalternativehistory.org, 2014)** 300
- Image 10: The inside of the Dolmen de Soto (Author's own, 2015)** 313
- Image 11: The inside of the Dolmen de Soto (Author's own, 2015)** 314
- Image 12: Image 12- The markings inside the Dolmen (Author's own, 2015)**
315
- Image 13: A Toro from the Garnedia (Author's own, 2015)** 317

Image 14: Bullfighting memorabilia (Author's own, 2015) 320

Image 15: The Toro family tree (Author's own, 2015) 321

**Image 16: The small community run bullfighting museum (Author's own, 2015)
322**

**Image 17: A typical home in the Barrio Reina Victoria (Author's own, 2014)
337**

**Image 18: The statue of Cristóbal Colón in Huelva town square (Author's own,
2012) 338**

List of abbreviations

AHD- Authorised Heritage Discourse

DMO-Destination Marketing Organisation

Part I
Theoretical and Methodological Foundations

Chapter 1: Introduction

“A place holds more than any guidebook, novel or academic treatise can tell you - for it implies many dynamic relationships between people and geography. The differences between places are amplified by time and the sedimentation of memory. Everywhere is somewhere to someone - the land, embossed by story on history on natural history, carries meaning. It is through meaning that attachment, watchfulness and rapport are forged”
(Clifford, 2011, p.13).

1.1 Study context and purpose

The main purpose of this study is to examine the dissonance between commercial and community representations of heritage in two historic tourist locations: Yorkshire, United Kingdom and Huelva, Spain. Further, the study will then propose a framework to empower and engage communities in the marketing and branding of heritage tourism destinations and thus reduce this dissonance and its implications.

As such, this study is concerned with evaluating representational practices and engagement in destination heritage branding. The focus of this chapter is to provide context for the study by elucidating the significance of the research and delineating the substantive issues to be explored. Therefore, the ways in which the past is received and represented through the

heritage process and the implications of this for the stakeholders involved in the heritage marketing process is a key aspect of this research. In examining these issues the thesis confronts several challenges, which arise from three fields of literature, these challenges are briefly summarised and presented here before being thoroughly explored in the literature review.

1.1.1 The challenge of heritage dissonance

Heritage is a deeply complex concept (Ashworth and Howard, 1999), which invokes differing notions of “identity and belonging within the discursive space it provides” (Wetherell, 2001, p.25). Ashworth and Turnbridge (1999, p.105) define heritage as:

“the contemporary uses of the past...The interpretation of the past in history, the surviving relict buildings and artefacts and collective and individual memories are all harnessed in response to current needs which include the identification of individuals with social, ethnic and territorial entities and the provision of economic resources for commodification within heritage industries”.

However, the term heritage has taken on many “different dimensions” (Turnbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.3). It is recognised that “the multi-faceted nature of heritage is a “concept of complexity” (Ashworth and Howard, 1999 p.5) subject to “inherent argument and contestation”. This contested nature of heritage is well documented within the literature (Graham et al., 2000; Howard, 2003; Smith, 2006), with heritage cited as being multi-faceted (Waterton, 2005:2007), socially constructed (Smith, 2006), and experienced in the present (Graham, et al., 2000; Howard, 2003). In addition, heritage is about “cultural

and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future” (Smith, 2006).

As such, heritage is subject to alternative understandings, known within the literature as heritage dissonance (Bagnall, 2003; Dicks, 2003; Graham, 2002; Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006). Dissonant heritage is recognised as “the tensions, discordance or lack of congruence, whether active or latent, which are inherent to the very nature and meanings of heritage” (Turnbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.20). Subsequently, heritage means different things to different people; a frequently cited definition of heritage derives from Cormack (1976, pp.11-12) who recognises heritage as follows:

“When I am asked to define our heritage I do not think in dictionary terms, but instead reflect on certain sights and sounds. I think of a morning mist on the Tweed at Dryburgh where the magic of Turner and the romance of Scott both come fleetingly to life; of a celebration of the Eucharist in a quiet Norfolk Church with the medieval glass filtering the colours, and the early noise of the harvesting coming through the open door; or of standing at any time before the Wilton Diptych. Each scene recalls aspects of an indivisible heritage, and is part of the fabric and expression of our civilisation”.

This understanding of heritage illustrates a connected sense of the past, of religion, art, culture and national identity, elements of the past that we can experience and connect with

each day. However, throughout the growth of the heritage industry and the commercialisation of the heritage product, it has become apparent that concerning heritage “the emphasis has undoubtedly changed from a concern with objects themselves - their classification, conservation and interpretation - to the ways in which they are consumed and expressed as notions of culture, identity and politics” (Watson and Waterton, 2015 p 1.). As such, the heritage with which many people connect with now is moreover a version of the past “received through objects and display, representations and engagements, spectacular locations and events, memories and commemorations, and the preparation of places for cultural purposes and consumption” (Watson and Waterton, 2015 p 1.).

Inevitably, representations of heritage are framed and presented by “those holding expert knowledge to identify the innate value and significance” (Smith, 2006). However, research has identified that the commercialisation of the past has led to the “Disneyfication” (Handler and Saxton, 1988; McCrone et al; 1995, Choay, 2001) or “McDonaldisation” (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999) of the past for modern day commercial purposes. As such, heritage is often vilified for being a “bogus history” (Hewison, 1987, p.44), a “false heritage” (Barker, 1999, p.206) and as such plays host to forms of staged authenticity (McCannell, 1999).

In addressing the heritage critique, since the 1960s researchers (see Smith, 2006, Waterton, 2011; Watson and Waterton, 2010a) have focused on investigating other forms of the past, beyond what is commercially displayed. With Raphael Samuel’s ‘History from below’ workshop movement at Ruskin College, Oxford fuelling interest in community heritage

(Samuel, 1981). More recently, there is an apparent growing concern to further identify and engage with communities in the interests of heritage (Smith, 2006).

For Hall (2005, p.26), heritage is:

“Always inflected by the power and the authority of those who have colonized the past, whose versions of history matter. These assumptions and co-ordinates of power are inhabited as natural-given, timeless, true and inevitable. But it takes only the passage of time, the shift of circumstance, or the reversals of history to reveal those assumptions as time- and context-bound, historically specific, and thus open to contestation, re-negotiation, and revision”.

As such, heritage can still be regarded as a symbol of elitism (Dicks, 2015; Smith, 2006) and can exclude those other than the white middle-classes (Waterton, 2009). Consequently, there exists a corpus of research devoted to achieving a consistent theoretical and conceptual understanding of community impact and the marketing process (Dinnie, 2008; Fyall & Garrod, 2004; Marzano and Scott, 2009; Morgan and Pritchard, 2000; Wang et al, 2009). Yet, there are still many questions that remain, as a true community approach to heritage understanding has not been found (Watson and Waterton, 2010).

In confronting these challenges, this study will analyse the dissonance between the community and commercial understandings of heritage, the effects of the authorised heritage discourse, and further, will work towards empowering and engaging heritage communities in the marketing

1.1.2 The challenge of representing the past

Heritage tourism has become unprecedentedly popular with an increasing number of tourists seeking meaningful experiences and a relationship with the past (Urry, 1990). Urry (2002, p.5) states that this popularity of heritage has emerged due to a fascination with nostalgia, claiming that heritage has indeed become a “contemporary epidemic”. Lowenthal (1996, p.xiii) concurs with this view, stating that:

“All at once heritage is everywhere...in the news, in the movies, in the marketplace...in everything...it is the chief focus of patriotism and a prime lure of tourism. One can barely move without bumping into a heritage site. Every legacy is cherished. From ethnic roots to history theme parks, Hollywood to the Holocaust, the whole world is busy lauding...or lamenting...some past, be it fact or fiction”.

Subsequently, marketing has a critical function in connecting people with the past (Misiura, 2006), and within the academic field of tourism there has been an increasing interest in the marketing of heritage, as destination marketers attempt to differentiate their locality (Coles and Hall, 2008; Davis, 2002; Matear et al., 2004; Morgan and Pritchard, 2001; Smith, 2006). Marketing is defined as “the set of activity, institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large” (American Marketing Association, 2016). However, Ritchie and Ritchie (1998) explain that destination marketing and further, destination branding demonstrate unique challenges due to the range of elements and stakeholders involved.

Ritchie and Ritchie (1998) further explain that a destination brand is:

“A name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the destination; furthermore, it conveys the promise of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the destination; it also serves to consolidate and reinforce the recollection of pleasurable memories of the destination experience” (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1998, p.103).

Therefore, evidently, marketing destinations is a complex process which is explained further:

“Not only are we marketing a very diverse and complex product, but it is also one that is delivered by many different firms that are typically quite different in terms of their functions and capabilities. In effect, destination marketing - and thus destination branding – is much more of a collective phenomenon than in normally found in the generic marketing/branding situation” (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1998, pp.23-24).

As such, the tourism product is created through the construction of different stakeholders (Cooper et al., 2005) and therefore these “cultural brokers of tourism” play crucial roles in the overall destination brand and subsequently destination branding presents unique challenges (d’Hautesserre, 2001; Papadopoulos and Heslop, 2002).

These challenges are further complicated by the dominant heritage discourse that works to exclude the broader range of stakeholder perceptions of the past. This is theorised by Smith (2006, p.11) as the authorised heritage discourse, which is a “self-referential, immutable” discourse, which “privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building”. Due to the dominance of this discourse “some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited” (Waterton & Smith, 2010a, p.9). Therefore, this thesis seeks to address these challenges by analysing the dominant discourses in the case study locations and identify opportunities for the community heritage understanding to be reflected in this discourse.

1.1.3 The challenge of stakeholder engagement

It is strongly argued within the literature that stakeholder inclusion and support are essential to the success of tourism (Byrd, 2007; Byrd and Gustke, 2007; Byrd et al., 2008; Cottrell, 2001; Davis and Morais, 2004; De Lopez, 2001; Gunn, 1994). A stakeholder can be defined as “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organizations objectives” (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). The complex relationship between heritage and tourism results in a number of challenges as stakeholder perspectives conflict (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Fredline & Faulker, 2000; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Smith 2006; Smith & Brent, 2001) and there is a real need for clear lines of communication between all stakeholder groups (Aas et al., 2005; Dann, 1996; Jamal et al., 2006).

Further, there has been an increasing focus upon how the involvement of local communities is fundamental to the development of heritage tourism in a sustainable and responsible way (Darcy & Wearing, 2009; Hung et al., 2011; Prentice, 1993; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Tosun, 2000). Of key importance to destination marketing, is the image that tourists have of the destination (Aaker, 1996; Buhalis, 2000; Chen & Tsai, 2007; Chon, 1991; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; Gartner, 1996; Hunt, 1975; Kapferer, 1997; Laws et al., 2002), with destination image being a central focus of tourism marketing research for the past three decades (Kaur, Chauhan and Medury, 2016). The concept of destination image itself is defined as the image as the sum of all beliefs, ideas and impressions that people associate with a destination (Kotler, Haider and Rein, 1993).

A destination with a strong destination image is more easily differentiated in the marketplace (Lim and O’Cass, 2001) and has a better chance of success as a tourism destination (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). As such, many researchers have analysed the theory of destination image, with destination image being defined as the overall knowledge, ideas, beliefs and impressions that an individual or group has regarding a destination (Crompton, 1979; Kotler et al., 1993). As such, researchers have taken to analysing the image that tourists have of a destination and why (Cai, 2009). Yet a key area of investigation remains unexplored, as Cai (2009, p.95) identifies:

“What has been absent in both academic inquiries and in industry applications is the explicit consideration of the destination image that the locals desire of their community[...]the image that the host community desires to communicate to the actor of the tourists should be investigated integrally”.

In addressing these issues, this study adds to the body of knowledge on community heritage understandings and representations through identifying both the commercial and community representations of the destination, how they want the destination image to be conveyed and the dissonance between these two understandings. Further, the thesis seeks to mitigate such issues through the development of practical solutions to empower and engage communities in the development of destination image and the overall tourism destination marketing process. In doing so, this thesis examines the how communities understand, relate to and represent their heritage through an international, multiple case study approach in Yorkshire and Huelva.

1.2 Research Aim

The overarching aim of this study is to identify, through an international collective case study analysis, the extent of dissonance between the commercial and community representations of and relationships with heritage at the destination, the agency of that dissonance, and how and for what purposes a community inclusive approach may be taken.

1.3 Research questions

In order to fulfil the research aim identified above, the thesis has four central research questions, presented below.

1. Is there a dissonance present between the community and commercial stakeholders regarding the value of heritage and culture in the case studies of Yorkshire and Huelva and how this heritage should be represented?
2. What are the effects of this dissonance upon the community stakeholders?
3. What can be gained from increased stakeholder collaboration between the community and commercial voices of heritage tourism?
4. To what extent can local communities be increasingly included in the representation of heritage tourism destinations and their marketing processes?

1.4 Research Objectives

In order to successfully answer the research questions posed above, key research objectives were developed to ensure a structured and coherent process research process. The objectives of the research investigation are presented in the list below.

Research Objective	Relevant Chapter
To review the extant literature in the field of heritage tourism in order to further understand the constraints and exclusions of the heritage process	Chapter 2
To review the extant literature in the field of stakeholder analysis and community in order to better understand the level and uses of community stakeholder participation and engagement at tourism destinations	Chapter 3
To review the extant literature in the field of marketing and branding tourism destinations in order to gain a clearer understanding of the representational practices used by heritage tourism destination community stakeholders	Chapter 4
To design a suitable qualitative case study methodology by which to collect, analyse and interpret the necessary findings	Chapter 5
To identify and interpret the community and commercial	Chapter 6 and Chapter

representations of the past in Yorkshire and Huelva

7

To draw together the primary findings with the extant literature Chapter 8

in order to build new understandings and a framework for
empowering heritage tourism communities in the tourism
marketing process

To analyse the overall implications of the research project, its Chapter 9

contributions and avenues for potential future research

1.5 Rationale for the research project

The importance of a study such as this is evident in the fact that despite the large amount of research in this area, there is still much that is unknown about heritage tourism destination communities (Boley et al., 2014; Waterton and Watson, 2011). Further, there is a call for local communities to become increasingly involved in heritage planning (Ashworth and Graham, 2005; Teo and Yeoh, 1997; Timothy and Boyd, 2003), as growing corporate control over destinations leads to the local communities of heritage destinations becoming deprioritised (Aas et al, 2005; Ashworth and Graham, 2005; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). As such, Waterton and Watson (2011, p. 17) argue that “the concept of community has never been so powerful” and that therefore further research in this area is required.

Further, the marketing and branding of heritage destinations has been receiving increasing attention in the academe in recent decades (Goulding, 2000; park, 2010; Chen and Chen, 2010). Within marketing and branding strategies, heritage is becoming more commonly drawn upon to “revalidate and revitalise a local, national or international area” (Misiura, 2006, p. 14) and increase economic development (Kavaratzis,2004). Throughout such processes a community approach has long been recommended (Murphy, 1985) with local communities recognised as being the “most influential place marketers”, and that the community “should be participants in all stages of formulating, designing and implementing a marketing strategy” (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008, p. 161). With a community based destination marketing approach being identified as the “most sustainable approach that can be taken” Timothy and Boyd (2003, p. 182).

However, despite the evidence for arguing such an approach, there remains little evidence of any implementation of community involvement in heritage marketing (Alexander and Hamilton, 2016). Hence, a central rationale for this study was to produce advances in understanding and examining the community and commercial representations and understandings of heritage tourism destinations and from this understanding to implement a new strategy of community engagement with heritage marketing in the destination of Trigueros in Huelva.

1.5 Research Focus and Motivation

The thesis was concerned with the notion that the marketing of heritage tourism destinations is extremely complex due to the nature of the stakeholders involved, often with their own agendas and understandings of heritage (Smith, 2006; Waterton and Watson, 2011). Further, in order to market a destination successfully, community stakeholder perspectives should be taken into account (Scott, 2011). This was first claimed by Murphy (1985) in his seminal text concerning community-based tourism, which suggests that in order to create destination distinctiveness and a shared vision, the community must be involved in the tourism planning and development process, with a focus upon the community's heritage and culture.

The impact of tourism upon local communities is abundant within the literature, with many studies focusing upon community support for tourism (for example; Byrd et al., 2009; Gursoy, et al., 2010; Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004; Lee, 2013 Nunkoo et al., 2010; Nunkoo and Ramikissoo, 2010; Nunkoo and Ramikissoo, 2011; Yu et al., 2011). A central theme within these studies has been the concept and application of stakeholder power (Beritelli and Laesser, 2011; Cheong and Miller, 2000; Hall, 1994; Nunkoo and Ramikissoo, 2012; Reed, 1997), such studies focus upon the power held and enacted by the tripartite system of destination stakeholders (Cheong and Miller, 2000).

Therefore, in order to make progress in this field, rather than revisiting the Foucauldian perspective so frequently used for investigating community tourism issues (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Hanna et al., 2014). As such, this study focused upon the power of the dissonance present and sought ways to resolve this dissonance. The central shift here is that rather than focusing upon the power between community heritage stakeholders and commercial heritage stakeholders, this study focuses upon the power of the central issue, the dissonance, which has ultimately been shaped by the Authorised Heritage Discourse identified by Smith (2006).

1.6 Contributions to knowledge

This thesis has made several original contributions to knowledge. Philips and Pugh (1999, p.34) explain that an original contribution to knowledge “does not mean an enormous breakthrough which has the subject rocking on its foundations”, nor is a PhD contribution likely to lead to a paradigm shift in your research field (Kuhn, 1970). Rather, a contribution to knowledge means that “you must have produced original research on a given topic and embedded it firmly in the 'received wisdom' of a particular field” (Grix, 2001, p.108). Furthermore, Phillips and Pugh (1994, pp.61-2) define an original contribution as:

“making a synthesis that hasn’t been made before; using already known material but with new interpretation, bringing new evidence to bear on an old issue...[and] adding to knowledge in a way that hasn’t been done before”.

This emphasis on the originality of the contribution is clearly central to the concept of an academic contribution, as the focus on originality appears in many academic definitions of the concept. However, this original contribution must have some purpose and behind it, as Corley and Gioia (2011, p. 279) state that:

“The current state of the art for publishing theory[...]indicates that the idea of contribution rests largely on the ability to provide original insight into a phenomenon by advancing knowledge in a way that is deemed to have utility or usefulness for some purpose”.

Indeed, it is recognised that not only an academic, but further a practical element to original contributions is useful. The first Editorial comments in the Journal of International Business Studies have identified that many research articles:

“tend to be theoretically and empirically relevant, but often do not properly explain the practical relevance for managers or government officials. More often than not this is dealt with in a token paragraph, written in the conclusion section as an afterthought once the research and article have been all but completed, with scant concern for praxis that results in dubious practicality” (Cuervo-Cazurra et al., 2013, p.285).

As such, this study makes one theoretical contribution and two practical contributions which will now be discussed.

1.6.1 Contribution 1: Development of the theoretical framework identifying the effects of dissonance upon the communities of heritage tourism communities.

The thesis argues that there is an active dissonance between community and commercial understandings and representations of heritage, and further, that this dissonance has agency. This agency presents itself in two ways, the agency for the community stakeholders of the destination, and the agency for the commercial stakeholders of the destination. The framework presented in Figure 19 (Chapter 8) identifies the key effects and implications that this dissonance has upon the destination communities. It was found that the emerging themes were; effects upon place identity, place attachment and place dependence.

The theoretical contributions on which this framework is based are not new, they have been explored by a range of authors over the past twenty years (such as: Coleman and Crang, 2002; Gu and Ryan, 2008; Henderson, 2001; Korpela, 1995; Palme et al., 2013; Palmer, 1999, 2003, 2005; Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012; Waterton, 2010). Therefore, these theoretical concepts are considered here to be valid and trustworthy understandings of the nature of these effects.

However, there is no structure or framework evident which draws these issues together and links them to the concept of community vs commercial dissonance as a central cause of these issues, meaning that this framework is an original theoretical contribution to knowledge. Furthermore, the incremental originality of this theoretical contribution represents a neglect spotting contribution (Nicholson et al., 2015). Neglect spotting is

defined as when a certain area of research is under researched (Nicholson et al., 2015). It is considered here a neglect spotting contribution, as although several key authors have made significant findings within the field of community heritage and heritage dissonance, the area still requires further consideration (Smith, 2006).

1.6.2 Contribution 2: Development of the theoretical framework of the key effects of community impact on the heritage tourism destination brand.

The second theoretical contribution of this thesis highlights the four key ways in which the community of a heritage tourism destination can influence the heritage tourism destination brand. The framework presented in Figure 20 (Chapter 8) identifies the key effects and implications that this dissonance has upon the heritage tourism destination brand. This contribution is an incremental theoretical contribution, focused upon neglect spotting. Although destination branding literature has made advances in the recent past, Gnoth et al (2007, p. 34) state that the research related to destination marketing and branding “is still a far cry from the level and quality of research we find in the generic product and services marketing literature, most because of the complexity of the connotations that comes with the term ‘destination’ ”. The concept of community is still unclear and unhelpful (Waterton and Watson, 2011). Perhaps for these reasons there are still gaps that remain in the literature regarding communities and the marketing of heritage destinations.

1.6.3 Contribution 3: A conceptual diagram identifying the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process

The final contribution of this study is intended to be a practical contribution. Whilst based upon both theoretical and practical findings, the framework is intended to be simple, flexible and practical so that it is accessible to practitioners in heritage tourism destinations. It has been stated that practical contributions to academic research are often tokenistic, as expressed by Cuervo-Cazurra et al. (2013, p.285) who state that:

“More often than not, this [practical value] is dealt with in a token paragraph, written in the conclusion section as an afterthought once the research and article have been all but completed, with scant concern for praxis that results in dubious practicality”

However, this research approach identified from the beginning that there was not only a theoretical but a practical and real issue to be resolved, as fieldwork demonstrated the key effects of the dissonance present at the case study destinations involved in this thesis. As such, the final objective of the investigation was to identify a practical and realistic contribution, which would be helpful in some way to heritage tourism destination practitioners, and this is presented in Figure 21. Whilst it is understood here that the agency of the dissonance identified within this thesis, it is not a matter that can be quickly resolved.

However, what is contributed here identifies the central issues for application in order to engage and empower community stakeholders in the destination marketing and branding process. As found in the application of the framework in Trigueros, this approach can guide and support heritage tourism destinations towards developing a consistent destination image shared by both community and commercial stakeholders.

Indeed, the practical contributions of this thesis have already gained momentum with practitioners. For example, the researcher has been engaged in consulting upon the development of the Dolmen De Soto in Trigueros and the involvement and engagement with the community as part of the project. As such several trips have been made to Trigueros working alongside the Principal de Turismo towards a more collaborative approach to heritage marketing.

1.7 Outline of the study

The study is divided into ten chapters and for clarity these are organised into three broader parts.

Part I

Part I began with this introduction, which presented the challenges addressed in this study and the outline of the thesis. The key contributions of the study are also presented here from both a practical and theoretical perspective. In addition, Part I then identifies the theoretical (chapters 2-4) and methodological underpinnings upon which the thesis is based. In order to elucidate the issues introduced above, the study begins with the examination of the theoretical constructs that support and guide the research. The review of the literature is divided into three chapters. The first chapter explores the discourse of heritage and the meaning that it has to different stakeholders. Through a critical analysis of the existing literature pertaining to heritage selection, heritage ownership and representations of heritage are discussed and explored. In exploring these themes, this chapter highlights the complexities of heritage as centrally a visual and social process and both the compelling and challenging implications of this.

The second literature chapter explores the relationship between local communities and heritage. Applying and analysing stakeholder theory in order to understand the power and value held by those at the centre of heritage destinations, the chapter justifies and explains

the crucial role of heritage tourism for local communities. The literature surrounding community perspectives of heritage is explored and analysed, examining three central theories: place identity, place attachment and place dependence. This analysis also includes an examination of the ways in which these communities interact with tourism and with tourists at the destination. Further, the differing theoretical approaches surrounding power and social exchange that are used to understand this relationship are applied and analysed. The chapter concludes by analysing the extent to which communities of heritage destinations are represented and engage with their heritage.

The final literature review chapter evaluates the representational practices of heritage tourism and the commercial approaches taken to developing the heritage product. Traditional marketing theory to heritage destination is examined through which heritage is framed and commodified, finding much evidence that the processes that currently determines the marketing of heritage tourism destinations often insufficiently includes and encourages the views of the local community throughout the marketing process.

This is then followed by the methodology chapter, which presents and justifies the research approach taken. The chapter provides a transparent account of the process, explaining the philosophical, theoretical and methodological framework utilised in this study. As such, particular attention is paid to the ontological and epistemological approaches that underpin the research. More specifically, the research methodology adopted is a qualitative collective case study approach, employing a combination of methods including an examination of secondary sources and in-depth interviews with key informants.

Part II

Part II of the thesis presents and analyses the data collected through multiple international case studies. Firstly, the thesis presents a case study analysis of the county of Yorkshire (Chapter 6) and a case study analysis of Huelva Province (Chapter 7). Included within each case study chapter is an analysis of the central city within each locality and an analysis of one of the rural heritage destinations investigated throughout the course of this study. For each of the heritage destinations examined, a history of the destination, an examination of the commercial approaches taken in the destination, the representational practices used and an examination of the community heritage approaches and understanding of heritage is presented. The multiple case study attempts to build upon the broader context of the issues examined within the literature in order to deepen the level of understanding and analysis.

Part III

The final part of the thesis presents the research discussion. This consists of drawing together the connections between the case study data presented in Chapters 6 and 7 in order to reach further understanding, draw conceptual conclusions establish the subsequent contributions of the thesis. The contributions of this study are twofold, firstly, identifying the key elements of value held by local communities and secondly, establishing the ways in which this value can be practically harnessed at heritage tourism destinations worldwide. Finally, in Chapter 9 the limitations of the study, reflections, and viable directions for possible future research are considered.

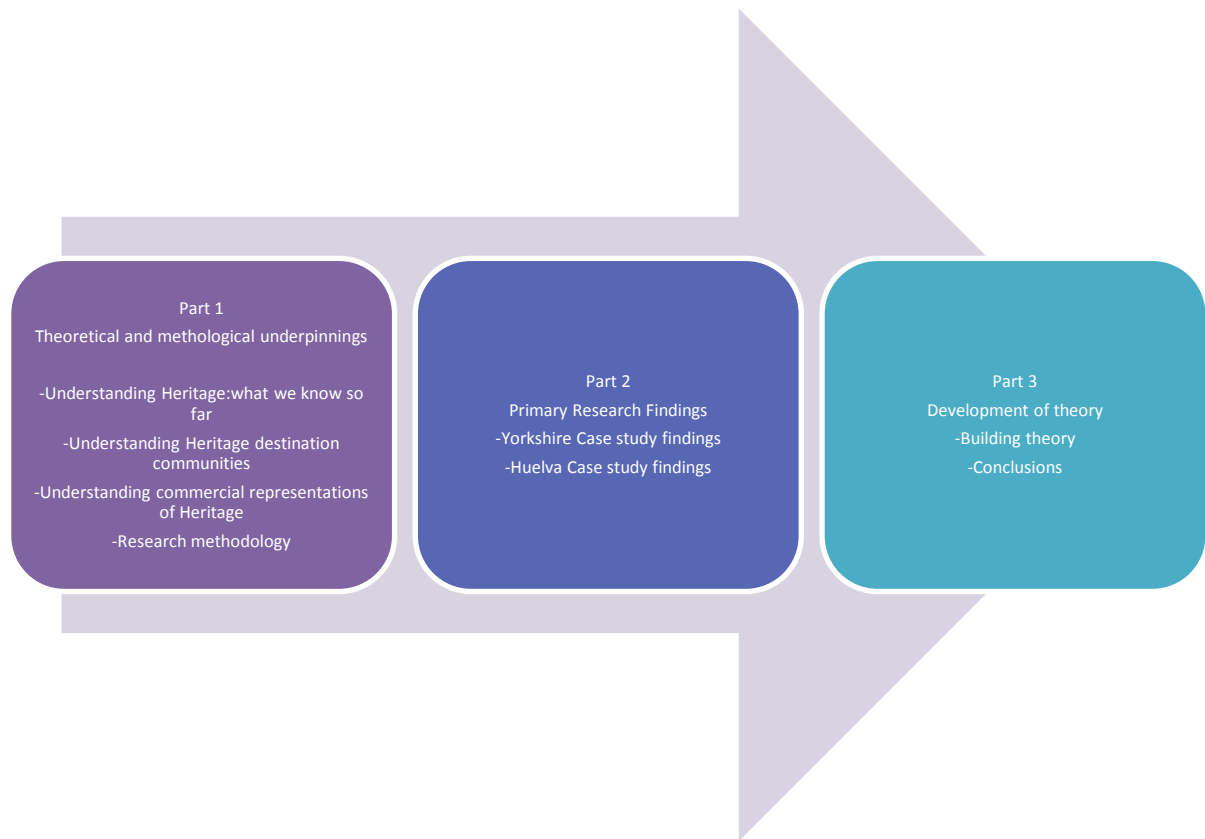


Figure 1: Visual representation of the thesis structure

Chapter 2: Understanding Heritage- what we know so far

2.1. Introduction

This chapter begins the discussion of the literature review, which consists of three chapters pertaining to the key concepts that form the basis of the research investigation. This initial chapter examines heritage tourism, its importance, its implications and the theories and issues that surround it. The purpose of these literature review chapters is to give the investigation a theoretical grounding and introduce the concepts surrounding and supporting the overall theoretical framework of the study.

This chapter also introduces some of the key challenges which surround the modern day use of the term heritage tourism. More specifically, the chapter aims to identify the ways in which these challenges are affected by and in turn affect the people involved within heritage tourism. Of particular importance is the investigation into the extent to which the academic theories explored shed light on the current realities of the heritage industry.

The overall objective of the initial literature chapter is to explore the basic concepts and contestations of heritage and the heritage process in order to better understand how the past is constituted and represented in the present and for what purposes. As such the chapter addresses the kinds of issues that underlie the dissonance between the community

and commercial voices and connections with the past. From this the chapter is fundamentally designed to provide the theoretical background and affirm the critical issues required to lay the foundations for the second chapter of the literature review which deals with the stakeholder dynamics involved in heritage tourism and the importance of strong stakeholder relationships and cohesive communities.

2.1 Defining heritage

Before any investigation into heritage studies can begin, careful consideration and definition of the term heritage itself is required, as it is “loaded with a complex multiplicity of meanings” (Cowell, 2008, p.9). Any close examination of heritage reveals unforeseen complexities, a view acknowledged by both Watkins and Beaver (2008) and Prentice (2005, p.1) who describe it as simply “ill-defined” while Lowenthal (1998, p.94) underlines this by asserting that heritage “all but defies definition”. Lowenthal is referring here to the unique make-up of heritage and the complex characteristics that make it increasingly difficult to measure and delineate. The multifaceted nature of heritage gives it this unique essence, not circumscribed by or for anything, but manifest in countless forms and interpretations.

Furthermore, the concept of heritage is not static but malleable in its constitution and is ever changing in both its construction and interpretation (Park, 2014). The notion of academics being unable or otherwise unwilling to acknowledge a universal definition is well known within the academy and with researchers constantly adding to what is known, definitions and attitudes invariably alter. However when attempting to understand and theorise heritage, this issue is of utmost importance, as heritage means different things to different people the challenge of consistently representing that remains a prevalent issue.

Clearly, heritage is predominantly concerned with the performance of passing down and the inheritance of objects and ideas from times past (Harvey, 2010). Thus at the heart of this are

those who pass down and those who experience heritage; institutions, families, communities, international visitors, local tourists and community groups. As Williams (2009, p.237) recognises, heritage itself is “socially produced”, hence it is vital to recognise that heritage is grounded not just in places and objects, but also in the people who create and consume it. To this end a shared understanding of what heritage is, is in its very essence, central to any study of its role in tourism and thus to this investigation.

The complex and intricate nature of heritage is clearly articulated by Di Giovine (2009, p.91) who states:

“Heritage is a powerful word in its own right, for it is at once extraordinarily suggestive and ideologically charged, but simultaneously vague enough to be applied to nearly anything across any space and time. It is a word whose significance changes with its myriad invocations, designations or legitimisations. Depending on its usage, heritage can determine personal property, explicate unknown qualities, foster patriotism among disparate peoples, become a tourist destination, exacerbate geopolitical tensions, or call for help in the form of preservation, among other usages”.

Whilst the constant theorising within the academy continues, there are two international organisations that lay down heritage definitions and understandings and which introduced the charters and resolutions for the recognition and preservation of heritage. These are:

UNESCO (The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization) and ICOMO (International Council on Monuments and Sites in the United Kingdom). The first documented recognition of heritage preservation was the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, more commonly referred to as the *Venice Charter 1964*. The document was at the forefront of heritage definition, terming historic monuments “not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting” (Ahmad, 2006). However as the scope and knowledge of heritage has broadened this definition was deemed inadequate. Subsequently during the Constitutive Assembly of ICOMOS in 1965 heritage was redefined as both monuments and sites. Article 3:1 states that:

“The term monument shall include all real property...whether they contain buildings or not, having archaeological, architectural, historic or ethnographical interest and may include the furnishing preserved within them...The term site shall be defined as a group of elements, either natural or man-made, or combinations of the two, which it is in the public interest to conserve” (ICOMOS, Constitutive Assembly, 1965).

Following this, the terminology was revisited at the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage otherwise known as the World Heritage Convention in 1972. UNESCO now recognised that the term heritage should include cultural heritage as well as natural heritage (Ahmad, 1996). Since then the definitions of heritage as deemed by UNESCO have not altered. The only change being the terminology of ‘Cultural Heritage’ being known as ‘Cultural Properties’ and ‘Natural

Heritage' to 'Natural Properties' in order for inscriptions of 'properties' as World Heritage Sites (Ahmad, 2006).

However, despite these definitions they have not always been helpful in providing an understanding of heritage as a social and cultural process, i.e. what it means to people, communities and the organisations that effectively supply it for public consumption. The significant result of this is that there remains consistent questioning among academics as to what heritage actually encompasses, and it can be seen that as the concept of heritage has developed the nature of what it comprises is frequently brought into question. Harvey (2010, p.10) in exploring the meaning of heritage and its usages, suggests that:

“Considering the acknowledged complexity of the heritage phenomenon, it is certainly understandable why so many commentators use a purposely vague and malleable definition of the concept.”

However, from further analysis of the literature it can be seen that the current view of heritage is that it is not merely material but social, cultural and subjective (Boyd, 2003; Cowell, 2008; Smith, 2006; Watson and Warterton 2010b). As such, heritage is now considered to encompass issues such as visibility and feeling – the atmospheric aspects that people register when they engage with heritage sites including natural heritage and intangible culture (Smith 2006, p.102). Timothy and Boyd (2003, p.3) expand on this view of heritage stating that it has three components, tangible immovable resources (e.g. buildings), tangible movable resources (e.g. objects in museums), and intangible resources (e.g.

festivals). Currently it is widely acknowledged that heritage is not simply concerned with tangible objects or buildings but anything which has been inherited (Smith, 2006). It is also recognised that heritage has traditionally been synonymous with the inheritance of manifestations of the past through the generations (Cowell, 2008).

The term heritage has a simple and obvious relationship with the notion of inheritance meaning the survival of things into the present day, including objects, works of art, buildings, landscapes, traditions and ideas which were produced, valued or used by people in the past (Cowell, 2008). On this basis the realms of heritage could include virtually anything, for a title, joke, theory or story could be inherited and passed on through the generations. Hence it might be concluded that heritage tourism should subsequently be inclusive of both the tangible and the intangible aspects that have been passed down from previous generations. Cameron (2010, p.204) concurs that the intangible qualifies as a form of heritage and that these include “songs, stories, lore, games, jokes, dance, theatre, occupational culture, ethnic history, family and community life as well as religious life”. Edwards and Lludrés i Coit (1996) recognise that these forms of heritage are becoming increasingly evident throughout Britain where there are many museums and tourist attractions based upon the work of industrial heritage and labour history .

UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage as the:

“practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith—that

communities, groups, and in some cases individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage” (UNESCO, 2003). Kidd (2010) identifies the belated recognition of the intangible and regards this as due to developing understandings of heritage whereby less emphasis is placed upon material culture and attention has shifted to the many stories that link to the objects themselves. The art of passing on both the intangible and tangible to successive generations therefore raises issues of profound importance. Clearly, if certain things are valued and cared for in order to be passed on then some form of selection process is involved. Smith (2006, p.3) concurs with this advancement stating that “Heritage has become reconceptualised as more of a process of passing and receiving memories”.

Further, Smith (2006, p.1) suggests that the heritage process is “a process of engagement, an act of communion, and an act of making meaning in and for the present”. Furthermore, Cowell (2008) recognises that in this sense heritage refers to a process of remnants (tangible or intangible) are cared for and preserved over time to ensure that they will form the heritage of successive generations. Therefore, what is known as heritage today has been pre-determined and selected by previous generations, further exemplifying how people, rather than objects, are at the heart of the heritage process (Watson, 2009). In order to understand how people became involved in the selecting and passing down of important heritage objects and values, we must look back at when this became important, when did a heritage consciousness occur?

2.2 Conscious heritage

In addition to the ongoing debate regarding the definition and composition of heritage there is equally much discussion concerning when it was that heritage first became recognised by the wider public, and when people began to consciously preserve and celebrate their heritage (Harvey, 2001; Lowenthal, 1998; Smith, 2006; McCrone, 1995). It is important at this early stage in the study to carry out a considered account as to when a heritage consciousness first occurred, as this will aid in furthering understandings of what heritage is to people, what it means and what it occupies in people and their lives. Only by knowing this can we begin to understand the complexities of people's understandings and representations of their own heritage, which will be explored further within this thesis.

The emergence of a heritage consciousness is commonly addressed with the discussion appearing to consist of two key schools of thought. One interpretation is that heritage has and will always be present (Harvey, 2001), whilst there is a conflicting theory that heritage is itself a thoroughly modern concept (McCrone et al., 1995). Pertaining to this, many opposing academics disagree with these views that recognition of heritage in the wider public realm has only recently manifested (e.g. Harvey, 2001 and Lowenthal, 1998). As such, Harvey (2001) states "heritage has always been with us" as "there has always been a heritage consciousness of people having a relationship with the past" (p.2). Harvey advances this argument through demonstrating examples of early recognitions of heritage such as public displays during the medieval period and the early Christian times in Rome. However,

clearly this consideration is contingent on the assertion that history and heritage are synonymous. Lowenthal (1998, p.121) affirms that:

“Heritage is not history, even when it mimics history. It uses historical traces and tells historical tales, but these tales and traces are stitched into fables that are open neither to critical analysis nor to comparative scrutiny”.

Further, from previous examinations of heritage and what defines it as such, it is acknowledged that although there is often uncertainty in clarifications of heritage and history, they are considered here to be separate entities. The clearest distinction being that history consists of records and facts whilst heritage goes beyond this by bringing an added value to the basic facts and records Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998). As such Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1998, p. 150) refer to heritage as a “value added industry” claiming that:

“Heritage adds value to existing assets that have either ceased to be viable... Heritage organizations ensure that places and practices in danger of disappearing because they are no longer occupied or functioning will survive. It does this by adding the value of pastness, exhibition, difference and where possible, indigeneity”.

However, in adding value, Lowenthal (1998, p.121) argues that heritage then “exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error”. In addition, not only does heritage commodity what history provides but equally Cameron (2010, p. 205) demonstrates that “not everything from the past or the current cultural ‘warehouse’ may get written into the heritage script. Heritage retrieved from a cultural

source is selective". Lowenthal (1998) also recognises that not everything from history is selected to become heritage asserting that although heritage and history are closely linked, they serve differing purposes with history being the past and heritage being "a declaration of faith in that past" (p.121).

Furthermore, Cameron (2010, p.12) concurs that heritage is an "unnatural phenomenon" and a relatively recent advancement. Many researchers are in agreement, that if we are to define heritage as a process by which history is commodified for current uses then clearly we cannot trace the origins of heritage as far back as the beginnings of historical reflections such as during the medieval periods (Lowenthal, 1998). Therefore, within this thesis, heritage will be considered as the transformation and use of history for modern day purposes, exploring how local communities would like their past to be understood and represented.

When considering this development of what transforms history (or at least some of it) into heritage, Cameron (2010, p.108) puts forward the question "when did society become self-conscious about looking back and mounting displays of culture and history?" It is well documented that the modern heritage concept first emerged in Europe (Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006). Lowenthal's (1985) interpretation is that Europeans did not significantly separate the past from the present until the early modern period around the turn of the eighteenth century accompanying the developing ideologies of the Enlightenment philosophy. This is a view acknowledged by many other authors who despite having contradicting conceptions regarding the reasoning for the heritage advancement all date it

back to around the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century (Chambers, 2006; Dicks, 2003; Graham et al., 2000; Kammen, 1991; Smith, 2006). While other authors claim that the increased development of heritage arose due to economic commodification, a notion which Smith (2006) disputes claiming the origins are a result of nineteenth-century nationalism and liberal modernity. Although heritage advancements can be linked to socio-economic factors such as when the upper classes opened their country houses to the public in order to avoid wealth taxes, this cannot be seen as the sole reason.

However, Harvey (2010) acknowledges that economic exploitation cannot be the only reasoning for the practice of heritage. Evidently the utilization of heritage has many advantages be they economic, social or political depending on contemporary purposes (Graham et al., 2000). Considering that heritage was claimed to have manifested during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century there was much activity dislocating people from their sense of nationality and security in Europe including the French Revolution, the emergence of nation states and capitalist expansion.

Accordingly, Smith (2006) suggests that due to such progressions a developing narrative of nationalism arose and as such so did a newfound concern for what is now known as heritage. This in is agreement with the findings of Klekot's (2012) investigation of the restoration of the Royal Castle in Warsaw, which identified a clear struggle for a dominant nationalist narrative. However, questions still remain among this heritage consciousness regarding what elements and objects of history were selected as a part of heritage and who selected them (Watson, 2009). These issues of selection are of great concern to this

investigation, as in order to understand the commercial processes of heritage, the initial selection and authorization process needs to be understood. Smith (2006) argues that many of the processes of the heritage industry are framed by what she terms the authorized heritage discourse, and this concept will be explored in the section that follows.

2.3 The Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)

Clearly linked to the above referenced issues of heritage authorization, selection and ownership is the recently introduced concept of the authorised heritage discourse (AHD) (Smith, 2006). The AHD is a “self-referential”, “immutable” discourse, that “privileges monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building” (Smith, 2006, p.11). Smith further articulates that the AHD privileges “the innate aesthetic and scientific value and physicality of heritage and masks the real cultural and political work that the heritage process does (Smith, 2006, p.87).

Smith’s theory is supported by many others in the field of heritage research, such as Waterton and Watson (2010) and Waterton et al., (2006). Such authors (Waterton et al., 2006) support Smith’s argument that the AHD is the dominant discourse in the heritage field. Further, the implications of this are significant, as the effects of the AHD mean that “some understandings of heritage are legitimised, while other nuances are discredited” (Waterton and Smith, 2011, p.9). In essence the AHD “excludes all dissonant, conflicted or non-core accounts of heritage” (Smith, 2006, p.11). The central issue here, as identified by Waterton and Watson (2011, p.20) is that the AHD “validates and defines what is or is not heritage and frames and constrains heritage practices”. A key implication of this is that communities are excluded from the heritage process, as Smith (2006, p.34) notes, “what is

absent in the AHD is a sense of 'action' or 'critical engagement' on the part of non-expert users of heritage, as heritage is about receiving the wisdom and knowledge of historians, archaeologists and other experts". However, the AHD can be criticised for not taking into consideration "external forces that shape conservation values" (Pendlebury, 2012, p.8) and is in practice, subject to change (Feintuch, 2007). However the AHD correlates with wider theories. Such as Foucault's (1978) study of the discursive order and Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of cultural hegemony which states that society's values are communicated to them from the leaders in command, and further that these values are then interpreted and accepted as common-sense.

Further, this emphasis upon the selection and framing of the past privileging some groups over others is strongly linked to the dominant ideology thesis. The dominant ideology thesis states that society is "divided into dominant and subordinate groups; the ideas and values of the former are presented as the dominant ideology to the latter who are passive recipients accepting their subordination" (Howard and Ashworth, 1999, p. 63). Howard and Ashworth further explain the role of the dominant ideology thesis within the field of heritage as such; " heritage generally occupies an important place in such an ideology; the cultural capital of the past is captured and used to legitimate a governing group which seizes power and maintains it through the use of a dominant ideology".

Both conceptualisations of the AHD and the dominant ideology thesis link to the widely supported views of Samuel (1994, p.4) who stated that heritage knowledge and understanding "filters downwards" through a strict hierarchy. Further, Samuel thus argues

what he terms as “unofficial knowledge” or “other” history which is viewed by the practitioners as separate and lesser than “real history”. Such “unofficial knowledge” manifests through “children’s’ theatricals” for example and he states reveals history as a “social form of knowledge [...] an ensemble of activities and practices” (Samuel, 1994, pp.5-11). Overall, there are various theories presented here for evaluating and theorising how the dominant views of heritage trickle down through the hierarchy of society.

The key issue here, for this study, is that the dominant or commercial bodies selecting, framing and representing heritage, are holding back versions of the past and are in this way denying communities of their true or complete heritage. Hewison (1987, p.10) argues that “At best, the heritage industry only draws a screen between ourselves and our true past”, and as such this study will examine how this screen manifests and what the implications of this are, both for community’s and for the commercial heritage destination product. Initial analysis of the extent literature has shown that there are three key areas in the heritage process which reinforce the AHD, and these are the processes surrounding heritage selection, heritage ownership and heritage authorisation and these will now be explored.

2.4 The authorisation of heritage

Musetelli (2002) states that the idea of world heritage began to circulate between World War I and World War II. Records show that foundations of UNESCO trace back to the League of Nations resolution on 21 September 1921 (Musetelli, 2002). Thereafter, a number of consultative organisations were created, the works of which were stifled for a period during the Second World War (ibid). However, during the United Nations Conference for the establishment of an educational and cultural organization, the Constitution of UNESCO was introduced and signed by 37 countries, and a Preparatory Commission was established (UNESCO, 2010). The Preparatory Commission operated between the 16th of November 1945, and the 4th of November 1946. Subsequently on November 16th 1945 UNESCO was founded (UNESCO, 2010). UNESCO states that the organisation's mission is to "contribute to the building of peace, the eradication of poverty, sustainable development and intercultural dialogue through education, the sciences, culture, communication and information" (Ibid).

The organization UNESCO fosters world heritage and they "formally introduced the concept of world heritage in 1946 with a constitutional statement in its charter about keeping watch over the world's works of art and monuments of history" (Musetelli, 2002, p.323). The Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage, adopted by UNESCO in 1972, outlines that UNESCO aims to encourage the identification, protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage around the world considered to be of

outstanding value to humanity. Heritage is central to the work of UNESCO with the group stating that “Protecting, preserving and promoting culture and cultural diversity is one of the central pillars of UNESCO’s work[....]UNESCO aims to protect both tangible and intangible cultural heritage which may be threatened by looting and illicit trade, armed conflicts, pollution, unchecked tourism and unsustainable development” (UNESCO, 2010).

Arguably one of the greatest contributions to heritage was the creation of the concept of World Heritage which was created by UNESCO in 1972 (Bianchi and Boniface, 2002) with the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and National Heritage. Through the World Heritage Convention UNESCO aims to secure the necessary financial and intellectual resources to protect World Heritage sites (World Heritage Information Kit, 2008. According to UNSECO World Heritage (World Heritage Information Kit, 2003), the World Heritage mission states that UNESCO aims to “encourage participation of the local population in the preservation of their cultural and natural heritage”.

One of the key ways in which the World Heritage Committee aims to achieve these goals is through the designation of World Heritage Sites. In 1994, the World Heritage Committee launched the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List aiming to ensure that the List of World Heritage Sites reflects the world's cultural and natural diversity of outstanding universal value with there currently being 911 sites inscribed (WHC, 2010). The list of sites consists of three categories, firstly monuments, secondly groups of buildings and thirdly natural sites (Cameron, 2010). In order to become a World Heritage Site, the site must be of ‘outstanding universal value’ qualifying as a

masterpiece of human value or natural wonder and furthermore must be an exceptional form of cultural tradition or human settlement with close associations with a noteworthy event or achievement (Smith, 2006). Additionally, the site must comply with one of ten outlined selection criteria and an international committee, consisting of numerous member countries makes the decisions regarding nominations (Cameron, 2010). Having a site inscribed on the list is of tremendous value to any nation's tourism industry as many countries such as Mexico have discovered after having sites successfully inscribed (Kugel, 2006).

However, once a site has been inscribed it may not always remain a World Heritage Site. A site can lose its status for a number of reasons, for failing to meet the management standards during regular UNESCO visits, natural disasters, over-restoration or lack of required conservation measures (Shackley, 1998). Once a site has been inscribed ownership rights shift as the site becomes "the beneficiary of humanity" and "goes into a global cultural commons" rather than being the property of the country in which it resides (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006, pp.184-185). Therefore through the processes in which UNESCO attempt to help communities to conserve their heritage, it can be seen that what happens in practice, means that another barrier is placed between local communities and their past.

The significance of the information presented here evidences that there is an institutionalised baseline, upon which the basis of all heritage value and contribution is measured. As Smith (2006, p.87) identifies:

“The conventions and charters enacted by UNESCO and ICOMOS may be understood as authorizing institutions of heritage, as they define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used... in turn, the AHD, and the assumptions, values and ideologies embedded within this discourse, is itself reinforced and perpetuated through the policy and technical processes that are driven or underlined by the various charters and conventions.”

Further it is shown here that this is significant at an international level. This demonstrates that the official perspectives of heritage still dominate in the framing and representation of the heritage product. This is one example of the issues surrounding heritage selection, other concerning heritage selection issues will be analysed in the section that follows.

2.5 Heritage selection

Clearly, manifestations of heritage must materialize through some manner and the ways in which this occurs are of interest to this investigation. In order to understand how people wish to understand and represent their heritage, we must first acknowledge the process of defining and selecting this heritage and understand how this interplays with the socio-cultural processes of inheritance and heritage representation.

Smith (2006, p.2) recognises that the act of heritage is a “process” of passing on and receiving memories, with Hewison (1987, p.10) explaining that heritage is “that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of a population wishes to hand on to the future”. Therefore, clearly the heritage process is one of selection, and subsequently not everything from the past is “written into the heritage script” (Cameron, 2010, p.204). Howard (2003, pp.187-188) demonstrates that there are three ways in which an object of heritage will become such. Firstly, it may have been “born heritage” being an article, which was in its design intended for conservation. Secondly the heritage status may have been “achieved” due to the rarity and significance of the article. Or third, the transformation of something into an article of heritage may simply be ‘acquired’ having the heritage status “thrust upon it”.

However, if heritage is a process of selection then this selection must be carried out by someone, be that an individual or an organisation. Cameron (2010) recognised that this

method of selection takes place overseen by either a public or private body or often by both. However this is done in a fairly laissez-faire style in some countries and is tightly controlled and managed in others (Cameron, 2010). Furthermore, throughout time the heritage selection process alters, as Graham et al (2000) assert, the parts of the past that are selected as heritage are chosen for contemporary purposes including political, social and economic reasons. Therefore, a key issue of enquiry within this thesis is the extent to which the representation of the past is altered for modern purposes.

It has been recognised that heritage always changes and evolves throughout time and is constantly increasing and adapting that which it encompasses (Loulanski, 2006). In addition, Lowenthal (1985, p.264) states that “any treatment of the past, however circumspect, invariably alters it”. Thus, from simply from the recognition and selection of heritage, it has been inadvertently altered. Lowenthal (1985) illustrates that there are two ways in which a relic can be altered, firstly through direct effect upon the relic through the protection, iconoclasm, enhancement, or relocation of it, or secondly through indirect means including emulations, depictions and re-enactments. Lowenthal (1985, p.263) continues and states that “interaction with a heritage continually refashions its nature and context, whether by choice or by chance”.

When an object of heritage, either tangible or intangible, is knowingly altered there are many varying reasons for its transformation. Jones and Shaw (2006, p.122) studied cases in Singapore and Jakarta where history and heritage are going through a process of selection, with the past centuries of European imperial domination being eliminated as an undesirable

past. Their findings showed that as the cityscapes are being transformed certain elements of the past are “variously eliminated, hidden, privileged, integrated and/ or reinvented”. This is a clear example that not all heritage or history is favored in a particular country or community, and this argument is central to this thesis. Howard (2003), for example, demonstrates that it would be “nonsense” to assume that all we inherit from the past is good or desirable. Therefore, some elements of history, despite not being selected for the heritage “arena”, are hidden or altered. Lowenthal (1985, p.325) recognises this stating “we all want more or other than we have been left”. Additionally Van Wyck Brooks (1918) believes that if one desires a different past so badly, it is conceivable that a new past may be discovered or invented, a point also echoed by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) with their concept of Invented Tradition.

However, another method in which the past becomes altered is through the promotion and preservation of heritage that is held in high regard. Initially moving an object of heritage away from its original locale to a museum or viewing point alters it dramatically, as Lowenthal (1985, p.287) identifies “perhaps the most grievous effect of dispersing antiquities is the loss of environmental context[...]The whole value of many antiquities inheres in their locale; the landmark must stay put if it is to mark the land”.

Furthermore, once the object has reached its destination it frequently undergoes elements of preservation and restoration in order to maintain and present it to the public. However, once these methods have been applied, the object itself has been manipulated from its original form and thus the past and history of the object has been changed. Lowenthal

(1985, p.278) asserts; “although revision is seldom the ostensible motive, removing dirt or rust, reconstructing a ruin, restoring an old building to what it might be or should have been, and adding to extant remains all in fact aim at improving on what has survived”. Clearly, although this is a frequent occurrence it is preferably avoided to ensure a realistic or “authentic” representation of the past. Morris (1877, p.151) asserted that historical buildings should be left as they stand, being “monuments of bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying”.

Correspondingly, many objects of heritage and heritage buildings are resistant to tampering and are retained in their original form. This has been actively pursued by many heritage sites such as in ancient cathedrals, many of which now take extra precautions and in extreme cases restrict entry to fragile areas and even replace relics with replicas (English Tourist Board, 1979). Although in this instance problems further arise as the implementation of replicas is often not heavily publicized to or recognised by the public, who regard such objects as authentic.

Similarly, absolute preservation of areas to which people are denied access and the careful storing of artifacts additionally is altering the past as the heritage will not have been preserved naturally, what has survived does not depict its true survival throughout time if it has been specially preserved and monitored, authorized and managed for its present and future purposes. These issues are central to community engagement and community representation of heritage as these processes alter and restrain the heritage and past of local people who in many cases have little or no involvement (Waterton and Watson, 2013).

Furthermore, heritage objects and sites often undergo changes for modern day purposes due to social and economic demands. Park (2014, p.11) asserts that, “heritage needs to be constantly re-evaluated and repositioned by social needs, desires and practices” stating that what we know and understand as heritage is “culturally ascribed and socially conditioned”. What Park (2014) is referring to here is the commodification and appropriation of heritage by the heritage industry.

The key issues of contention here surround the elements of history that are selected and passed on through the process of heritage. The contention being that, as mentioned earlier, the selection process is often controlled by public or private bodies. However, whose sense of history and heritage are they preserving? There is a growing concern that what is reflected as heritage is not a collective reflection of a diverse population and a shared past but is based upon a mono-cultural understanding of what constitutes both heritage and value. Indeed it has been recognized that “the construction of heritage [...]speaks to-and is fundamentally *about*-the cultural symbols of an elite social group: the white middle classes” (Waterton, 2010, p.155).

This level of control could result in the official rhetoric or commercial voice of heritage becoming a reflection of the socially exclusive heritage product. The world of heritage is fraught with complications, such as social exclusion, access issues and shared authority and

it appears that representational practices may in some cases be reinforcing these problems, something that will be explored within this thesis (Chapter 4)

2.6 Heritage ownership

One significant issue regarding the representation of heritage is the complex nature of heritage ownership. Heritage is often perceived as a world of elitism and exclusion, conjuring images of stately homes, fine art galleries and country estates (Watson and Waterton, 2011). Regarded as the “secret history”, heritage is inherently exclusive, celebrating and thriving in the act of excluding others (Lowenthal, 1998). Indeed, it can be seen that previously heritage was a pastime of the upper-classes with the majority of the post-World War II heritage movement converging efforts upon saving and preserving the heritage and land belonging to the aristocracy and gentry. Tax exemptions for the wealthy upon opening their homes to the public typify the advantages sought, particularly as the houses opening hours were often not advertised (Howard, 2003).

Such interpretations of heritage prevail as throughout time heritage has been used as a tool for advancement by those who possess the power it manifests. Newman and McLean (1998) recognise that heritage in its many forms has continually been exploited in political discourse. Howard (2003) transcends this theory venturing that the enterprise of heritage could theoretically be an entire deception manifested to persuade the entire population to fund the pleasures and pastimes of the elite with advisory committees possessing heritage authority being comprised by a predominance of titles, either academic or inherited. Samuel (1994) agrees with this interpretation asserting that the majority of the power over heritage is in the possession of small interest groups. Although following this, there is

recognition that there has been a significant shift from this elite focus toward a heritage which is seemingly progressively inclusive and community minded, such as the work on “heritage from below” (Robertson, 2012, p.1).

Similarly, Howard (2003) has explored modern interpretations of heritage exclusivity and suggests that from the 1960s onwards heritage has been reflecting more modern concerns, citing exemplars of stamp collectors and car boot sales as modern community heritage engagement. Following this, the 1970s saw a broadening of interests in heritage and conservation from purely the intellectual and wealthy elite to a wider base of individuals through a transfer of interest from purely individual buildings to inclusivity of places and the general physical environment (Pendlebury et al., 2004, p.18). Subsequently, throughout the 1980s the historic environment became more integral to society and economic development (Hewison, 1987; Watson and Gonjalez Rodriguez, 2015).

Indubitably heritage rightly belongs to everyone and transcends small intellectual elitist interest groups whom still hold much of the power as heritage is not exclusively for the wealthy. Howard (2003) recognises this and asserts that heritage is not only for everyone but it is additionally something that everyone is doing in some way, be it through preservation of cars or other personal pastimes. Indeed heritage is not solely comprised of grand objects of culture and fine art but is additionally inclusive of equally notable yet less prominent forms of personal and intangible heritage. To some individuals their personal collection of family photography or their classic car may be considered to them their own heritage, with which they have a strong connection and embedded sense of identity with

their owned heritage. It is recognised that individuals place pride on their own heritage embracing it and holding sacred its unique qualities (Lowenthal, 1998). The consideration of which arises enquiry as to whether all of heritage is owned by someone, and if so, who. Howard (2003) asserts that heritage and ownership are strongly connected with the term heritage just a century ago meaning the transfer of property, with currently much of the worlds heritage being owned.

Evidently there are many stakeholders who are involved in ownership of heritage sites, or indeed the lands which they reside on with Lowenthal (1998) recognising that heritage is normally private property which is the factor that provides it with its essential worth. A reoccurring consequence of heritage ownership is simply that a range of stakeholders are involved, with Adams (2005, p.434) stating that:

“Heritage sites are destined to be sites of controversy, as different groups embracing different narratives seek to assert symbolic (or economic) ownership of these sites.”

Therefore, in the 1990s government agencies such as English Heritage further concentrated on the management and responsibility for historic environments and landscapes aiming to regulate the sharing and distribution of benefits arising from the heritage industry and lessen the gap between the affluent and the poorest individuals (Pendlebury, 2005). One approach that English Heritage adopted was through the area funding scheme Heritage Economic Regeneration Scheme (HERS), which launched in 1999 and concentrated on deprived areas of the UK (Pendlebury, 2005).

Further, since 1994, the Heritage Lottery Fund has been supporting English Heritage and funds heritage projects throughout the country investing around £375 million in Heritage projects each year (Hlf.org.uk, n.d.). Additionally English Heritage has worked on ensuring that heritage and its management are reflective of the wider society and not purely expert views, as has been previously acknowledged as being problematic (English Heritage, 1997). A key emphasis of the work of English Heritage is to ensure that the wide cultural diversity of England's heritage is accessible to any and all of the individuals and groups who are part of its legacy (English Heritage, 2003).

Many individuals have both a stake in and a claim to the world's heritage, as such heritage owners, residents, tourists, insiders, public and private organisations comprise the current world heritage industry, either consciously or unconsciously. As such, this thesis will recognise the complex nature of heritage ownership and consider how the related issues transcend as a result of ownership and dominance in the field of heritage. The implications of heritage having differing heritage perspectives and voices will be further explored in the following section.

2.7 Dissonant heritage

When investigating the AHD, a central contribution to understanding the related issues is presented in the works of Turnbridge and Ashworth (1996) on dissonant heritage. Dissonant heritage can be seen as “the tensions, discordance or lack of congruence, whether active or latent, which are inherent to the very nature and meanings of heritage” (Turnbridge and Ashworth, 1996, p.6). The concept itself develops from the notion that “heritage is a contemporary product shaped by history in which different narratives exist” (Low et al., 2005, p.13). Many researchers have acknowledged dissonant heritage, and overall conceptualise it as the frequently contested and multi-dimensional nature of heritage (e.g. Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1996; Graham et al., 2000; Ashworth, 2002; Graham, 2002; Smith, 2006; Waterton, 2010).

As such, dissonant heritage develops when an element of the past is seen as having more than one meaning (Graham et al., 2000). This results in several, or perhaps many competing perspectives and “conflict, agitation, frustration and contestation” (Graham et al., 2000, p.1005). This is also in accordance with Smith’s wider views that the valuing and validating of the past can be “disabling for those whose sense of history and place exist outside of the dominant heritage message or discourse, though it can be enabling for those whose sense of the past either sits within or finds synergy with authorised views” (Smith, 2006, p.80). Ashworth and Turnbridge (1996, p. 80) state the importance of the consequences of dissonant heritage:

“All heritage is someone’s heritage and therefore logically not someone else’s: the original meaning of an inheritance {from which ‘heritage’ derives} implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be may be unintentional, temporary, of trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious”.

As such it is important that further studies are carried out to attempt to understand dissonance so that the effects may be lessened. Ashworth and Turnbridge (1996), Pearson and Sullivan (1995) and King (2000) all argue that more needs to be done to recognise and further manage the conflicts surrounding such issues.

Further, Smith (2006) identifies that when theorising dissonant heritage, two differentiated aspects manifest, heritage and “dissonant heritage” (Smith, 2006). Waterton (2007, p.29) defines this dissonant heritage to be “difficult, dark, unwanted or negative heritage and pasts”. Low et al. (2005, p.14) explain how in some cases, groups try to distance themselves from this dissonant or unwanted heritage, such as the Americans evading their past as beneficiaries of the slave trade and the plantation economy. Low et al., (2005, p.14) further explain that “the practice of telling all sides of the story and of uncovering uncomfortable and conflicting views of the past that produce dissonant heritage has never been popular”. However, it is argued that as the demands upon heritage tourism become further challenged and contested by the wider public, further balanced and more precise accounts

of the past will be demanded (Timothy and Boyd, 2006). Fundamental to this study, it has been advised within the literature that taking such new approaches may lead to increased community control and community involvement (Turnbridge and Ashworth, 1996). This, it is viewed here, would be a positive outcome which would readdress the power balance and give a more accurate and authentic view of the past. Additionally, Turnbridge and Ashworth (1996, p.268) claim that to evade dissonant heritage would be beneficial for the heritage industry, leading to increasingly “sustainable cultural heritage” for “socio-political stability and economic success”.

Smith (2006) however, states that dissonant heritage cannot be evaded. As such, the findings of this thesis will attempt to identify and understand the dissonance present at the case study destinations investigated, in order to further advance the argument that heritage dissonance can and should be avoided where possible. Furthermore, a significant implication of heritage dissonance is that it further enables heritage in its quest to “service the interests of particular, powerful groups” (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006, p.88) and in doing so disregards and disfavours others (Watson, 2010).

This section has demonstrated that there is indeed an AHD present, and that it implicates great challenges to the conservation of the past. One of the central issues, identified by Smith (2006) is that heritage centres around the passing on, or inheritance of information from heritage practitioners and experts down to the general public. As such “the AHD establishes and sanctions a top-down relationship between expert, heritage and ‘visitor’[...]the very use of the term ‘visitor’ also facilitates the construction of passivity and

disconnection". Therefore is it argued here that heritage is not only concerned with what we inherit from the past but moreover, who we inherit this information from and how they control this. It can be seen that this has implications upon the ways in which the public relate to, and understand their heritage, as it "obscures the sense of memory work, performativity and acts of remembrance" (Smith, 2006, p.34). As such there is a growing literature that serves to understand how individuals and communities can further engage with the past (e.g. Hayden, 1997; Hodges and Watson, 2000; Waterton and Smith, 2011; Knudsen and Greer, 2011) as an understanding and connection with one's past is of key importance (Harvey, 2010). Thus, the following section of this chapter serves to illustrate how and why heritage should be in everyone's favour, for it possesses significant importance to groups and individuals.

2.8 The importance of Heritage

Whether consciously or unconsciously heritage is a part of everyone's lives, a view acknowledged by Harvey (2010, p.320) who suggests that "every society has had a relationship with its past, even those which have chosen to ignore it". As previously discussed, the emergence of heritage has occurred throughout history accompanied by the realisation of its meanings and importance and this seems equally true of life today. It is deemed necessary at this point to analyse the importance of heritage and the contribution that it brings to both society and the individual, especially as it is the value of heritage that is changed, developed and reinterpreted throughout the marketing and branding process. This process can have a significant impact upon the relationship between people, place and the value that they see in the destination, take from the destination and, further, contribute to the destination either individually or a part of a wider group of stakeholders. As such, at this point it is necessary to consider the importance of heritage and the role that it plays within wider society and to individuals, before considering the role of heritage within communities at a later stage in the review of the literature (Chapter 3).

2.8.1 The importance of heritage for commercial purposes

Since the beginning of travel for pleasure the tourism industry has grown into the world's single largest industry (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p.1). Within this context it is recognised by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) that heritage and culture have become an important component in almost 40% of all international trips undertaken (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). The tourism industry is estimated to have generated US\$5,751 billion worldwide in 2010 accounting for 1 in every 12.3 jobs (WTTC online, 2010). Clearly, heritage tourism is a significant factor in these figures and will hopefully continue to aid growth and economic development into the future. Heritage and cultural tourists are economically advantageous to the tourism industry, typically being well-educated and affluent (Richards, 2007; Timothy and Boyd, 2003). As well as the revenue produced by heritage, it is apparent that it also creates many jobs. The Visit Britain annual "survey of visits to visitor attractions" found that there were 33,000 staff working in just 660 of Britain's historic attractions (Visitbritain.org, 2014), the figure for the whole of the UK will indeed be even higher with large numbers of jobs found in the heritage industry (Brett, 1996, p.1).

In addition to the creation of jobs, it can also be seen that the revenue generated by heritage tourism will have a multiplier effect through the rest of the UK industry. There will be a direct economic effect, as heritage tourists will spend money on tourism related services. This not only provides revenue for the industry itself but further creation of jobs in the form of direct employment, indirect employment and induced employment (Watson and Gonzalez Rodrigues, 2015).

Lastly, heritage adds to the industry economically as the tourists it initially attracts act as a catalyst for spatial transformation and government investment in the area with opportunities for development (Brett, 1996, p.1). This often leads to several attractions becoming embedded in a locality known as a 'heritage complex' (Robb, 1998, p.580), manipulating sites into attractions and events to perform for tourists. Businesses within these complexes can then exploit the heritage attractions for further profit.

Therefore, heritage and cultural tourism can be a great economic asset to the tourism industry and to the host countries and regions of the heritage sites. The World Bank has recognised this and the investment value that heritage possesses and has helped many countries by providing the finances needed to create and develop heritage infrastructure as it is thought to be of great advantage to the country's economic development (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Lanfant, 1995).

2.8.2 The importance of heritage for community purposes

There are many reasons for why someone may wish to visit a heritage tourism attraction or destination. However one reason for people's fascination with heritage tourism sites may be unknown to them despite its tendency to encourage them to visit. Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1987) identifies self-actualisation and self-fulfilment as an innate human need. Holloway (2006, p.66) recognises that this need encompasses the inherent need to master our environment and understand the nature of societies. Gruffudd's (1995, p.50) study also found that people's contemporary desires are fulfilled by presentation of the past through historical narratives and further this desire of the past can be seen as a need for human roots in a fast changing world (Hewison, 1987, p.84).

Palmer (2005, p.1) explains that heritage is vital in enabling people to make sense of the world in which they live and Newman and McLean (2006) similarly recognise that museums can help people to feel some form of inclusion within society. Correspondingly, it has been argued that heritage can fill the gap left in people's lives by a contemporary loss of religious dimension (Storey and Childs, 1997, p.264). Further, one of the principal ways of achieving self-actualisation and self-fulfilment is through travel to heritage and historical sites to deepen understanding and feel intrinsically fulfilled looking at things through a new perspective, known as the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2009, p.2).

Further, it is recognised by Adejuwon (1985, p.20) that "the advantages of cultural heritage tourism cannot be over emphasized" for many reasons, but particularly due to the

evidenced advantages heritage tourism can bring to local societies through stimulating community understanding and aiding social development. Heritage has been recognised to aid people's feelings of belonging not only within local communities but nationally. Graham et al (2000, p.2) assert that "heritage is a primary instrument in the 'discovery' or creation and subsequent nurturing of a national identity". Heritage has aided the creation of national identities and unified countries throughout history. Cameron (2010) demonstrates that during the Western shift from trade-based mercantile economies to industrial capitalism problems of control arose, particularly concerning the Enlightenment notions of individualism and liberty. To combat the issues of social control heritage was utilised to connect people to the places in which they lived and the new concept of citizenship arose. Mitchell (2001, p.212) similarly evokes the use of heritage in the creation of unity stating "deciding on a common past was critical to the process of making a particular mixture of people into a coherent nation". This trend continues as the history and heritage of a nation or region connects with individuals and evokes feelings of pride, honour and patriotism (Howard, 2003).

2.9 Conclusion

Overall, the purpose of this chapter has been to explore the various ways in which heritage is theorised and understood, identifying what is currently known. The chapter began by exploring the nature and meaning of heritage itself. It then focused upon the AHD (Smith, 2006) and analysed the various ways in which the heritage industry controls the past and excludes the public. Finally the chapter explored why this exclusion is of such importance, by analysing the ways in which the heritage industry plays an important role, to both individuals and communities.

The vital observation from this chapter is that heritage is of great importance to people, yet the work of the heritage industry and the authorised heritage discourse excludes and disconnects people from the past. These findings have played an important role in defining the theoretical direction which will be taken in this thesis. Further, in fulfilling this purpose the chapter has raised questions for the primary research to investigate and has provided several theoretical drivers for the research investigation which are summarised in Figure 2 below.

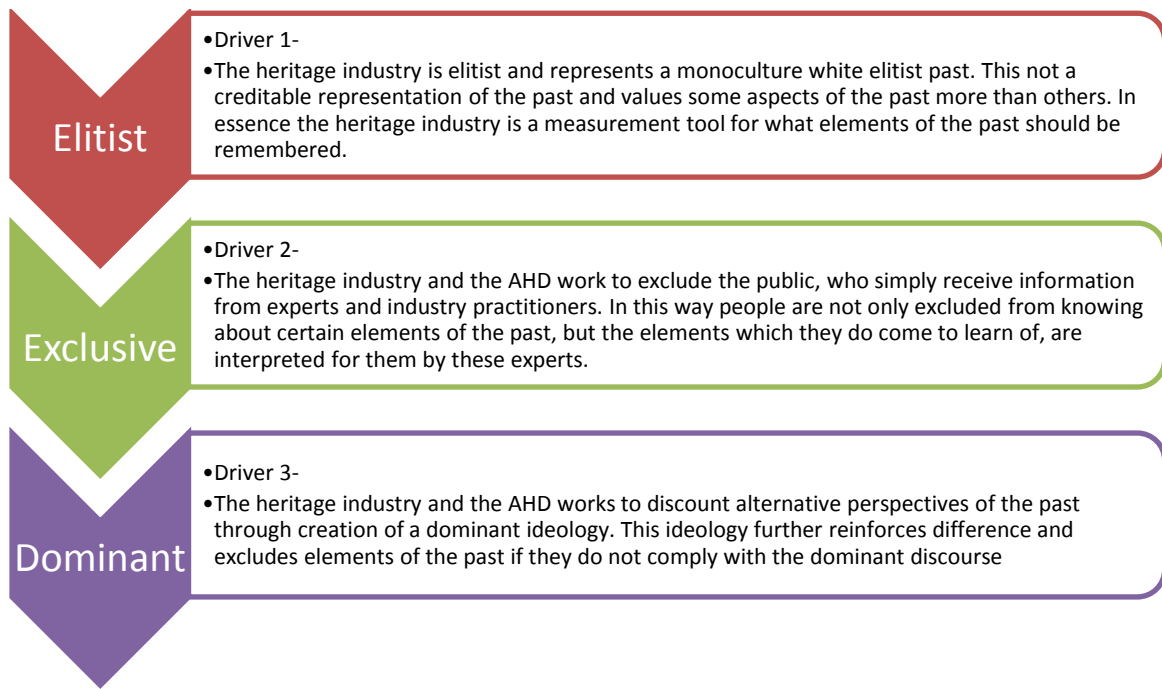


Figure 2: The theoretical drivers that emerged from the heritage literature

Having now theorised heritage and analysed the available theoretical drivers for the thesis, the next chapter in the thesis turns to exploring heritage tourism stakeholders, where the thesis takes an emphasis on heritage tourism destination communities and the relationship between people and the past.

Chapter 3: Understanding heritage destination communities

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins the analysis and interpretation of the perceptions of various stakeholders present within heritage tourism destinations and their contribution to heritage meaning making. The chapter will first apply stakeholder theory to identify and understand the position of stakeholders involved in heritage places and to establish the respective roles of the stakeholders investigated within this study. Once this has been established and justified, the chapter turns its focus to the exploration of heritage destination communities. The purpose of this is to use the existing literature to; 1) to clearly define what is meant by the term community throughout the course of this study, 2) to examine the internal struggles and complexities of heritage destination communities and 3) to identify the voice and representation of the community in heritage tourism marketing.

At this stage it is important to recognise the multi-disciplinary nature of the topic and the various theoretical influences that surround the research question. These will be evaluated in turn for what they add to an understanding of the way that heritage is active in people's lives and in the places where they live. On this basis the chapter examines previous research and theoretical reflections on the influence (or otherwise) of communities upon the

marketing and branding of heritage tourism destinations and establishes the key issues that need to be taken forward in the primary research for this study.

It is also important to begin to develop the overall theoretical position that has been adopted here, which is that there is a difference between the official or commercial marketing representations of heritage and the perceptions that reflect community interests.

In terms of community, the concern is with communities of place and of interest, and with people who represent those interests rather than a survey of the views of the populations of these places, which would have been beyond the scale and scope of this study. The starting position then is that the cultural practice of heritage, the very heart of inheriting and the act of passing on of things of value over time, is naturally and predominantly about people. It is undeniably people who create, select, share, contest and construct heritage as part of their lives, either as tourists or residents or providers of tourism experiences.

Yet, the hegemonic and authorised discourse of heritage (Smith, 2006) disengages people from their past and reconstitutes their interactions with it. In this way the material realities of heritage are now selected, contested and represented for communities, by someone else, an official agency perhaps, or a commercial one. Thus it is the authority of experts and the official discourses of heritage that define places for people, rather than the definition and 'discovery' of those places by the people to whom they arguably belong, their communities.

3.2 Stakeholder theory

It can be seen that in the past there has been no universally accepted definition of the term stakeholder (Carroll, 1993). However one definition offered is that a stakeholder comprises any group or individual who can affect or who is affected by the achievement of organisational objectives (Freeman, 1984). This indication implies that the term stakeholder could include any person or organisation whose interest may be positively or negatively affected; such as government organizations and private businesses of all sizes, local authorities, the general community, other interested parties such as voluntary and community organizations, disadvantaged groups and people of non-native language speaking backgrounds (Metaxiotis and Ergazakis, 2008).

As Sheehan et al. (2007) state, tourism is a complex process involving a diverse group of active stakeholders ranging from the conscious stakeholder such as a member of a destination's marketing organization to an 'unconscious' stakeholder such as a local resident. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, a wide variety of stakeholder groups collaborate to manage the heritage tourism within a destination through the tourism value chain (Bieger, 2008).

However it must also be acknowledged that these stakeholders are not regarded as one homogenous group but in a stakeholder perspective are recognised as an open system comprising of interdependent, multiple stakeholders and individuals (d'Angella & Go, 2009).

Within a heritage tourism destination these individuals may be members of public or private tourism partnerships, local brokers, residents or even tourists themselves. It is these people that are the destination's actors whom together embody the touristic space and determine the quality of experience it may offer. By considering the stakeholders as actors and the metaphor of performance as how they interact and carry out their daily lives, we can explore how tourism can be conceived as a set of activities, habits and practices which shape the tourist space (Endensor, 2001). Further, these actors must be understood from two perspectives, firstly as independent, individual actors and secondly as interconnected parts of the tourism value chain and networks (March and Wilkinson, 2009).

Although the idea of stakeholders is universally acknowledged and reasonably well understood in organisational life, Garrod et al. (2012) suggest that the application of the concept of stakeholder theory as a theoretical construct among academics is a relatively new concept. However, Andriof and Waddock (2002) claim that the beginnings of stakeholder theory can be traced back to 1938 and the works of Barnard (1938) who studied cooperative behaviour in formal organizations.

Following this the idea was expanded and developed by a number of researchers including March and Simon (1958), Cyert and March (1963) and Jeffrey and Salancik (1978). Later, Freeman (1984) considered stakeholders as any group or individual who can affect or who is effected by the achievement of objectives. Freeman has continued to focus on stakeholder theory and in 2010 brought the concepts up to date to reflect changes in organisational life and structures. Freeman's perspective has been adopted in this study as it is seen here to be

the most practical and applicable understanding of stakeholders and stakeholder theory. As such, here stakeholder theory will be analysed and applied in order to identify and legitimise the key stakeholders of heritage tourism destinations.

3.3 Stakeholder theory-applications in tourism

There is a distinct need to analyse the stakeholder groups involved in a heritage tourism destination when analysing the marketing and branding strategy, as the analysis and identification of stakeholders is a way of connecting environmental issues, internal system dynamics and the marketing strategy itself (Easterling, 2005). Furthermore, it has been identified that in order to maintain and grow the tourism industry in a responsible way, things must be approached in an “intelligent, planned and thoughtful manner by developers and the public alike” (Goeldner et al., 2000, p.30). From this it can be seen that a participatory approach towards tourism is required and thus there must be a stakeholder focused process which takes into account the needs of both developers and the local community and residents (Easterling, 2005).

The application of stakeholder theory in tourism is a unique and ever evolving process. Palmer and Bejou (1995) state that this is unsurprising due to the complicated and diverse nature of tourism. Indeed the tourism product itself is fragmented, with a wide range of actors involved. Among these actors are those involved in producing accommodation, transport, retail, tours, and visitor attractions in the context of the heritage destination. Further, these groups of stakeholders come from varying sectors, public, private and voluntary (Garrod et al, 2012). Jamal and Getz (1995) identify the difficulties that this causes as it is near impossible for any of the individual organisations in a tourism destination to act independently, they further explain that organisations must recognise this and be conscious of it in all strategic decision making. However, whether all tourism organisations understand

this and theory translates into practice seems unlikely and as Garrod et al. (2012, p.1162) state, this remains to be achieved as “few studies have attempted to apply stakeholder theory in this context”.

3.4 Identifying and understanding heritage tourism stakeholders

Identifying tourism stakeholders is a complex process; this is in part due to the multifaceted nature of the multi-sectoral and ever-changing tourism industry. As Sheenan and Ritchie (2005) identify, the process of tourism involves such a wide range of suppliers with a complex pattern of interaction, including individuals and groups from a variety of sectors, such as accommodation, tour operation, transport, entertainment, retail, finance and visitor attractions to name but a few. Jamal and Getz (1995) further identify that a key issue in the tourism process is that the variety of stakeholders involved are drawn from across all three sectors, the public sector, the private sector and the government sector. However, at a local level council and government involvement in tourism is rapidly decreasing due to government cut backs, as evidenced by the abolition of the Regional Development Agencies such as Yorkshire Forward in 2012.

Argenti (1997) has identified the five key organisational groups of stakeholders as; investors, customers, employees, suppliers and local residents. These groups are identified in Figure 3 below, which also attempts to illustrate the dyadic relationships between stakeholders, as well as Rowley's more recent explanation of network relationships. What Rowley (1997) is demonstrating here is that the interests of one group of stakeholders should be informed by, or related to, those of another stakeholder group related to the organisation or activity. This is both an important and an interesting point. But only through identification and involvement of these stakeholders can these issues be resolved. Several academics have developed their own typologies of stakeholder groupings (e.g. Donaldson &

Preston, 1995; Sautter & Leisen, 1999; Sheehan & Ritchie, 2005). However, this type of approach fails to recognise the heterogeneous nature of the local community and whilst showing the basic and dyadic relationships between stakeholder groupings, such theories do not recognise that individuals may not be confined to just one of these groups.

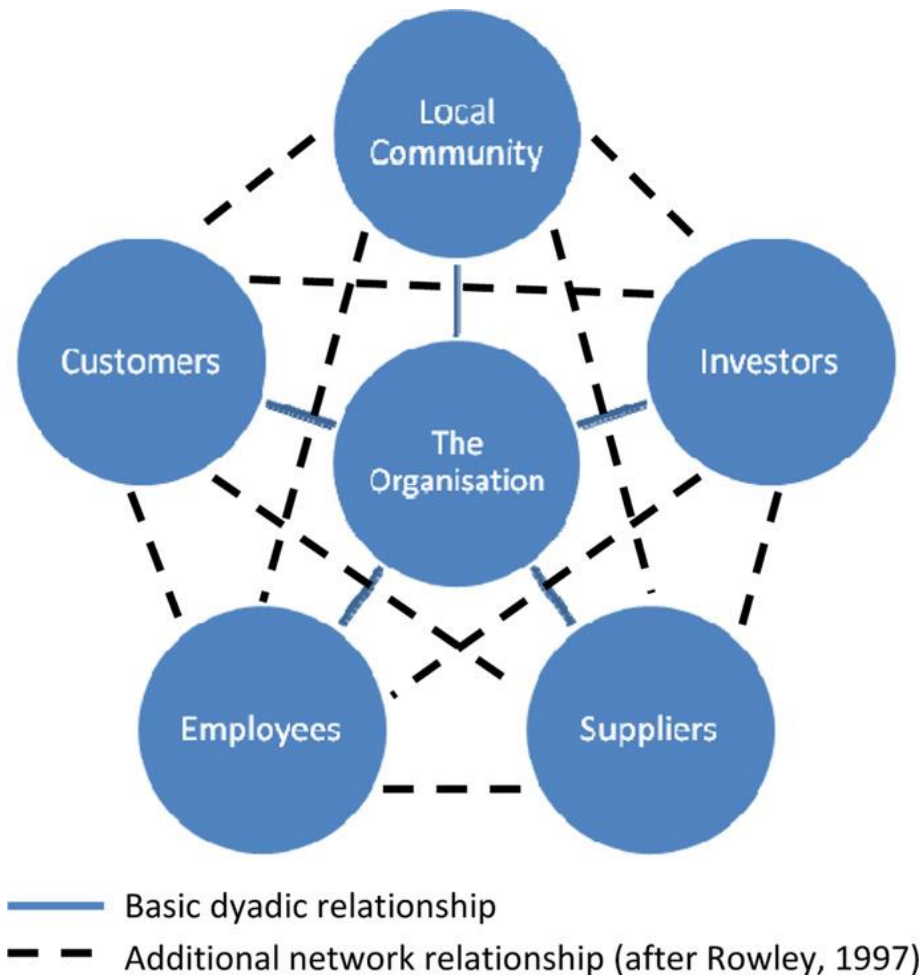


Figure 3: Stakeholder groups and the relationship between them (Garrod et al, 2012)

Further to this, Yigitcanlar (2009) has developed a model of the stakeholders that she believes to be involved specifically in the tourism planning process as shown in Figure 4. This model includes a wider variety of stakeholders including activist groups, local businesses,

competitors, national chains and the tourists themselves. It is argued here that this is a more realistic understanding of the range of people and organisations involved in the tourism process and it is possible that this model could also be transferable to the heritage tourism destination marketing process.

Yigitcanlar's model conceptualises the exchange process between the various stakeholder groups and the tourism planners. However, there is no acknowledgement of exchange between stakeholders, considering them only as independent groups. Exchange of knowledge, ideas, values, beliefs and needs from tourism is of significant value and appears to not have been recognised in this interpretation. This supports an argument of this thesis, that more attention should be focussed on stakeholder dynamics, as interpretations such as this show flaws in understanding which limit the value of the approach.

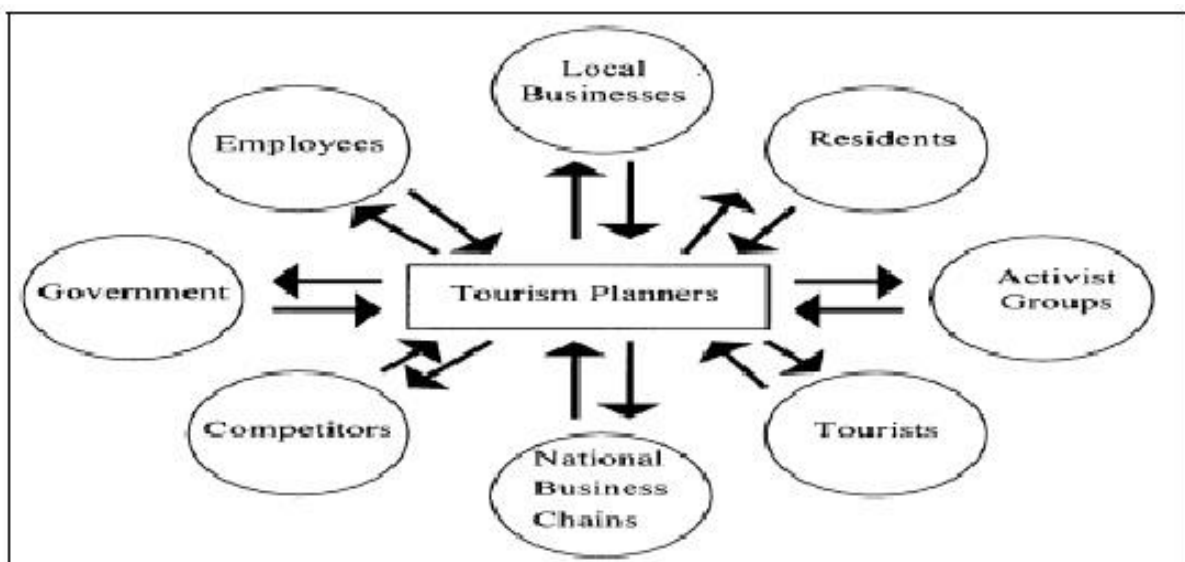


Figure 4: Stakeholders in tourism planning processes (Yigitcanlar, 2009)

When it comes to differentiating further between stakeholder groups, some authors (Carroll, 1989; Clarkson, 1995; and Freeman, 1984) differentiate them as either 'primary' stakeholders or 'secondary' stakeholders. Clarkson (1998, p.106) defines primary stakeholders as those who have a "formal, official or contractual" relationship with the organization. Furthermore, Clarkson (1998) states that a primary stakeholder is someone whose participation in the organisation is needed for survival.

Further, in 1993, Wheeler identified the primary and secondary stakeholder groups perceived by local government tourism marketers in the UK. In a research note Wheeler identified those perceived as primary stakeholders as; the city council, the city council department councillors, their customers (hosts and guests), and professional bodies. Thus, Wheeler noted that these should be the groups or individuals which the marketer feels most accountable to. And those perceived to be secondary stakeholders as: central government, national tourist boards, local businesses, and the environment (Wheeler, 1993, p.356). As such Wheeler deems these groups to be of less importance.

However, others have argued that considering stakeholders as individuals in separate and disparate groupings is counterproductive. Wolfe and Putler (2002) identify that a problem with this approach is that it does not take into consideration the heterogeneous nature of such engagements as many may belong to one or more grouping. This is a reasonable criticism, as pragmatically, individuals may in several ways be part of differing stakeholder groups. This can be seen easily in destination marketing, as an individual may be operationally involved in the destination either working directly in the tourism industry or in

the service sector, but may also reside in the destination. Equally a former resident of the destination may now visit as a tourist, just as someone who commutes to the destination for work may also regularly visit as a tourist. These are just a few of the possible discrepancies that may occur due to the complex nature of heritage tourism destinations. Sheenan and Ritchie (2005, p.714) identify that due to concerns such as these a “more fine-grained approach is required”.

A simple way of identifying a tourism stakeholder could be achieved through what Mitchell et al. (1997) refer to as simply identifying who has a stake. Brenner (1993) and Starik (1994) concur that in order to have stake in something there must be either a claim or an ability to influence. Savage et al. (1991) state that to possess a stake one must have both a claim and an ability to influence. However, if we refer back to Freeman’s original definition of the term stakeholder, this claim is easily rebutted as Freeman argues anyone who is affected is a stakeholder. Further to this it must be questioned whether this stake needs to be prevalent or just possible. When identifying stakeholders in the overall business environment, several theorists such as Ring (1994) have argued that there must be an active relationship present.

However, when considering tourism stakeholders specifically, the concept becomes quite different. Due to the convoluted and heterogeneous nature of the tourism product and the tourism process, there is a much wider range of possible stakeholders, be they active or latent. Mitchell et al. (1997, p.859) refer to “latent” stakeholders as those who do not have a relationship with the company (in this case the destination) but are still classed as stakeholders. In a tourism context this could include those who may have a relationship

with the destination in the long term future or equally those who may be directly involved at the present time due to their own inclination. As Meadows (2012, p.2) recognises “certain stakeholders may simply not have the time, or the inclination, to be involved in any collaborative efforts based around tourism in their community”. However, concerning destinations, latent stakeholders such as this cannot simply ‘opt out’ of involvement with the destination. They may choose of course not to have an active involvement in the tourism planning process for example, but by living and performing in the destination and sharing the tourist space they are still directly involved with the tourism process, and have an undisputable influence on the experience of tourists and the image of the destination.

Indeed, Starik (1994, p.90) claims that stakeholders could be recognised as those who “are or might be influenced by, or are or potentially are influencers”. This definition is specifically relevant in the case of tourism destinations as in order to practise sustainable tourism those who may be involved in the process at some point, even if not currently, must be considered, for the key point of sustainable tourism is developing and managing destinations and sites in a way that is still beneficial for present and future generations.

Thus when negotiating terms of stakeholder legitimacy, power, value, salience and other issues when theorising heritage tourism destination marketing issues further thought is required. It might be suggested that whilst considerations of primary, secondary, latent, obvious and less obvious classifications of stakeholders are at some points valid and appropriate here, a further classification is required. It is proposed here in this thesis, therefore, that when theorising stakeholders involved in heritage tourism destinations, they

can be thought of in terms of 'conscious' and 'unconscious' stakeholders. The conscious stakeholders are defined as those who are knowingly involved in the heritage tourism destination. This may be in an active and obvious way such as being involved in tourism planning or a local community group or working in the tourism or service sector. It may however also be on a smaller scale i.e. someone who may be classified as a secondary stakeholder but whom recognises that they perhaps live, work or occasionally involve themselves in tourist space and accordingly consider their actions.

Conversely, the unconscious stakeholder are those who are not actively involved in tourism in the destination, has little or no inclination to and furthermore is vastly unaware of the implications of their everyday actions within the tourism space. This type of stakeholder is most likely a resident or works in the destination but generally outside of the service sector and tourism related businesses. It is put forward that this further distinction is important because those people who are unconsciously involved, are very important to the process of marketing and branding the heritage tourism destination. Just because they choose not to be involved in or influence the process does not mean that they are not in turn influenced by the process itself. And again referring back to Freeman's 1994 definition of the term stakeholder as well as many other understandings of the definition, these have an influence.

This influence is unconsciously exerted perhaps even on a daily basis. The challenge here is to firstly identify and understand this power and influence and to further attempt to control and manage it in a sustainable way and this is something which the thesis aims to address further. Once stakeholders have been identified, more in depth approaches to stakeholder

theory are prevalent and manifest in the form of not only stakeholder identification but furthermore, stakeholder legitimacy.

There is no agreed definitive understanding of the meaning of stakeholder legitimacy and what it crucially is that legitimises stakeholders and stakeholder groups. Phillips (2003) concurs with this view that theorists do not have a shared understanding of legitimacy. Mitchell et al. (1997, p.1) further suggest that despite the extensive works on stakeholder theory and management there is still no agreement what Freeman (1994, p.411) refers to as “The principle of who or what really counts”. That is, who (or what) are the stakeholders of the firm? And to whom (or what) do managers pay attention? With conceptualisations of both stakeholder identification and legitimacy, it must be questioned what impact stakeholder theorists in the tourism industry have had so far if the foundations of what is to be known about tourism stakeholder remains uncertain.

However, Friedman and Miles (2002) do acknowledge that many stakeholder theorists do understand that just because a group of people consider themselves to be stakeholders, it will not necessarily be the case that the organisation will consider them as stakeholders. This issue is prevalent in heritage tourism destination marketing, as Line and Runyan (2014) state that the responsibility here falls with the destination marketing organisations, which have a role to play in facilitating and stimulating stakeholder interaction and collaboration. Therefore, a key role of the DMO is to identify and legitimise stakeholders appropriately.

3.5 Heritage destination communities

A number of authors recognize that communities are one of the most important and influential stakeholders (Aas et al., 2005; Nuryanti, 1996; Scheyvens, 2003). Hopley and Mahoney (2011, p.39) observe this and state that:

“This is because the essence of a destination brand lies in hearts and minds of local communities, businesses, visitors and other stakeholders, which cannot be so easily shaped and controlled as a logo or publicity campaign”.

Harrison further adds that “such everyday attachments of people to place are at the heart of the contemporary approaches to heritage” (2011, p.96). Many consider the community of a heritage destination to be of utmost importance because, as Crooke (2010) suggests, there is a very natural connection between the concepts of heritage and community and as such they are in essence, difficult to separate. Crooke (2010, p. 25) explains that “the community and heritage connection is one that is considered so natural an affinity that it hardly needs justification or explanation”.

Further, as Easterling (2005, p.55) states; “As key stakeholders in a tourism system, residents’ needs must be identified, considered and subsequently satisfied”. It is recognized that key stakeholders play a crucial role and must be taken into consideration as Bryson et al. (2002) identify, “key stakeholders must be satisfied at least minimally-or policies, organizations, communities and even countries will fail”. These statements reflect a widely

held view that destination communities are important and further hold much value for the destination. However this view has been challenged by some authors, one being Aramberri (2001) who considers tourism to be a simple exchange transaction in which tourists are customers and therefore residents are vendors, entertainers and even servants. Further, Reisinger and Dimanche (2008, p.206) have similar views, stating that:

“Tourists and hosts have different social status, play different roles, and have different goals. Tourists are to be served, whereas hosts are the servers; tourists are at leisure whereas hosts are at work; tourists are motivated by leisure, whereas hosts are motivated by financial gains. As a result, they develop different attitudes and behaviour towards each other”.

This view is taken to be both entirely disparaging and an over simplified view of the stakeholders themselves and further the exchange process which occurs, which will be increasingly analysed further in this chapter.

However, before analysing the appropriate strategies for collaborating with local communities, it must be established who these local communities are and what we mean by the elusive term community. The Community Tourism Guide defines community as “a mutually supportive, geographically specific, social unit such as a village or tribe where people identify themselves as community members and where there is usually some form of communal decision-making” (Mann, 2000, p.18). Yet, the concept of community is a term

that is still thought of as both elusive and vague (Salazar, 2012). Amit and Rapport develop this point by stating that the term community is “too vague, too variable in its applications and definitions to be of much utility as an analytical tool” (2002, p. 13). Accordingly, the loose concept and connections with the term community has developed and changed since the field of study surrounding it began in the nineteenth century, with Waterton and Smith (2011, p.12) claiming that the term community is “continually, used, abused and reused”. However, as this has occurred over time Waterton and Smith (2011) state that the concept of community has never been as powerful as it is today.

It is necessary to reflect upon the concept of community and what this encompasses, as many impact studies observe residents or local communities and express differing definitions of who constitutes a resident or community member and why (Waterton and Smith, 2011). As such, tourism communities are often defined by being those who live in the tourist area or the destination postcode for example. However, Cohen presents an appropriate interpretation of the meaning of the concept of community for the considerations of this particular study:

“Community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of ‘fact’. By extensions, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in the structural forms” (Cohen, 1985, p.98).

Waterton and Smith (2011, p17) support this by asserting that “community should not be pinned to geography alone, as it is a frame of reference or orientation that coalesces around shared interests, common causes or collective experiences.”

Correspondingly, this understanding is reflective of the way this investigation approaches the meaning and interpretation of community. The people defined as community in this study are not necessarily those who reside in a certain area, or commute in for work, or even visit the city a certain number of times per year. Those who have a relationship with the destination and feel a claim towards it as a space of their own, where they enact their lives and, which is part of their story are those whom are of interest for this study. One further area of interest for the study is the relationships and interactions between communities and tourists. There is a need for further studies of the response to tourism from local communities and residents as several researchers have suggested (Chambers, 1997, Teye et al., 2002).

Further, within the UK there has been some consideration of community endorsement and this consideration has presented itself through various policy documents such as ‘Leading Cohesive Communities: The Crucial Role of the New Local performance Framework’ (DCLG, 2007); ‘Regeneration and the Historic Environment: Heritage as a catalyst for Better Social and Economic Regeneration’ (English Heritage, 2005) and ‘From Access to participation: Cultural Policy and Civil Renewal’ (IPPR, 2005). An understanding of the importance of cohesive communities is illustrated well in the Chairperson’s forward in the Leading Cohesive Communities publication as follows:

“The creation of strong, vital and cohesive communities is one of the most important issues that we face[...]councils can help (and as this publication shows, already are helping) to create strong communities, in which the fear of difference can be broken down and everyone feels valued and safe, has an equal place and feels a shared responsibility for their community” (Bruce-Lockhart, 2006, p.4).

Whilst this is encouraging, this publication is almost a decade old and from preliminary investigations it does not appear that since 2006, anything or much has changed and certainly not anything of enough gravitas or significance by which to alter the current consequences that arise from displaced communities. This is likely to be, in part, due to the recession of 2008 in which the focus on communities was shifted due to budget cuts and prioritization of available government and council funding. As the Joseph Rowntree Foundation found in their March 2015 investigation, English local authorities lost 27% of their spending power in the time between 2010 and 2015. Further, the Foundation also found that:

“The general narrative around cuts not undermining frontline services continues to be repeated. This research shows, however, that the public are becoming more aware of the changes in services[...]Although the changes in satisfaction levels are not yet large, in virtually all cases satisfaction has fallen and negative responses have increased. This is also reflected in decreased use of services such as public sports facilities, museums/ galleries and community halls with the public increasingly feeling that these services are inadequate or unavailable” (JRF, 2015, p.8).

However, now in a time of recovery, it is hoped and assumed, arguably optimistically, that more funding will become available for building and maintaining strong communities, giving residents a sense of place, worth and wellbeing. In conjunction with this, Cllr Ian Stephens, Chair of the Local Government Association's Culture, Tourism and Sport Board has recently highlighted the governments' acknowledgement of the need for a committed focus upon fostering tourism in local communities. In Response, in the Culture, Media and Sport Committee report on tourism the councilor stated that:

“Councils have long recognised and supported the value of tourism to local growth, jobs and prosperity and the important part that this has played in the country's financial recovery[...]Local authorities and partners are best placed to know what will help local tourism grow and it is positive that this report has highlighted the need for the Government to better coordinate tourism funding for councils and businesses[...]It is vital that councils have the power and funding locally to support tourism and encourage growth through investing in culture and heritage, hosting major events, ensuring good transport facilities and maintaining clean, safe and attractive public spaces if we want to unlock the potential for further future growth”.

It is imperative therefore that more research is done on local community perspectives and understandings of tourism in order to drive forward this issue in desperate need of further attention. As Watson and Waterton (2011, p.1) recognise; “whatever the context, ‘community heritage’ emerges as something that is inherently valuable, something that must, therefore, be seen as a ‘good thing’”.

3.6 Community perspectives of tourism

The literature analysed here (Chapter 3) has already identified that the unique nature of the tourism product and the marketing and branding processes involved which are both intrinsic and idiosyncratic. It has further been identified that there is the possibility of the presence of a noticeable dissonance and dislocation between the community and commercial perspectives and voices of heritage tourism destinations. And so the investigation now seeks to ascertain the agency of this issue. Does this dissonance between community and commercial voices of tourism have agency? And if so, what is the consequence of this and how does it manifest in heritage tourism destinations around the world.

In order to analyse the dissonance between commercial and community perspectives of heritage destinations, we must first explore current conceptions of community perspectives of tourism and its impacts. Tourism has often been referred to as the “goose that not only lays a golden egg, but also fouls its own nest” (Aramberri, 2001, p.740). As tourism, of course, brings often large scale economic benefits but simultaneously incurs negative consequences, particularly for local communities. This matter of contention is proliferating through the literature with many studies focusing on community and resident perceptions and attitudes towards tourism in recent times (e.g. Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Easterling, 2005; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkisson, 2012; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2011; Yu et al., 2011).

However due to the dynamic and developing nature of the heritage discourse it is argued here that research into resident and community attitudes and perspectives towards tourism requires ongoing investigation if the complex nature of the heritage tourism process is to be better understood.

Many of these findings have identified both the positive and negative impacts of tourism for local communities, and as Howie identifies “these changes will be regarded as positive or negative according to the perception of different stakeholders” (Howie, 2003, p.59). So, reasonably, depending on the individual, views on certain issues will change. One positive impact on which many researchers and industry operatives focus upon is the positive economic impacts of heritage tourism for local communities and the benefits that come with that. As Howie states:

“Increasing numbers of tourists within a historic city center can raise the turnover of local tourism and tourism-related businesses. This economic benefit has to be evaluated against decreasing amenity of the area as perceived by local residents, caused by increasing traffic, loss of local shops providing for daily needs and other change” (Howie, 2003, p.59).

Thus, for local communities there needs to be some understanding and concession. However, evidently, there are many people living in a heritage tourism destination who do not work in the service sector and do not see themselves as financially or economically

benefited by tourism in their local community. Conversely, Eastlinger (2005, p.50) identifies that:

“There remain many residents within a tourism system who are not economically engaged with tourists-but who are highly impacted by them”.

Unsurprisingly, as these individuals do not see themselves as being economically engaged with the tourism process they, despite their unrecognized gains, are those who research has shown are most likely to be displeased with tourism in their local community with the highest negative perceptions. However, it could be suggested that as communities become increasingly involved in tourism they will be more aware of the benefits that tourism brings over and above economic benefits.

3.6.1 Communities and place attachment

Recently the study of place attachment has been of great interest to tourism marketing researchers (Tsai, 2012). However, it is currently considered a wide reaching and multi-dimensional complex and there is yet to be a consensus as to what these dimensions are (Anton and Lawrence, 2014). As such Giuliani and Feldman state that it would be “useful to tighten up on the definition of place attachment while considering it in the broad framework of the multiple affective, cognitive, and behavioral relationships between people and socio-physical environment” (1993, p.273). One of the issues here is that place attachment can refer to both positive and negatives connotations in its definition. A narrow definition of the term is that it is the emotional bond between people and their own environment (Brown and Raymond, 2007 and Jorgenson and Stedman, 2001). However even if an agreed definition is understood it must be remembered that:

“Attachment to places is a multifaceted phenomenon, which probably attains a somewhat different structure in different situations” (Kaltenborn, 1997, p.182).

Generally put, the study of place attachment refers to two constructs, the study of emotional and symbolic attachments to place, and physical or functional attachments to place (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). The more emotional attachments are referred to as place identity, whilst the more functional attachments are referred to as place dependence (Lin and Lockwood, 2014). Overall, studies of place attachment have found that people who are attached to a place are more inclined to be protective of that place (Vaske and Kobrin, 2001).

Furthermore, it has also been implied that people become attached to a place the more that they interact with it (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2002; Moore and Graefe, 1994). In accordance with this, Tuan (1977) and Relph (1976) also found that regardless of age, people who have lived in a place for longer are more inclined to have stronger place attachment, having stronger connections with both the physical aspects of the place as well as better relationships and connections with other people there. More recently Stedman (2002) reached opposing conclusions, finding that there was no correlation between the amount of time that a person has spent in a place and attachment to that place.

3.6.2 Communities and place identity

Place identity has long been studied by humanistic geographers and was first conceptualized by Relph in his 1976 investigation of “place and placefulness”. Relph’s examination of the notion of a relationship with place focused upon the integral role that place plays in the human experience. This is very much reflected in Relph’s definition of the very essence of place:

“The essence of place lies in the largely unselfconscious intentionality that defines places as centers of human existence. There is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of the places where we were born and grew up, where we live now, or where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security” (1976, p.43).

Place identity is defined by Proshansky et al. (1983, p.59) as:

“A sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives. These cognitions represent memories, ideas, feelings, attitudes, values, preferences, meanings, and conceptions of behaviour and experience which relate to the variety and complexity of the physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being”.

Being a component of the self-concept it is clear to see how deeply rooted and intrinsic people's place identity can be. What Proshansky et al. (1983) are identifying here is that our own relationship with and identity of the places at the centre of our lives have far bigger meaning and impact than is currently conceptualized by many people. The importance of place identity is further exemplified by Freid who states that:

“A sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning. It represents a phenomenal or ideological integration of important experiences concerning environmental arrangement and contacts in relation to the individual's conception of his own body in space” (1964, p.365).

Proshansky et al. additionally concur with this viewpoint, conveying the gravitas of place identity and linking it to the understanding of the self-concept. Proshansky et al. claim that the connections and attachments that we have to the places where we live help us to define who and what we are, this could be through attachments to our own house or home or in the wider context to our local community and neighbourhood (1983). This is further supported by Cuba and Hummon (1993) who identify that by answering the question 'who am I?' you must first answer the question 'where am I?', and this is negotiated by this sense of the self.

It has to be asked then, what are the ramifications upon an individual's place identity and self-construct when they feel displaced? This issue was addressed in 1964 by Fried in his study "Grieving for a lost home: Psychological costs of relocation" who found that when

people undergo loss of place, the feelings that they display are so strong that they are tantamount to feelings of grief. He stated that "At their most extreme, these reactions of grief are intense, deeply felt, and, at times, overwhelming" (Fried, 1964, p.360). This was however a study of the physical relocation of people away from the urban slums.

However, the feelings of grief and upset demonstrated were due to the dislocation and loss of sense of place. Therefore it would not be far removed to suggest here that feelings of a similar nature though to a lesser extent may arise from the emotional distress felt when people feel emotionally and physiologically detached from their environment and community. Such dislocation can occur from the development and commodification of heritage sites into heritage tourism destinations as people lose a sense of place and a feeling of ownership over their surrounding environment. These feelings of dislocation have been studied as a result of physical changes within a destination through tourism development. But not as a result of more affective and cognitive changes such as changing destination brand identify and brand image and therefore that is one area that this study will address.

3.6.3 Communities and place dependence

The concept of place dependence explores how dependent residents are upon that place for fulfillment of their goals, aims and desires, it also refers to the opportunities provided to residents for involvement in activities (Stokols and Shumaker 1981).

There are two components to place dependence as identified by Stokols and Shumaker (1981). Firstly, the overall quality of the place including factors such as the availability of social and physical resources is an important dimension. The physical resources of a place are regarded as crucial elements which contribute to the overall understanding of the self and one's self concept Proshansky et al. (1983). This is further supported by Stedman (2003) whose findings identified that the surrounding environment and its physical aspects directly affect people's sense of place.

Secondly, people will also take into consideration how the place compares to other places. There has been some research looking at how people find that the places to which they are attached compare to other places and how the notion of comparison plays a part in place attachment (Lalli, 1992; Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). However, of particular interest to this thesis is the study of community identity by Puddifoot (1995) which evaluated the quality of the community itself. The way in which the community is viewed and valued, and how this contributes to place will be analysed further within this thesis as it is argued here that the value and quality of heritage tourism destination communities is often undervalued. However, by tapping into the value held by the destination community and

harnessing this there is much to be gained for the development of a heritage destination brand.

3.7 Community and tourist interactions

Local communities may be negatively impacted by the behaviour of visitors. Anecdotal evidence provides examples such as visitors trespassing on private property or parking their cars thoughtlessly (English Tourist Board, 1991). Visitors might also act in ways that meet with the disapproval of local residents, such as behaviour associated with the overconsumption of alcohol or taking photographs of them or their property without permission (Garrod, 2008). Visitors may also add to traffic congestion in the local area, for example when tourist coaches load and unload passengers (Curtis, 1998). Local people may increasingly feel besieged by visitors or that they no longer have ownership or control over their neighbourhood (English Tourist Board, 1991).

The potential also exists for impacts to run in the opposite direction, i.e. for the visitor satisfaction to be affected adversely by the behaviour of local residents. This could take the form of open hostility towards visitors, for example deliberate unfriendly behaviour or rudeness, or it might simply take the form of disinterest towards visitors and neglect of their needs (Fyall et al., 2002). Any such behaviour is also likely to result in adverse media coverage, which may have further knock-on impacts in terms of the demand for visits to the attraction. (Garrod et al, 2012, p.1164). This is an increasing concern as the growing use of the internet, in particular social media sites; tourists can rapidly respond and share their negative perceptions of a destination with millions of people instantly.

3.8 Theoretical approaches to understanding heritage communities

This coming section makes no pretension to exhaustively survey all of the existing theories utilised to understand tourism destination stakeholders. Moreover, its premise is to analyse only the most prominent theories which may contain elements suitable to the development of an increasingly forward looking theory to explain the situation and circumstances as presented by this thesis.

It has been affirmed that there remains a dissonance or a disjoint of understanding between the community and commercial understandings and interpretations of heritage tourism destinations. Further, it has been argued and evidenced that this dissonance manifests itself in several varied ways, be they spatial, temporal, tangible or intangible.

What is of importance now is to proceed to a selection of appropriate theoretical perspectives for insight into how we can further explain the manifestations of this disjointed understanding of destinations. Many researchers throughout the past several decades have sought to further understand community perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism through applications of varying theoretical perspectives. At this point these various perspectives will be re-examined to identify any application that they may have for this study.

Equity theory (Adams, 1963) which focused on the need of a balance between inputs and outputs has been utilised to interpret the relationship between tourism communities and the action of tourism itself. Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991) applied Equity Theory in their investigation of host attitudes towards tourism development. Their findings demonstrated that the attitudes of tourism communities are applicable to Adams' (1963) initial theory, showing that those community attitudes adhere to classic equity equations of costs vs. benefits. Their research showed that residents would view tourism development in their community as equitable only when their own perceptions of positive consequences outweighed the consequences that they deemed as negative. This appears a fairly self-evident finding; in most situations in life people will only feel positive towards a situation if they feel that the positive outcomes outweigh the negative outcomes.

However, when applied to tourism this theory can be criticised as being over simplistic and does not take into account the variety of stakeholders included within the community or classed as 'residents'. One simple example being that those who see more economic benefits from tourism i.e. work in the service industry will view the positive outcomes of tourism in their community as stronger than those who do not (Glasson,1994; Husbands, 1989; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Madrigal, 1993; Perdue et al., 1990; Pizam, 1978).This is one of many possible scenarios which demonstrate that this approach does not take into consideration the heterogeneous nature of the communities of tourism destinations, whose perceptions and gravitas of positive and negative consequence of tourism in their community may vary extensively. Therefore Equity Theory can be seen as taking a universal

approach to the study of communities involved in tourism development and activity and thus a more considerate approach is required.

Growth machine theory, developed by Molotch in 1976 and further elaborated in the study of 1987 by Logan and Molotoch, theorises that the city is an engine of growth and is one which operates to the advantages of certain land-based elites. This theory was applied to tourism by Martin, McGuire and Allen in 1998. Their investigation found supported Molotoch's original theory. The study showed that only certain stakeholders of the destination will back growth in the hopes of furthering their own personal economic returns. Further, and of particular interest to this study, they found that a degree of consensus is required between communities and tourism developers in order for tourism developments to be viewed as successful.

Much use has been made of lifecycle theories to explain various tourism processes. However the most well-known lifecycle theory on how host communities and tourists interact is Doxey's Irridex or Doxey's "Irritation Index". Doxey's Irritation Index (Doxey, 1975) shown in figure 5 below, explains how the social relationships between tourists and the host community develop and evolves over time as the local area matures through the stages of tourism destination development. Doxey characterises tourist-host relationships in four key phases.



Figure 5: The tourist-host relationships in four key phases (Adopted from Doxey, 1975)

The first stage named Euphoria is when there is little to no tourist activity. Because of this the host community is very welcoming to tourists and interested in them when they appear and there is a general excitement about the tourists' presence. At this stage the tourists make minimal negative impact and the little economic impact that they make gets the host population excited about new possibilities. This warm welcome and inviting atmosphere makes for a very enjoyable trip and ultimately leads to positive word of mouth about the destination as visitors tell their friends, family and neighbours about their lovely trip upon their arrival home. Howie (2003) states that this may inspire others to also visit this new, unspoiled destination where the locals are hospitable.

This new surge of visitors inevitably leads to the Apathy stage. The number of tourists has increased at this stage and the initial excitement from the host community has waned. There are not yet negative feelings towards tourists but residents feel unsure of how to act towards them as things become more formalised between the resident population and the ever growing tourist population. The tourists are not made to feel as welcome as the residents have become accustomed to their presence and take them for granted. As things become more formal, planning for tourism increases, and the marketing of the destination is a priority.

As the destination grows as a formal tourism destination residents begin to wonder whether tourism is a 'good thing' for their city. Residents raise concerns over the negative aspects of tourism such as crime, overcrowding, rising prices and the rudeness of tourists. Saturation is reached with tourist numbers being at their maximum level however those in charge of managing and planning will continue to develop and plan for growth of the destination.

Finally the Antagonism stage will be reached. At this stage the residents have had enough and openly express their grievances with the presence of tourists and the negative aspects that they bring to the destination. Overall the theory simply states that positive feelings towards tourists decreases as the number of tourists increases. The theory is still widely used and studied to this day however is in need of updating. If we consider the destination life cycle (Butler, 1980) an often cited model which is more recent than Doxeys' irritation index we can see that as destinations reach stagnation they can rejuvenate, stagnate or decline. Doxeys' model does not go so far as this, leaving the question of what happens

next. What happens when destinations reach their maximum tourist capacity and residents are incensed or indeed infuriated with the situation?

A further criticism of lifecycle theory, both of the Irridex and of TALC, is that one community is not homogeneous but is heterogeneous. Any given community will consist of residents who are heterogeneous in terms of their views tourism, visitors and tourism impacts. These factors can be divided into internal and external factors and will influence their perceptions individually. The former for example may be the degree of development in their place of residence as a tourism destination. The latter may include influences regarding their employment. These issues will increase or change throughout the growth of a heritage destination into a heritage tourism destination, however the effects that they will have on the individuals and individuals perceptions of this will be different.

Power theory has been applied to tourism in order to explain the attitudes of residents towards tourism development. Power is naturally a central issue to the study of tourism, as Foucault (1978, pp.92-93) notes:

“Power is everywhere not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere[...]it is produced from one moment to the next, at the very point, or rather in every relation from one point to another”.

Kayat applied Power theory in 2002 and found that ‘personal power’ which is based upon the individuals’ property, money, skills, knowledge and competence affects one’s ability to

exploit exchanges. Interestingly Kayat found that although both 'power' and 'no power' residents may be financially dependent on tourism, 'no power' residents were more favourable towards tourism development. Issues of power and control have been prevalent in the study of tourism within recent decades, and particularly so in the study of heritage tourism as so many varying stakeholders are involved and vie for power and control over the objects and areas of heritage.

However the study was not entirely conclusive as it found that power does not have a direct effect as Kayat concluded; "power has an effect on the evaluation of impacts but it does not appear to be a direct effect. Residents' general values (about religion, culture, equity, resources and the environment), their dependence on tourism, and their ability and willingness to adapt seem to have more direct influence on the evaluation of impacts than power" Kayat (2002, p.188). However, as crucial as power is the theory alone is insufficient for gaining a comprehensive understanding of any given community. As Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2012) identify it is important not to place too much emphasis solely on power, understanding that this may be a dangerous method as then findings will be interpreted within the reductionist framework of power which has been established.

Social exchange theory is the most commonly applied theory when analysing resident and community attitudes and perceptions of tourism and has been widely used by many authors (Ap, 1992; Chen & Raab, 2009; Choi & Murray, 2010; Deccio and Baloglu, 2002; Getz, 1994; Jurowski, Uysal and William, 1997; Kayat, 2002; Long, Perdue and Allen, 1990; Nunkoo, Gursoy & Juwaheer, 2010; Sirakaya, Teye and Sönmez, 2002 are some notable examples).

Social exchange theory is described by Ap (1992, p.668) as “a general sociological theory concerned with understanding the exchange of resources between individuals and groups in an interaction situation”.

The theory of social exchange was adapted for the study of the social psychology of groups by Thibaut and Kelley in 1959. The application of the theory to tourism processes has aided understanding of issues both from individual and community perspectives (Ward and Berno, 2011). Easterling (2005) explains its application in tourism broadly as follows; “The theory refers to voluntary actions that are motivated by expected returns. That is, individuals or groups will engage in an exchange if the value that which is being exchanged perceives that costs do not exceed benefits and that the exchange will be rewarding”.

According to social exchange theory, residents will engage in exchanges with tourists, as long as they “profit”- as long as benefits exceed costs”. Fredline & Faulkner (2000) claim that social exchange theory can be seen to be the most important theoretical contribution to the understanding of resident attitudes towards tourism. However, despite the obvious uses of social exchange theory in this field of study, some issues remain unaccounted for. As Easterling identifies “One problem in the application of the theory, however, is that residents vary in the degree to which they benefit and/or bear the costs of tourism development.

Integrated threat theory attempts to explain feelings of threat and competition in predicting attitudes. Integrated threat theory identifies that there may be four different classifications of threat present, these are classified as: realistic threat, symbolic threat, native stereotypes and intergroup anxiety (Stephan & Stephan, 1996, 2000). The application of integrated threat theory within tourism has been limited and the theory is often overlooked (Ward and Berno, 2011).

However, each of the four threats are prevalent within tourism and it addresses some of the key issues surrounding destination communities. Realistic threats include things of a social, economic or political nature whereas symbolic threats may be to do with beliefs, values and attitudes. Berno (1999, 2003) has identified that there is a direct link between the sociocultural impacts of tourism presented here and feelings of threat. The issues categorised as realistic and symbolic threats have already been established within the field of tourism when investigating issues including cultural commercialisation, shifting family values, sexualisation, cost of living and environmental degradation (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Pérez & Nadal, 2005; Teye et al., 2002).

The threat of negative stereotypes is prevalent in tourism studies as residents can often have preconceptions or stereotypes of tourists coming into their community. This is more likely to be the case in developing countries where visitors are stereotyped as rich westerners and are often envied and misunderstood by the host population and the issue of negative stereotyping has been analysed within tourism research (Brewer and Miller, 1984; Pizam & Sussman, 1995; Reisinger & Turner, 2003).

Finally, the threat of intergroup anxiety has been overlooked within the tourism literature (Ward and Berno, 2011). However, it can be seen as a relevant threat within the study of destination communities as it has been shown that people often feel threatened by intercultural interactions for a variety of reasons (Stephan & Stephan, 1985).

With regard to the previous studies that are analysed here, the range of theoretical approaches that have been used to survey and analyse the complex topic of the perceptions and attitudes of local communities is broad. There has been a diverse application of theoretical bases within this field however some omissions still remain. One issue of note is that when explaining the perspectives and impacts of tourism, these theories appear to attribute the situation to either the socio-economic status or situation of the residents themselves, i.e. stating that residents only feel such a way due to their lack of economic involvement or their proximity to the destination. Or they attribute the issues to the tourists coming into the destination, i.e. the threat that the tourists pose or the quantity of tourists coming in.

Hence, essentially, the stakeholders themselves, as either groups or individuals are branded as the inducers of issues of contention within heritage tourism destination. In correspondence to these theorists, this thesis seeks to examine whether the issue of contention does not lie in these groups of stakeholders themselves, but in the dissonance and sense of acute disconnect between the various stakeholder groups and their interpretations of heritage tourism destinations.

3.9 The community voice of the destination

With today's tourism marketing being heavily focused upon conveying a positive image to prospective consumers (Ahmed, 1991) it must be recognised that the residents of the destination play a part in this image and the destination brand as a whole. A destination brand can be seen as a consistent group of characters, images or emotions which consumers recall when they think of the destination (Simeon, 2006). As such, human encounters must be included as a facet of the destination brand. This level of human encounter refers to the "Mentifacts" or attitudes and behaviours of the hosting community (Snaith and Haley, 1999, p. 597).

Further, negative relationships between residents and tourists can lead to a low perception of the destination which can in turn lead to negative word-of-mouth and decreased brand loyalty. This is incremental to the marketing process with tourist's interpretations of the destination having direct effects upon the decisions of prospective tourists. As aforementioned word-of-mouth is increasingly having ramifications upon destinations with the increased usage of the Internet. Consumers can now easily acquire access to online reviews of and opinions on prospective holiday destinations. Netnography has affirmed this with an AC Nielson survey of Internet users from 47 markets finding that 78 percent of consumers felt recommendations from other consumers were most trustworthy (Nielson, 2015).

Clearly, if the image of the destination held by previous visitors conflicts with the image the brand portrays in the market problems will occur. Therefore ultimately it can be seen that the success or failure of any tourism destination lies within the power of local brokers and residents, an observation (Cheong and Miller, 2000). These findings demonstrate the level of impact these stakeholders have upon a heritage tourism destination, which must be taken into account toward the achievement of destination branding success.

3.10 Conclusions

The core purpose of this chapter has been to present evidence to support the argument that the heritage destination stakeholders have their own differing agendas concerning heritage tourism destinations. These disparate groups each have their own value to add to the destination, but they are not being given enough consideration.

The chapter first critically explored the theory of stakeholders and stakeholder dynamics. This was done in order to identify and legitimise the key stakeholders within heritage tourism destinations. It was from this analysis of the literature that the community and commercial divide was recognised and as such stakeholders will be viewed in categories of 'commercial' or 'community' throughout this thesis. It was felt necessary to divide the stakeholders in such a way due to issues of power, value, legitimacy and involvement. Several classifications of stakeholders working in different sectors and involved in different ways can thus be included in the study and analysed as to what contribution they have to the heritage tourism destinations investigated here.

Secondly, the chapter focused upon the prevailing meanings and understandings of community. The term community is fairly elusive and so certain parameters needed to be identified for methodological and ideological transparency. Coming from an interpretivist perspective, the nature of community to be considered within this study is defined by

feeling or attachment to a place rather than by definitions which are physically or economically bound.

Leading on from this the chapter explored the current conceptualisation and contributions of what it means to be part of a heritage destination community, from both an inward and outward looking focus. From an inward perspective this translated into analysing how it feels and what it looks like to be part of a heritage tourism destination community; what issues people deal with day to day and the struggles that they have to make an active contribution to the telling of their past.

Further, from an outward perspective, the analysis focused upon the critical voice held by heritage tourism destination communities. It is important here to focus upon the contribution that these communities can have, and the effect that heritage communities have upon the visitor experience and thus the destination image and identity, as this is shaped in the experiences that people have whilst at the destination and the stories that they hear of others experiences.

From what has been analysed here this thesis argues that a key point at which the needs and perspectives of the local community are disregarded is in the marketing and branding processes at heritage tourism destinations. By invalidating the voices and perspectives of the community on their own space, the divide between the community and commercial stakeholders intensifies. It is therefore imperative that the views of the community and their perceptions of the destination are included and their voices are heard.

Further, it is also vital to increase understanding of the value that the community has. The importance this cannot be undervalued when considering the marketing and development of heritage tourism destinations. And the recognition of this value and what stakeholders contribute to and the control that they have over the destination brand has been explored within the literature.

Accordingly, this thesis endeavours to explore this issue from a different angle. As such, this thesis proposes that rather than simply observing the stakeholders' actions and feelings, we need to look further at why the stakeholders feel and act this way. This is often linked to the attributes of the stakeholders themselves. However from analysis of the literature, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the issues do not lie with the attributes of the stakeholder groups, but more in the dissonance between them. Specifically this thesis suggests that there is a sense of disjoint between various stakeholder groups concerning how they perceive and value their respective heritage tourism destinations.

Further, it will be argued that this dissonance has agency, and this manifests in such a way that is harmful to the marketing and branding of heritage tourism destinations. Simply put, the community and commercial understandings and perceptions of a heritage tourism destination differ. This difference is what it is argued is the cause of contention. Destinations need to be represented in a clear and concise way, taking into account the views of community stakeholders.

From these findings three central arguments have emerged. These key themes are to be taken forward through the process of this research investigation and will be used as theoretical drivers to inform the study. These theoretical drivers are presented below in Figure 6.

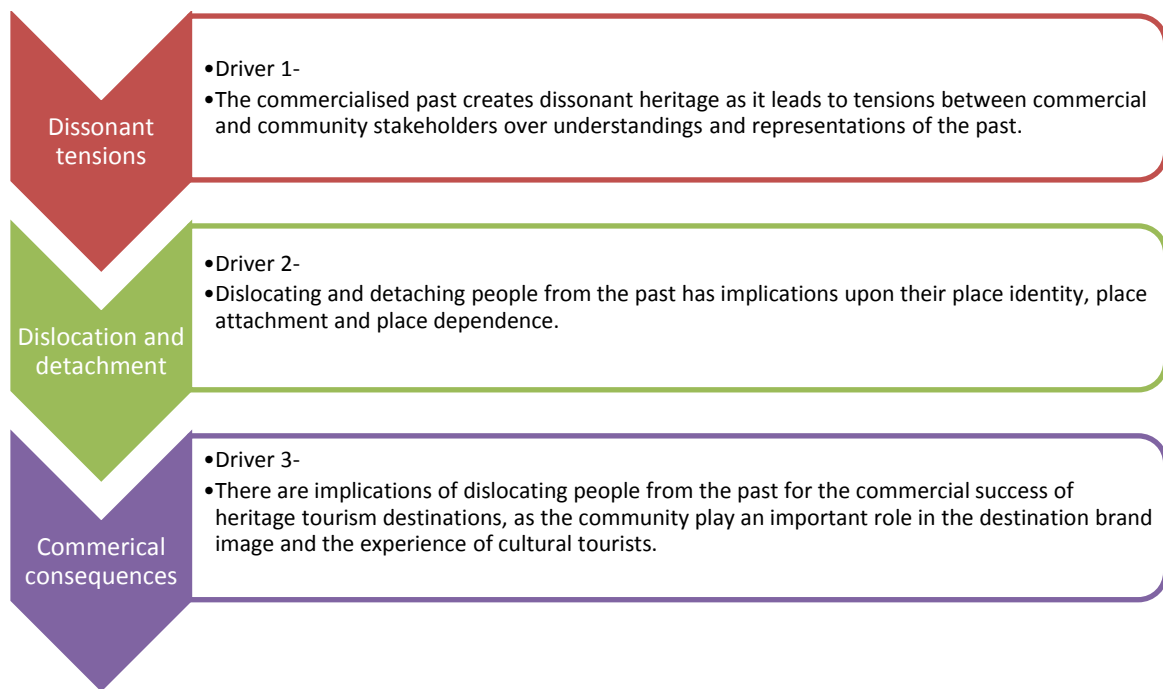


Figure 6: Theoretical drivers emerging from the tourism stakeholder literature

Following this the next chapter will explore the formal commercial voice of the destination and will analyse how heritage tourism destinations are commodified and represented as products and the effects and consequences of this for both the destinations and the people who experience them.

Chapter 4- Understanding commercial representations of heritage

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the marketing processes that commercialise heritage tourism destinations and the various approaches taken. A particular concern of this thesis is the potential impact of the agency that arises from the dissonance between the destination brand image in the minds of the community and the commercial agencies. In order to follow this line of enquiry it is necessary to revisit the founding principles and processes involved in marketing destinations. This will reveal much about how and why heritage destinations are represented, consumed and sold in the way that they are currently. From this the thesis will then explore the alternative voices at the heart of the destination and it can be identified where and why there may be a sense of disconnect between the voices of heritage and culture.

The ways in which products are traditionally marketed will be identified and applied to the marketing of heritage tourism destinations. The heritage attractions are often referred to as products and the reasons surrounding this and the implications of it will be analysed. This will be carried out in order to understand the theoretical realities that occur throughout the marketing process.

4.2 Marketing defined

Traditionally, marketing was regarded as a simple yet effective method of “telling and selling” but in more recent years marketing has developed into a fine art and science that is additionally concerned with customer satisfaction, retention and relationships (Cant et al., 2006). The Chartered Institute of Marketing defined marketing in 1976 as follows:

“Marketing is the management process responsible for identifying, anticipating and satisfying customer requirements profitably” (CIPD report, Shape the agenda, 2007).

However, after retaining the same definition for over thirty years it was recognised that it required refinement, the concept had grown through research and knowledge growth and as a result of this the aforementioned definition was considered out-dated and notably lacked consideration of society and the environment. As such the Chartered Institute of Marketing state that; “In the fast-moving world of business, definitions rarely stay the same” (CIM online, 2011). The Chartered Institute of Marketing have now offered the following more recent definition of marketing:

“Marketing is the strategic business function that creates value by stimulating, facilitating and fulfilling customer demand. It does this by building brands, nurturing innovation, developing relationships, creating good customer service and communicating benefits. With a customer-centric view, marketing brings positive return on investment, satisfies shareholders and stakeholders from business and the

community, and contributes to positive behavioural change and a sustainable business future” (CIPD report, Shape the agenda, 2007).

This new expanded definition, gives a clear impression that marketing today is much more customer oriented, as many academics additionally recognise. Ho and McKercher (2007, p.179) agree with this attitude stating that:

“Very often the term ‘marketing’ is to increasing visitation, promotion and sales maximization, which in fact is about adopting a customer-focused management tool that can be used to achieve organizational goals, whether financial or non-financial, by matching demand with resources”.

These elements of the marketing process assimilate with the elements of the tourism process in which the experience likewise is dependent on relationships as Wall and Mathieson illustrate:

“Tourism has been defined as the sum of the relationships arising out of the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes” (Wall and Mathieson, 2005).

4.3 Marketing tourism

One of the many issues that arises from the commodification, and transformation of objects and elements of history for modern purposes is the notion of the value of heritage tourism. Not only are the objects and elements themselves selected by those who tightly control and manage the industry, communicating what they think we should or should not know about the past and its various intricacies. But furthermore the value in both the tangible and intangible elements of the past are also selected and presented, for of course the mere tourist, culturally consumed or otherwise has no business in identifying and interpreting the elements of value for themselves. Not only have the objects and activities themselves been conscripted for the tourist, but also has the value within them. This is unsurprising considering that the concept of marketing itself in its very nature, selects and communicates notions of value. As the American Marketing Association identify in their succinct definition of the field:

“Marketing is the activity, set of institutions, and processes for creating, communicating, delivering, and exchanging offerings that have value for customers, clients, partners, and society at large” (AMA online, 2013).

So if the marketing of heritage tourism is what is responsible for creating, communicating, delivering and exchanging the elements of heritage value then certainly the ways in which these processes occur requires further attention in the field. Much emphasis has undoubtedly been placed upon the selection and commodification of heritage throughout time through the works of Lowenthal, MacCannell, Urry and Watson among a lengthy list of

researchers, however much of the focus here has been on the initial selection of the objects and the custodians that select them. But what of what happens next? Once these objects have been selected and commodified for modern day purposes we must look more closely at how they are marketed to tourists and what messages they hold and why. What is to be analysed here is the repertoire of discerning formation and demonstration that surrounds the heritage discourse and the selections and representations of value projected to the world.

4.4 Heritage objects as heritage products

Kotler (1997) demonstrates that within a marketing based context a product can be defined as anything which is offered to consumers for attention, acquisition, use or consumption which may satisfy a need or want (Kotler, 1997, p.9). Similarly Ho and Mc Kercher (2007) state “anything that satisfies ones need can be termed a product”. It may appear overly commercial to refer to tourism assets as products but Shackley (2000) confirms that this is in fact an accurate description of the tourism marketing process. Furthermore it would seem that the concept of tourism assets manifesting into products is not a new idea. Hewison (1988, p.240) stated over two decades ago:

“We already have a changed language in which we talk about the arts. We no longer discuss them as expressions of imagination and creativity, we talk about “product”; we are no longer moved by the experiences the arts have to offer, we “consume” them. Culture has become a commodity”.

In this way, with tourism assets being referred to as products it is reasonable to question what exactly the product is. Medlik and Middleton (1973) understand the entire tourist experience undergone by the consumer from the moment they leave their home until the moment in which they return to it encapsulates the tourist product (Medlik and Middleton, 1973). This understanding substantiates definitions of the product as the satisfaction gained, in this sense the tourism product is about the experience and not the tangible tourism assets. Hitchcock (1999) points out that ‘it is not the collections in museums that are traded, but the experience’. Here lies the key characteristic that differentiates the

marketing of tourism from that of other products, it is the experience which is the product to be sold and this creates challenges. As an experience the tourism product can be seen to be a service product. As such McCabe (2009, pp.9-11) illustrates that the tourism experience, being a form of service, is additionally affected by the following factors to varying degrees:

“Intangibility- being an intangible service it is impossible for the consumer to be able to experience that exact service prior to purchase

Perishability- Services are also said to be *perishable* since they cannot be stored or stockpiled to be sold on at a later date (a six night Mediterranean cruise leaving Athens on 14 August cannot be sold after that date). This factor puts a strategic emphasis on the role of price-setting in the marketing mix.

Inseparability- refers to the fact that it is not possible to separate the point of production of the service from the point at which they are consumed. It means there is a great emphasis on the role of people in the service encounter.

Heterogeneity- refers to the fact that it is very difficult to replicate the same experience for different people within the same service environment and to replicate the same experience at different times”.

As McCabe, amongst others, has identified, the tourism experience is intangible as are many aspects within the experience. Mittal and Baker (2002) identify the four key challenges which marketers face when dealing with intangible products, McCabe (2009, p.11) recognises and explains these challenges:

1. *“Abstractness*, difficulties in communication of abstract concepts of the services- such as ‘a good night’s rest’.
2. *Generality*, difficulties in conveying distinctions between one organisation’s service offer, such as ‘cabin service’ from another.
3. *Non-searchability*, the fact that customers cannot search the credentials of the organisation or test the service prior to purchase, meaning they have to be taken on trust.
4. *Impalpability*, refers to the problem of being able to imagine the physical experience and thus a need to convey an understanding and interpretation of the service in communications”.

Over and above these challenges and issues it must be recognised that when marketing tourism destinations there is much competition for consumers as Balakrishnan (2009, p.611) affirms; “Competition is fierce with 194 nations clamouring for a share of the tourist’s heart, mind and wallet”. Balakrishnan (2009) continues to explain that one of the ways in which destinations can attract more consumers is by differentiating themselves from competing destinations through basing their marketing campaign upon the destination’s unique characteristics.

Often, the key assets and originality within a destination lie within its individual culture and heritage and as such many tourism destinations are turning to heritage tourism in the fight for the tourist’s attention. In this way and for the aforementioned reasons the heritage

product has become a tool for destination differentiation. Destinations and attractions highlight and convey to the public what they see as valuable elements of heritage in order to attract visitors because the focus is on driving visitor numbers, or attracting a high spending visitor, as Rowan and Baram (2004) recognise, heritage is simply a marketable product, and this product is driven by capitalist tendencies. Although the popularisation of heritage for capital gain has some derivable benefits what is to be looked at in this chapter is what has been lost along the way and how this affects the heritage discourse throughout time.

4.5 Framing Heritage Tourism

It is necessary at this point to identify what exactly is marketed to the masses as heritage tourism and what this comprises. Timothy and Boyd (2006, p.1) state that:

“Heritage tourism, which typically falls under the purview of cultural tourism (and vice versa), is one of the most notable and widespread types of tourism and is among the very oldest forms of travel”.

There is much debate as to whether cultural and heritage tourism are two separate entities or one and the same. Many authors are in dispute surrounding the extent to which the two types of tourism assimilate. Turnpenny (2004) illustrates a clear separation between the notions of heritage tourism and cultural tourism stating that:

“It is evident that traditional definitions and management of cultural heritage within England are inadequate on their own in that they are based on an unreal separation of intangible heritage and associated values from the fabric of material culture” (Turnpenny, 2004, p.303).

Howard (2003) additionally recognises where the separation lies in that culture is more concerned with the arts whereas heritage is more synonymous with the occurrences of everyday life throughout time. The National Trust for Historic Preservation also recognises

this and adds that heritage and heritage tourism is mostly related to the past and history whereas many elements of culture and cultural tourism can be more modern yet with roots in the past. Furthermore they continue to state that:

“The primary difference between the two is that heritage tourism is “place” based. Heritage tourism programs create a sense of place rooted in the local landscape, architecture, people, artefacts, traditions and stories that make a particular place unique. Cultural tourism programs celebrate the same kinds of experiences, though with less emphasis on place” (The National Trust For Historic Preservation Online, 2011).

The trust concludes that although heritage and cultural tourism have many different elements. As such, generally heritage and culture tourism are marketed to consumer segments as one package, sometimes referred to as cultural heritage tourism but often simply referred to as cultural or heritage tourism with it being implied that aspects of both will manifest. Throughout this study heritage tourism and cultural tourism will be examined as one synonymous niche tourism market referred to as heritage tourism. Currently this is the most popular form of tourism, as Misiura (2006, p.42) recognises:

“With increased national and local government backing, there has never been a better time to engage in heritage marketing, both for quantitative and qualitative reasons, in order to generate a surplus or make a profit”.

4.6 The search for heritage value

The relentless search for the value in the past by those who manage and market heritage tourism is tightly controlled (Misiura, 2006). However the consumer, here the cultural tourist, may not necessarily accept and understand the value in the heritage objects put before them. Howard (2003) has identified a clear problem that exists with heritage:

“Heritage is clearly a problem, and becomes so as soon as different people attach different values to it. These value differences are largely responsible for the major issues in the heritage field” (2003, p.211)

Howard uses the thoughtful metaphor of a heritage tourist being akin to a customer at an optician’s practice. The customer is trying on many different types of lenses, and dependent upon issues intrinsic to them, the lenses will show them a different picture of what they are looking at and will show it to them in a different way. What Howard is saying here is that heritage tourists each themselves have a range of ‘lenses’ which affect how they view the heritage product and what value they take from it. In this way Howard states, “Some of the lenses that we have in considering our heritage values include nationality, gender, ethnicity, class, religion, poverty, insiderness, expertise and age” (2003, p.213). These intricacies in interpretation of the heritage product naturally lead to an examination of how these various ‘lenses’ are concerned in the segmentation and targeting process surround the heritage tourism product.

4.7 The selective process of heritage tourism segmentation

Misiura (2010, p.79) defines market segmentation as:

“The process of dividing a total market (or sub-market) ...in order to create one or more homogeneous groups or segments that can be targeted effectively, based on the accessibility of these customers and the resources of the organization”.

Hudson (2008) recognises that no destination marketer would wish to attract or appeal to the entire market. Therefore marketers have developed further methods related to demographic segmentation, which give increasingly accurate results. One such method of demographic segmentation is geodemographic segmentation. Bowen (1998, p.289) recognises the PRIZM method that identifies segments based upon profiles of various zip or postal codes. Bowen explains that the method relies on the concept that “birds of a feather flock together”.

Moreover, heritage marketing segmentation goes beyond the normal complications involved with mass tourism market segmentation for several reasons. Firstly although not outwardly apparent the products of heritage marketing are in demand from almost everybody. As Misiura (2006, p.79) illustrates:

“Almost everyone is in the market for one or more aspects of heritage, directly or indirectly, whether this is gained personally, locally, nationally or internationally. At

the very least, the vast majority of people around the world will be exposed at some point in their lives or throughout their lifetime, either through an educational link or tourism (or perhaps just stories and rituals 'handed down'), to something from the past - no one can really get away from the past".

Additionally, the motivations behind people's desires for heritage are complex and deeply rooted. The 'birds of a feather flock together' analogy is seemingly not always correct in the case of heritage tourism. People visit heritage sites to commemorate ancestors, discover their past, experience others culture and history and many other reasons meaning individuals heritage desires are increasingly difficult to transcribe. Furthermore Hudson (2008) argues that through segmentation tourists social needs will be met as the segmentation of tourists means that tourists will be mixing with other tourists similar to themselves avoiding incompatibility. Yet with heritage tourism this will never prevail, as clearly heritage is a deeply rooted need and people's age, gender, income or social status does not affect this.

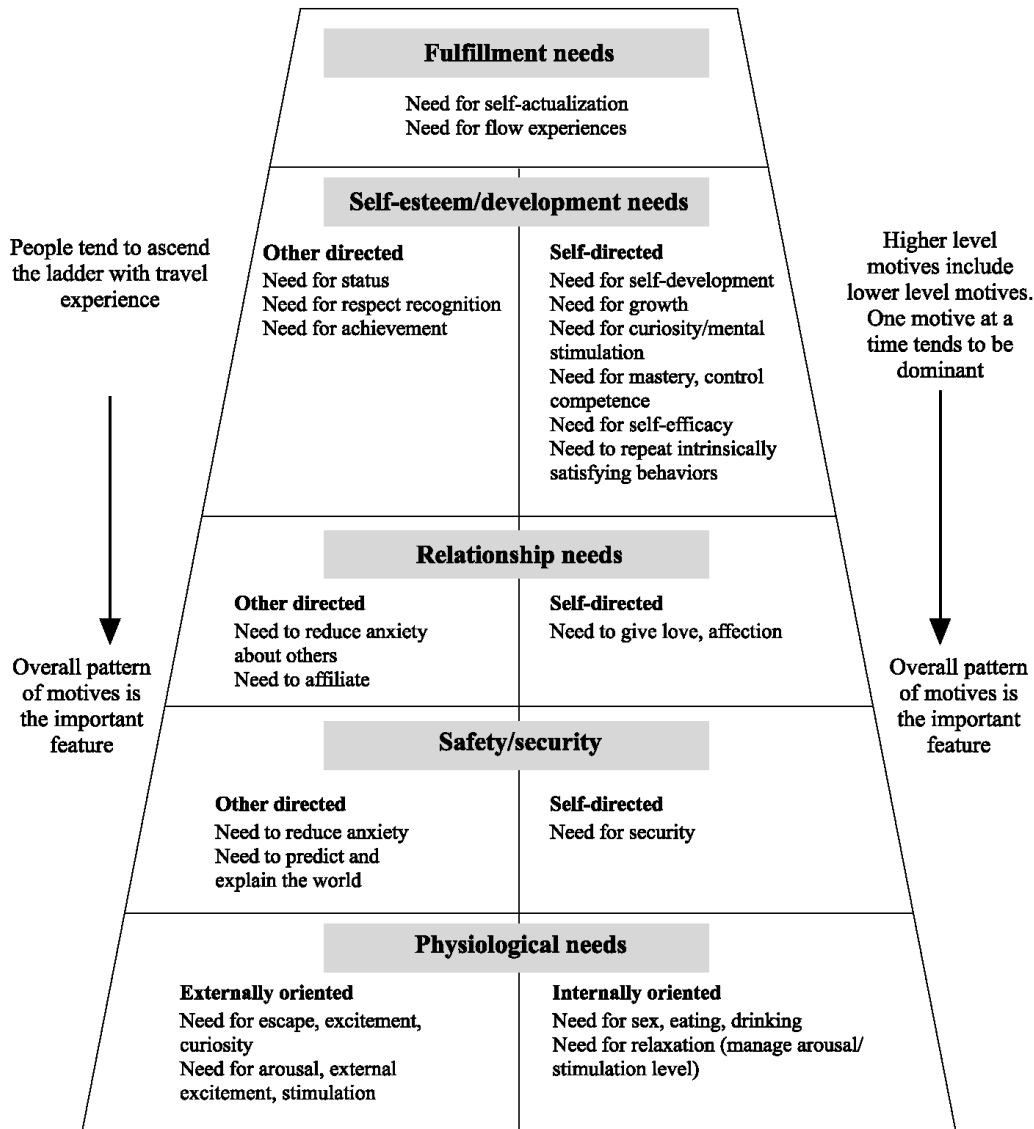
Furthermore, the profiles and preferences of potential consumers are becoming increasingly difficult to determine. Marketers are finding that consumer-spending patterns are changing and are not representative of their socio-economic demographics. González and Bello (2002, p.51) recognise that there is an increasing occurrence of individuals within the market demonstrating purchase behaviour patterns similar to those of people from extremely differing socio-economic and demographic behaviour profiles and vice versa. This means that it is increasingly difficult for marketers to estimate purchasing behaviour based

upon the usual demographics. Furthermore this makes segmenting the heritage tourism market substantially more difficult. This is because as well as lifestyle being a complicating consideration heritage tourism marketing as aforementioned needs to also be conscious of potential consumers motivational factors in order to understand potential consumer behaviour. Regarding this Pearce (Pearce et al, 1988) developed the 'travel career ladder' shown in Figure 7, which is based upon Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs.

The 'travel career ladder' illustrates that each individual has their own 'travel career' just as people have their working careers, and they progress up the ladder as they gain more travel experience. As they progress, they intrinsically change, their travel motivations, desires, needs and decision-making processes regarding traveling change also. The central concept here is that people progress through the different motivational levels as they gain more travel experience (Lee and Pearce, 2002).

The key similarity between the travel career ladder and the hierarchy of needs is that both illustrate the psychological maturation of an individual towards a self-actualization or self-fulfilment goal (Ryan, 1998). Further, both the travel career ladder and the hierarchy of needs state that lower level needs have to be satisfied before initiating the higher level needs. However, a key difference between the two motivational theories is that tourists may start their travel career from any of the illustrated travel levels ascending or descending depending on their previous involvements, knowledge and the investment level of the specific activity (Rahman, Zailani and Musa, 2017). González and Bello (2000, p.55)

recognise this and state that “the travel career ladder is a multi-motive model with a flexibility and variability that recognize that motivation may change over time and across situations.”



Source: Pearce (1991)

Figure 7: The Travel Career Ladder (Pearce, 1991)

This further complication means that heritage tourism destination marketers need to not only segment the market beyond the usual demographic methods, but furthermore constantly monitor the segments within the market as they progress through their individual travel careers. Crawford-Welch (1991) affirms this recognising that segmentation must be dynamic and continuous with destination marketers constantly monitoring the market in order to achieve the best outcomes for the destination.

The purpose of target marketing is to make the target audience aware of the destination and what it has to offer. McCabe defines target marketing as “developing measures of the attractiveness of the segments and selection of the segments to target” (McCabe, 2009, p.157). A target market is essentially a group of consumers who have shared characteristics, needs or desires, which the company has decided to serve (Kotler et al., 2010, p.211). In order to decide upon which segments the destination would like to target a process of re-evaluating the segments of the market and matching them against the resources of the destination is undergone (McCabe, 2009). This is one of the key elements of the market-making and plays a central role in the process (Fullerton, 2009).

As such, the key challenge is ensuring that the tourists that the destination sees as attractive and wishes to target will likewise view the destination as an attractive place to visit. McKercher and du Cros (2002) recognise that problems can occur when the ‘wrong’ sort of customer is targeted, the experience does not reflect that of which is expected or enjoyed by the customer and subsequently destination managers may then alter their offerings to suit this type of customer who was incorrectly targeted in the first place.

When considering who heritage tourists are Crick-Furman and Prentice (2000) denote that historic and cultural destinations are more attractive to tourists with high socio-economic status. In heritage tourism especially there is often a focus upon attracting 'quality' tourists from up market segments. However as Wheeler (1995, p.46) recognises "there might well be a quality market but it is not all the market" and with increasing tourist numbers, particularly with new tourists from generating countries who have not yet perhaps experienced international tourism, all of these new tourists are not going to be 'quality' tourists.

Here arises yet another fundamental issue in the heritage tourism product, the issue of social exclusion. Further, there has been much focus within the study of heritage tourism on the issues of power and ideology and this issue of contention does not show any signs of abating, with Howard (2003, p.216) highlighting that:

"There is a constant cycle of the discovery of heritage from the bottom up. As the middle class continues to expand, and to acquire income that allows them to devote some time and money to the acquisition of cultural capital, so they will need more and more heritage".

Therefore, as people attempt to reconnect with their past, the notions of social inclusion and multiculturalism are in danger of becoming further distant, perhaps even obsolete.

There are various measures in place to encourage social inclusion within heritage and cultural tourism, for example The Historic Environment Local Management development (HELM) that was established by English Heritage and works toward social inclusion and diversity within the heritage sector. HELM states that:

“English Heritage works to promote enjoyment of our shared heritage to the widest possible audience. The historic environment is a resource from which everyone can benefit and is a fundamental tool for regeneration, sustaining community pride, supporting small businesses, creating a sense of belonging and reaching out to and educating the next generation. We want to ensure that everyone can access the built heritage around us, and gain something meaningful from the interaction” (Historic England, 2016).

As such, heritage destination marketers should increasingly consider inclusivity and diversity when both segmenting and targeting the market and strive towards the notion of ‘heritage for all’. Destination marketers need to be selective but pragmatic. Most organisations target more than one group of potential consumers; they adapt and vary the product offerings to suit the varying requirements and expectations of several differing segments of the market (Middleton, 2001). Evidently, it is not feasible for marketers to apply a ‘one-size fits all approach’ when targeting the market and the needs of the different market segments need to be considered in order to gain the best overall outcome for the destination (Tkaczynski and Rundle-Thiele, 2010, p.266).

However, the issue is that when doing this it can be seen that people ‘self-select’ themselves as interested in heritage and cultural tourism for reasons pertaining to Howard’s discussion of lenses, for example family or educational influence during childhood. These tourists are essentially part of cultural colonies, those who feel a need or perhaps a right to be culturally interested and aware. As *The Economist* identified as early as 1857:

“Society is tending more and more to spread into classes- and not merely classes but localised classes, class colonies[...]It is the disposition to associate with equals-in some measure with those who have practical interests, in still greater measure with those who have similar tastes and culture, most of all with those whom we judge ourselves on a moral equality, whatever our real standard may be” (20 June 1857, p.669; also see Johnson and Pooley, 1982).

Subsequently, those in the relevant cultural colonies are the subjected of target marketing by heritage tourism attractions and destinations often through this self-selecting process. It could be seen that this is in some way as a viscous cycle, which makes it difficult for those with little or no heritage knowledge or understanding to suddenly enter into the elite world of heritage. Therefore, the world of heritage continues to be dominated by the educated, white middle-classes whilst others remain excluded and “subject to the process of othering” (Waterton, 2010, p.155).

4.8 Marketing dynamics in Heritage Tourism

The next stage within the heritage tourism destination marketing process is identifying and developing the marketing mix, otherwise known as marketing planning. “The marketing mix concept was introduced by Niel Borden in the 1950s and the mix of different means of competitions was soon labelled the Four P’s.” (Grönroos, 1997, p.322). Many authors suggest that McCarthy (1964) first led developments of turning marketing planning into practice with his theory of the “Four P’s”. When in actuality as Grönroos (1997) identifies the “Four P’s” outlined by McCarthy are a distorted and simplified interpretation of what was originally a list of twelve fundamentals which were never intended as a simple definition. Grönroos (1997) explains that McCarthy must have misinterpreted or misunderstood Borden’s marketing mix when he reformulated it. These newly formulated “four P’s” consisted of: Product, Price, Place and Promotion, the four key factors for consideration in order to maintain consistent variables in a market in which many variables are uncontrollable. Likewise Bennett identifies the marketing mix as follows:

“In effect, the concept of the marketing mix outlines a course of action for the organization using controllable variables in an environment where many factors are uncontrollable, defined generally as the external market” (Bennett, 1997, p.151).

The Chartered Institute for Marketing explain that each element of the marketing mix is “a key to success” and all of the elements must be considered throughout product

development and selling (CIM, 2009). Rosenbloom and Dimitrovia similarly recognise that “Marketing is all about adjusting, blending, or better yet, “mixing” the four Ps into an optimum blend that would satisfy the needs and desires of customers” (Rosenbloom and Dimitrova, 2011, p.53).

At this point the key elements of marketing and branding destinations shall be examined within the heritage discourse, analysing the social, economic and political forces that underlie the cultural paradigm and how these forces shape the nature and messages promoting heritage tourism. From synthesising the practical realities of the process it is hoped that the issues which underlie the commercial and community voices can be further understood.

4.8.1 The heritage tourism product

As heritage tourism destinations are sold and marketed essentially as products. Middleton (2001, p.89) states that:

“The product covers the shape or form of what is offered to prospective customers; in other words, the characteristics of the product as designed by strategic management decisions in response to marketing managers’ knowledge of consumer wants, needs and benefits sought”.

The product is not only the initial element of the marketing mix but additionally as Holloway (2004) identifies is the most important element of marketing to get right. Upon initial consideration of the heritage product people initially envisage exemplary aspects of build heritage, typically some great feat of architecture or religion, perhaps. However through further reflection people do turn their attention to more localised and everyday heritage objects and practices (Góral, 2014). As the word ‘everyday’ elucidates, the latter aspects, the afterthoughts of heritage as often aspects that are so close to the person, so entwined into their everyday practices and beliefs that they do not even initially recognise them as ‘tourism’ or indeed ‘heritage’, it is just something which is there, something that has already been accepted. These objects of heritage can take shape in many ways as Howard (2003, p.103) identifies:

“Heritage products and services can take many forms, from something as apparently uncommercial as a Site of Special Scientific Interest to a piece of furniture put into an auction house, or even ‘collectables’ specifically manufactured to be traded”.

The range of heritage products available for tourists is indeed vast and varied, ranging from a car boot sale to a cathedral with heritage attractions dominating the tourism landscape. When analysing heritage products or attractions it is impossible to have such a discussion without coming back to the concept of value. For as Watson and Waterton state “the very notion of *attraction* implies the need to create products, services and experiences that hold perceived value on the part of visitors” (Watson and Waterton, 2014).

From what is presented here we can determine that the objects and experiences of heritage which have been selected and presented for tourism have been done so due to the nature and quality of the value that they are seen to represent by those with the power and authority of heritage selection. Now the chapter will turn to understand and examine the levels that exist within these products of heritage. It is said that such products exist at three levels: core products; tangible products and augmented products (Kotler and Armstrong, 1991; McKercher and du Cros, 2001) as shown in figure 8.

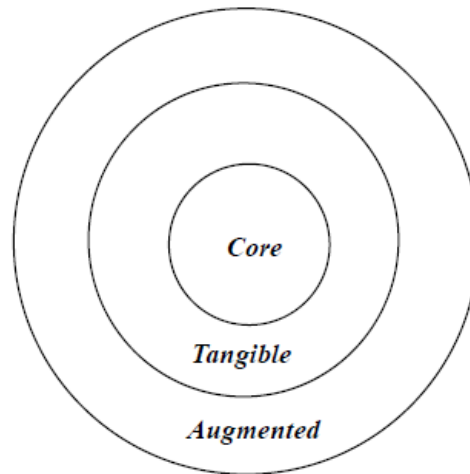


Figure 8: The three levels of product (Kotler, 1967)

Considering this understanding in reference to a single product of heritage tourism such as a cathedral or museum is relatively straightforward. However when considering a heritage tourism destination, be it a small village town, or large city, matters complicate. Destination marketing organisations such as 'Visit York' or 'Welcome to Yorkshire' are responsible for the marketing of the entire destination as a product. Within this lie many individual and opposing heritage products, each of these consisting of the three separate product levels. Furthermore as Haywood (1990) recognises, tourism destination are not solely run by this single organisation. There are many differing public and private agencies in control and active in the tourism process. Subsequently, the heritage tourism destination product as a whole is an amalgamation of differing goods, information and services controlled by multiple agencies.

Consequently conflicts and issues can occur. Some heritage practitioners even doubt the effectiveness of marketing heritage destinations at all (Guerin 2000). With so many differing agencies involved Guerin (2000) suggests that when marketing a tourism destination the traditional and structured commercial marketing models and theory are not rigidly followed but instead simply understood. From here seemingly destination marketers can establish what will work best for their destination taking into consideration the collaboration of so many differing agencies involved rather than attempting to force the destinations marketing plans to conform to the plans used by mass marketing. As such all the remaining elements of the marketing mix to be identified within this discussion are investigated and then the adaptations that will be required are explored and developed.

4.8.2 Putting a price on the past

At a superficial level the idea of price appears quite simple, Middleton (2001, p.90) defines price as follows:

“Price denotes the published or negotiated terms of the exchange transaction for a product between a producer aiming to achieve predetermined sales volume and revenue objectives, and prospective customers seeking to maximize their perceptions of value for money in the choices they make between alternative products”.

For heritage tourism destinations and attractions creating profit or return on investment is often not a major objective of the marketing strategy in the first place due to the idiosyncrasies of the heritage tourism product. As du Cros and McKercher (2015, p.219) state:

“Non-financial objectives often have an equal or stronger role in the overall set of objectives than financial goals. Conservation, education, awareness building, creating pride in one’s past or even religious contemplation may be more important objectives than visitor numbers or financial gain”.

For reasons such as this, price is used in many ways to elicit control over the heritage tourism process and to further micro-manage the past and this occurs in several ways which shall now be analysed here.

It can be seen that heritage destinations and attractions use pricing as a way of practicing selective demarketing. The concept of demarketing was first developed by Kotler and Levy in 1971 who define the concept as:

“That aspect of marketing that deals with discouraging customers in general or a certain class of customers in particular on either a temporary or permanent basis” (Kotler and Levy, 1971, p.75).

Within this concept they specified three different types of demarketing which can be practised; general, selective and ostensible. Work by Beeton and Pinge (2003) identified tourism as being one of the two areas (healthcare being the other) where demarketing practices are most widely used. Specifically, selective demarketing which is “required when a company wants to discourage the demand coming from certain customer classes” (Kotler and Levy, 1971, p.75).

Firstly, heritage tourism attractions can use price as a method of general de-marketing to attempt to achieve a steady flow of visitors throughout the year and deal with seasonality issues (Fyall and Garrod, 1998). If admission fees and other charges were fixed at a certain price throughout the year it is plausible to assume that the majority of visitors would descend on the attraction during school holidays, weekends and during the summer time and warmer months. Therefore many destinations set their prices at different rates throughout the year. Fyall and Garrod (1998) recognise that setting higher fees during

expectedly busier periods and lowering the prices during expectedly slower times of the year can be effective in gaining an increasingly constant and controlled flow of visitors. Not only does this ensure that the destination receives visitors year round and does not lie dormant for long periods of time but additionally means that the steadier flow of visitors is easier for the destination to manage.

Secondly, price is additionally used as a selective demarketing tool to discourage demand from lower consumer classes (du Cros and MerKercher, 2015). However, studies have shown that altering entrance fees does indeed have an impact upon the number of tourists from the lower socioeconomic classes visiting cultural and historic sites. In England in 2001 the then culture secretary Chris Smith announced a new plan allowing for flagship and national museums to offer free entry. In 2003 Mori carried out a study to identify any changes in visitor numbers visitor profiles and found that there had been an increase in visitation numbers from people in the lower socioeconomic classes, whilst other social groups remained relatively the same (Martin, 2003). Whilst a DCMS investigation found in 2011 that visitor numbers to government sponsored museums had grown by 14m in that time to 44m visits a year and within this there were growing numbers of visitors from lower social classes and ethnic minority groups. For example more than 40% of UK adult visitors to National Museums Liverpool and Tyne and Wear Museums Service were from lower social economic groups in 2010/11 (DCMS statistical release, 2012).

Therefore, in the knowledge that lowering or even abolishing entrance fees results in higher visitation numbers from those in lower socioeconomic groupings it can be inferred that by

escalating costs to the visitor those in lower socioeconomic groupings will visit less often and this is a tactic employed by some heritage attractions and destinations. For example a single adult ticket to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City costs a staggering \$25 so a party of four is looking at a \$100 charge before they have even entered the gift shop. The Imperial War Museum in Cambridgeshire will charge a family of four £46 with individual adult tickets costing £17.50. With prices such as this it is understandable that those in lower socioeconomic groupings can easily become socially excluded. Thus some attractions purposely increase their entrance fees in order to price out visitors who they feel are not 'quality' tourists or who will not behave appropriately at the destination or spend further money whilst they are there (du Cros and McKercher, 2015). This is however an accepted feature of the overall concept of marketing the heritage product to consumers as du Cros and McKercher (2015, p.219) identify; the marketing ideology itself dictates that "some types of visitors are more desirable than other".

Equally, increasing prices is a popular method for reducing overall visitor numbers at destinations that are fragile to large visitor numbers. Timothy and Boyd (2003) identify that raising entrance fees is an effective measure to take in order to reduce visitor numbers. Similarly Robinson et al (1994) identify that pricing increases are used as a mechanism for controlling demand. An example of this is Westminster Abbey where admission prices were raised in order to attempt an increasingly sustainable approach to making the World Heritage site available for visitors (Fyall and Garrod, 1998). This is however, often unavoidable, for as du Cros and McKercher (2015) identify, sometimes the attainment of

non-financial goals established by tourism destinations or attractions could be jeopardised by amplified visitor numbers. Cochrane and Tapper (2006, p.99) further explain that:

“The presence of visitors can threaten the integrity of ecosystems, of fragile buildings or other cultural artefacts, or the ‘spirit of the place’, which is often a hugely significant element of the site”.

For reasons such as this is it both comprehensible and justifiable that visitor numbers need to be controlled in some way, however controlling visitor numbers by operating a system of social exclusion is a somewhat dangerous route to take. Acknowledged, the physical degradation of the site itself will have by all accounts been successfully managed, but what of the significance of the engagement with the site by those who wish to gaze upon it, who find themselves excluded. As previously eluded, a key concept of the heritage process is the passing on and sharing of history and culture, but if through fear of degradation and an ingrained obligation to act sustainably prevents this history from being shared and passed onto some the appropriate groups, then what exactly are we engaging in and what exactly are we hoping to achieve? It would appear that the key objective of heritage itself and a shared past becomes obsolete when the past is prevented from actually being shared.

4.8.3 Promoting heritage tourism destinations

The promotion of heritage tourism destinations has increased in complexity rapidly in the past several decades due to the exponential growth of alternate destination choices available around the world for tourists to choose from (Misiura, 2006). The effects of globalisation and advances in technology have completely opened up the international tourism market and consumers have a plethora of heritage tourism destinations to choose from when planning a trip or holiday (Cai et al., 2009). Indeed, even in England itself the number of heritage tourism destinations and attractions has grown considerably with the advancement of heritage as a pastime (Howard, 2003). Britain has such a plethora of heritage sites and attractions including as Samuel (1994: part II, p.94) states 500,000 listed buildings, 17,000 protected monuments and 5,500 conservation areas with a new museum opening each fortnight. This level of fascination with the past has been forthcoming since the 1980s with the former director of the National Science Museum commenting on the growth in the UK heritage sector as follows:

“You can’t project that sort of rate of growth much further before the whole country becomes one big open air museum, and you just join it as you get off at Heathrow”
(Hewison,1987, p.94).

With this kind of growth in such a crowded marketplace it is easy for heritage tourism destinations to become lost in the crowd and fail to differentiate themselves. Therefore, in order to market a destination strategically Morgan et al (2001, p.40) argue that destinations must work on establishing and reinforcing their position in the global marketplace.

Morgan et al (2001) continue to explain that in order to do this, countries need to focus on their distinctive brand and brand values however this becomes increasingly complicated in reference to heritage destination brands due to their complex nature. This is supported by du Cros and McKercher (2015, p.219) who state that “cultural tourism has a number of unique features that both pose challenges to marketers and also highlight the importance of considering marketing in the planning process”.

Further, often in heritage tourism, promotional pricing strategies are utilised as and when they are needed. Middleton (2001) states that the majority of tourism products will have been set both a published and a promotional price for when it is needed, the promotional price will be set in response to the requirements of the targeted market segment or to deal with seasonality or competition issues. Robinson et al. (1994) argue that interfering with pricing structures in these ways can lead to negative consequences as a result of pricing out some segments of society.

It could be reasonably assumed that when offering promotions or discounts at heritage attractions this would be beneficial for those in lower socioeconomic groupings as aforementioned. However, understandably, those who visit the attraction and similar sites more frequently and keep updated with goings on at heritage and cultural sites will have a higher awareness of the offers that will become available. This is in keeping with the findings of the Mori study carried out by Martin in 2003, which found that an increase in

visits from lower socioeconomic backgrounds following the abolition of fees to national museums and galleries but which also found that “People with a degree are almost four times as likely as those with no formal qualifications to say that they know charges have been scrapped and have made more visits as a result” (Martin, 2003, p.10). The issue here is that promotions and offers do not reach all audiences as those from lower social groupings who are thought to be socially excluded or absentees are difficult to communicate with, as they are, as their namesake suggests, absent.

4.9 Heritage tourism destination branding complexity

4.9.1 Heritage destination branding

Heritage has become unprecedentedly popular with an increasing number of tourists seeking a meaningful experience and a relationship with the past (Watson and Waterton, 2011). Consequently, for competing destinations, heritage is often adopted as a place marketing strategy (Hanna and Rowley, 2008; Pike, 2008; Skinner, 2008), with destination marketers seeking to assert a destination's individuality and attractiveness by focusing its branding and marketing strategy around its heritage assets. However, focusing on the past as a means of differentiation is no longer sufficient, with any destination able to state that they possess 'a unique culture, heritage and landscape' (Morgan et al, 2008, p.60). Furthermore, as a socially constructed and negotiated term (Smith, 2006), heritage tourism branding is complicated to manage and develop.

Although place branding has been described as ineffectual (Medway et al., 2015) based upon the notion that places themselves cannot be branded (Amujo and Otubanjo, 2012), the brand portrayed by a tourist destination is considered of great importance, with branding recognised as 'perhaps the most powerful marketing weapon available to contemporary destination marketers' (Morgan and Pritchard, 2004 p.60). The development of a place branding strategy, "a plan for defining the most realistic, most competitive, and most compelling strategic vision for a country, region, or a city", with this vision then fulfilled and communicated (Anholt, 2003 p.214), is often attributed to increased economic

growth, brand value and destination success (Davis, 2002; Matear et al., 2004). As such, the following section will analyse the current understanding of destination branding and heritage destination branding challenges.

A brand can be defined as “a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or combination of them, which is intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competitors” (Keller, 1993, p.2). The concept of branding consumer products came about prior to the industrial revolution however the concept of destination branding is a much more recent phenomenon which arose in the 1990s (Morgan et al., 2011). Many researchers agree that destinations can, and, in many ways, should be branded in the same way that products and services are branded (Anholt, 2003; Cai, 2002; Morgan et al., 2004; Tasci and Kozak, 2006; Wagner et al., 2008). This issue is of high importance to this study as the branding process in effect packages up the past as a sellable product and in doing so puts forward a dominant heritage vision (Waterton, 2010). Therefore, the complexities of destination branding and the ways in which it works to create a dominant and exclusionary representation of the past will now be analysed.

The branding of destinations began to be properly researched in the late 1990s (Pike, 2002). Ritchie and Ritchie (1998, p.90) developed what has become one of the most frequently referred to definitions of what a destination brand is:

“A name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the place; furthermore, it conveys the promise of a memorable travel

experience that is uniquely associated with the place; it also serves to consolidate and reinforce pleasurable memories of the place experience”.

Another well recognised definition of destination branding is that of Kerr (2006, p.277) who states that a destination brand can be regarded as a:

“[...] name, symbol, logo, word or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the destination; furthermore it conveys the promise of a memorable travel experience that is uniquely associated with the destination; it also serves to consolidate and reinforce the recollection of pleasurable memories of destination experience”.

Further research has been carried out on the definition and concepts of destination branding by many authors (Blain et al., 2005; Gnoth, 1998; Morgan et al., 2004; Pike, 2009) as the topic of destination branding became a popular topic of research (Cai et al., 2009). Throughout this research many benefits of the destination branding process have been highlighted and these have been identified by Clarke (2000) as follows:

- (1) “tourism is typically high involvement, branding helps to reduce the choice;
- (2) branding helps in reducing the impact of intangibility;
- (3) branding conveys consistence across multiple outlets and through time;
- (4) branding can reduce the risk factors attached to decision-making about holidays;
- (5) branding facilitates precise segmentation; and
- (6) branding helps to provide a focus for the integration.”

However, the branding of tourism destinations is a vast area of research which analyses many things and as such there is still some ambiguity regarding the nature of the surrounding concepts as well as destination brandings impact on internal stakeholders (Bernhart et al., 2009). Hopley and Mahoney (2011, p.38) present an understanding of this unique branding process highlighting how it is shaped by a wide range of stakeholders, stating that:

“The essence of a destination brand lies in hearts and minds of local communities, businesses, visitors and other stakeholders, which cannot be so easily shaped and controlled as a logo or publicity campaign”.

The issue here is that when branding heritage tourism destinations there are many different stakeholders involved, both internal and external stakeholders, and these individuals and groups need to have their voices heard (Bernhart et al., 2009). Furthermore, as Wagner and Peters (2009, p.54) identify:

“The remaining question is how tourism research can investigate, measure and demonstrate the effects of destination branding strategies on internal destination stakeholders”.

As such, this question is central to this research investigation, which will analyse the effects on destination branding on the community stakeholders.

4.9.2 Heritage tourism destination image

Wagner and Peters (2009) further argue that within the field of destination branding there lies some confusion about two of the central concepts; brand identity and brand image and that these issues require further attention. The difference being that the brand identity relates to the desired image of the destination whereas the brand image is the real image perceived by tourists. Accordingly the dissonance here is that between the real and the perceived.

Brand image in tourism studies is often referred to as destination image with the two being synonymous (Peters, 2009). A key objective of destination branding is to create a favourable destination image. Hunt first studied destination image in 1975 and defined it as the “perceptions held by potential visitors about an area” (1975, p.2). This is synonymous with Wagner and Peters (2009) definition of brand image as being the image that the tourist or consumer has. Definitions of destination image provided more recently are similar in composition and equally vague. As Echtner and Ritchie (2003) identified, many academics do not give a precise definition of the term destination image and instead refer to vague and vast concepts of the idea and found in their investigation of the concept of destination image that many people refer to overall ‘impressions’ or ‘perceptions’.

Reynolds describes destination image as a:

“Mental construct developed by the consumer on the basis of a few selected impressions among the flood of total impressions; it comes into being through a

creative process in which these selected impressions are elaborated, embellished and ordered" (1965, p.69).

4.9.3 Commercial impact on destination image

The main aim behind the destination image is the creation of a positive image of the destination as Leisen explains:

“The image connotes the traveller’s expectation of the destination and a positive image promises the traveller a rewarding life experience. Consequently, the images held by individuals in the marketplace are crucial to a destination’s marketing success” (Leisen, 2001, p.49)

Therefore, in order to establish positive impressions within the minds of prospective tourists’, marketers must focus upon their destinations unique assets in order to set them apart from the other destinations which tourists will inevitably compare them with when making travel and tourism purchase decisions (Jarrett, 1999). In most cases unique destination features are those that are inherent to the destination and are assets of the destination’s history culture and heritage that cannot be replicated at other destinations. Subsequently many destinations endeavour to create an image in the consumer minds that reflects the heritage and culture of the destination.

Echtner and Ritchie (2003) have identified that a destination image is built of two different types of destination characteristics, functional and psychological. Functional characteristics include elements of the build and natural environment whereas the psychological characteristics include issues based upon the general atmosphere and ambience of a place,

its overall feeling and the people who inhabit it (Echtner and Ritchie, 2003). Therefore, it can be seen that the commercial stakeholders of heritage tourism destinations have limited control over the destination's overall image due to the psychological characteristics involved. However, they do have control over the functional characteristics and how they are portrayed.

Furthermore, Gunn (1972) identifies that there are three levels of destination image, the organic image, the induced image and the complex image. The organic image manifests through non-tourism specific information on the destination such as books, television shows and reports in newspapers and magazines, these are clearly out of the destination marketer's control. Then the induced image forms in the mind of a prospective tourist through the promotions developed by the destination marketing organisation. Finally the complex image is developed when the tourist actually reaches the destination and experiences it. Therefore, it can be seen that the functional image works here in two ways, both affecting the induced and complex image of a destination.

Subsequently this means that many other factors can interfere in the production of the destination image, and as such it is difficult for a consistent image to be portrayed (Tavares, 2011). This is referred to by Kapferer (1999, p.71) who identified that "before knowing how we are perceived, we must know who we are". Conflicts of knowing easily arise in the destination branding process as the internal stakeholders often have differing and even conflicting views on the value and identity of the destination. As such the subsequent section explores the complex nature of the stakeholders involved in the identity and image

creation of a heritage destination brand and the value and power possessed by these individuals and groups.

4.9.4 Community impact on destination image

A tourism destination image is reflective of not just the commercial views, but all stakeholders of the destination (Saraniemi, 2010). The essential point is that the community have an influence here, and as such, they must be consistent and content with the destination image that is portrayed by the destination (Tavares, 2011). Tavares (2011, p.43) goes on to explain that if this image is not consistent, then the tourism destination image may become “fragmented” and “undecipherable”, which will further cause friction and unease. This can then subsequently lead to conflicts between tourists and the local community (Alhemooud and Armstrong, 1996; Ashworth and Voogd, 1990; Sternquist-Witter, 1985).

Conversely, when the community of the destination are involved and committed to the tourism destination image, then the authenticity and appeal of the destination image increases (Park et al., 2014). This view is supported by many authors, who found that ‘friendliness of locals’ was the most measured characteristic in destination image studies (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; Gallarza et al., 2002; Jenkins, 1999). Therefore, it must be understood what impact the community have upon the destination image and this will now be explored.

As aforementioned, destination image can be understood to include functional and physiological characteristics (Echtner and Ritchie, 2003). The physiological characteristics derive from those who inhabit the destination and the general atmosphere at the destination (Echtner and Ritchie, 2003). Keller (1993) argues that such characteristics are of equal importance to functional characteristics in the development of destination image. Therefore, it can be seen that the community have control over the physiological characteristics of the destination image.

Leisen (2001), states that the local community are a useful information source for tourists to gain information. This factor can also be viewed as a contribution to the induced tourist's image. Leisen (2001) further identifies that community views of the area in which they live can aid in shaping and affecting tourists views of the area. This can occur through the word-of-mouth process and the development of overall attitude toward the destination affecting the organic image of a destination (Schroefler, 1996). Further, Binge et al. (2005) found that the resident image of the destination positively affects the likelihood of them recommending the destination to other people to visit.

Therefore, it can be seen that residents exert a high level of influence over the destination image, and as such should be included in the marketing of this image (Ross, 1991, 1993, Binge et al., 2005). This point is echoed by Tavares (2011, p.44) who states that:

“The overall success of a destinations image requires a high degree of congruency amongst stakeholders, and without it, TDI gets negatively influenced and developed.

Theoretically, this is a sound argument as it is easy to state that all stakeholders should be involved in image development. However, in reality aspects such as lack of education, power, and money separate those who actively develop the image versus those who cannot”.

The reality of the situation highlighted by Tavares has been confirmed in other studies, in which destination image is based on tourist needs (Hughes and Allen, 2005) and resident concerns are not acknowledged (Kokosalakis et al., 2006).

4.10 Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to synthesise and critically review the available current knowledge of the process of marketing and branding heritage tourism destinations and its various and unique complexities. Consequently, a number of distinct themes have emerged which will be analysed further within the subsequent chapter. These themes are summarised below.

Firstly, the literature suggests that the conventional concepts used to develop the marketing and branding of traditional products and services are often used to ineffectual and inappropriate means. It may transpire that these processes cause a difference between the commercial understanding of the heritage tourism destination and its image and the communities understanding of the heritage tourism destination and its image.

Secondly, from what has been analysed here it could be suggested that the practical processes which determine the marketing of heritage tourism destinations restrict the wants and needs of the community.

Third, it was found that issues of social exclusion are still present within the heritage industry and, further, it can be seen from what is argued here that these issues of social exclusion in many cases stem from the marketing processes. This has been identified

through analysing the basic marketing mix process which identified how basic issues such as pricing can exclude the local community.

The various issues identified have two issues of consequence. The first being that the marketing processes are restrictive and do not allow for the community voices and destination image to be portrayed together. Further, this leads to a disjoint and sense of dissonance between the community and commercial representations and understanding of their heritage tourism destination.

From these findings three central arguments have emerged. These key themes are to be taken forward through the process of this research investigation and will be used as theoretical drivers to inform the study. These theoretical drivers are presented below in Figure 9.

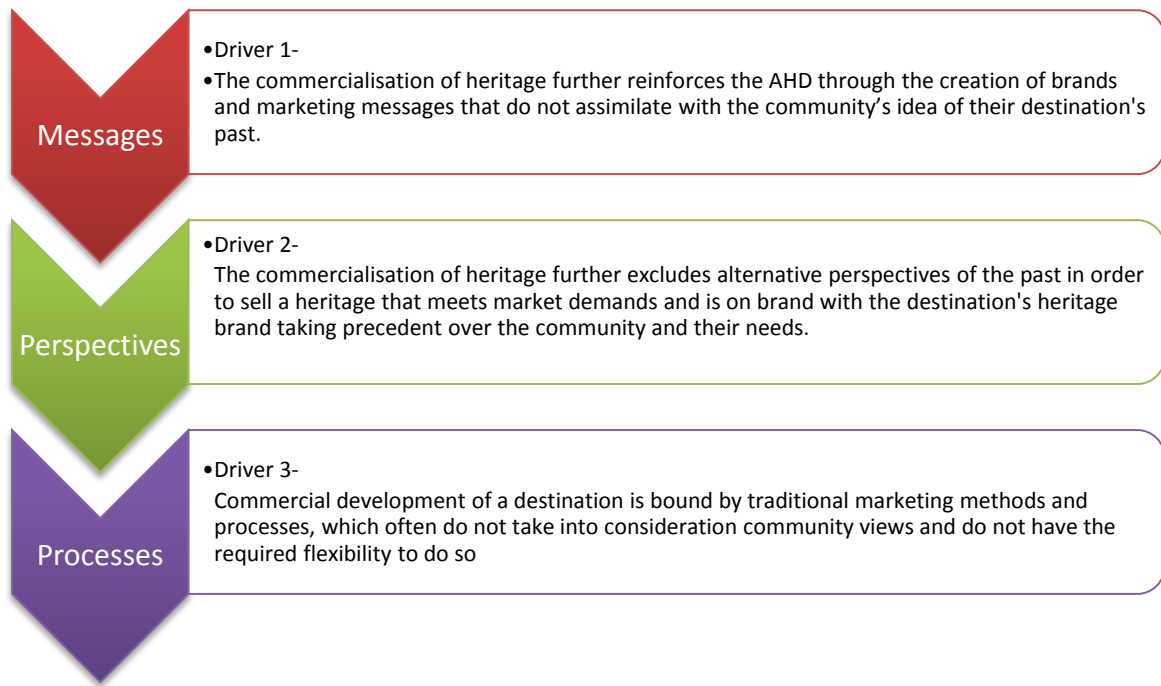


Figure 9: Theoretical drivers emerging from the tourism marketing literature

Below, Figure 10 illustrates the conceptual framework for this study which arose from the analysis of the literature presented in the previous three chapters of this investigation. A conceptual framework is defined as:

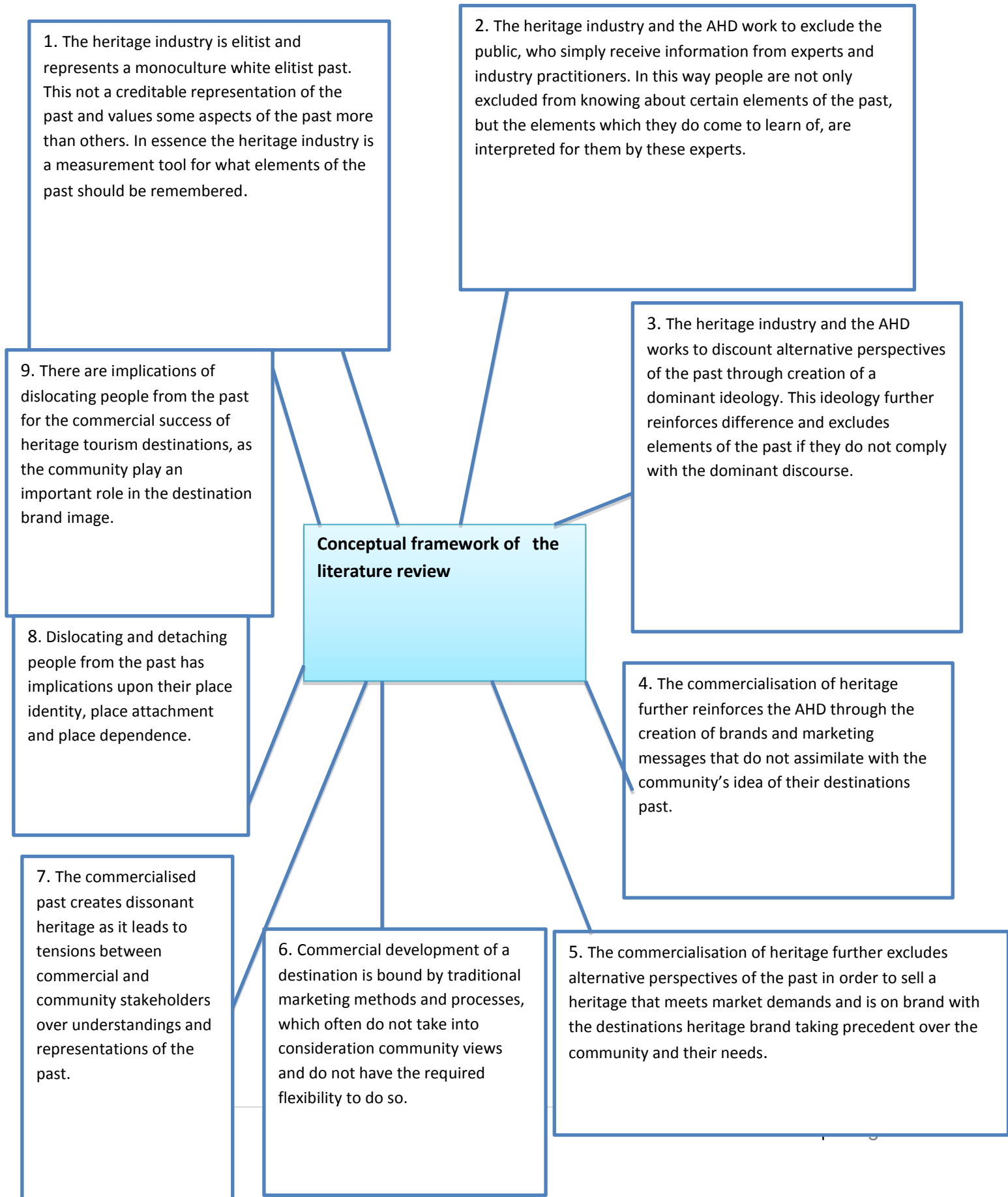
“A conceptual framework is a network or a plane of interlinked concepts that together provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon or phenomena”
(Jabareen, 2009, p.51).

A conceptual framework is a useful tool to apply following the analysis of the literature, as conceptual frameworks help you to clearly identify the main dimensions to be examined within the study. Further, conceptual frameworks do not work to offer theoretical explanation, rather to simply offer understanding to the researcher (Jabareen, 2009), thus it was helpful at this stage for the researcher to summarise the three literature review

chapters into one simple conceptual literature framework in order to illustrate what key concepts underpin the research investigation presented here. In order to demonstrate how the framework has been compiled, at the end of each literature review chapter the 'theoretical drivers' that emerge from the examination of the literature have been summarised and clearly displayed in a simple model.

The following chapter will explore the research approach taken in applying and exploring the theoretical propositions that have been explored here within these literature review chapters.

Figure 10: Conceptual framework of the literature review



Chapter 5: Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodological and philosophical approaches underpinning the thesis. As such, this chapter will explore and examine the methodological considerations of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the techniques employed in data collection and analysis. When designing a methodology for any research investigation a strategic understanding of the research approach is needed before decisions can be made at a methods level (Hollinshead, 2004). Accordingly, this chapter begins by exploring and examining the research approach and paradigms. Following this, the chosen techniques will be discussed at a methods level in order to explain why each method was selected and the role it plays within the investigation toward meeting the established objectives.

5.2 Research Strategy

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) highlight the constant evolution of the ways in which research is carried out, yet this is not necessarily the case regarding tourism research. For example, Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.41) argue that tourism research is failing to contend with research in other areas of social science and that this is because many researchers within the field of tourism have been “slow to address many of the epistemological and ontological issues that have been debated in wider social science disciplines”. They argue that this has led to an issue whereby several of the more advanced, modern research approaches used within other fields have not yet been adopted by those working in tourism research.

Equally, it has been argued that the field of tourism research is also secondary to other fields regarding methodological and theoretical advancements (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). Addressing this, Dann et al., (1988) found that the research published within the tourism journals was less methodologically sound in comparison to the research published within the leisure based journal. Over a decade later, Riley and Love (2000) carried out similar research, examining four of the major journals in the field of tourism. It was found that methodological advancements have been made, but that the qualitative methods used had yet to move beyond Denzin and Lincoln’s (1994) first three moments, which the authors regard as due to the dependence upon the more commonly used qualitative and greatly documented methods. This seems to remain true, for example, Goodson and Phillimore (2004, p.37) explain that whilst qualitative research is being more actively carried out within the field of tourism, many researchers are still not embracing a true qualitative approach

stating that “it would appear that many researchers are still operating within the boundaries of a limited range of epistemological, ontological and methodological frameworks”. This study is taking what is considered here to be a “true qualitative approach” which will be explained throughout this chapter, and will add to the body of qualitative research in heritage studies and allow for further understanding due to a transparent qualitative approach.

In order to understand such issues impacting upon the research strategy the inquiry paradigm must be explored, the inquiry paradigm consists of three components; ontology, epistemology and methodology and these different components are devised by the researcher themselves based upon their own knowledge, understanding and relationship with research (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). As such, in order to identify the inquiry paradigm the researcher must answer these three questions based on the three components identified:

- “The ontological question: what is the form and nature of reality?
- The epistemological question: what is the nature of the relationship between the knower, (researcher), and what can be known?, and finally,
- The methodological question: how can the knower, (researcher), find out what they believe can be known?” (Guba and Lincoln, 1994 p.108)

In addition to answering these questions, in order for tourism research to progress and for advancements to be made in the field of tourism research, a researcher's paradigmatic-methodological considerations need to be clearly justified. Goodson and Phillimore (2004) argue that increased transparency and explanation by researchers regarding such decisions will enable progression through increased understanding. Therefore, in order to provide the transparency and clarity necessary the four main elements of research design and the three central questions regarding the inquiry paradigm will be addressed within this chapter.

These four main elements of research design are; epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and methods, as defined by Crotty (1998) and illustrated in Figure 11. Crotty (1998) states that these four elements are the basis of the research process and that whilst different and separate elements of the process, they inform each other throughout the research process. Therefore, these four elements and the issues surrounding them within the context of this research investigation will now be discussed and a brief explanation of this is highlighted in Figure 12 below.

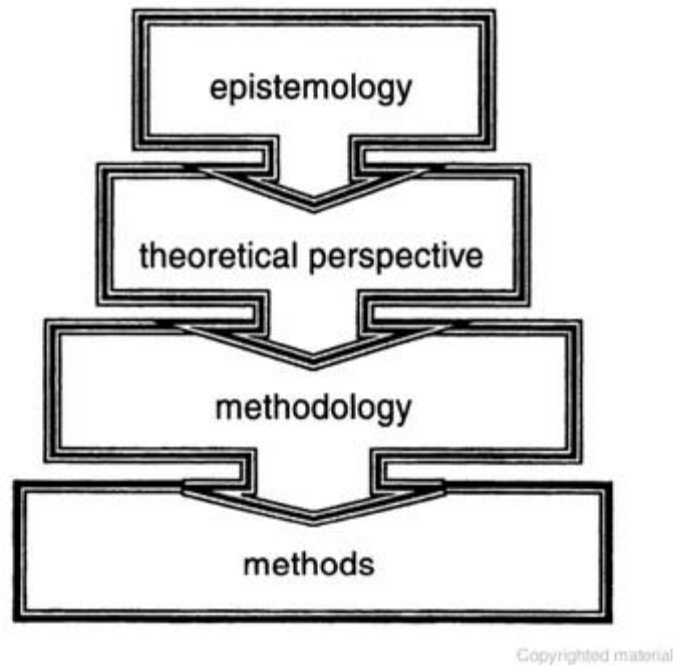


Figure 11: The Four Elements of Research Design (Crotty, 1998, p.4)

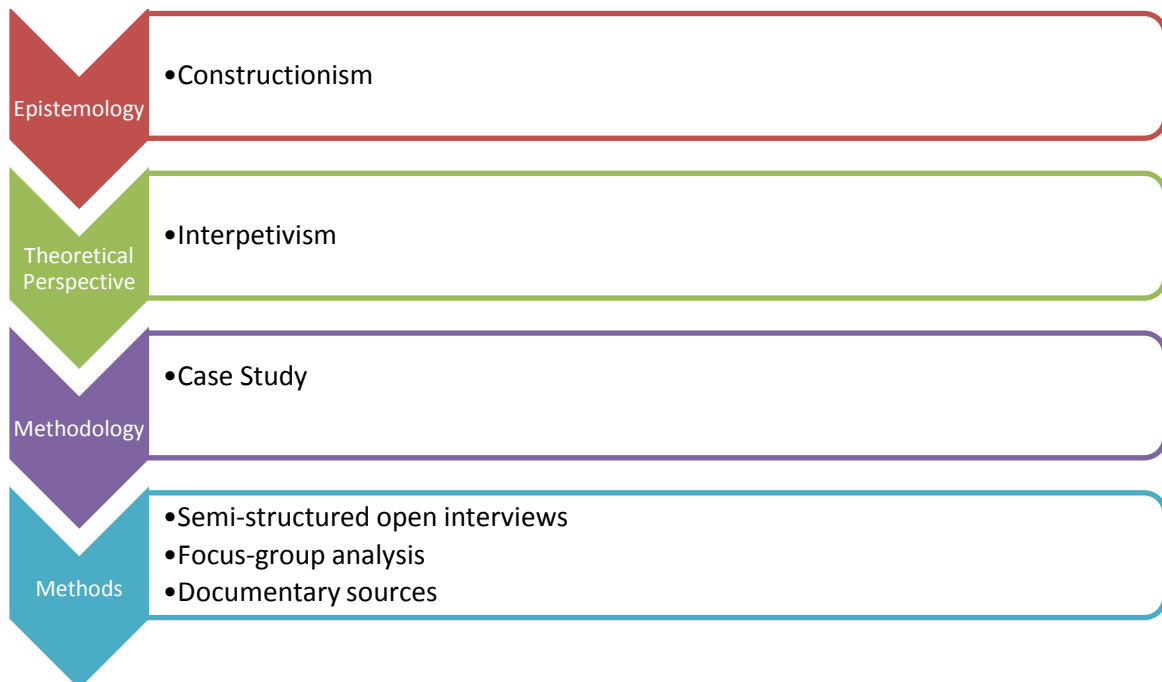


Figure 12: The Four Elements of Research Design in this study (Adapted from Crotty, 1998, p.4)

5.3 Epistemological perspective

It is necessary at this point to outline the philosophical and conceptual underpinnings of the investigation in order to understand the context of the thesis. There are many differing epistemological positions and the purpose of this section is to justify the design of the investigation by addressing the epistemological framework underpinning the thesis and provide the level of clarity and transparency sought by the researcher.

Epistemology relates to the construction of knowledge and looks at “how we know the world”, and as researchers challenges us to define the relationship between ourselves, the inquirer and the known (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p.185). Epistemology is considered one of the four constructs of the research paradigm alongside the research ethics, ontology and methodology (Crotty, 1998). The epistemological concerns of the inquiry can, however, be considered a vital element within the research paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). The epistemological stance taken and the resulting epistemological framework of a research investigation “defines questions relevant to the paradigms that will be used and the research problem itself. Overall, it theoretically frames the conceptualization of the research subject” (Pereiro, 2010, p.173).

The epistemology of research investigation reflects the procedures that the researcher will use for making sense out of the world (Hoffman, 1981). As Bateson (1977, p.84) explains:

“All descriptions are based on theories of how to make descriptions. You cannot claim to have no epistemology. Those who so claim have nothing but a bad epistemology. Every description is based upon, or contains implicitly, a theory of how to describe”.

Epistemological transparency touches upon a pivotal issue, for as Maynard (1994) explains, epistemology aids us in confirming both adequacy and legitimacy in our research. Crotty (1998, p.8) identifies this as a reason for why we must “identify, explain and justify the epistemological stance we have adopted”. The epistemological perspective of this research project will now be identified and justified.

It is known that there is no accepted universal epistemology, as the way in which we each view and experience the world forms our understanding of what constructs knowledge (Mannheim, 1960). As such there exists a varied range of epistemologies known as objectivism, constructionism and subjectivism (Crotty, 1998). This research follows a constructionist approach. The focus of the constructionist epistemology is that:

“Truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of [one’s] engagement with the realities in [one’s] world. There is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed. In this understanding of knowledge it is clear that different people may construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon. In this view of things, subject and object emerge as partners in the generation of meaning” (Crotty, 1998, p.8).

This stance has been taken as it reflects the relationship between the researcher and the research process, as the researcher aims to look beyond the tangible, objective and measurable elements of tourism and investigate into the socially constructed aspects of power and value that surround these realities. There is no ready built or pre-constructed answer waiting to be known but the researcher will construct a picture of the current situation as is interpreted from those involved. As Crotty explains:

“there is no objective truth waiting for us to discover it. Truth, or meaning, comes into existence in and out of our endearment with the realities in our world. There is no meaning without a mind. Meaning is not discovered, but constructed” (Crotty, 1998, p.9).

This is appropriate for the investigation and interpretation of activity in heritage tourism destinations as Goodson and Phillimore (2004, p.12) state:

“Given that tourism spaces are not physically but socially constructed, it is important to consider how the meanings relating to those spaces are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed over time. Tourism is a complex phenomenon based on interrelations and interactions”.

This highlights that in order for tourism research to move forward, these socially constructed, ever changing notions and relations with and surrounding tourism must be observed and examined towards the construction of new knowledge. Furthermore, it can be recognised that not only tourism but heritage too is a socially constructed phenomenon as recognised by Smith (2006) in her discussion of heritage as a social and cultural process. It is

also argued that there is an epistemological fragility of history, and as the literature presented in this thesis has highlighted, heritage and its meanings are highly contested with various stakeholders having differing understandings and interpretations of the past. As such, this epistemological fragility may also apply to heritage. Surrounding concepts such as memories (Small, 1999), experiences (Paennington-Grey & Carmichael, 2006) and identity (Jenkins, 2003 and Turnpenny 2004) are also considered as constructed concepts.

Therefore, the constructionist epistemological stance will be applied throughout the process of the research investigation in order to further the development of heritage tourism knowledge and understanding. As such, the researcher, working from a constructionist epistemology places focus upon gaining an understanding of the respondents' perceptions of reality. From a methods based perspective the constructionism perspective typically applies triangulation, which "involves the use of multiple methods and multiple data sources to support the strength of interpretations and conclusions" (Mertens, 1998, p.354). As such, this study triangulated the methods, using documentary sources and semi-structured in-depth interviews.

The methods were also applied in multiple locations using a collective case study approach. In presenting the findings of the research project undertaken from a constructionist epistemology the researcher will usually include direct quotes from respondents (Wiersma, 1991; Stainback & Stainback, 1984) as was done in the analysis of the research in this thesis (Chapters 6-8). The theoretical perspective taken by the research will now be explored.

5.4 Theoretical perspective

A theoretical perspective or research paradigm is defined as a “basic set of beliefs that guide action” (Crotty, 1998, p.3). In order to develop a justified research strategy, the philosophical parameters of the investigation must be explored. There is a wide range of theoretical perspectives that inform social research investigations (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004) and the purpose of this section is to explain the theoretical perspective taken by this thesis and present the rationale underpinning this perspective.

Hollinshead (2004) suggests that it is no longer justifiable for research approaches to be based on method-level decisions alone, arguing that such decisions need to be grounded on a strategic understanding of the research as a product of knowledge production. This view is echoed by Kincheloe and McLaren (1994, p.265), who believe that researchers need a greater understanding and awareness of “the ideological imperatives and epistemological presuppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjective, intersubjective and normative reference claims”. For Hollinshead (2004, p.64), this level of understanding “implies a need for applied philosophical awareness and applied critical literacy”.

The four paradigms of research are positivist, post-positivist, critical and interpretive (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). These paradigms define the context in which the researcher operates, although there is a certain amount of flexibility available (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). It is widely acknowledged that the positivist approach is the approach

favoured by tourism researchers (Goodson and Phillimore, 2004). This is perhaps because it is “socially convenient for policy-makers, external funding agencies and other political vehicles to absent themselves from the social and subjective world” (Waterton, 2007, p.59).

In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1998) explain that the positivist paradigm is such that the researcher only believes in what they see as real and observable. This leads to the exclusion of aesthetic and moral issues, as these are not seen as real, and this is the context within which the researcher operates, separating themselves from the study so as not to influence the investigation in any way. It is argued here that this privileging of the real and observable over what is subjective, valued or understood by others would further reinforce Smith’s (2006) AHD as it is the heritage experts who are able to give an objective view of the past (Preucel, 1990; Smith, 2006). As Fischer (2003, p.216) explains:

“Empiricism, in its search for such objective generalisations, has sought to detach itself from the very social constructs that give its data meaning”.

As this study is concerned with the social constructions and understandings of the past, a positivist grounding would not be appropriate for this study. Additionally, from a methods level understanding, positivist and post-positivist approaches tend to be more associated with the traditional methods of quantitative research (Silverman, 2011) and this study employs a qualitative approach.

This investigation has adopted an interpretive approach to gain an understanding of the representations and understandings of heritage in a genuine social world context. It is said that “researchers influenced by interpretivist inquiry paradigms turn the conventional approach to knowing upon its head”, with the belief that the researchers role is a vital part of the investigation and that the interpretations and contributions made are both important and valid (Goodson and Phillimore 2004, p.35). This approach understands that both the researcher and the researched are capable of meaningful production of knowledge.

5.5 Qualitative Methodology

When designing a methodology in social research there are many differing strategies, methods, approaches and constraints that must be considered (Silverman, 2011). The metaphor of the researcher as a bricoleur, one who pieces together a set of practices in order to form a puzzle, is applicable here (Levi-Strauss, 1966). Denzin and Lincoln (1998) characterise the researcher as a bricoleur as in order to achieve the necessary insight, several methods, or a bricolage of methods must be utilised and the results of which when brought together to form an understanding- but never actually achieving total insight (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000, p.3). This is an accurate illustration for this thesis, as social researchers require several methods of data collection to administer in order to gain an adequate understanding of the situation being explored. Of these methods of data collection any particular type of research employed can be broadly classified as either qualitative or quantitative (Silverman, 2011).

Further, Denzin and Lincoln (2013, p. 12) argue that qualitative researchers can be seen as bricoleurs as the qualitative researcher “refuses to be limited” and is “always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experience they have studied”. As such, the purpose of this section and those that follow it is to explore the ‘bricolage’ or range of materials that have been used in order to fulfil the research objectives of this investigation.

This thesis took a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach collects data regarding “activities, events, occurrences and behaviour” in order to further understand “actions, problems and processes in their social context” (Phillimore and Goodson, p.3). However, throughout the history of social research much debate surrounds the two contrasting methods of research. It is important at this point to explore these issues in order to answer Guba and Lincoln’s methodological question and provide the necessary rationale for the qualitative approach taken. Further, exploration and justification of the methodological approach taken will further provide the transparent approach to research methods required as stated by Goodson and Phillimore (2004) and aforementioned here.

Silverman (2000) highlights the prevailing perception by the academy that quantitative research has always been thought superior to qualitative research. It was not until the 1990s when the reliability of the assumed hard facts of quantitative research came into question (Silverman, 2000). Scepticism surrounded the method following public opinion polls, which turned out to be inaccurate, such as the large inaccuracies in the 1992 general election opinion poll scandal (Ipsos Mori, 2016).

Furthermore, there grew an increasing desire for academics to be able to gain deeper understandings and interpretations of their subject than that which quantitative data could provide (Lindlof, 1995). Subsequently, what Denzin (1994) describes as a “methodological revolution” occurred within the social sciences. The interpretative and alternative method of qualitative research became increasingly utilised and explored. Denzin and Lincoln (1994, p.ix) state that:

“Where only statistics, experimental designs, and survey research once stood, researchers have opened up to ethnography, unstructured interviewing, textual analysis, and historical studies. Where “We’re doing science” was once the watch-word, scholars are now experimenting with the boundaries of interpretation, linking research to social change, delving into characteristics of race, ethnicity, gender, age and culture to understand more fully the relationship of the researcher to the research. In various disciplines in various guises, this implicit critique of the traditional worldview of science and quantitative methods is taking place. All of these trends have fallen under the rubric of ‘qualitative research’”.

Although prior to this methodological revolution” qualitative research was not well thought of it was still present in research dating back to the eighteenth century (Hamilton, 1994). Yet, presently qualitative research is still thought of as ‘something of an enigma’ (Phillimore and Goodson 2004, p.3). It can be seen that one reason for this is that as aforementioned many differing developments in research have simply become classified as qualitative research. A typical exemplar of this is provided by Punch (1998, p.4) whom states simply that “Qualitative research is empirical research where the data are not in the form of numbers”.

However, Rolfe (2004) states that to infer that the sole difference between the paradigms is that of the data which has been collected is an over simplified view and that in effect it is the epistemological or ontological grounds and understandings behind the data which confirms them as either paradigm rather than the methodological grounds alone. Rolfe (2004, p.304) goes on to state that:

“There is no unified body of theory, methodology or method that can collectively be described as qualitative research; indeed[...]the very idea of qualitative research is open to question”.

Such questionings and criticisms of qualitative research are rife within the social sciences. Much of the criticism is due to the fact that the data is textual as opposed to numeric. Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.3) claim that this has led to assumptions by many that qualitative methods are an inferior approach to research. It is accused of being a “soft” and “non-scientific approach”, which is only useful when utilised alongside quantitative techniques (Guba and Lincoln, 1998, p.196). Furthermore, Decrop (1999) has recognised that qualitative research is traditionally thought of as being less sophisticated than quantitative research.

However, more recently qualitative research has advanced in the estimations of some researchers and is becoming more widely utilised as Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.4) illustrate:

“The labelling of qualitative research as a poor alternative to ‘real’, rigorous, ‘scientific’, qualitative studies has been questioned over the past 25 years in many

social science disciplines. Indeed, over the past few decades, using qualitative approaches to study social life has been considered more acceptable within the mainstream, rather than being viewed as an adjunct to quantitative work. In fact, qualitative research has become increasingly valued as thinking about research developed and research began to be viewed more as a process than an activity”.

Although the use of qualitative methods is becoming more widely used in research, within the field of tourism research quantitative methodological approaches are still dominant (Phillimore and Goodson, 2004). As such, it is still identified that the move toward using qualitative approaches remains a fairly new idea in the field of heritage studies (Waterton, 2010).

Furthermore, Phillimore and Goodson (2004, p.39) draw attention to the social construction of tourism realities and the growing appreciation that “tourism spaces are not physically but socially constructed”. This is paramount to the investigation undertaken here. In order to satisfy the research objectives, the paradigmatic-methodological considerations needed to allow for the construction of a methodology that drew from the real life and everyday experiences of members of the heritage community. Indeed, as Mellor once identified (1991, p.100) “we have neglected to ask the punters what they think”. From studying and understanding both qualitative and quantitative approaches to research, a qualitative approach was deemed most suitable for the purposes of this investigation. This is partly due to the arguments already presented here, but further because the qualitative approach “from the stem word quality, takes as its prime motivator the socially constructed nature of

reality” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, p.13; Gomm, 2004, p.7). Therefore, taking a qualitative approach looks “to construct an understanding of the experiences, behaviours, meanings and contexts” (Devine et al., 1995, p.197). The qualitative approach is consistent with the epistemological constructionist perspective of this thesis, as Creswell (2003, p.8) explains, in social constructivism:

“Individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work...These meanings are varied and multiple, leading the researcher to look for the complexity of views rather than narrowing meanings into a few categories or ideas”.

As such, the approaches taken here address Holloway and Todres’s (2003, p.347) call for a “goodness of fit” between research philosophy and approaches to data collection, analysis and presentation. Having now identified and explained the theoretical drivers for the investigation. The chapter will now turn to convey the methodological foundations of the study by presenting and analysing the research strategy, methods and tools involved in gathering data for this study.

5.6 Case study research

5.6.1 Case studies

Case studies have formed the core method of enquiry for this research project and have long been used within tourism research, as they are the most useful way of studying that which cannot be separated from the context in which it is occurring (Yin, 2003). The strategy itself combines various methods of research in order to study the phenomenon under question (Yin, 1994). Punch (1998, p.150) defines a case study as:

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

Very simply a case study is purely the "the detailed examination of a single example of something" (Haralambos & Holborn, 1990, p.726). Yin (1984, p.23) defines case study research as an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. A strategy of this kind seemed most fitting for the investigation as multiple sites needed to be analysed in order to test the validity of the conclusive framework and each analysis needed to be able to develop throughout the process and adapt in order to fit the changing environments and circumstances. The case study process was therefore deemed a suitable fit for the exploratory nature of the investigation.

Stake (2000) has identified three different types of case study; the intrinsic case which does not generalise in any way, being simply a description of that case in particular, the instrumental case using the case to explain or interpret a particular issue and the collective case where a number of cases are used in the study of a particular issue. A collective case was carried out for the present research as two cases were utilised and the insights gained, although not widely generalisable, were used to identify and explore stakeholder relations within heritage tourism destinations. As Silverman (2011, p.140) identifies “a description of a case for descriptions case (the intrinsic case study) is a weak position.” Mason (1996, p.6) also recognised this and further states “qualitative researcher should produce explanations which are generalisable in some way, or which have a wider resonance.”

However, a commonly cited limitation of case studies is their lack of generalisability. This, however, is merely a misunderstanding of the purpose served by case studies, which is to describe, analyse and interpret a particular case in detail. A case study is purposefully idiosyncratic and is not carried out with the intention of applying the findings elsewhere or to other similar cases (Williams, 2002). However, the use of multiple case studies in research can assist in enhancing the investigation. This is not done with the hopes of achieving similar results, the use of multiple case studies is carried out in order to create a richer and broader pool of data.

Miles and Huberman (1994, p.29) state that the use of multiple case studies can bring added “confidence to findings”. Similarly, Herriot and Firestone (1983) note that the use of multiple cases can aid in the creation of an increasingly compelling and robust investigation.

Furthermore, the exploration of multiple cases means that the knowledge found can be described and explored within each case individually as well as across the cases providing further insight. Therefore the multiple case study approach was used for this study and the case studies selected will now be presented and justified in the following section of this chapter.

5.6.2 The collective case method

This investigation utilised multiple case studies in order to represent a broader view across the heritage tourism industry. Adeyinka-Ojo et al., (2014) carried out a review of the destination branding literature published between 1998 and 2007. They found that only 4 of the studies published on destination branding during this time adopted a multiple case study approach (Adeyinka-Ojo et al., 2014). As such, it is argued here that more multiple case studies need to be carried out in the field of destination branding, and this thesis hopes to add to the body of knowledge in the field by doing so.

Comparison of heritage tourism destinations would be an ambitious objective as heritage tourism destinations are far from heterogeneous in behaviour despite being often similar in composition. It is necessary to once again highlight that the investigation is concerned with heritage tourism destinations as socially constructed areas of interaction and experience over and above being simply another tangible representation of the built environment.

By ultimately selecting destinations at differing stages in the tourism life cycle and in their development, a more robust representation of heritage tourism destinations was available for analysis. The investigation explored various towns and cities within two counties/provinces in different countries and subsequently this approach meant that a level of

saturation could be reached when common issues and themes pertaining to the stakeholder relationships within the destinations became repeatedly revealed.

Stake (2005, p.459-450) has identified the six key “*responsibilities*” for the researcher to follow when carrying out qualitative case study research:

- a. “Bounding the case, conceptualizing the object of study;
- b. Selecting phenomena, themes or issues
- c. Seeking patterns of data to develop the issues;
- d. Triangulating key observations and bases for interpretation;
- e. Selecting alternative interpretations to peruse, and
- f. Developing assertions and generalizations about the case”.

These key responsibilities were considered and adhered to throughout the investigation in order to maintain a thorough and consistent research process. Further, a case study protocol was developed for this investigation and is included in Appendix A.

5.6.3 Justification of case study destinations

Once the comparative case study approach was selected it was essential to identify the case study destinations to be investigated (Yin, 2009). Purposive sampling is often adopted to enable the selection of cases considered the most appropriate (Jankowicz, 2005) and in order to select suitable case study destinations, this approach was adopted with a thorough sequential selection process undertaken. In order to achieve this, sites selected had to meet the following criteria:

1. The destinations should possess multiple heritage attractions or sites of international recognition;
2. The levels of tourism within the destinations should be at differing stages within their destination development
3. The destinations should be located in different countries

These criteria were implemented alongside the pragmatic realities of the study. A pragmatic approach is important in the case study selection process (Yin, 2009), as the researcher should “choose the case that is likely, all other things being equal, to yield the best data” (Yin, 2009, p.91). This led to the following selection of case studies:

- Yorkshire, England

- This would be the major case study where access to respondents and secondary sources was relatively easy and where the data gathered could therefore be expected to be more substantial

- Huelva Province, Andalucia, Spain
 - This would be the 'minor' case study where access to respondents and secondary sources might be expected to be more difficult, because of the logistics and fewer available contacts

 - This was a suitable choice for access reasons because York St John University has a partnership arrangement with the University of Huelva and that provided opportunities for access that would not necessarily be available in other overseas locations.

The main implications of this for the study are that a richer level of data was expected from the Yorkshire case study whereas for Huelva it was acknowledged that even with properly planned visits and the use of existing contacts less data might be ultimately expected. As a strategy for dealing with this it was decided to treat Yorkshire as the 'major' study and Huelva as the 'minor' study where approaches and methods developed in Yorkshire could be applied and tested for their transferability and relevance in another destination. Any subsequent models based on interpretations of the data could also be evaluated in terms of their transferability from the major to the minor case study. In order to minimize the negative effects of this imbalance however, it was also decided to focus on specific locations

within each case study area and to apply similar ethnographic modes of address in each of these. Therefore within each case study destination the main cities (York and Huelva) were analysed alongside smaller villages and towns (Thornbrough and Trigueros).

Furthermore, in both Yorkshire and Huelva the tourism offerings are similar as both areas are deeply rooted in the heritage of the nation and both have a vast amount of heritage assets and offerings for tourists providing many elements for analysis. However, where the destinations differ is in their stage in the tourism life cycle. Yorkshire and Huelva are at very different stages in their development as heritage tourism destinations, despite both having a plethora of offerings for tourists and this is a key reason for why these destinations were chosen.

This investigation analyses the impact of the marketing strategies used at each destination and how these impact upon the community and their understandings of and relationships with their heritage. From looking at two destinations which are similar in composition but which are at different stages in the tourism life cycle it will create two contrasting snapshots of the representations and uses of heritage within two similar spaces.

From a methodological point of view it was also considered worthwhile to apply any lessons and insights from the major (Yorkshire) case study to the minor (Huelva) case study. This would hopefully provide some evaluation of the transferability of the methods used at York

and also, perhaps, the transferability of conclusions regarding the dynamics of tourism stakeholder interactions.

Concerning the final criterion it was important to the study that one of the destinations was outside of the UK, whilst still being accessible to the researcher. This is because there is still a need for cross-cultural research within the tourism literature, as research that adopts a cross-cultural approach enhances further understandings (Wolman and Goldsmith, 1992) and is commended within the literature (Budge et al., 1998; Clark, 1998; Elliott, 1997).

Having identified and explained the use of case studies, the chapter will now turn to exploring the different data collection tools used within each case study location.

5.7 Methods

5.7.1 Semi-structured interviews

Due to the exploratory, respondent-centred orientation of this research investigation semi-structured interviews were employed. Interviews are a common method for investigation in social research projects (Rubin and Rubin, 1995; Seale, 1998) and were deemed appropriate because of their open ended nature which allowed the researcher the freedom to adapt the course of the interview in line with the information presented by the respondent, thus giving the researcher the best chance at extracting the required information.

Furthermore, interviews allow for a depth of conversation and reflexive dialogue that is not possible through other available methods (Silverman, 2011), as recognised by Kvale (1996, p.1) who stated, “If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk to them?”. A further strength of interviews is that they can denote a number of differing epistemological positions (Madill et al., 2000). The nature of un-structured, in-depth interviews allows the researcher to immediately analyse and reflect on the information that they are obtaining from the respondent and change the course of the conversation or ask additional questions to order to better understand the situation.

The thesis is based upon the individual experiences and understanding of the people involved in heritage tourism destinations and as such the researcher needed to understand their subjective relationship with the evolving destinations and the way in which they are represented. This is a further reason why in-depth, semi-structured interviews were

deemed the most appropriate and accurate method, for as Seidman states, “at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (1998, p.3).

Interviews in York were carried out continuously between 2012 and 2015 and took place either at York St John University or at the respondent’s choice of location which varied from their place of work to local coffee shops, wherever they felt most comfortable. In Huelva, interviews were carried out in four rounds between 2012 and 2015. Although there were four trips to Huelva one served as an initial, exploratory and observational visit as the researcher felt it necessary to fully understand the destination and its heritage before identifying respondents and drafting interview questions. A complete list of interviews and interview participants is available in Appendix B and Appendix C.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) established seven steps that are involved in carrying out qualitative in-depth interviews: thematising, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analysing, verifying and reporting (See Table 1) below.

- 1. *Thematizing.* Formulate the purpose of an investigation and the conception of the theme to be investigated before the interviews start. The why and what of the investigation should be clarified before the question of how-method- is posed.**
- 2. *Designing.* Plan the design of the study, taking into consideration all seven stages**

of the investigation, before interviewing. Designing the study is undertaken with regard to obtaining the intended knowledge and taking into account the moral implications of the study.

3. *Interviewing.* Conduct the interviews based on an interview guide and with a reflective approach to the knowledge sought and the interpersonal relation of the interview situation.
4. *Transcribing.* Prepare the interview material for analysis, which generally includes a transcription from oral speech to written text.
5. *Analyzing.* Decide, on the basis of the purpose and topic of the investigation and of the nature of the interview material, which modes of analysis are appropriate for the interviews.
6. *Verifying.* Ascertain the validity, reliability, and generalizability of the interview findings. Reliability refers to how consistent the results are, and validity means whether an interview study investigates what is intended to be investigated.
7. *Reporting.* Communicate the findings of the study and the methods applied in a form that lives up to scientific criteria, takes the ethical aspects of the investigation into consideration, and results in a readable product.

Table 1: The seven stages of an interview inquiry (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009, p.102)

As such, the interview process for this thesis followed Kvale and Brinkman's seven stages, in order to ensure a consistent and robust approach to the interview process. The application of the seven stages of interview inquiry for this thesis is presented in Figure 13.



Figure 13: The seven stages of interview inquiry in this study (adapted from Kvale and Brinkann, 2009, p.102)

In order to ensure that the interview process answered the research questions posed by the investigation, key themes were established for the questioning process in accordance with the research questions of the investigation. The following key themes were identified for investigation throughout the research process and are presented below in Table 2. These were identified partly through the findings of the pilot study (discussed in-depth in section 5.8) and partly through the findings of the literature review and study of documentary sources. These themes were then used in the construction of semi-structured interview questions.

Research Questions	Key themes
<p>1. Is there a dissonance present between the community and commercial stakeholders regarding the value of heritage and culture in heritage tourism destinations and how this heritage should be represented?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community understanding of heritage • Community attachment to heritage • Community representations of heritage • Community understanding of current destination image and heritage representation
<p>2. What are the effects of the dissonance present upon the community stakeholders?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place attachment • Place identity • Satisfaction with tourism at the destination

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationship with tourists
<p>3. What are the effects of this dissonance upon the commercial stakeholders and what is to be gained from increased stakeholder collaboration between the community and commercial voices of heritage tourism?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Approaches to marketing and branding heritage tourism destinations • Community engagement • Marketing messages • Heritage selection processes
<p>4. How can local communities be increasingly included in the representation of heritage tourism destinations and their marketing processes?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community empowerment • Discourses of local heritage • Inclusion of dissonant heritage • Community engagement

Table 2: Research questions and key themes

5.7.2 Conducting the interviews

The structure of the interviews was guided by the central research questions established and the key themes of the research project as shown in table 2 above. The key themes included in the table were used in the development of an interview protocol. An interview protocol is “a list of topics instead of a list of questions. The interviewer generally memorises the protocol, but has no predetermined specific questions or question ordering” (Belk et al., 2012, p.35). Due to the constructionist nature of the study, there were no set questions and the line of conversation was very flexible, however some form of protocol was needed beforehand as considering the range of issues that need to be explored within the interview is of high importance (Langdridge, 2007). Without some form of protocol interviews can be ineffective, as Langdridge (2007, p. 68) explains:

“Unstructured interviews are, however, tricky things to manage, and especially to manage well. The construction of an interview schedule and the consistent application is vital with semi-structured interviewing provides a structure to support the researcher and the collection of good-quality data. Without these structures, there is a greater likelihood of failing to achieve the aims of a study”.

Furthermore, King and Horrocks (2010) state that it is useful for the researcher to change and adapt the interview guide as they move through the interview process. As such, information gained from previous interviews was often used to adapt the interview protocol for the following interview. As such an interview guide and an interview protocol were developed for this study to ensure that all of these key issues were covered and the

respondent understood the interview process. The interview guide for this study is available in Appendix E and the interview protocol for this study is available in Appendix F. As demonstrated from the protocol, the interviews were carried out in English. The researcher did have basic Spanish but all respondents had a better command of English than the researcher had of Spanish so it seemed sensible to conduct the interviews in English. Had this not been the case, a colleague at the University of Seville had offered to work as a translator, however this was not necessary.

Before the interviews began respondents signed consent forms (available in Appendix D), and were briefed on the nature of the study, what was being investigated and why. It was felt necessary by the researcher that there was full transparency between the researcher and the respondent. This helped to put the respondent at ease and made them feel more comfortable but also it helped the respondent to understand where these conversations were leading and what information would be useful for the researcher to know.

Interviews were tape-recorded and respondents were informed of this in the briefing and in the consent forms that they signed. A non-directive approach was taken when conducting interviews, giving control to the participant to bring to the fore the matters, which they thought, were of importance to the case and issues which they wanted to discuss. The interviewer could then filter through these and probe the respondent for more details on the issues which seemed of greatest interest to the case. This method of approach allowed for a sufficient level of detail to be reached and helped to engage the respondent as they were talking about the matters that they felt strongly about.

Each interview lasted between one and two hours when conversation came to a natural end point and there was sufficiency of data. Following the interview, transcripts of the interview were given to respondents in order to ensure that they were satisfied and that there was no misinterpretation of conversation. In all cases respondents were satisfied. In accordance with the research questions and key themes were established.

5.7.3 Sampling

The key objective of the interview process was to gain a plethora of information on people's perceptions and understandings of the representation of the heritage tourism destination in question and the agency that this has on the destination. The focus of the thesis surrounds community and commercial representations of heritage tourism and as such those regarded as key informants was not restricted to those operating at high level tourism operations and management in the destination. People working on the front line in tourism, those who are engaging with tourists face-to-face every day such as gift shop workers, tour guides and museum workers were also a valuable source of information.

It is important to stress here that this study is reflective of the voices of the community as a whole and not just those who have a specific interest in heritage or tourism within the destination and it is important to recognise the heterogeneous voices present in the destinations. In total 56 semi-structured in-depth interviews were carried out. This is understood to be a large sample of interviews when taking a qualitative approach. However, these interviews were conducted throughout 4 different case study destinations and a representative sample was needed in each area, this consisted of 24 in York, 8 in Thornborough, 16 in Huelva and 8 in Trigueros. There are more respondents in York than in Huelva, this is due to the structural changes that occurred within the DMO in York with the construction of Make It York (discussed in Chapter 6). The newly formed destination management organisation played a central role in the city and as such the researcher carried out further interviews here to obtain the most up-to-date information. Further, at

the same time more interviews were carried out with community members in York to understand their thoughts on the work done by Make It York and their plans for the destinations marketing strategy.

In terms of sampling technique, a purposive sampling technique was used. Purposive sampling is defined as when respondents in a sample are selected to represent a location or type in relation to a key measure (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). Purposive sampling was initially carried out to identify the key respondents who were deemed most suitable to satisfy the aims of this research agenda. These were the professional or 'commercial' voices of the destinations and those who are active in the local community with an interest in heritage, history and historical tourism.

Alongside this a snowball sampling technique was also used. Noy (2008), states that a snowball sampling technique has been used when the researchers obtains contact information from respondents to help them to access further respondents. This method helped identify willing participants from both commercial and community groups for the study.

Gaining access to key informants was challenging in Huelva. Therefore, in order to try to overcome this, the researcher engaged in Spanish language classes for two years, gaining both preliminary and continuation certificates in Spanish. Further, with the support of colleagues at the University of Huelva and the University of Seville, the researcher

developed and maintained a working relationship with both Universities and spent time on the University Erasmus programme teaching at both institutions. This relationship proved valuable in achieving access to key informants needed for the research investigation.

The relationships established in Huelva and Seville with key informants in the study, they were then also able to recommend, and in some cases arrange interviews with other key informants within Huelva. Cross-cultural data collection of this kind can be difficult, and some researchers note that respondents may feel uncomfortable about being interviewed by someone from a foreign country (Hennink, 2008; Jameson, 1994; Liamputtong, 2008), however, as the respondents in many cases either had a working relationship with the researcher or with another respondent who had recommended them, respondents appeared fairly relaxed and able to share their views.

5.7.4 Analysis of secondary sources

The interview transcripts were the main source of data for this investigation. However, the analysis of secondary sources was carried out throughout the entire length of the investigation in order to form and shape the research. The use of documentary sources was applied in order to provide a context for the key themes prevalent in the interviews and build a larger picture of the issues identified within the thesis. Further, use of documentary sources enabled data triangulation. Employing multiple data collection methods within the multiple-case study approach is encouraged (Patton, 1987; Yin, 2003). Palakshappa and Gordon (2006, p.392) identify that:

“An important aspect of case research is the use of multiple sources of evidence[...]to help reduce the problems associated with respondent bias or poor recall/articulation through the interview process[...]and allow for consideration of a broader range of issues”.

In order to carry out documentary research a document of use or relevance to the phenomenon under investigation is studied and analysed (Bailey, 1994). Payne and Payne (2004) state that in order to do this one must first categorise then investigate, then interpret the document itself and finally identify any known limitations of the document.

In the past the documentary research method was viewed as being only applicable for historians, librarians and information science specialists (Mogalakwe, 2006). Social scientists have used the method but rarely as a main method of investigation and rather as merely a supplementary methodological approach (Mogalakwe, 2006). Mogalakwe (2006) identifies that although the analysis of documentary sources is not widely used today it is a well-founded and traditional research method. May (1997) recognises the use of documentary sources to be essential for the provision of contextual data for the investigation and to furthermore provide a baseline for further research.

It can be seen that the use of documentary sources can add useful elements to the investigation which would not be made possible through the use of the perhaps more popular research methods. Jennings (2010) identifies these advantages, as the provision of hindsight allowing past events to be studied as a snapshot in history within the field of study.

Clearly, an issue with documentary sources as with any source of secondary data is that the document was not constructed solely for the researcher's investigation. Payne and Payne (2004) identify that documents are not simply produced in for research but are objects which occur naturally. It is assumingly for this reason why documentary sources are seldom the principle or single research instrument used within investigations. Furthermore, as documentary sources are produced by someone other than the researcher for some other purpose quality control is crucial when attempting to source valid and reliable documents of relevance to the investigation.

In essence any piece of the written word can be deemed a documentary source. Scott (1990) construes that any artefact which centrally contains any inscribed text is classified as a documentary source. This can be problematic as the amount of information such as this is constantly growing, now more than ever in the era of information in which we live there is “just too much information, especially on the Internet” (Mogalakwe, 2006, p.224). Accordingly, this study had to be selective when deciding which documentary sources would be analysed for inclusion in the study. As such, the documentary sources used for this investigation drew from two foundations:

- Documentation associated with marketing Yorkshire and Huelva
 - This included:
 - Leaflets
 - Posters
 - Newspaper articles
 - Material published on the DMO or local authority websites
- Documentation produced by community stakeholder of heritage tourism in Yorkshire and Huelva
 - This included:
 - Community heritage literature
 - Community heritage online platforms (blogs and websites)
 - Posters

- Leaflets

Analysis of these documents allowed for comparison of what interview respondents were saying and the actions that were being taken in that regard. This ensured that the key issues raised were understood and examined by the thesis within the context in which they were occurring which further aids in validating the findings of this thesis.

Further, in York, the community heritage group 'York Past and Present' carried out a focus group in 2014, which was analysed as part of this study. The focus group was run and analysed by 'York Past and Present' for their own purposes. The researcher was an observer who recorded responses for use in this study to support the findings of the semi-structured interviews. As such, some extracts of data included in this thesis are extracts from respondents included in the focus group, for transparency purposes these responses are clearly recorded as focus group responses.

5.8 Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out on a smaller scale within the cities of York and Paphos in Cyprus. A pilot study was deemed necessary in order to thoroughly examine the suitability of the research instrument and provide a trustworthy study.

The City of York in England is one of the most visited cities in the country, attracting an estimated 6.7 million visitors each year (Visityork.org, 2016) and at one time was said to be the country's leading city destination outside of London (Touche Ross Management Consultants, 1994). These relatively high levels of touristic activity are conventionally attributed to the city's very visible history – its heritage in short. York was the winner of European Tourism City of the Year 2007 and is a British Heritage City (a working group for the tourist authorities for Bath, Cambridge, Carlisle, Chester, Durham, Greenwich, Lancaster, Lincoln, Oxford, Stratford-upon-Avon and York).

York has a significant number of heritage sites as well as many modern attractions and a wide variety of shops, restaurants, cafes and bars. Among the most popular of York's attractions are the National Railway Museum which received 807,591 visitors in 2009 and the York Minster with 797,100 visitors, both attractions are among the thirty most frequented attractions in Britain (Association of Leading Visitor Attractions, 2009). The largest representation of visitors to the City are aged forty-five to sixty-four and lie in the

ABC1 socio-economic groups with 15% of which being overseas tourists and 80% repeat visitors (Visit York Media Files, 2012).

The ancient City of Paphos lies in the southwest corner of the Greek island of Cyprus in the Mediterranean Sea. The Island remains divided after the Turkish invasion in 1967. The northeast side of the island is the Turkish region and the southwest side is the Greek region where Paphos lies. The entire island's economy relies heavily on tourism, which is its most significant economic sector, contributing 20% of all GDP and 25% of all employment Sharpley and Forster (2003).

History and unique culture are in abundance within Paphos with signs of human life there dating back as far as the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods which occurred around the middle of the seventh millennium BC (Lavithis, 2008). For much of this past Paphos was isolated, being separated from the rest of Cyprus by mountains and for this reason has developed its own unique identity (Lavithis, 2008, p.6). In 1980 the City was granted World Heritage Site status for the exceptional historic and architectural value it possesses (UNESCO, 2013). This amounts to a significant and unique heritage, culture and history for the destination to present to tourists.

These two destinations were selected for the pilot study as both are primarily heritage destinations and for both cities tourism is their main source of economic activity. Also, the

researcher had access to the destinations which was an important factor due to the time and budget restrictions of the pilot study.

The key themes within the literature were then summarised (as shown in Chapters 2-4) in order to demonstrate reliable sources of evidential support to substantiate the further key themes within stakeholder theory to be found within the field and to be applied to the information obtained.

Primary research began within the field and took place between the months of May 2011 and September 2011, in which field observations were made in three separate visits to Paphos, each visit comprising of between seven and eleven days. The City of York was visited within the same period in a series of fifteen separate daily visits in order to conduct the equivalent amount of research methods and compile the information required for the investigation.

A qualitative research strategy was adopted as aforementioned is the most suitable approach for an exploratory study of this kind. The key method of research used was in-depth semi-structured interviews. This method was considered to be pivotal to the investigation as to draw justifiable answers to the research questions posed an in-depth approach to data collection was necessary.

Within the City of York six separate semi-structured in depth interviews were undertaken. Respondents included three residents of York and three people who worked in the commercial tourism sector.

Respondent position	Respondent destination
Resident	York
Resident	York
Resident	York
Director of historical tour company	York
Historical tour guide	York
Visit York volunteer	York
Beach bar owner	Paphos
Tour guide	Paphos
Resident	Paphos
Resident	Paphos

Table 3: Pilot study interview respondents

The interviews were semi-structured and were underpinned by an interview guide (shown in Appendix E). The information resulting from the interviews was then transcribed and examined with particular reference to the themes identified within the literature as well as

the recognition of previously unidentified themes. In addition to this, interviews were undertaken with tourism brokers within the historic core whom were regarded as key informants due to their position within the industry and position as stakeholders in two respects, brokers and residents of the city.

Similarly, during visits to Paphos four semi-structured in depth interviews were undertaken. Although due to limitations this noticeably does not equate with the number of interviews undergone in York, however the information obtained offered sufficient data for analysis.

Additionally, covert observation of tourists and residents within each destination were undertaken upon each visit to give insight into both the stakeholders of the destination and the marketing and management of each site and the challenges and limitations to this. Furthermore, a small investigation of documentary sources such as relevant websites was undertaken in order to gain an understanding of the representation of the destination.

The information collected from both the interviews and documentary sources was then applied to the previous findings from the literature to identify the key themes. This information was used in the construction of the aims and objectives and the research questions which laid the foundation for the thesis. These are discussed in the section that follows.

5.8.1 Pilot study reflections

The findings from the pilot study were very influential when concerning the overall direction of the research investigation. The pilot study enacted an approach to stakeholders that was based upon Cheong and Miller's (2000) tripartite system of destination stakeholders. When going into the pilot study the investigation was initially centred on further investigation of this tripartite stakeholder system of brokers, locals and tourists. However, the interviews with local people highlighted the strong sense of need felt by the communities to be further involved in the tourism marketing process. The non-directive interview approach taken allowed for respondents to identify what the key issues were and from this a new research approach was taken. The research approach was adjusted to shift the focus from the tripartite stakeholder system to a community stakeholder and commercial stakeholder approach.

This, clearly, had a large impact on the research process. Firstly, the literature was re-examined with further emphasis upon communities, community tourism, community engagement and community representational practices. Secondly, the approach taken to identify study participants shifted and focused on identifying key commercial and community respondents within the destination. The data collection tools or data analysis methods planned did not need to be adjusted.

In addition to this, the researcher also learned and developed research skills throughout the pilot study process. For example, one interview lasted nearly three hours. The respondent

was a key informant in the community and had a lot of valuable information for the research project. However, the respondent often lost sight of the topic of the interview and often began starting new discussions of interest to him. Issues such as this, although difficult, enabled the researcher to develop the skills necessary to control and develop the interview process in a way which would best fulfil the objectives of the interview and the research process. These matters are highlighted by Holloway (1997) who states that when applying such qualitative approaches it is useful for the researcher to pilot the methods, in order to build confidence, develop interview skills and improve interview technique. This is important because interviewers must have these necessary skills and experience in order to adapt their style to the respondent, to be relatable to the respondent and to build rapport (Leon, Davis and Kraemer, 2011).

In conclusion, the pilot study was very beneficial to the shaping and development of the research investigation. The findings of the investigation led to a subsequent shift in the focus of the study, due to the identification of a need for further understanding within the field of community heritage. Further, the research skills developed by the researcher throughout the pilot study process improved the quality of the data collection process for the thesis investigation through improving experience and knowledge in interview technique.

5.9 Data analysis

5.9.1 The transcription process

In order to fully explore and analyse the primary data, full verbatim transcripts were required. Therefore, the first step in the data analysis process was to transcribe the interview recordings. Interviews were transcribed soon after the interview process, while the event was still fresh in the researcher's mind, and the transcripts were all verified for accuracy. In total 56 interviews took place, 28 in Yorkshire and 22 in Huelva. This resulted in over 60 hours of audio, as such, the transcription process was extensive. There are software packages available, such as Dragon, which can be used to transcribe your data for you. However, Braun and Clarke (2006) have identified that the transcription process is a useful first step to allow the researcher to become familiar with the data and as such it was decided that the data would be transcribed by the researcher. An example of an excerpt from an interview transcript is shown below in table 4

Excerpt from Interview in Huelva

Researcher: How do you feel about the marketing of Huelva as a tourism destination?

Well here is the first, we say, problematic thing. When in the politics made the planning of tourism they don't think really in the sense of communities. They think in terms of borders, of geography. So sometimes they sell like a sense of community but by their point of view, not the community view. One conversation point in a meeting with 15 or 20 planners, they decide. But they don't ask really to the local people really. What do you

think about your local community? What do you think would be better for you to promote or to show your cultural way of life or whatever you do in your community as a way of life? Whatever you do in your job, you work with the ground or with nature to keep your living but they don't ask those people really. So they just take for granted some reasons to sell a part of the culture. There's a part of the culture that they want to sell. It's quite selective.

For many years, it was only beer, beach and sex. Hopefully this is changing, oh and flamenco, but that was basically what people think of when you say Spain. For me it is flamenco, beaches and having fun and our night culture. But I can see there is a graduation of changing and shifting in the way that the tourists appreciate our culture. I don't think it's any more 100% flamenco, and nights and sex and partying.

Why do you think that is?

Because it is changing the way people are travelling. People now are more aware through the production of the product. They take their own way of doing things, if they want to go to Barcelona, they will book the flight, hotel, everything that they want to do want to go and see. Maybe they want to go to the Cathedral they buy their tickets for visit the cathedral. You are not just dependant on the tour operator so you can go by yourself. So people are no anymore herded like sheep, they are more individual, more engaged. So people are more aware of other cultures, they want to experience things in another way. So I think that's why this is changing.

Table 4: Example of an interview transcript

In order to better facilitate the transcription process and allow further understanding the preparation process identified by Lewins and Silver (2007) was utilised. This involved establishing heading levels, paragraphs, colours and highlighting functions etc. in the Microsoft Word processor document. After the transcription process, the transcripts were read through in full a number of times in order to ensure familiarity with the data, and to gain a holistic sense of the picture before breaking down the information. This approach is suggested by Rabiee (2004, p.657) who states that it is important that the researcher allows themselves to “immerse in the details”.

5.9.2 Using NVivo

It is not essential to analyse qualitative data by using computer software, however it is a beneficial tool (Krueger and Casey, 2000). Richards (1999, p.4) identifies the strengths of NVivo as follows:

“NVivo has tools for recording and linking ideas in many ways, and for searching and exploring the patterns of data and ideas. It is designed to remove rigid divisions between ‘data’ and ‘interpretation’”

There are both strengths and weaknesses to this approach which must be considered here. Qualitative data analysis software will not identify the themes or codes, nor will it connect or disconnect these themes (MacLean et al. 2010). Further, the software does not create conclusions of any kind (MacLean et al. 2010). This is the job of the researcher, as such research tasks require “human abstract thought” (ibid, p.312). Therefore the success of the data analysis, does not lie in the software and its capabilities, but in the researcher and their skills (Jennings, 2005, p.109).

Accordingly, in order to develop the necessary skills, the researcher attended several training days on the NVivo software package and how to use it. Further skills were developed through the reading of training booklets and textbooks, workshop activities and trial and error approaches to understanding.

5.9.3 Thematic analysis

In order to analyse the data in a logical way, thematic analysis was applied. Thematic analysis is defined by Boyatzis (1998, p.4) as a “way of seeing” and a way of “making sense of and analysing” that allows the researcher to analyse, process and interpret qualitative data. Further, Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79) state that thematic analysis is a method of “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. In order to carry out a systematic analysis Braun and Clarke (2006) have created a framework to provide six guidelines to follow when carrying out a thematic analysis. It is noted that this approach is not prescriptive and allows flexibility for the researcher to adapt the framework to fit the

research investigation. This approach was followed throughout the thematic analysis process in order to create a logical and systematic approach to analysis and is shown in Table 5 below.

Phase	Description of the Process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic manner across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report	The initial opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected

	<p>extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.</p>
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Table 5: Adapted from Braun and Clarke: The Thematic Analysis Framework (2006)

Phase One – Familiarising Yourself with Your Data

Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that it is important for the researcher to immerse themselves in the data to ensure familiarity with the depth and breadth of the content. This would typically involve repeated reading of the data in order to begin to search for patterns and meanings. For Miles and Huberman (1994), this is an important part of the process, leading to greater data familiarisation for the researcher. As a result, during this phase the researcher immersed themselves in the data set to ensure familiarity with the depth and breadth of the content. This immersion was achieved through the following process:

- Transcribing the data;
- Reading the transcriptions whilst listening to the audio in order to check the data for accuracy; and
- Re-reading the transcriptions.

For the researcher this first phase included the data management process and transcription. All interview data was transcribed in Microsoft Word and later transferred to the Nvivo 8

software package for analysis. This therefore allowed the researcher to organise, store and retrieve data collected in a systematic and coherent way. A discussion on the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software is given in section 3.8.7. In addition, during this process the researcher also took notes and made initial comments for coding.

5.9.3.1 Phase Two – Generating Initial Codes

The second phase involved the generation of codes and the initial coding of the data. Once the researcher is familiar with the data they are able to begin an initial coding (Braun and Clarke, 2006). During this phase initial coding took place in which the researcher documented where and how patterns occurred. Within the transcripts, data was highlighted and coded and, in particular, patterns were identified within the data set. This coding was conducted electronically using Nvivo 8 as a tool to analyse and identify potential patterns within the data. For Braun and Clarke (2006), writing is an important part of the analysis process and, therefore, ideas and potential coding themes were noted down throughout the coding process. Seale (2004, p.306) claims the researcher will usually be interested in

detecting patterns in data and therefore describes coding as ‘placing like with like so that patterns can be found.’ This is where the Nvivo software was particularly useful as it enabled the researcher to collect all data belonging to a particular code. It also enabled the facilitation of the re-coding of data and the creation of coding hierarchies. Depending on how structured the interview is a coding scheme may emerge both deductively from pre-existing concerns as well as inductively from the data themselves (Seale, 2004). Both forms of coding apply to this study.

5.9.3.2 Phase Three – Searching for Themes

Phase three is concerned with re-focusing the analysis and involved the sorting of different codes into potential themes. For Braun and Clarke (2006), the emphasis within this phase is to begin identifying the relationships between the different codes and to consider how these codes could be combined. Therefore, codes were combined into potential key themes and the researcher developed mind maps in order to provide a visual representation of the themes which were emerging within the data. Mind maps provide a visual representation of the codes, showing the relationships between these codes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Within this research the development of a series of mind maps enabled the researcher to gain an understanding of the emerging relationships between the codes, which then allowed for the development of emerging themes.

5.9.3.3 Phase Four – Reviewing Themes

Having identified emerging themes from the data, during this phase the themes were further refined. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that during this phase it is important to review the themes which have been identified by revisiting the data extracts and checking that they appear to form a coherent pattern. As a result, within this phase the researcher was able to elicit meanings and insights from the data extracts. Patterns which emerged were further refined and the researcher was able to make links with the research aim and objectives and the identified patterns and their features from the literature. If this was the case, a thematic map was then developed which allowed the researcher to check that the thematic map reflected the meanings evident in the data set as a whole. As part of this process, the

themes were further refined to ensure relevance and appropriateness. The refined themes are presented in the themes map in Appendix H.

5.9.3.4 Phase Five – Defining and Naming Themes

The purpose of phase five is to further define the key themes and name them. For the researcher this involved the identification of the key links, relationships and differences between the data and the themes identified. From this, the major themes and the description of these key themes were produced.

Additionally, to ensure the quality of the analysis, this was not a linear process and indeed the researcher continued to check the data extracts and themes in order to verify that the data was appropriate for the themes that had been identified.

Consequently, these final revised themes were:

- Community inclusion/engagement
- Dissonance and heritage voice and heritage assets
- Dissonance and disinherited communities
- The value of heritage destination communities

The relationship between the initial codes and the final themes is given in Appendix H.

5.9.3.5 Phase Six – Producing the Report

The final stage of this data analysis process is the presentation of what was found. For Braun and Clarke (2006), this phase begins when the themes are fully worked-out and involves the presentation of the themes through a coherent, logical and interesting narrative. Furthermore, the write up should include sufficient and appropriate supporting evidence of the themes. As a result, direct quotations from the transcripts of the interviews were used to facilitate the presentation of the discussion of the themes identified through this analysis. Data extracts were chosen which illustrated the point appropriately (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This approach to data presentation is also in accordance with the constructionist epistemological perspective of the investigation (Wiersma, 1991; Stainback & Stainback, 1984).

5.10 Validity, Reliability, Generalisability and Trustworthiness

It cannot be expected that the piece of research is readily accepted with no justification of the construction of the knowledge (Kvale, 1996). It is too simple for the researcher to hope that the research results in “knowledge claims that are so powerful and convincing in their own right they...carry the validation with them, like a strong piece of art” (Kvale, 1996, p.252). This is further applicable in the case of qualitative tourism research methods as aforementioned in the discussion of qualitative methods; the field of qualitative tourism research is in need of a greater depth of methodological sophistication. This investigation held the need for transparency in high regard and strived for what Savin-Badin and Fisher (2003, p.340) call “honesties” in research for as aforementioned in order for the quality and credibility of qualitative tourism research to improve researchers need to be increasingly transparent regarding their methods and strategy. There are three key concepts which are determinants of trustworthy, quality research; reliability, validity and generalisability (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003).

5.10.1 Reliability

Reliability is broadly defined as the ability of the tools used to produce consistent results (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). However, for a qualitative researcher to seek consistent results would be extraneous and implausible implying a misunderstanding of the aims of qualitative research (Decrop, 2004). Finlay and Ballinger (2006) recognise that reliability is not applicable to qualitative research, as qualitative research does not require or seek consistent results and instead hopes to capture a variety of differing responses within varying contexts.

5.10.2 Validity

Many authors state that validity is not a relevant concern for case study researchers (Bryman, 2012; Decrop, 2004; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Thomas, 2011; Veal, 2011). Validity refers to “the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers” (Hammersley, 1990, p.57). Finlay (2006, p.87) identifies that validity is only relevant to research that assumes that there is a specific reality “to which all findings must respond”. Clearly, this objective way of understanding is ill fitting with the subjective interpretations of qualitative research.

5.10.3 Generalisability

Generalisability is defined as “the extent to which a finding in one setting can be applied more generally” (Silverman, 2011, p.434). It has been argued that qualitative studies based on interview techniques have issues regarding the generalisability of the study (Saunders et al., 2009). Decrop (2004) identifies that this is another area of contention within qualitative research, and is largely inappropriate for research of this kind. Further, Finlay (2006, p.179) asserts “for qualitative researchers, then, the integrity of the research process and the quality of the end product would seem to require evaluation criteria of quite a different order- criteria that are responsive to qualitative research ideals and goals.”

Similarly, Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that generalisation is not possible in interpretive research projects. Whilst others such as Williams (2002) believe that generalisability can be achieved by even a single case study. This is supported by Decrop who states that analytical generalisation is possible in qualitative research under the right circumstances (Decrop, 2004).

Regarding this research investigation, every effort was made to allow for generalisability of research and for the research carried out here to be as transparent as possible so that it may be of most use to other researchers. In accordance with this the principles of analytical generalisation and construct validity were followed (Yin, 2003). Furthermore, at this point it is useful to remember the argument of Seale et al (2004, p.425) regarding generalisability of findings, who stated that:

“From both an understanding-oriented and an action-oriented perspective, it is often more important to clarify the deeper causes behind a given problem and its consequences than to describe the symptoms of the problem and how frequently they occur”.

Further, Dicks (1996, p.207) states that when analysing discourse the focus is “to provide an in-depth analysis that is focused on explanation, rather than generalization.” As such, it can be seen that focusing on the problem at hand and an explanation for such should be the foundation on which the research project is developed. In accordance with this the research investigation had four established research questions as guiding probes for identifying reasoning for the situations that presented.

Two case studies were used for the research investigation, as using multiple case studies can strengthen or broaden any generalisations of the research findings (Yin, 1998). These factors, alongside the adherence to the principles of replication logic and analytic generalisation (Yin, 2003) demonstrate that the findings of this research investigation are as generalisable as is practicable and possible for an interpretive qualitative research project.

5.10.4 Trustworthiness

Decrop (2004) cites Lincoln and Guba's typology as the most commonly used trustworthiness criteria. Lincoln and Guba (1985 p.290) developed four key criteria for measuring the trustworthiness of qualitative research methods.

The first of the criteria, 'truth value' (credibility), refers to how truthful the findings of the research are. The second, 'applicability' (transferability), which refers to the degree to which the research findings are applicable to another setting or group. The third, 'consistency' (dependability), which refers to whether or not the findings would be consistent if the research was replicated. The fourth, 'neutrality' (confirmability), which refers to whether the researcher has been biased during the research process. The criteria and the coordinating methods which researchers can adopt in order to create trustworthy research are shown in Table 6 below. These criteria were closely followed throughout this research investigation in order to ensure that the findings were as trustworthy as is possible.

Conventional inquiry	Naturalistic inquiry	Methods
Internal validity	Credibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member checks • Prolonged engagement in the field

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data triangulation
External validity	Transferability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick description of setting • Thick description of participants
Reliability	Dependability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triangulation of methods • Toolkit approach (Walle, 1997).
Objectivity	Confirmability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Triangulation • Pilot study • Audit trail

Table 6: The application of Lincoln and Guba's 1985 trustworthiness criteria in this study

5.11 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were of great consideration to this research investigation. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) Framework for Research Ethics states:

“The principal ethics consideration should be to ensure the maximum benefit of the research whilst minimising the risk of actual or potential harm. Ethical procedures should seek to protect, as far as possible, all groups involved in research” (Esrc.ac.uk, n.d.).

Furthermore, the ESRC have established the six key principles which must be followed to ensure that research is carried out ethically, these are as follows:

- Research participants should take part voluntarily, free from any coercion or undue influence, and their rights, dignity and (when possible) autonomy should be respected and appropriately protected.
- Research should be worthwhile and provide value that outweighs any risk or harm. Researchers should aim to maximise the benefit of the research and minimise potential risk of harm to participants and researchers. All potential risk and harm should be mitigated by robust precautions.
- Research staff and participants should be given appropriate information about the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research, what their participation in the research entails and what risks and benefits, if any, are involved.

- Individual research participant and group preferences regarding anonymity should be respected and participant requirements concerning the confidential nature of information and personal data should be respected.
- Research should be designed, reviewed and undertaken to ensure recognised standards of integrity are met, and quality and transparency are assured
- The independence of research should be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality should be explicit (Esrc.ac.uk, n.d).

These principles are useful guidelines for the foundations of an ethical research project and as such the guidelines presented here were followed throughout this investigation. Ethical considerations were a major consideration in this research project, for, as Bryman (2008) has identified, the ethical concerns of a research project relate directly to the integrity of the research and thus the research findings.

As interview respondents were fully briefed on the nature and scope of the research project and understood exactly what they involving themselves with. Following this, each respondent signed a consent form and was told that they would never be referred to by name within the works that arose from the interview. Furthermore, the respondents were told that of course their participation in the study was voluntary and if at any time they felt that they could no longer proceed with the interview, the interview would be stopped and none of the information would be used in the study. Likewise, if they felt unable or unwilling to answer a question posed to them they could decline the question and move onto the

next question. After the interviews had been transcribed respondents were sent a copy of the interview transcript on request for them to reflect upon and if there was anything that they were unhappy about they could retract a statement at that time. Conducting these processes throughout the research investigation served the principle purpose of satisfying the ESRC six key principles of ethical research and further reflected best practice of ethical research as established within the research literature (Cassell et al., 2006; Richards, 2005; Silverman, 2005).

However, in addition to this the ethical and principled nature of the research process helped to put the respondents involved at ease and allowed them to feel that they could answer freely and without hesitation, for if they did later regret a statement they could retract it (although, no statements were ever retracted). It is thought that this is one of the reasons why the interviews were as successful as they were, generally having a very relaxed flow of conversation between the respondent and the researcher with conversations often becoming very revealing and enjoyable for both research parties involved.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed account of the research approach taken in this research investigation. The chapter discussed the epistemological, ontological and methodological perspectives taken and critical justification for these has been explained. The dataset generated for this investigation was a product of semi-structured in-depth interviews with individual respondents and documentary evidence. These methods were explained and supported throughout this chapter, evidencing that they are the most appropriate choices for data collection in this case.

The data was collected from two case study destinations as part of an interpretivist collective case study approach. The use of multiple case studies provided a richer data set and allowed the researcher to analyse the community and commercial relationships with and representations of tourism in different perspectives. It is important to stress again that these case studies are not intended to be comparative of one another. However, using multiple case study areas provided a broader context in which to explore the role of commercial representations of heritage tourism and community perspectives. It is hoped that this broader data set will enable increasingly valid and reliable findings to be drawn from the results of the investigation.

Trustworthiness, validity, reliability and generalisability have all been explained. Further, the ethical considerations of the study were a major consideration and this has been highlighted

and elaborated on here. The next chapter presents the findings of the Yorkshire case study in depth.

Part II

Presentation of the Evidence

Chapter 6: Yorkshire Case Study-The voice of a destination

6.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the findings of the data analysis in Yorkshire. This will be achieved from two perspectives. Firstly, the commercial perspective will be explored, with the chapter analysing both primary and secondary data on the representation on Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination. Secondly the chapter will consider the representation of Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination from a community perspective.

From analysing these two perspectives, the chapter will identify if there is a dissonance present between the community and commercial representations of Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination. In doing so the chapter analyses the multiple forms of data collected including semi-structured interviews and documentary evidence and supports these with findings from the extant literature. Further to this, the chapter highlights the key issues that arise from the dissonance and what this means for Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination.

Central to the case study is the City of York, which is the main focus of the chapter, the Thornborough henges are also analysed here as an example of community involvement in defining and representing heritage destinations.

6.2 Portrait of Yorkshire as a heritage tourism destination

In order to provide context to the case study and analysis, the historic development of tourism in Yorkshire will be explored, including an examination of its heritage and cultural assets.

6.2.1 The heritage and historical importance of Yorkshire

The county of Yorkshire's establishment as a destination for tourism dates back to Tudor Times (Machin, 2009) and one of the earliest recognised tourist sites within the county was the Tewit Well in Harrogate, used as a medicinal resource (Mitchell, 2001). Due to the high mineral content in the spring waters, Harrogate began attracting visitors from all over Europe in the hopes of curing disorders and diseases, and subsequently hotels and other facilities were provided for the passing visitors and consequently Harrogate became a popular destination (Mitchell, 2001). Similarly, sea bathing became popular around the same time with the belief that seawater had medicinal benefits. Scarborough advertised the curative properties of the sea from the Seventeenth Century (Percy, 1995), and thereafter it became an established destination for those seeking a cure for their ailments. Both Harrogate and Scarborough are mentioned by Tobias Smollet (1771) in his picaresque novel *The Expedition of Humphrey Clinker*. In addition 'beach activities' were also considered healthy forms of entertainment (Machin, 2009).

As more people visited other such seaside and spa towns within the region including Knaresbrough, Whitby and Hornsea, social activities began to also take place. Whilst these were very much for the middle and upper classes, cheaper transport became available through the railway system and people could access Scarborough, Whitby, Hornsea, Bridlington and Withernsea much more affordably (Machin, 2009). Following this, the railway and eventually the road network expanded throughout Yorkshire in the twentieth century and gave rise to a new form of tourism (Jordan and Jordan, 1991), with people beginning to go beyond the seaside and spas to explore the rest of the region.

Changes then came in travelling habits from as early as 1830 when wealthy British holiday makers began travelling to France, by the early 1860s Thomas Cook had begun to offer package holidays to British tourists (Mason, 2003). Today such Yorkshire seaside resorts are regarded as part of “all our yesterdays” (Walton and Wood, 2009, p.116), with some studies showing that modern views of seaside resorts are based upon nostalgia and mockery (Mason, 2003). There is presently an extensive academic literature examining the changing British seaside resort and the representation of the past in these areas (see Agarwal, 1999, 2002; Gale, 2005; Hayler, 1999; Middleton, 2001; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999; Shaw and Williams, 1997; Smith, 2004; Urry, 2002; Walton, 1978, 1983, 2000 and Wavin, 1978).

Despite the changing face of the Yorkshire seaside holiday, Yorkshire still remains popular with tourists and was awarded winner of the World Travel Awards 2012 United Kingdom’s Leading Holiday Destination (Welcome to Yorkshire, 2015). Yorkshire is now popular as a

heritage destination, with a range of heritage assets, according to the Yorkshire Historic Environment Forum Yorkshire's Historic Wealth, the heritage assets in the region consist of:

- “buildings and landscapes associated with five centuries of industrial activity from textiles in West Yorkshire; metals in the South; lead, limestone and ore on the uplands and moors; and freight, fishing and commerce on the coast and Humber. A particularly rich legacy of great civic buildings and spaces has been created by that industrial success.
- evidence of highly organised and profitable agricultural practice - from the vast monastic landscapes and their ruins to the many landed estates and market towns.
- an infrastructure that grew to accommodate access to the region's natural environment, from the 18th century development of Harrogate as a spa town, to the characteristic seaside towns on the North and East Yorkshire coasts.
- a rich legacy of defensive infrastructure: castles, forts and military installations, from iron age hill forts to the dynastic castles of the high Middle Ages to the now decommissioned Cold War installations across the region.
- a diverse array of faith buildings, including medieval and modern cathedrals, non-Conformist chapels, architecturally rich rural parish churches and great churches in the urban conurbations” (Hc.historicengland.org.uk, n.d.)

Also accounted for are the heritage rich assets within the county:

- “two World Heritage Sites - Saltaire, Fountains Abbey and Studley Royal
- 2663 Scheduled Monuments
- 685 Grade I Listed Buildings
- 1489 Grade II* Listed Buildings
- 29,203 Grade II Listed Buildings
- 117 Registered Parks and Gardens
- Seven Registered Battlefields
- One Protected Wreck Site
- Three Designated Heritage Coastlines
- 870 Conservation Areas” (Hc.historicengland.org.uk, n.d.).

This plethora of heritage and historical sites has helped the county to become the most popular destination in the country for both business and leisure trips. More people visit the county of Yorkshire each year than Walt Disney Theme Parks worldwide with 216 million visits each year, accounting for £7 billion annually and employing almost a quarter of a million people (WTY, 2012). Part of the most recent Welcome to Yorkshire (the destination management agency for Yorkshire) tourism strategy is the idea that York is the ‘gateway to Yorkshire’ and there is a drive to pull the many tourists who come to visit York to the rest of region, hopefully turning many York day visitors into Yorkshire overnight visitors.

York was selected as the key case study component in this investigation (full justification in Chapter 5). However, in addition to the investigations in Yorkshire fieldwork was also carried out in various rural destinations throughout Yorkshire (including Poppleton, Pickering and Helmsley).

Of the range of rural destinations investigated, one had particular prominence to this investigation and as such, the Thornborough henges have been selected for inclusion in the study (not to disregard the importance of the other destinations examined) but because it was deemed most suitable to satisfy the aims of this research agenda. This is due to the prominence of the unique heritage of the henges and the way in which they have been made use of by the community, which will be explored here.

6.3 Thornborough henges

The Thornborough henges are of great historical significance with Historic England stating that the henges are the most important ancient site between Stonehenge and the Orkney Islands (Historic England, 2016). The Thornborough heritage trust describes the site as follows:

“Sited across a gravel plateau which flanks the River Ure are three almost identical and equally-spaced henges all with the same north-west/south-east alignment. They are approximately 550m apart and the alignment extends for nearly 1.7km. The central henge is superimposed upon an earlier cursus while a double pit alignment extends for at least 350m alongside the southern henge. A number of round barrows are scattered across the landscape including at each end of the double pit alignment” (Thornboroughheritagetrust.org, n.d).



Image 1-The Thornborough henges (Historic England, 2016)

Of particular interest to this study is the community relationship with the henges and the representation of the henges to the public as a heritage tourism attraction. Thornborough was selected as a case study destination for examination in this research investigation as it is an interesting example of the community celebrating and engaging with the heritage and history of the area in their own way.

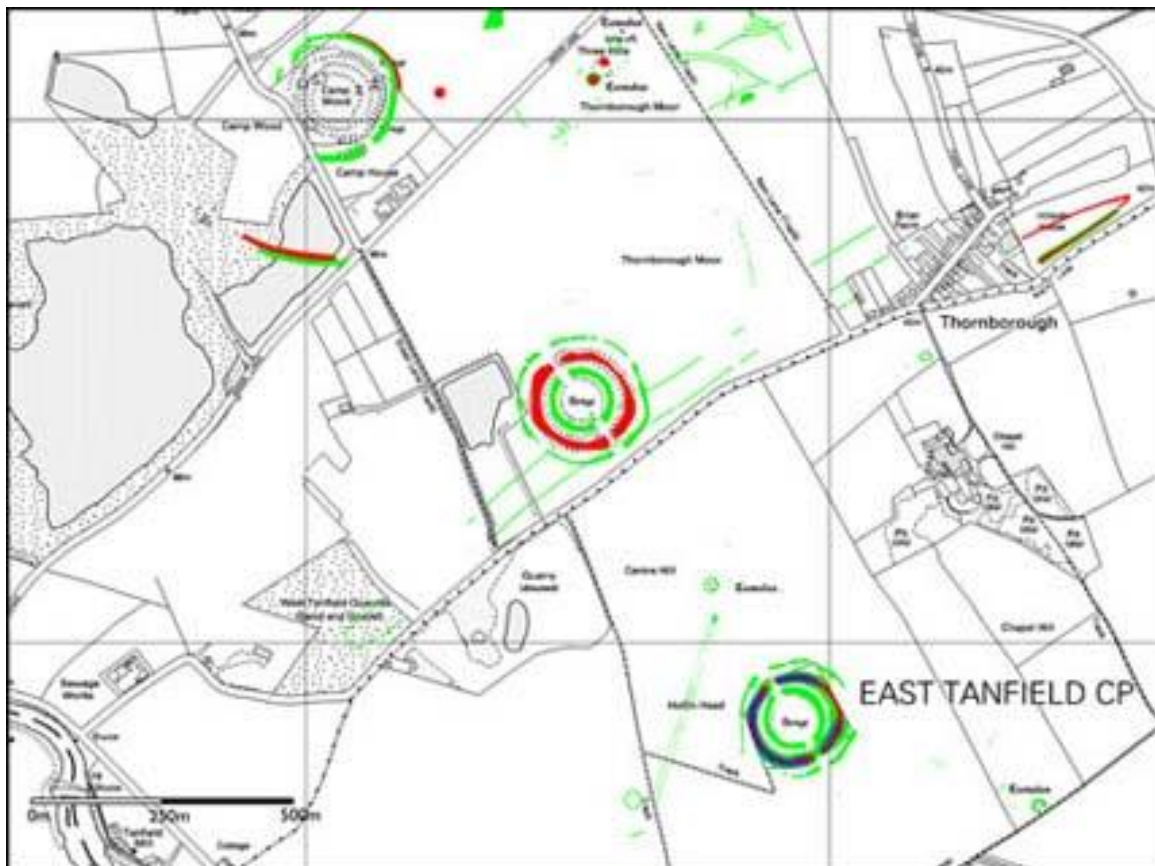


Figure 14: The Thornborough henges (English Heritage, 2014)

6.3.1 Commercial and community representations of Thornborough henges

The main use of the henges for visitors is the annual Beltane fire festival. The fire festival is of Celtic origin and celebrates the beginning of summer in the name of Brigantia the Celtic goddess of the Brigantes tribe and the kingdom of Brigantia in which the henges are located. The fire festival “originated with the rural tradition of lighting 'lucky fires' at the start of May. The purpose of these fires was to provide magical protection to people and livestock in the year ahead. Druids were said to have once performed this ancient rite” (Beltane at Thornborough, 2015).



Image 2-The Beltane Festival (Beltane at Thornbrough, 2015)

Fieldwork and interviews were carried out at the Beltane Fire Festival in the summer of 2014. The festival itself is not run for profit but selects a charity to donate their profits to

each year. The festival still, however, has commercial uses, playing host to many market stall holders of shops, bars and eateries, as well as acting as a catalyst for market forces within the pagan community as it brings like-minded people together. The way in which the site is run as a commercial event is highly effective as it takes into account the community and the preservation of the henge. Festival organisers and visitors are mindful of the historic significance of the henges and ensure that they are untouched throughout the festival.

The interviews demonstrated that the primary source of value of the henges for those who visit the Beltane festival is the sense of affinity and self-realisation that comes from being there. This is very empowering for the people who visit who find themselves often experiencing a strong connection to the past as one respondent stated *“what we are doing here today is very important, very important. It helps us to remember those who once stood here and as we celebrate this past we are encouraging fertility for the coming year”* (Event organiser,).

The connection to the past is celebrated through several rituals which take place including a May pole dance with the may pole being an important symbol of fertility (as shown in Figure 8), seed planting and fire jumping.



Image 3- The May pole dance at Beltane fire festival (Author's own, 2015)

Further, visitors also reconnect to the past through the ancient rituals of song and dance, done in praise to the Goddess of fire (as shown in Image 3).

Of particular interest to this study are the meanings and values that are attached to the annual fire festival here. Specifically, the ways in which the Pagan community can come together and personally reconnect to the past in their own way. The festival is entirely open to people connecting and celebrating, as one respondent stated: *“we are very open here, all people of any faith, belief or understanding is welcome”* (High Priest of Beltane Fire Festival).

The Thornborough henges are an excellent example of living heritage and embody Grimwade and Carter's (2000, p.34) assertion that “permanency of the values of a heritage place is achieved not solely by conservation activity but by giving the place meaning within

the life of contemporary communities”. At the Thornborough Henges the historical and heritage significance of the site is important to this community of people who feel the desire to actively restore connections to their past. As a key informant explained *“Beltane is about connecting, rekindling your spiritual and cultural identity and connecting with those around us as well as those in our past”* (High Priest, Beltane Fire Festival).

Why do you come to the Beltane festival?	
Respondent	Comment
Annual Visitor	For me it's the highlight of my year. To be here with my brothers and sisters, the people who want to share with me in the celebration of our past, we just have a great time; it's such a strong feeling, a love I have for being here.
First time visitor	Well I came to find out a bit more about the poems of Taliesin, and hopefully meet some others who want to have a chat about the same sort of stuff. Most of that history is just unknown to everyone else I know, which is fair enough, but I wanted to know more, so I came here.
Festival trade stall holder	I feel that coming here is way more than just about selling my clothing...I mean, there are lots of opportunities for discussion here. Everyone is pretty open about the discussions that take place, people share their views and their takes on Brigantia, or Taliesn or whatever we are

	<p>talking about. So I have some amazing conversations with my customers and learn a lot. If I wasn't coming to run my stall, I would come as a camper anyway because the conversation and the learning, it's just fascinating really.</p>
<p>Brigantia player (actor in the annual play)</p>	<p>So much of the past that we play out here is forgotten, or not understood. And it's because most of what was recorded is in the early Welsh language dialect of Cumbric, which obviously not many people understand. I feel like I am one of the few people who knows what I know and I want to share that with people, so others know too, and then they can pass it along later.</p>

Table 7: Thornborough interview responses- community reasons for engaging

These responses all demonstrate that a key reason for attending the gathering is to connect to the past and celebrate history. This reconnection is further explained through the website of the festival which aims to attract visitors each year, which states:

“Is it any wonder that in the digital age we should seek to reconnect with ourselves and to explore the richness of our native traditions: to discover that we are a people and that we have a tribal name and that our goddess can still be found in the sacred rivers and enchanted landscape of our ancestors; to keep the ritual fires burning in this the sacred land of Brigantia” (Beltane at Thornborough, 2015).

The explanation is very revealing as it demonstrates that what the community here are looking for is a form of identity, something to connect with, something to understand and this will be explored further within the discussion section.



Image 4- Dancing and music in celebration of the goddess of fire (Author's own, 2015)

The significance of these representations of the past in Thornborough is crucial to this investigation due to the nature of the people and stories involved here. The people who gather at the henges each year are celebrating a collective past, a heritage that they have chosen to celebrate, despite the lack of commercial heritage interest in the area. In this way the heritage presented here is acting as what Bessière (1998, p.26) terms a “unifying” sign. This re-enactment and celebration of the past helps to preserve the collective memory of

this social and religious group further enhancing their identity and connection with the past.

As Bessière (1998, p.26) explains:

“Heritage, whether it be an object, monument, inherited skill or symbolic representation, must be considered as an identity marker and distinguishing feature of a social group. Heritage is often a subjective element because it is directly related to a collective social memory[...]social memory as a common legacy preserves the cultural social identity of a given community, through more or less ritualized circumstances”.

The existence of shared collective memory and identity represented in Thornborough is serving a vital heritage purpose of preserving collective memory. Park (2010, p. 66) states that collective memory:

“Is not just an accumulation of mainstream public opinion and major past events. It entails a sense of nostalgia concerning those opinions and events, a shared psychological empathy constantly reproduced and communicated throughout generations. However, it is also important to note that collective memory comprises of differing meanings and varying interpretations that people bestow in present contexts. It is a dynamic concept reflecting present needs, circumstances and changes”.

A crucial point here is that the collective memories shared and reproduced at Thornborough are as crucial a part of the collective national heritage memory as the mainstream or

commercial representations of the past. As Park (2014) recognises, memories of the past will include differing representations among a variety of contexts. It is thus important to understand that individual and different uses of collective memory are an important part of the past. As Graham et al. (2000) argue, the variety offered between official and unofficial representations of the past is a crucial theme in the contemporary use of the past and creation of national identity. This theme of identity was explored through asking respondents how they felt connected to the elements of the past celebrated at Thornborough, as demonstrated in Table 8 below:

How would you describe your relationship with the past celebrated here?	
Respondent	Comment
Annual Visitor	For me it's really strong, it's a really important part of my life. I studied medieval history at University and yeah, I didn't get a job in that area, but it's so important to me, I don't want to leave it behind. So I come here, I join the group and I keep that link, that knowledge strong.
First time visitor	Well really, I suppose the relationship isn't a strong as maybe the relationship other people have who have been coming here years and know more than I do. But the reason I am here is that I want to learn

	more, I want to make that link, that relationship as you say stronger. So it's work in progress but it's a relationship that's very important to me, that's why I'm here!
Festival trade stall holder	I feel that I've got a pretty strong relationship with Beltane, and what it means, what it's all about. The goddess Brigantia, The Norse Gods, they are very important to me, they mean something, they are part of the mystery of our past.
Brigantia player (actor in the annual play)	The Celtic Kingdom of the Goddess Brigantia and the Brigantes tribe, it's a huge part of my life. I would say the relationship is strong, and it's always growing.

Table 8: Thornborough interview responses- community identity

These responses illustrate that respondents feel that the past celebrated at Thornborough is a large part of their life, or their identity, as they have a strong relationship with these representations of the past. Smith (1991) states that national identity has two key functions, external and internal functions. External functions are related to issues such as economy and politics and internal issues being related to issues of subjective accounts, bonds and

memories. Smith (1991) suggests that the internal factors are of great importance to heritage and tradition and it can be seen that in Thornborough, those crucial internal elements that make up national identity are being expressed and reproduced.

6.4 York as a heritage tourism destination

“Encircled by medieval walls, whose regularity is relieved by four of the most ancient gateways in England, York at once arrests the interest of the wayfarer. So often does the modern aspect of a place of great historic importance disappoint those who come from far to bask in an atmosphere of the Middle Ages, that the visitor is almost overwhelmed when, on leaving the railway station, he finds that he cannot enter the city without passing through a gateway or arch, or scaling a steep grassy band surmounted by a crenellated wall in perfect repair, and within the circle of defence, despite a thousand features which jar, there remains so much that belongs to the long centuries of the city’s existence that it is easy to wander from age to age seeing little besides the actual buildings of each period” (Home, 1922 p.59).

York, as Home describes, is a very special city, one of great historical significance. The city has been a popular tourism destination for many years as Snaith and Haley (1999, p.598) state “for over a quarter of York’s more than 1900 year existence this townscape has featured and supported a bustling tourism industry”. Presently, the city welcomes 6.8 million visitors each year (Visit York, 2015). This is a very sharp increase from 3,953,000 visitors per year when studied by Mordue (Mordue,2005). This increase in tourist numbers is seemingly supporting the local economy well, with tourists to York spending £608 million in 2015 with 20,200 jobs in York supported by the visitor economy (Visityork.org, 2015).

York has been the leading tourism destination in England outside of London for many years (Touche Ross, 1994). However, dealing with such rapid increases in visitors must have some repercussions on the city and its residents, and there are clearly questions as to the sustainability of such growth with one of Visit York's key goals being to further increase visitor expenditure by a minimum of 5% annually (Key facts on tourism in York, 2011). As such the commercial approaches taken to developing and representing York as a heritage tourism destination will now be explored.

6.5 Commercial representations of York's heritage

The marketing of the destination of York is in the hands of the destination marketing organisation Visit York. Visit York has been in operation for twenty-five years as a key informant explains:

“the promotion of York as a visitor destination is certainly the responsibility of Visit York. So visit York, it was founded from a combination of council offices and principally private sector company which was then called the York visitor conference builder. Visit York is a membership organisation, I think they've got 700 members and they are responsible for the promotion of York as a visitor destination and they do all the promotional work, online, print, social media, they do specific campaigns and they promote York as a business destination as well as a tourist destination as well So they are absolutely crucial” (York City Council worker).

As identified here, Visit York are only responsible for representing their paid members, therefore as the dominant voice in the destination to tourists, this is an example of the exclusionary representation processes taking place. The range of heritage assets in York and their commercial representation shall now be analysed in the following section.

6.5.1 Commercialisation of York's heritage voice

As mentioned in Chapter Three, one of the key aspects of marketing communications is giving the correct message to the right people in the appropriate way (Delozier, 1976). As such, one of the key challenges for York in attracting tourists is communicating a correct and clear message to the right kind of tourist at the right time, whilst doing this in an appropriate manner for the local community. In order to examine the approaches in which York is commercially presented as a heritage destination, it was important to gain professional and expert perspectives. As such, insight was needed from the Destination Management Organisation (DMO) in York.

The commercial voice behind the destination is to a large extent created and controlled by the DMO. The DMO is responsible for creating and representing the heritage tourism destinations brand identity and controlling brand and destination image. Elbe and Emmoth (2014) note that a key role for DMO's is also to ensure that the destination is perceived as being legitimate. This is of particular relevance in regards to heritage destinations, as legitimacy is linked to issues of authenticity and the offer of an authentic engagement and experience with the past. Furthermore, Elbe and Emmoth (2014, p.210) identify that the DMO must first legitimise itself before it can legitimise the destination and state that "gaining legitimacy is of great importance, and especially so for organisations that are highly dependent on other organizations in their environment. This holds especially true for Destination Management Organisations". Thus, the DMO needs to legitimise themselves as an authoritative and authentic representative voice for the destination. It can be seen that

at the heart of this are two key challenges. Firstly, to build relationships with local businesses and organisations and secondly to build relationships with the local community and residents, these groups are heterogeneous in nature and individuals may reside in both stakeholder groups. Due to this and the increasing importance given to community engagement in tourism it is clear that DMO need to do more to address issues of community engagement and need to foster strong community relationships. It may be that the DMO in York are not actively engaging with local communities and this will be evidenced and explored here.

During the course of this investigation a new DMO was launched in York. Visit York became the DMO for York on April 1st 2008 and had been running as a membership organisation working in partnership with York City Council who supplied funding, set targets for Visit York and had councillors on the Visit York board of directors. However, on the 20th of May 2015, Make It York was launched as York's new DMO after two and half years of development. Visit York will still operate as a part of Make It York under the new title of the Tourism Bureau, as explained here:

“Make It York (York's Destination Management Organisation) has an overarching remit to market the city and its surroundings – nationally and internationally – as an exciting place to live, study, visit and do business. The remit covers leisure and business tourism, city center management, festivals and events, business support and inward investment.

Visit York is a part of Make It York and is the leisure tourism brand. Under the brand Visit York, Make It York's aim is to market York as a must-see world-class destination to the leisure visitor and ensure investment to develop the quality of tourism in York." (Visit York company profile, 2015).

Make It York clearly state that this new direction for York is all about collaboration and partnership. As Chairman Jane Lady Gibson stated "places cannot function effectively without true respect for a wide range of perspectives. One of our roles at Make It York is to understand the complex economic and cultural geography which makes a city tick, and to use our networks to problem solve and spot opportunities[...]it is clear that no one organisation can achieve anything by working alone. Maintaining effective partnerships is key to the success of our part of the world." (York Is What We Make It, 2015).

This vision is clearly focused upon collaborative efforts and a more effective 'joined up' approach. This is further echoed by the managing director's statement that "It is our aim to be: entrepreneurial, collaborative, respectful and ambitious" (York Is What We Make It, 2015).

The words 'respectful' and 'collaborative', suggest collaboration with the local community, and a respect for local people and their desires. However, the publication *York Is What We Make It* from Make It York sets out the plans and priorities of the DMO as shown in Figure 15. Only one of these priorities mentions residents and there is no use of the word

community. The plan concerning residents is to “Develop York’s Christmas experience for residents and visitors”.

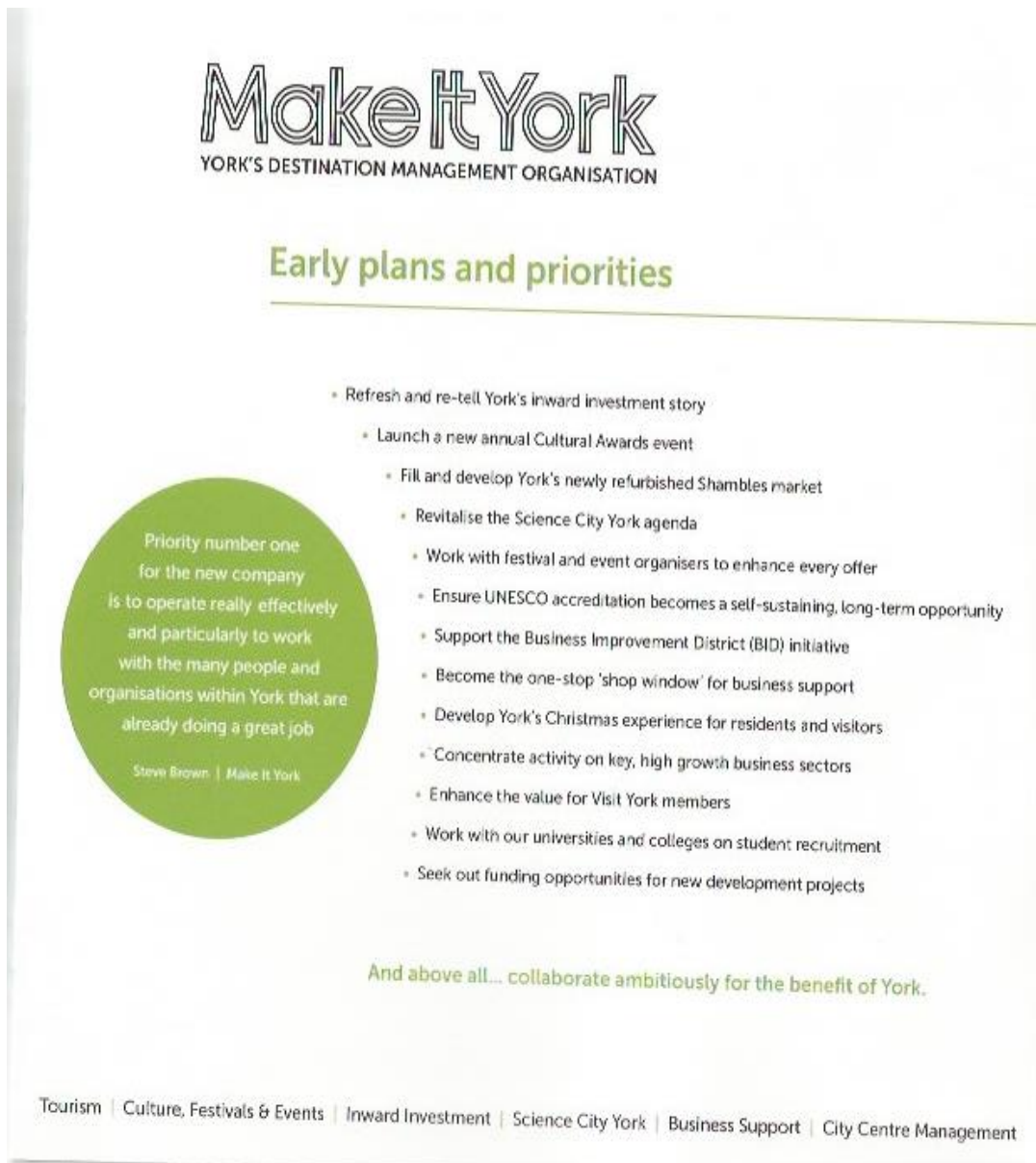


Figure 15: Plans and Priorities of Make It York (York Is What We Make It, 2015)

The list included above is one example which illustrates that whilst collaboration seems to be high on the agenda in York, this is more in relation to local businesses in the hope of

boosting the tourism economy rather than working with the community towards a more unified vision for the city as a heritage tourism destination.

Make It York seem much focused on pushing forward a strong brand image for York. Howie (2003, p.152) states that use of branding when marketing destinations is still 'at an early stage' but Morgan and Pritchard (2011, p.8) have found that actually "most countries have a destination brand". This is supported by findings from the WTO and ETC (2009) who found that 82% of DMO's have an official brand strategy. Visit York has a very strong and unified vision of the unique brand of York which they wish to portray to the world. "Our brand is one of our strongest assets; inspiring trust from our customers" (Gibson, 2013). It is crucial that York focus on developing their unique brand in order to reposition themselves amongst the many heritage tourism destinations competing for visitors in the UK and internationally.

This is in concurrence with the findings of Mordue (2005) who concluded in his study of York that the city did indeed need to focus on place promotion techniques as their historical and cultural assets although appealing were not sufficient in order to compete with national and international markets. York's unique brand focus is on the variety of things to do and the city's historical significance as a key respondent explained:

"Traditionally and still is, York's brand is the culture and heritage that's why people come to visit the city. Recent marketing campaigns have focused on what a great place it is to shop, with all the unique shops that we have in the city centre. We have also focused on food and drink with our taste campaign which has just launched focusing again on local produce and

local restaurants...we have also focused for the visitor on what we call the beyond York campaign[...]that focuses on north Yorkshire and Ryedale using York as a base but to go out into the area, so all-encompassing really. And from the new business approach, it's very much that York is vibrant its busy, it's got a very qualified work place here, it's a great place to live, it's very safe, and again the heritage and culture come into it."

(Marketing Executive - Visit York)

The way in which the campaigns are designed and managed appeared to be purely visitor focused from the findings of this study. The marketing executive for Visit York explained the process that goes into deciding upon campaigns for the city and how they make these decisions:

"We tend to look at what's happening in the city centre, for example when the minster had the orb. You have got to look at what's going on and work around that. Also we constantly research what the visitor wants and expects from a visit and what's on trend. Food is very on trend at the minute, York as a foodie place. So we think hard about what the visitor wants and that moment in time and think about it each year."

(Marketing Executive - Visit York)

As is evident there is no mention of local history or community desires here, focusing on what will give the destination competitive edge. Only once probed with further questions about the local community was there any reference to the considerations of the local

community within the interview. This reflects the plans and priorities laid out by Make It York, with no mention of community collaboration.

Whilst in the process of designing the new Make It York DMO and deciding upon a new strategic focus for York as a heritage tourism product, an open technology forum was hosted by York City Council and Visit York in 2013, which was attended by the researcher for the purpose of this study. Visit York and the council had put on the event which spanned two sessions on two different days to invite their staff, membership organisations and tourism professionals to come together and discuss the new strategic direction for York. After a briefing, attendees were split into seven different groups that each focused on a different aspect of growing York in a particular sector (heritage and culture, contemporary art, travel and transport etc.). Groups discussed the key issues that they thought the city faced and made suggestions for moving forward. The focus was very much on growing the tourism product and attracting new businesses to the city.

However, some of the members attending were also local residents so during discussions there was some consideration of the local community although this was very much a secondary issue. When asked why community groups or residents had not been invited to attend it was said that it would be too complicated (Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York) to try and facilitate residents as well. This is yet another example of how the community views are not considered in the marketing of York as a heritage tourism destination. It is of major importance that the DMO in York strive to work more effectively with residents and the local community. This will help to ensure that the way in which the

destination is marketed and branded is in accordance with the way in which local people view their city. The situation is made more significant because destination brands themselves are difficult to develop with each destination attempting to differentiate themselves in order to assert their individuality as a destination (Kavaratzis and Ashworth, 2008). However increasingly travellers are faced with a huge choice of available destinations and creating a unique brand is considerably more difficult for marketers than ever before (Pike, 2005). Furthermore the marketers must ensure that the brand portrayed is consensual within the community as without co-operation from these stakeholders the branding strategy will fail (Pike, 2005). Studies have found that one key reason for such failure could arise due to a lack of vision assimilation between residents and the brand leading to a failure in delivery of brand promises as residents act as an intangible asset to the destination and are responsible for delivering positive visitor experience (Eastgate, 2000, Low, 2000).

The findings in York told two different stories regarding community involvement in visitor experience with two key themes identified. Respondents were in some cases, aware of the effect that they had and wanted to paint a good image of York for visitors. One particular example of note was when one respondent stated that *“if I see people stopped looking at something or talking about something I know something interesting about, I’m not shy! I’ll go up to them and let them know, tell them something interesting about whatever it is, like the Shrine to Margaret Clitherow which is actually in the wrong place! People love that one! People like it, you know, especially the Americans, they are really chatty with you, asking questions”* (York Past and Present Member). Whilst another key theme that emerged was

residents who were virtually unaware of their impact upon the tourist experience and positive encounters, but instead identified visitors to the destination as a key area of concern regarding visitor experience. It was said by one respondent that visitor such as stag and hen parties *“lower the tone of the place”* (café worker).

There was a general consensus that it is the visitors who come for stag and hen parties, York races and other drinking related activities who are to blame for any negative experiences in the city. This is an issue of serious contention. Residents and local business seemingly wish for their City to be patronised by visitors whom do not cause too much disturbance and whom will frequent the local business creating economic activity. Therefore Visit York must carefully consider the audience they target. Moreover residents of York may openly oppose the tourists if they feel the number of visitors is overly excessive or if the management of the negative effects of tourism is not correctly conducted.

A key example of this within York occurred within the mid-1970s when there was a high level of anti-tourism sentiments within the city and complaints at the levels of tourism and the way in which tourism was managed (Mordue, 2005). This was still a prevalent issue for the large majority of respondents within this study. The community had two key concerns here, firstly the number of tourists to the city:

“I just avoid town at all costs on the weekend, you can’t move, its ridiculous!”

(Café worker)

“generally, yes, it is an issue. Especially the big groups of people from coach tours, when they come along the whole pavement is blocked you cannot move”

(Actor, York’s Chocolate Story)

It is therefore suggested here that as part of the DMO working closer with communities to represent the destination, they further need to work with communities to educate them on how they themselves represent the destination. One of the issues that presents here is that Visit York are implicated with focusing their concentration upon promoting the destination and increasing economic activity and as such are not focusing enough attention on managing the tourism itself. This is in accordance with the findings of van de Borg et al. (1996) who suggest that it is increasingly common for heritage cities to concentrate too much on promotion the heritage tourism destination rather than on tourism management.

A further issue of contention is the representation of York’s heritage through marketing communications platforms. A key platform for Visit York is their website which *“receives over two million visits each year”* (Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York). Another key method of communication to visitors is *“the Visit York Mini guide, it’s the most requested publication in Yorkshire and we print and distribute over a million copies each year”* (Marketing Executive (Research), Visit York). Upon interpretation of the guide the issues presented by respondents’ in interviews are well echoed here. The first heritage attractions that the visitor is drawn to under the title of ‘must see attractions’ are the iconic York Minster and the Yorvik centre Viking tourist attraction. The key issue with this publication

from Visit York is that it is compiled according to membership fees. Those attractions who form part of the big attractions group (and thus pay a higher membership fee) gain status as a 'must see' attraction in York.

This is an issue of control and power and is commonplace within heritage publications as identified from the theoretical drivers which emerged from the review of the literature. This control over information which reaches the visitors is a further example of how the representations of heritage in York, do not echo the way in which the local community feel about their heritage, nor how they wish it to be represented. This is emblematic of the authoritative heritage discourse which privileges certain accounts of the past of others (Smith, 2006) and discounts and excludes that which does not fit within its prescriptions (Watson, 2011). Here, financial parameters are working to reinforce the processes of Smith's (2006) authoritative heritage discourse and further refine and control the elements of the past that receive the most attention.

Due to the way in which publications are compiled it became apparent that the community feel that York is being presented in a very narrow way, focusing upon the same things repeatedly. It very much came across from what he said that the identity of York portrayed to the public is very much based on a monoculture understanding of York's past, which from the evidence he provided is based mostly on York's medieval history. As a member of the York Past and Present committee demonstrated in a focus group held at Leeds University:

“We have Viking festivals where everybody dresses up and there’s lots of enactment and more dressing up and it never goes beyond that. Only last week the latest addition to the tourist offering was an aftershave called ‘Norse Power’ which the Yorvik group and the York Archaeological trust are selling, at probably suitably Nordic prices as well. So this is the problem that we have and the people that come to York to see this city and we’re out to tell them that there’s other things, not only other things but a hell of a lot more to it.”

(York Past and Present Committee member)

It is clear that there is an issue of control here that the community are not happy with as it has a large effect on how the destination is viewed. Waterton has also found that such publications execute a level of undesirable control and restriction over heritage tourism destinations and their communities as she illustrates:

“The authors of the touristic brochures, by presenting heritage in this way, assert an image of ultimate control over heritage and its management, and by implication, peoples ideas of what constitutes heritage and indeed the past. It is thus an image of alienation” (Waterton, 2010, p.166).

The same can be said of the touristic images of York. They focus on the iconic and the medieval. Consistently prizing selected images of the past over and above the desires of the local community to tell their own stories. Therefore it is argued here that it is of high

importance that the commercial voice of tourism moves towards becoming a wider representation of the voices and people of the destination.

6.5.2 Commercialisation of York's heritage assets

York offers tourists a plethora of heritage attractions as shown below in figure 16, a visitor map of York and its attractions.



Figure 16: Map of York and York's tourist attractions (Visityork.org.n.d)

Visit York's Senior Marketing Executive explained that the attractions are divided up into two small groups:

“We split the attractions into different groups, the Big Attractions Group and the Small Attractions group. The Big Attractions Group includes all the big players, they contribute more to the city and we focus on them for our big campaigns” (Senior Marketing Executive, Visit York).

There are eleven attractions included in the York Big Attractions Group: the National Railway Museum (NRM), Yorkboat, the Castle Museum, the Yorkshire Museum, York Minster, Clifford’s Tower, Jorvik, York’s Chocolate Story, York City Sightseeing, Castle Howard and the York Dungeons. In 2014, these eleven attractions welcomed a total of 3.056,216 visitors including education and groups visitors (BAG visitor monitor, 2014). Of these, 90% were leisure visitors (BAG visitor monitor, 2012).

The attractions included in York’s Big Attractions Group must attract over 100,000 visitors per year to each be classified as a ‘big attraction’. Once an attraction has BAG status they are automatically placed at the forefront of the representation of York to tourists. As a key respondent stated:

“The BAG contains the attractions which receive over 100,000 visitors annually. These attractions receive a lot of benefits of their status within York. They feature in our ‘Must See York’ guide, they receive extra space in the York destination guide and they feature in our key advertising campaigns throughout the year”

(Visit York Marketing Executive-Research)

The members of the BAG are at the centre of Visit York's promotional efforts as they contribute a greater amount to Visit York than the SAG (Small Attraction Group) members. *"Each attraction pays four pence to Visit York for each visitor they have"* (Visit York Marketing Executive-Research) and so the BAG are of great value to the DMO.

This hierarchy of attractions within the destination infers a selective heritage process with some voices of the past shouting much louder than others. This situation that presented in York is in line with the work of Garfield, and his study of destination advertising, which found that:

"When you look at the ads you see transcripts of the arguments at the tourist boards the membership of which all wanted their own interests served[...]you can see the destruction of the advertising message as a result of the politics" (Garfield,1998, p.28)

As such, it can be seen that the BAG and SAG represent one example of what is happening in York. It appears that the political dynamic that exists is controlling the commercial voice and representation of heritage. In this way, the marketing processes within York place further value upon the attractions within the big attractions group over and above the attractions within the small attractions group. As a membership organisation it is obvious and in some ways understandable why and how these processes occur. However, this further embeds the nature the issue of exclusion and selective heritage value within York. This is a clear consequence of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) presented by Smith (2006)

whereby further consideration and emphasis is placed upon objects of heritage that are thought to be of greater value.

In York's case certain attractions are viewed as being increasingly valuable and are placed above others, as such they receive a higher number of visitors, which furthers their capabilities and potential as an attraction, and they continue to grow. In order to examine this issue in greater depth, some of the heritage attractions, which dominate York are now going to be analysed in terms of their heritage offering and representation of York's historic past.

One of the most visited attractions in York is the iconic York Minster. The Minster is said to be Northern Europe's largest Gothic Cathedral and has been very popular with tourists from around the world for hundreds of years (York Minster, 2013). However, a 5% fall in visitor numbers to York attractions in 2012 compared with 2011 (Visit York, 2012) York Minster has recently undergone refurbishment in order to extend its offerings to tourists with its new exhibition entitled 'Revealing York Minster in The Undercroft where visitors can explore the Cathedral's 2000 year history through an interactive, technological display.



Image 5-York Minster (Author's own, 2013)

York Minster charges an entrance fee of £10 and a further £5 charge if you wish to climb the staircase to the top of the tower to enjoy the views of the city. Residents of York are permitted to apply for a 'York Card' which gains them free entry. This seemed to be a real issue of contention among the local community as respondents made the following statements:

"My parents came to visit for the weekend and I wanted to take them around, we went to the Minster and they would let me in with my student card but my parents and aunty were going to have to pay thirty quid to get in! I was a bit embarrassed really because I had promised them this great tour of York I would give them and they left disappointed, they obviously weren't going to pay those prices" (Student)

-“Charging people to visit a house of God is disgusting, they need to have a look at Matthew 21:12, it’s appalling!” (Historic tour guide)

-“York is an expensive place to visit already, the shops and restaurants are dear enough without charging people to get into Church’s too” (Local business owner)

-“I don’t live in York so I don’t have a York Card but I work here and come into York everyday and it would be nice if on my lunch break or every so often I could pop to the Minster and have a look, but I don’t know, I suppose I would pay £10 but just the fact that there is a charge has put me off and I end up doing something else instead or just going round the shops” (Café worker)

These statements illustrate the difficulties faced by the community when wanting to engage with York’s history. The council offer free admission to people with York Cards, thus, technically the community has access to this historical site. However, the issue is as ever, not as clearly defined as that. People who have a relationship with York and feel a part of York and its community, such as past residents, people working in York, friends and family of residents and those who live nearby but not within the York ‘YO’ postcode area are excluded. This example is one of many in York that illustrate the difficult position that the community of York are under when trying to engage with their own heritage.

Another historic feature of York, which is popular with tourists for walking around and enjoying the historical features and atmosphere of the City, is The Shambles. The Shambles is one of the best preserved medieval streets in Europe and was voted Britain's most Picturesque Street in the Google Street Awards 2010 (Visit York factsheet, 2012). The street is a popular point of interest for visitors either to explore the restaurants, cafes and gift shops or to stop and take photographs. Tourists can often be found lining up at the top of the street to get a shot of the historical buildings as shown in Image 6. The Shambles is also very popular purely for its ambience and historical feel with many people coming to York simply to walk around and get a feel for the place and its history. In 2014-2015, 46% of visitors to York surveyed stated that the key reason for their visit was to simply enjoy the ambience of the city (Visit York Visitor Survey, 2015).

However, over time with the popularity of the Shambles increasing and the attention that it has received from the media and recent awards, the makeup of the street has vastly changed. This is in accordance with Mordue's (2005, p.190) findings from his study of York, stating:

“Speaking about the “trinkitization” of the shops[...]nowhere are these issues more germane than in the Shambles, which is adjacent to Stonegate and the most well-known street in the heart of the historic core. Originally a street full of butchers, it is now almost exclusively the domain of specialist souvenir shops with facades evoking a Dickensian “old curiosity shop” aesthetic, which in a strictly historical sense is out of context with what the Shambles was all about”.

Mordue alluded to a fundamental concern that the changing nature of this key shopping street in York was altering the community's sense of place. Mordue (2005) found that the commercialisation and increase in the popularity of the street as an attraction of sorts for tourists had meant altering market forces driving out many of the local shopkeepers.



Image 6-The Shambles, York's medieval street (Author's own, 2013)

A further example of the commercialisation of York's heritage assets for tourism purposes is Clifford's Tower. Clifford's Tower is a circular stone tower atop a Norman motte by the river Ouse. It was built on the site of an original wooden tower built by William the Conqueror in the eleventh century (Butler, 1997). The Tower itself is bare inside aside apart from a model of how the site once looked and a gift shop. However, it proves popular to tourists due to its convenient location (right beside one of the most frequented car parks for visitors), the panoramic views of the city available from the top of the tower and the fascinating yet dark history of the tower itself. Clifford's tower also runs a calendar of events throughout the year such as the 'Easter Adventure Quest' (English-heritage.org.uk, n.d).

Clifford's Tower is the site of a very dark past, being the site of the massacre of an estimated 150 Jews on the 6th of March 1190 (Lawrence, 1997). The tower is still held in great esteem by Visit York and English heritage with Visit York claiming that the tower is one of York's "must see attractions" (Visit York, 2015). At the tower the massacre is remembered by the placement of a plaque, which states that the Jews "chose to die at each other's hands rather than renounce their faith". Many refer to this as "York's blackest day", which "taints the city and makes York's Jewish history more of a shameful secret than something to be celebrated." (Bbc.co.uk, n.d). Dobson (2003, p.146) further asserts that this dark history is one which is often ignored stating that the event and has been "deliberately remembered as infrequently as possible".

The Jews are remembered in York by the planting of six leaf daffodils in order to represent the Star of David in the 1990s, as the result of a joint venture between English Heritage and

the American Jewish Foundation (BBC legacies). The flowers come into bloom each March (the same time of year in which the massacre occurred) and are very popular with visitors. Daffodils are shown below in figure 10. However, this representation of the past is subtle, and as such many respondents did not understand the significance of the daffodils, one respondent stated, “...really, I’ve lived in York over 25 years and I’ve never heard that, are you sure?” (Local Business Owner), in response to being told the purpose of the daffodils.



Image 7- The York daffodils in commemoration of the 1190 massacre at Clifford's Tower (Duncan, 2013)

It is argued here that the commercial representation of the site by both English Heritage and Visit York as a heritage tourism attraction does very little in fact to commemorate and interpret the massacre of the Jews. The English Heritage website for the tower, which is

fairly extensive with several pages of information, has only two short paragraphs that briefly describe the event.

Further, within the tower itself the massacre is commemorated on one of the panels of information inside the tower. There are three panels of information inside for visitors to read yet only six lines on one panel has any mention of the events of 1190. Visitors who want more information can turn to the English Heritage guidebook; however the forty-page volume has only two pages dedicated to the events of 1190 and again is an illustration of how the event is not sufficiently commemorated or interpreted for heritage tourists.

This is a further example of the exclusion of certain aspects of the past from the heritage script; a key part of York's past has been given such little consideration in contemporary commercial representations and presentations. Furthermore, the City of York Council planned to build a shopping center at the site known only as 'Coppergate II' (Brown, 2004). Demonstrations were held in both 2001 and 2003 with processions of over 200 people chanting "hear us shout, hear us wail - our city's not for sale!" and "We are the force, we have the power. We will save Clifford's Tower!" with the local community feeling strongly that their heritage was under attack for commercial purposes (York Castle, 2014). This was also an issue of contention for some community members, as these responses illustrate:

"I hadn't heard to be honest, but no..no they can't do that surely, there would be uproar"
(Actor, York's Chocolate Story).

-“I know, I was there, I went to a protest years ago with my mates at work. It won’t happen, we won’t let it happen...they know they went too far that time. You can’t just disrespect the past like that, its history, it’s important surely” (Museum Guide)

-“ I didn’t go but my parents went, to the march, I think loads of people did actually. That’s the thing though, you can’t do something like that, something controversial and think you can get away with it. I think they probably underestimated how important it is to people” (Historic Tour Guide).

The examples illustrate a strong sense of despondence and negative attitudes from the community regarding the attitude of the local council towards the representation of York’s past at Clifford’s Tower.

Moreover the Jewish community was very concerned for the safety of such an important site, the effect of the massacre still has effects upon the community of York and the presence of Jews in the community, as explained:

“no documentary evidence has been found of a cherem, a Jewish order of excommunication, on York, however, it is widely accepted within the Jewish community that such an order existed. This cherem forbade Jews from settling within York’s city walls, and reflects the distaste with which Jews viewed the city” (Bbc.co.uk, n.d)

Little progress has been made. According to the 2001 census, the Jewish population of York is only 191 out of a total population of 181,094. According to sources in the Chief Rabbi's office, devout Jews travelling on the East Coast Main Line still take care not to eat sandwiches as they pass through York, as this would contravene the *cherem* still associated with the city. On overseas Jewish community internet message boards, the question of whether travel to York is permitted is a frequent one" (Bbc.co.uk, n.d.).

This is another important example of how the commercialisation of the past in York is diametrically opposed to the views and collective memories of members of the community here. This not only has ramifications upon the community and their relationship with the past as shown here, but it is argued is also having an effect upon the authenticity of York's heritage product. Constricting and camouflaging certain aspects of York's past has resulted in a loss of authenticity as only a small part of the true history is presented here.

Watson (2015, p.41) argues that a key risk here "is that the officially represented version, the authorised version, eventually suppresses and replaces local meanings and becomes the only reality available". This is in line with Mordue's (2005) study of York in which he found that the city was becoming gradually dislocated from its true past through loss of local meaning through representation of York's past for heritage tourism purposes. Mordue's (2005, pp.120-181) study was based upon what he termed "performative signifiers" such as shops, performers and use of space however the findings of this thesis show that loss of meaning is even found at York's key heritage attractions.



Image 8-Clifford's Tower (Author's own, 2013)

The heritage attractions studied within this thesis are located conveniently within the centre of the city. One of the attractive elements of York for tourists is that there are so many things to see and do in a small area, making it easy not only for tourists to get around and access the different attractions but also to experience more of York's offerings in the time that they are visiting. As Mordue (2005) states "the locus for these attractions is the city centre, which has been carefully preserved and manicured in such a way the visitor is

invited to explore and consume the various heritage ‘experiences’ on offer with relative ease and convenience.” Although the city centre is small, much is contained within the confines of the city walls and the city of York is not just a heritage destination but is expanding and developing in all aspects of retail, leisure and tourism. Between 1995 and 2011 the city has benefited from £130 million of attractions investment, £92 million in hotel investment, over £200 million in retail, café and bar investment and further to that more than £477 million spent on infrastructure and further development including the likes of the York racecourse development and pedestrianisation work (Visit York, Key facts on Tourism in York, 2011).

Meethan’s study of York in 1997 identified the three most important aspects of transformations in urban space important to the case, firstly, developmental control, secondly, the exploitation of historical assets and thirdly, the consequences of these changes on the space occupied by the residents. The third aspect identified being central to the study of this research, but the effects of the changes on the inhabitants is not simply a one way process but is an on-going and cognitive process as the effect on the residents of York will subsequently take effect in many forms throughout the shared space and these will have repercussions on the other stakeholder groups.

6.6 Community relationship with heritage

Thus far, the commercial representations of heritage in York have been presented and examined. The next stage in this investigation is to look at the ways in which the community represent their heritage and for what purposes.

Firstly it is important to understand the relationship that the local community have with their heritage in order to understand why they wish to represent it in the way that they do and the feelings that they have regarding this. The community of any tourism destination hold a special position as examined within the literature. They at times feel powerless against the development and growth of tourism activity on their doorstep but conversely either knowingly or unknowingly possess a great deal of power themselves (Ritchie and Ritchie, 1998). Further, as Ritchie and Ritchie, (1998) have identified, the residents of a place are such a part of it that they become a part of the 'visitation experience' and are a component of the destination and its brand. In order to maintain an appealing heritage tourism destination and destination brand, it is of high importance that the destinations residents concede with the development and management of tourist activity.

Mordue's findings suggested that York's city centre is a "contested space" where residents had relatively positive views on tourist activity in York however some deep concerns were demonstrated regarding residents quality of life. Mordue (2005, p.187) stated that the following three issues were seen as crucial to residents;

1. “The quality of tourism employment
2. The quality of the tourists themselves
3. The local people’s growing sense of disembedded-ness from the city centre.”

Augustyn and Knowles (2000) who had previously studied York had similar observations, finding that more needed to be done to ensure quality of life for local residents. As such this study hopes to build upon the findings of these past researchers, specifically looking at Mordue’s (2005,p.187) identified issue of local people’s “disembedded-ness from the city centre” by analysing the relationship that local people have with the past and what effect the acts of commercialisation and commodification of heritage have had upon the local community.

The importance of the community relationship with tourism and the tourists who visit cannot be underestimated. The social and cultural exchange of tourism is regarded as playing a major role in bringing about social change (Perez and Nadal 2005, p.925). Subsequently, tourism activity has implications upon the socio-cultural characteristics of the local community; the compounding issues often result in ‘psychological tensions’ within a destination (Andereck et al. 2005). These psychological tensions will not only affect the local community but the resulting ramifications will manifest through actions and tensions within the tourist space, affecting the destination as a product and those who come to experience it.

Therefore, it was important within the case study to gain an adequate understanding of the reaction of local people to tourism within the destination and the tourists themselves. From an interpretivist perspective, the researcher needed to be entirely comfortable with the views of local people regarding tourism and tourists in order to be able to fully understand the reasoning behind the community's attitudes towards representations of heritage within the destination. Furthermore, having a comprehensive understanding of these issues is vital in the pursuit of a long-term sustainable approach for the future of the tourism industry (Lawson et al.,1998; Williams and Lawson 2001; Perez and Nadal 2005).

Theoretical studies suggest that tourism can have a number of serious effects upon social and psychological aspects of the resident population (Pizam, 1978) and can have a bearing upon their quality of life (Williams and Lawson, 2001). Subsequently, it is the 'individual's subjective evaluation of a range of elements' (Ross 1992, p.14) which need to be considered. This evaluation includes aspects of the social exchange process and the formation of social representations alongside the relationships and ratios which exist between residents and guests. After all, residents play a crucial role and must be willing partners, in the processes and success of a sustainable tourism-based economy (Allen et al., 1988).

This contribution is due to the frequency of interaction and encounter. Consequently, residents should be willing to serve as gracious hosts if tourism is to be successful (Allen et al., 1988). As such, the study will now present the data surrounding the community of York and their relationship with and understanding of the past.

6.6.1 York's community and heritage tourism

It is important at this point to analyse the relationship that York's community have with heritage tourism at the destination. This is of significance to this study, because Schroeder (1996) studied destination image and found that residents who were happy with the destination image conveyed were more supportive of tourism, whereas the residents who were not happy with the destination image presented were more likely to be unsupportive of tourism at the destination. Therefore, it is possible that the dissonance present in York between the commercial and community images of the past, leads to a lack of support for or negative connotations towards tourism.

There has previously been some research done into the residents of York and their attitudes towards and involvement with tourism in the city. Murphy (1981) analysed the attitudes of York residents towards tourism in the city and recommended that community relations, as a whole, needed much improvement, he found that York residents were concerned about the degree of community return that resulted from having so many visitors into the city. Then in 1999 Snaith and Haley analysed resident's opinions on tourism and tourism impact and found that there was a correlation between resident's feelings towards tourism in their city and their socio-economic profile. Firstly, and seemingly quite obviously, they found that residents who work in the tourism industry in York are more likely to view tourism activity in a positive light. This is in agreement with the finding of Glasson (1994) who carried out a similar study in Oxford.

A second important correlation was regarding the age of the residents. Older residents were found less supportive of a tax levy to fund tourism development in the city. Age of residents was found to be an indicator of their attitudes towards tourism in studies around the world as in the case of Bastias-Perez and Var's (1995) study in Darwin, Australia. Shortly afterwards research was carried out in York by Madrigal (1995) who rather than looking at socio-economic and demographic issues studied residents in search of nested clusters based on attitudes alone. This concept stemmed from Molotch's (1976) understanding of communities as being comprised of smaller internal (nested) communities each with their own visions and requirements.

Madrigal (1995) identified three groups in York which he labelled "Realists", "Haters" and "Lovers". The findings showed that these groups shared perceptions of tourism and the behaviour surrounding it. However, it cannot be said that grouping residents together in this way is a comprehensive method as perceptions within each group will vary in scale from one group member to another and as such the actions dictated will still vary within one group. Furthermore, as Carmichael (2000, p.603) identifies, communities are complex and dynamic in such a way that at any given time residents can experience and display the 'full range' of perceptions, emotions and anticipation towards tourism and tourism related activity. As such, previous research such as this acts as very much a starting point, identifying resident perceptions towards tourism in York and to some level finding correlations and behaviour patterns. However, as Snaith and Hayley recognise;

There is limited understanding of why residents respond to the impacts of tourism as they do, and under what conditions residents react to those impacts. There is a real need therefore for an extensive and thorough analysis of residents opinions regarding the perceived impacts of tourism in historic cities such as York in England (Snaith and Haley, 1999, p.596).

Separately, the research carried out by York City Council into resident's attitudes towards tourism development in the city is currently insufficient as a key informant explains:

"Now as far as residents are concerned, I have to say I have found this quite patchy. Back in the day the council had got research panels and did do its own research from time to time but I don't believe has done much research with residents for a long time."

(Assistant Director, Economic Development and Partnerships, City of York Council)

This indicates that residents have not been involved frequently and thoroughly throughout the heritage tourism destination management and marketing process and this is a key error.

As Howie (2003, p.156) recognises:

"Destination branding should be done with the active involvement of - or at least consultation with - the destination's residents. They too are part of the reality as well as the marketing mix of the destination and marketing professionals cannot afford to be out of touch with the 'message on the street'".

This statement reflects the true issue that arises when marketing professionals lose touch with what is actually happening in their destination on a day-to-day operational level. There is no possible way for a marketer to comprehensibly understand the intricate nature of the true brand and character of their destination unless they are out there on the 'front line' experiencing it themselves and observing and interacting with the residents in an almost anthropological and ethnographical manner.

Therefore in line with the objectives of the study, this research seeks to establish a clearer understanding of residents in York and their attitudes towards the way in which their city is marketed and branded as a destination and the consequential experience of the destination as a result of marketing efforts. Overall the respondents appeared to be understanding and accepting towards tourism but have some varying issues, as a respondent explains:

"I would describe it in a nutshell as basically residents are supportive of tourism, they understand the economic value of tourism, they understand the benefits they get from a wider choice of restaurants and events and culture and all of those things, but the residents support for tourism is not unconditional. They have concerns and they are mainly about things like crowds there is some concern about congestion and the traffic impact. I bet all of this will sound familiar to Eisha in the 60s, they also had concerns about stag and hens, well there's a surprise! So residents support tourism, they understand tourism I think, but it's not

an unconditional sport." (Assistant Director, Economic Development and Partnerships, City of York Council)

Clearly, the idea that resident support for tourism is conditional is not new information. Mordue in his study of York in (2005, p.183) investigated the concerns of York residents regarding tourism development:

"residents seem to accept that there is a need for tourism growth and development but they do have concerns, which seem to surround issues of identity and quality on three counts: first, regarding what York offers the market by way of attractions, second, regarding the type of tourists being attracted to the city, and probably the most important concern of all, regarding the type of jobs that tourism actually brings to the city. Furthermore, it seems to be assumed by many residents that each of these issues are directly related and are somehow 'manageable' in a way that would give rise to a number of mutual benefits".

This study also focused on the second point raised by Mordue, that of 'the type of tourists being attracted to the city' and moreover how these tourists consume and connect with the heritage tourism destination. How do these tourists as a group of stakeholders interact, engage and shape the space? It was important for the thesis to gain an understanding of this as host and guest relationships can be a barrier to community engagement with tourism (Watson and Waterton, 2010). For this reason one of the initial things explored within

interviews and observations was the relationship between host and guest. An overview of this is required in order to better understand the relationship between the community and the representations of tourism and heritage in the destination. We need to first understand the relationship with tourism at an operational level and this requires a focus upon the host-guest relationship. As such the table below summarises some of the range of responses to tourism found in York. The range of responses has been categorised into four 'types' of response. The purpose of the four categorisations of response is two-fold. Firstly, the categories represent how aware of tourists presence in the city residents are and the level of interaction that they appear to have with tourists. Secondly, the level of tolerance for tourists is identified with a simple scale from positive to negative. It was felt that a simple and straightforward approach was needed to clearly highlight the range of responses presented.

Type	Exemplar responses
<p>Type 1</p> <p>Highly conscious of tourists- Positive</p>	<p>“One of the things I love is the variety of people that I come across. You get people from all backgrounds, I’ve met people from Air force 1, I’ve met people who fought in the Vietnam War...The variety makes the tourism, that’s the best thing about tourism, that you get people from all these different</p>

	backgrounds that come in and enrich the life of the city” (Café worker).
Type 2 Highly conscious of tourists-Negative	<p>“I dread the school holidays, you just can’t get anything done. It can take me more than twice as long to get through town with tour groups and school trips blocking up the streets”</p> <p>“I want to take my daughter out into York for a nice day out but a lot of the time it’s far too busy so we end up going out of town to the sculpture park or go to Harrogate instead” (Museum guide).</p>
Type 3 Conscious of tourists-positive	<p>“Yeah I suppose we get a lot of tourists but it means we have amazing shopping. My friends love coming up to York and shopping together, we have so many designer shops most places don’t have” (Student).</p>
Type 4	“They can be a pain but I only really

Conscious of tourists –negative	notice them in the summer, or Christmas really” (York Theatre Royal employee).
Type 5 Less conscious of tourists- positive	“I don’t really go into town much to be honest I am so busy! The kids go in a lot but they never complain, I think we are just used to it really” (Stay at home mother).
Type 6 Less conscious of tourists-negative	“I don’t think tourists are a problem, I think the idiot tourists are a problem, and idiots always will be” (Owner of Historic Tour company).

Table 9: York Interview responses- Community attitude towards tourists

These responses range from those who work in the tourism industry and service sector and have a high level of awareness of tourism in the city, in either a negative or positive way through to people who live perhaps further out and do most of their own activities out of town and therefore do not experience the influx of tourists in a heightened way. These findings demonstrate that within what is defined here as community, lie a broad range of perspectives and attitudes. Mordue’s (2005) study concluded that overall in York residents were understanding of tourism and the positive economic impacts that it brings to the city. Whereas the findings of this study illustrate a broader range of perceptions of and feelings towards tourism in the city.

This could be due to the growing numbers of tourists who visit; Mordue stated in his investigation that York received an estimated 3.84 million tourists per year, half the number of tourists that it welcomes today. It seems fair to consider that there may be some correlation between the increase in the level of distain towards tourism in York and the number of tourists received each year. This is of key concern to the study as the relationship and understanding between host and guest can have a measurable impact upon the way in which communities engage with and interpret their heritage (Watson and Waterton, 2010). It was found when analysing community relationships with and representations of the past that they manifest in several key ways, and these will now be explored in the sections that follow.

6.6.2 Community relationship with heritage

Throughout interviews held with people in the community in York, several key themes emerged and reoccurred throughout the process of data collection. Firstly, it was found in York that there was a real sense of disconnect between the ascribed destination brand identity of York and the ways in which the community identify with York. This was demonstrated through the York Past and Present focus group, in which one active member explained his feelings as follows:

“We seem to be taking on this city and it’s a city that just sells itself as this old walled city where practically every building is a listed building. It reminds me of that sexist ideal of the dumb blonde, very beautiful but there’s not much going on, and not much going on is just literally Vikings and Romans and you try to get anything beyond that and it’s very difficult.”

(York Past and Present Committee member - Focus group)

The group member seemed increasingly frustrated at the way in which his city is being presented and portrayed. Another member of the group had similar views, citing a selected past. One member described York’s heritage tourism offering as akin to a ‘greatest hits history’ in which their views did not get much airtime. His concern seemed to surround the messages that were getting across to visitors to the city. He said:

“We get between four and seven million visitors a year and they sell that history in a certain way that we’ve got to live with, and also trying to get any information of the reality of that history through is very difficult”.

(York Past and Present Committee member - Focus Group)

This member of the community seemed adamant that there is more to York’s history and heritage to share with visitors that is not getting across. He feels this to such an extent that he tries to share what he feels as important historical information with visitors through whatever means he can. One example of this came through when he explained;

“every now and then I feel the need to do a walk around York and I get various people and I take them to see lots of lots of things that are really part of it but none of them are marked with anything”.

(York Past and Present Committee member - Focus Group)

What the respondent is saying here is that because some sites of historical importance, or interest are not marked or drawn attention to tourists will not see any value in them and will pass them by. Heritage expert Dr Helen Graham who has been working in collaboration with the group York Past and Present on a HMRC funded project further explained that;

“what we are contesting about heritage is what gets seen as valuable and what gets passed on[...]In a concrete way we need to think in a plural sense so that we can be open about what the city’s past is so that we can start to think about the future”.

(York Past and Present Committee member - Focus Group)

These comments further reinforce the idea that there is community-shared view that what is currently being sold to tourists as York’s heritage is not the full picture. A member of the group further explained why they feel it is important that a greater picture of York’s heritage is shared, explaining;

“why it is important to tell some of these stories about York is that it really comes back to some of these things about what York really is. The issue for us is that there is a real heritage and that’s defined in a kind of narrow way, it’s all about sort of Romans and Vikings and the aestheticized city centre”.

(York Past and Present Committee member - Focus Group)

A respondent further elucidated the purpose of the group stating that *“in a way we want change, we want a more democratic culture in the city to be an on-going lived thing”* (York Past and Present Committee member - Focus Group).

Secondly, it was found in York that there are several elements of York's past that have been written out of the heritage script. Community members were asked about aspects of heritage in York which they wished to achieve greater attention to identify what they feel is missing or is underdeveloped.

Neglected heritage in York

Sports heritage

"Dancing doesn't get the attention it should. We have the countries first custom built dance hall in York, it's now a pizza restaurant! I can't understand it...most people I tell about it don't even know"

"we have the sports centre now and the tour de Yorkshire which is a fantastic step forward for sports in York. But we need to use the past to educate people, and to show children the importance of sports and the history behind it"

Intangible heritage

"what I find really interesting is the stories

	<p>that people have to tell, that's the best bit!"</p> <p>"there is a lot of storytelling in York with the tours that are put on, a lot of people are even doing them for free now and just taking tips so they can get themselves out there, there's no help for them."</p> <p>"yeah there are lots of people trying to put on more tours and talks but it's hard, there's not funding for us, it's all on us if we want to do it, but we have things to say!"</p>
<p>LGBT heritage</p>	<p>"York has a very 'family friendly' image and I suppose there are things, and more, words, that they don't want to use"</p> <p>"there are people who have contributed to making York what it is today, but because they are from the LGBT community they don't get a mention, not at all. That's why we did our own plaque event"</p>
<p>Dark heritage</p>	<p>"we share everything, and most people love</p>

it, York has its own horrible histories! But you wouldn't see it at the front of the guidebooks!"

"some things are not really mentioned that should be, because they leave a bad taste"

"York has a certain image it needs to uphold so certain things are held back it would seem!"

Table 10: York Interview responses- Elements of heritage which the community feel are neglected

Table 2- Elements of heritage which the community feel are neglected

The findings of this study indicate that there is a clear feeling of dissonance between the commercial representations of heritage and how the local community feel about their heritage and wish for it to be represented. The study will present the findings which demonstrate some key examples of how the community of York choose to represent their heritage in their own way, in terms of the AHD and the authorised heritage script they are here writing off script.

6.6.3 Community heritage groups

One way in which the people of York have endeavoured to have some element of control over the representation of heritage in the destination is through the establishment of community groups dedicated to heritage and history. One of the most active heritage community groups in York is the group 'York's Alternative History'. The group explain the reason why they established the group on their website offering the following statement:

“there’s more to York and to York’s history than Vikings, Romans and pretty medieval streets. We explore the histories of York which don’t make the guidebooks. From creating political alternatives to alternative ways of working, living and loving. From histories of specific political, social and cultural organisations to histories of informal networks and friendships[...]York’s history should be written by the people who live here. We create histories of York written by lots of different people, in lots of different voices and in lots of different ways (through events, recordings, films and writing – both in the public spaces of the city and the public spaces of the web).”

(York’s Alternative History, n.d.)

The group does a lot of important heritage work in the city, holding events for the local community and tourists alike and offering tours of the city, which highlight elements of York’s past which they feel are very important but which have been excluded from the AHD in York. The group also holds commemorative events, such as one for the anniversary of the massacre of the Jews at Clifford’s Tower. One group member explained “We had a beautiful Eulogy and then placards were hammered into the ground. They had done 17 of them, one

for each of the people executed that day and afterwards we cheered three cheers in their memory, you know, hip, hip, hooray! It is awful when you think about the things that go on, but in this way it almost felt like I was making a difference, I mean, I was a part of something that was trying to make a difference and give them a better send off than they had had before”.

(Gift shop worker)

This conversation was very revealing and although a prominent reason for the event that day was to pay respects and offer a moment of solemn thought and prayer, a secondary issue presented itself. The conversation that followed revealed that events such as this help to enable the community to create a real and meaningful connection to their past. It appears that in many cases respondents spoken to do not take the time to visit many of York’s leading heritage attractions, deeming them superficial or ‘not for us’ (Male, 27, Theatre Royal employee). The findings demonstrate that in this way York’s community members are able to communicate with the past in a dynamic way, becoming the focus of new performative practices and allowing themselves the freedom of the type of self-expression that will aid in communicating and building their heritage identity as Yorkshire people.

Another of the prominent groups in York that work to connect people to the past is ‘York Past and Present’. The group explain their purpose on their website as follows:

“The Intention of the group was to create a place where not only pictures were posted but the history and stories behind them, a place where people could come along and not only

recall their memories but also share with others. Though many places in York are well known, like the Gothic Minster and Clifford's Tower, there are also many other sights and stories to be seen and heard throughout this beautiful City. York Past and Present is not only about the Romans, Vikings and the well-known history, but also about the history that is not that well known or that has simply vanished from the City. The Biedecker raids of World War II, the Hutments, old forgotten streets and alley ways, all this history is not that well publicised, that's where we come in" (York Past and Present, 2015).

The formalisation of such community groups brings into question the classification of the local community as heritage tourism destination stakeholders. As explored in the examination of the extent literature, stakeholder groups are often classified into primary and secondary stakeholders (Carroll, 1989; Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984; Wheeler, 1993). In accordance with Clarkson's (1998) definition of a primary stakeholder, such community groups, despite their level of involvement, are still classified as secondary stakeholders to the destination as they do not have an official contract with the organization, in this case the DMO. Further, Wheeler (1993) additionally would still classify them as secondary stakeholders as the DMO is not accountable to them.

6.6.4 Community heritage projects

The active members of the heritage and historical community in York are continuously working towards projects which work to engage the community in Yorkshire history and heritage.

One example is the event entitled “Write your own York plaque day” run by York’s Alternative History group in May of 2014. The event, which was held at the Friends Meeting House, was open to all members of the local community who felt that they had something to say about York and its history and people, something which they wanted to share. There are over 70 bronze plaques around York which highlight buildings or points of particular significance, displaying information about the history of the site or people of importance who came into contact with the site. The group referred to this as a ‘public commemoration’ of York and its people. An example of this is shown in the image below (Image 9) that depicts one of the plaques that was made for the event which commemorates the trial held for those arrested following the Peterloo Massacre in Manchester.



Image 9- Write your own York plaque day (Yorkalternativehistory.org, n.d)

The event was such a success that the following year a ‘Rainbow plaque event’ was held, displaying information regarding the lesbian, bisexual and transgender people of York’s past and the stories that have not been told regarding LGBT history in York. One respondent explained what the 2014 plaque event meant to her:

“I loved the sharing of stories that went on, I got involved in the first place because I had things to share, things to say but I actually learnt a lot and I didn’t expect that. Now I realise how little I actually know about York’s history and I have lived here all my life... I want to do more things like this with the group, or with another group, I want to learn, to be involved.”

(Café worker)

Beyond this, some community members also expressed a level of ownership over such events:

“They put on things like the tours and the plaques event, but its not just about the committee that run them and Richard, it’s for everyone...they are ours, we can do what we like. Things don’t have to be censored or sugar coated for tourists, they are getting the real story here, from us. It’s great being able to do things our way for a change, we need more of this, I’m hoping they organise another plaque event, I bet people have loads more to say”

(Museum guide)

As such the group have continued their work on such events, holding another Rainbow plaque event in February 2016, to coincide with LGBT history month. However, another key area of community heritage representation in York is through the publication of historical materials, this will be explored in the following section.

6.6.5 Community heritage publications

York has been represented very well by its community through the publishing of books on local history and heritage. One of the more recent, and more controversial additions to this long list is the book entitled ‘York: A walk on the wild side, Tales of riot, rebellion and revolution’ written by Paul Furness and published in 2014. In the authors’ words:

“Even Guy Fawkes has to shout to get himself heard in York and, to add insult to injury, he’s not in this little book either – which makes the point that what is left out of York’s rich history may be more relevant than what gets included in the “official version” that brands this tourist town a must visit experience. Within these pages you’ll find the story of the York “they” don’t want to tell you about – because it doesn’t fit the heritage image which has been invented for the express purpose of shopping! What you are about to read is none of that. Here are tales of riot, rebellion and revolution, music, poets, football and beer along with fights for women’s rights and Gay Liberation – just the story of another Friday night in York in fact!” (Furness, 2014)

Furness often refers to the ‘blanding’ of York, as opposed to the ‘branding’ of York which typifies his argument that the history and heritage of York is a palatable one, and one which will appeal to a mass audience. What Furness is doing here is expanding the representations of York’s history by taking matters into his own hands and in this way presenting an interaction of sorts, with contemporary viewpoints being presented for the visitor to

consider. This is typical of Wetherall's (2001) argumentative texture, in which Wetherall states that new representations emerge and fight for attention.

In addition, the growth and accessibility of technology has meant that many people take to the internet to publish formal account of York's heritage. There are several blogs online including those of York Past and Present, York's Alternative History Society and even schools starting their own history blogs such as the Mount School for girl's online York history blog, to represent the past of York in their own way. These new platforms provide the community of York with a way of telling their stories and representing the destination in their own way. Waterton (2010, p.168) has warned that a major concern with heritage tourism publications is that when visitors look over these publications few of them "could begin to draw in an understanding of the meanings these may carry in reality for local communities".

Herewith are the beginnings of a solution to these issues of power and control, as communities can illustrate and represent what meanings their heritage has for them themselves, and this in turn will be of great value both to visitors but also to those who wish to learn about local heritage and conserve these representations for the future. There is much that can be learnt from these community representations of heritage; these stories and images are of great value and need to be preserved and learnt from for the future of historical preservation.

6.7 Commercial and Community Collaboration

Thus far, information has been presented on how the commercial bodies represent and market the destination's heritage, the ways in which the community represent and relate to their heritage in Yorkshire has also been explained. It has been found that in many instances there are great divides between the two understandings and representations, however as ever, things are not so clearly defined and there are instances in Yorkshire where both the community and commercial bodies are working together in collaboration and this will be explored here.

Smith (2006) states that there is a growing focus upon community collaboration and participation within the literature and that this is due to demands from community groups for greater consideration of community needs throughout the heritage tourism process. However, in York specifically community participation and collaborative partnerships arose due to more of an essential need than a request from the community. The management and marketing of heritage in York has been a problem for the local community for decades, as Meethan (1997) recognised, in the mid-1970s there were strong anti-tourism attitudes in York as tourist numbers began to rise.

"We are starting to work closer, that is one of the ideas of Make it York, to work closer with the residents. About what they want, how to get them more involved in their city. We have residents' festival in January but there's a lot of them do not visit, it's all on their doorstep.

They did things when they were on a school trip. So we need to develop that and get them more involved in the visitor economy and that will benefit the city because they will tell friends, visit more often themselves. So that's key, growing the York card, because the York card is a product that the library offers and the council operates that is for residents that gets them into the minster, the castle museum and money off at Yorvik and getting more benefits and discounts with that for people"

(Marketing Executive - Research, Visit York)

One way in which Visit York are hoping to work closer with the local community is through the universities in the city:

"Have a lot more forums available for them, do more with the universities as well, get the students involved, not just the open day but make the students aware, make things available."

(Senior Marketing Executive, Visit York)

One way in which Visit York have included the local community throughout recent years is through the annual residents' weekend and the residents' survey that accompanies it as a key informant explains:

"The residents' festival is pretty much the only thing we do for residents...We do that every year and its gets us a lot of local coverage, we tend to partner with Minster FM who do a roadshow with live bands and it helps to get a lot of people out and about and it seems to generate a lot of good feeling as well."

(Marketing Executive - Research, Visit York)

As explained here, this is the extent of the relationship between the DMO and the community. The Residents' Festival is a weekend in January when York residents can get free or discounted access to many of York's attractions and offers are available for them in York's bars, restaurants, cafes and some shops. This is somewhat a 'thank you' gift to the residents each year for accommodating tourism and its negative impacts throughout each year. However, as aforementioned, this study found that many of York's residents are not particularly interested in local tourism attractions, as they do not connect with these as part of their heritage. This is reflected in the attendance of local people to the residents' weekend when access is free as a key informant stated:

"We estimated that last year during the residents' festival residents made 33,000 visits to attractions and each resident visits 3.7 attractions on average so we worked out that 9,000 residents or 5% of York's residents came along so it's really not that many people that take advantage of this. We have 200,000 residents."

(Senior Marketing Executive, Visit York)

Such a small proportion of local people turning out to free attractions is a fair indicator of people's lack of interest of affiliation with local attractions. Low number may be attributed to the fact that the free entry and offers are only applicable to those residents who hold a York Card, which comes at a cost of £5 per person per year, which for some is still a barrier to entry. However, the residents' festival does serve another purpose, which is the residents' survey.

“We have been collecting data from residents at the residents’ festival for the past five years. The problem is that we hand out a self-completion questionnaire that they have to fill out and bring back so we don’t get a huge amount back we get about a hundred... We do ask them every year what they think the benefits of tourism are and they all did see benefits but they all also did see problems as well. People don’t like the high prices for parking, they don’t like that’s there’s lots of souvenir shops, those aren’t the shops that they want.”

(Marketing Executive - Research)

Clearly, the findings of this survey are very limited, only achieving one hundred responses and asking very basic questions about likes, dislikes and if they would recommend York to friends or family. A further issue is that once the data is gathered, nothing essentially comes from it as the respondent further commented *“we have a lot of ideas and things we want to do for the residents but it’s all budget and resource limited”* (Marketing Executive - Research, Visit York). It is for this reason that research investigations of this kind are so important. The DMO does not have the capacity to carry out research to the required level of depth to fully understand why the community respond to their representations of heritage in the way that they do and how this can be further acknowledged.

It has been evidenced here that the only connections currently made between Visit York and the community is the residents’ festival and the accompanying (yet very limited) residents’ survey. This stresses the lack of collaboration between the community and the

commercial voices of heritage tourism concerning the representation and marketing of the destination and this is of great concern.

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented two key areas of thought that will be further developed and explored within the discussion chapter. Firstly, the ways in which the case study destinations have been developed as heritage tourism products and marketed for commercial purposes has been identified. The marketing messages, processes and practices have been explored. In contrast to this the representations of heritage by local community for has equally been explored. In order to examine the reasoning behind this, the interpretative approach to this study further explored the underlying issues, revealing how and why the community connect with heritage and heritage tourism in such a way and their feelings towards tourism and tourists at the destination.

From this the key themes will be drawn out and analysed within the later discussion of the investigation in order to answer the research questions that have been previously established. The next chapter examines the same issue of community and commercial understandings and representations of tourism in the second case study destination of Huelva in Andalucía, Spain.

Chapter 7: Huelva Case Study-The voice of a destination

7.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises the case study examination of Huelva in Andalucía, Spain. The findings that are presented here firstly demonstrate the ways in which heritage tourism assets in Huelva are commercialised and commodified into products for modern heritage tourism purposes, and secondly evaluates how these heritage assets are marketed and represented to the public.

Following this, the community understandings and representations of tourism in the destination are explored and presented. Further to this, the chapter highlights the key issues that arise from the dissonance and what this means for Huelva as a heritage tourism destination.

Central to the study is the city of Huelva at the heart of the province, however a range of other towns and villages were also investigated within the province to expand the findings of the study and to create a broader picture of the heritage and history of Huelva province. Of these, the town of Trigueros was selected for inclusion in the thesis (full justification in Chapter 5).

7.2 Portrait of Huelva as a heritage tourism destination

7.2.1 The history of Huelva

The province of Huelva is of great interest to the study of heritage tourism for two central reasons. Firstly, Huelva is one of the oldest settlements in the western world with a history dating back over five thousand years (Andalucia.com, n.d). Secondly, despite its vast historical significance, Huelva has managed to maintain what is argued to be an authentic representation of their past. A possible reason for this is that unfortunately the province was badly affected by the Lisbon Earthquake of 1755. This intense (8.5 on the Richter scale) earthquake destroyed much of the province and for that reason there is little built heritage pre-1755 (Huelva City, 2015). Thus the people of Huelva cherish what heritage they do have and work to keep heritage alive in intangible forms, which will be discussed here.

Within this study a range of destinations within the Huelva province were investigated in order to draw more sophisticated and valuable conclusions than would have been drawn from focusing on just one destination. Furthermore, a broader data set looking at multiple destinations helps to ensure validity and increase the generalisability of the results. Several towns and villages were visited and investigated as part of this study including Niebla and Arathena. However, the village of Trigueros was selected for inclusion in the write up of this study (not to disregard the importance of the heritage assets present in the other destinations explored) because it was deemed most suitable for satisfying the aims of this research agenda.

Trigueros was deemed most appropriate for inclusion in the thesis because of the destination's unique heritage assets, including a Neolithic Dolmen. Additionally, Trigueros is one of the towns in Andalusia responsible for rearing and training the famous Toros of Andalusía at the famous Ganadería. Both of these heritage aspects are presented and represented by the local community and the dimensions of this will be presented and explored here.

7.3 Trigueros

7.3.1 Trigueros's heritage

The village was originally developed upon the ruins of the Roman settlement of Conistorgis, there have been several excavations that have discovered evidence to support this, such as ancient tombs and ceramics from the time (Andalucia.org, 2015). The village was originally named Puerto del Camino under the reign of Alfonso X. However, the name was later changed due to a reorganisation of municipal areas in 1342 and was given its current name (Andalucia.org, 2015). The first human settlement in Trigueros dates from prehistoric times and is known as the Dolmen de Soto (see image 10 below).



Image 10- The inside of the Dolmen de Soto (Author's own, 2015)

Dolmen de Soto was visited several times during this investigation, from excavation through the process of preparing and opening the Dolmen as a visitor site for tourists. Another visit then took place six months after the Dolmen was opened to the public.



Image 11-The inside of the Dolmen de Soto (Author's own, 2015)

A key respondent explained that “the Dolmen is over five thousand years old and was discovered and excavated in 1922” (Technical de Turismo). The Dolmen is owned by the council, who “Junta Andalucía”. They now have an agreement with the mayor of Trigueros that Trigueros will manage it as a tourist attraction (Technical de Turismo). The Dolmen is a long corridor with many markings on the interior walls showing men, women, arrowheads and even a map of constellations. It is these markings that distinguish this Dolmen from

other similar monuments, as markings of this kind are not found on other monuments from the same time period. One example of these markings is shown in image 12 below.



Image 12- The markings inside the Dolmen (Author's own, 2015)

Trigueros is also home one of the Garnedia's of Spain, which rears the bulls or 'Toros' for the Spanish art of bullfighting, which is still very popular in southern Spain, with one of the country's main bullfighting rings being just over an hour away in Seville. This is an interesting element of heritage present at the destination due to the level of community

involvement and the pride of the local people in the history of the bull rearing heritage of their town. Reared and raised by the local community, the toro's are at the center of the local community and are a central part of both their heritage and the economic configuration of the town.



Image 13- A Toro from the Garnedia (Author's own, 2015)

7.3.2 Commercial and community representations of Trigueros

Trigueros is an interesting example of the commodification of heritage assets for modern heritage tourism purposes. This is because the village has a certain amount of control over what is being done due to their agreement with the regional government. Ideas are subject to funding and resource restrictions but they have a large amount of freedom of design and process within these parameters.

One example of the ways in which the local community of Trigueros are involved in the commercialisation and development of their heritage assets is through simple communication between stakeholder groups. When the Dolmen de Soto was first being developed and prepared, presentations to the public and a conference were held for the local community. This was advertised to the community through announcements in the town hall and through distribution of a leaflet. The conference presented information on the Dolmen and what it meant for the future of Trigueros.

The future of Trigueros as a tourism destination was discussed and the community were educated on the town's history and informed on what the next steps in developing as a destination were. It was hoped from this that *"the local people would be more involved with what was going on and feel like that are part of what we are doing"* (Technical de Turismo). The agenda for the conference was agreed using the tourism office proposals.

These were put forward to the local community and together they went over ideas and developed an itinerary to move forwards with local tourism. The Technical de Turismo then used this itinerary as a basis from which they developed the strategy and communications for the town moving forwards.

The event was very successful with the local community who felt that their opinion was appreciated and they were considered in the plans (Technical de Turismo). To demonstrate this some responses from the local community when asked the question “do you feel that you are involved in the marketing of Trigueros as a tourism destination?” by the researcher, are shown in the table below.

Respondent	Response
Lecturer	Yes I do actually; the consultations have been very useful. They don't just tell us what they are doing, they ask what we think
School teacher	The opportunity to be involved is definitely there, but I have not had time to go to any of the meetings. But I would say I feel that they want me to be involved, and I want to be involved, its just finding the time
Researcher	Definitely, right from the start. The Dolmen was given to Trigueros, so it is for all of us to

	use as a resource, so we should get a say, and so far we do
Shop assistant	Yes and it has been interesting so far, I hope it goes on

Table 11: Trigueros interview responses-Community involvement

Overall, the responses indicated that the marketing of Trigueros for tourists has been done with consultation with the local community, and that generally they feel involved with what is going on. This is in accordance with the findings of Vargas-Sánchez and Mangin (2008) who found that in Huelva the local community had positive perceptions of tourism development and an awareness of the positive impacts of tourism for their community.

A further example of community representation of heritage was found in Trigueros at the Ganaderia. The Ganaderia in Trigueros breeds and raises bulls for the blood sport of bull fighting, which is still very popular in the region. The Ganaderia is run and staffed by local people who understand the importance of bull fighting and breeding to their heritage and culture. Recognising and cherishing the importance of this heritage, the community have over time assembled a collection of memorabilia pertaining to the breeding and fighting of local bulls, examples of such heritage assets are shown in Images 14,15 and 16 below.



Image 14- Bullfighting memorabilia (Author's own, 2015)

This has grown to become a small museum. The museum is not, however, run for profit or opened for the public in any obvious way. It is merely a celebrated and valued collection of

goods that are considered to be of importance to the culture and heritage of bull fighting which is on display for the local community.



Image 15- The Toro family tree (Author's own, 2015)

These objects have been selected as those which should be inherited and passed on to forthcoming generations. In this way the local community are operating outside of the AHD (Smith, 2006) and are selecting objects of the past themselves.



Image 16- The small community run bullfighting museum (Author's own, 2015)

7.4 Huelva as a heritage tourism destination

Huelva city has been inhabited since the late fourth millennium B.C. The city's proximity to the ocean made it an attractive place for people to settle and the city has been home to Tartessians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Romans, Visigoths and Muslims (Andalucia.com, n.d). As a consequence, Huelva has a vast and varied heritage, which is immediately recognisable as soon as you visit the destination, with an eclectic mix of architecture characterising the city. The city now has around 147,212 residents (Ine.es, 2014) and is a popular tourism destination. The city is the capital of the province of Huelva in the autonomous region of Andalucía in Southern Spain along the Gulf of Cádiz coast (as shown in Figure 17 below).



Figure 17: Map of Huelva (Vacation2Spain.com, 2014)

The city of Huelva is considered by this study to be significant as a heritage tourism destination due to its long and varied history. Huelva is most notable for its mining heritage, being home to the Rio Tinto mine bought from the Spanish Government by the Rio Tinto mining company in the late nineteenth century (Avery, 1974). Furthermore, Huelva is also known for its part in the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World, with Columbus residing in Huelva whilst he prepared for the voyage from which he set sail from Huelva's quayside.

The city has been slower to develop than other Spanish tourism destinations due to its focus on mining and agriculture but is now marketing itself for tourists and plays host to many cruise ships that dock in its port.

7.4 Commercial representations of Huelva's heritage

The destination management organisation or the Patronato Provincial de Turismo is Turismo Huelva which operates under the Public Entity for Tourism and Sport Management in Andalucía. A key issue with the representation of heritage and history within Huelva is that it is not prioritised by the Destination Management Organisation (DMO). Instead, the sunshine, beaches and gastronomy are emphasised by the DMO as it is believed that this will be more appealing to potential tourists than heritage and history. This is reflected in representations of the destination online for tourists (as shown in figure 18 below).

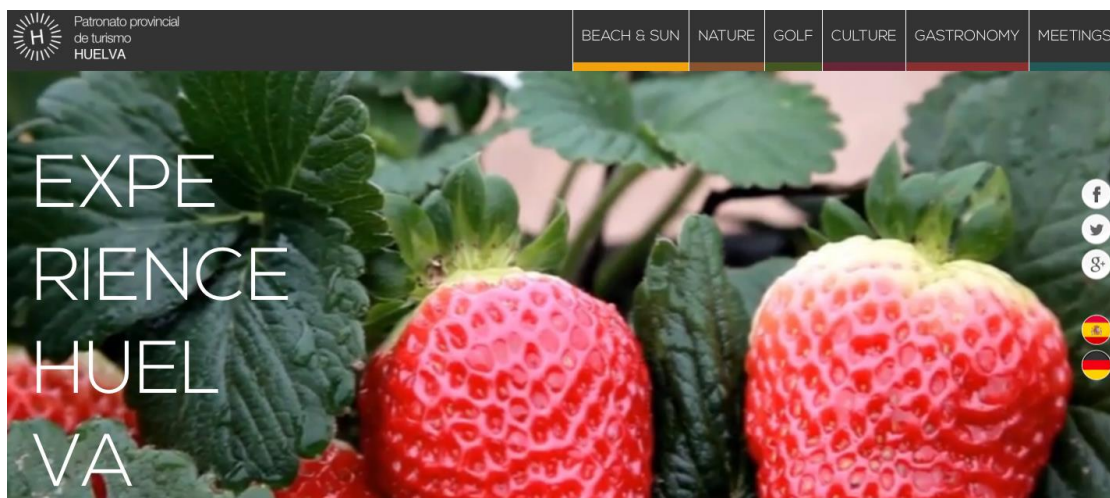


Figure 18: The homepage of the Huelva Tourist board (Turismo Huelva, 2014)

The above figure is the homepage of the Huelva tourist boards website in which they display on the top right-hand side the categories of interest for visitors. As evident, history and heritage is not prominent, with the focus being upon other tourist interests such as beach and sun. Elements of heritage and history at the destination are included under the term culture and only a few examples of Huelva's heritage attractions are shown. This is a very straightforward representation which suggests that heritage is not a priority for the destination when marketing the city to tourists. This finding was unanticipated due to the significance of Huelva's history, with Huelva city being one of the oldest human settlements in the western world. Further investigations revealed that heritage and historical tourism was indeed not a priority when marketing the city to tourists as a key respondent revealed:

"We focus on the beaches, the landscape, La Donnana the national park, that is what people come here for, for these things. If people want history and heritage they will go to Cordoba or Seville, we cannot compete so we focus on what we have"

(Technical de Turismo, Huelva Oficina de turismo)

The Technical de Turismo further explained that during the Lisbon earthquake many of the buildings within Huelva and the surrounding area were destroyed. She stated now they feel they do not have a large a heritage offering as competing destinations in other areas of Spain. It was also revealed that when some emphasis is placed upon history and heritage, it is placed upon two key elements of Huelva's history, it's industrial mining heritage and the voyage of Christopher Columbus, as a key respondent stated:

“In Huelva we have la Rabida which is very important for tourists to visit but, I say the most important thing for our history are the sites of Christopher Columbus , this is where we encourage tourists to go if they want to learn about the history of Huelva”

(Technical de Turismo, Huelva Oficina de turismo)

These responses are reflective of a key theme that emerged during the research process; Huelva’s heritage script is dominated by two key moments in its history and these are prized above other histories. This is consistent with Smith’s (2006) arguments concerning the effects of the authorised heritage discourse, which privileges certain aspects of heritage over others. The presence and prevalence of this will be further explored within this chapter, identifying and exploring how this narrow representation of the past is viewed by the local community, what their views are on the heritage script and their perceptions regarding this.

7.4.1 Commercialisation of Huelva's heritage voice

The commercialisation of Huelva's heritage assets has been identified and explored. The investigation will now examine the ways in which the heritage voice of Huelva is commercialised and represented in order to attract tourists.

In Huelva, it was found that the authorised heritage discourse (as defined by Smith, 2006) is validating and defining heritage practices and representations of heritage. Waterton and Smith (2011) articulate that the authorised heritage discourse actively does two things, frames and constrains heritage. It is apparent here that the AHD does indeed frame and constrain heritage and history in Huelva through the representations and commodification of heritage and the ways in which this manifests will be identified and explored here using both primary and secondary sources of information.

Concerning the ways in which the representations of heritage in Huelva are framed, several key themes emerged. Firstly, it was found that the framing of heritage in Huelva focuses heavily upon two key aspects of history, Huelva's mining heritage and the voyage of Christopher Columbus. These elements of the past are framed and represented heavily throughout both the heritage attractions available to visitors (as shown in the previous section of this chapter) and throughout the heritage tourism publications and communications from the destination management organisation. The extent of attractions and visitor sites devoted to the memory of Christopher Columbus, his crew and his voyage, dominates the heritage landscape in Huelva with nine visitor sites established as well as

various statues and memorial plaques throughout the province. This is in accordance with the findings of Waterton and Smith (2010, p.21) who claim that: “the heritage associated with the ‘great’ and the ‘good’ of white British history is prioritized over histories that deal with the more repugnant characteristics of empire”. This is actively shown in Huelva where white British history is of great significance which is illustrated through the Barrio de Reina Victoria, the museum commemorating the British and the prominence of the British contribution to local culture, including Huelva City, Spain’s oldest football club and the importance of other British sports such as golf and tennis to the city.

Furthermore, this study found that the industrial heritage was not represented and marketed in a way that is authentic and truly reflective of life at the time. Various aspects of the mining heritage focused on for tourists are sanitised and selective for modern day tourism purposes. This is reflective of the findings of Barthel in 1996 when observing industrial heritage attractions, who observed that:

“The raw masculinity...is not the usual subject for tours of schoolchildren and senior citizens or for family outings. Layers of dirt and grime violate tourist expectations and serious questioning of industrialism’s costs runs counter to the ideology of many political and economic interests involved in preservation” (Barthel, 1996, pp.68-69).

Here, in Huelva, as in Barthel’s study, the industrial past has been sanitised and enhanced in order to become increasingly attractive to tourists. The harsh realities of life working at the

Rio Tinto mines are largely excluded. The emphasis is upon the exciting excavation of the mines and the movement of the British to Huelva and how the British people contributed to the economic, social and cultural climate. This augmented version of the past is most evident when entering the accompanying museum of de Barrio de Reina Victoria to be greeted by blastings of 'God Save The Queen' over the speaker system throughout the museum and the mock up versions of a typical British living room and displays of afternoon tea and Cricket Whites.

This version of the past is of greater interest to tourists and is more visually arresting than images of coal covered miners working to exhaustion. These findings are typical of the effects of the authorized heritage discourse and the commodification of the past for the pleasure of tourists, as Waterton and Smith (2010) state the authorized heritage discourse "defines heritage as innately material, if not monumental, aesthetically pleasing and as inevitably contributing to all that is 'good' in the construction of national or group identity" (Waterton and Smith, 2010, p.20).

Considering Smith's (2006) conceptualization of the AHD, in this case the heritage concerning Huelva's industrial mining heritage and the voyage of Christopher Columbus would be considered the dominant discourse here, as the findings of this study show that they are privileged above other heritage and dominate the heritage script. This also confirms the rest of Huelva's heritage story as being under Smith's (2006, p.35) definition of "Subaltern", "'subaltern' in that they stand outside of the dominant discourse". These

subaltern elements of the past are often neglected and the results of this upon the local community will be later identified and explored within this study.

Concerning the ways in which the authorized heritage discourse constrains the representation of heritage and the past, it was found in Huelva that the AHD does indeed mean that certain elements of the past or constrained, or further, excluded from heritage representations. Waterton and Smith (2010, p.11) state that one of the ways in which the AHD excludes and constrains is that it does not provide the necessary opportunities for professionals to ask people how they understand heritage:

“Consequently, few heritage professionals ask what people’s views of heritage are beyond the white middle-class cultural symbols. This failure has meant that social inclusion policies, at least as practiced in the UK, tend to be concerned with assimilating excluded communities into an understanding of traditional definitions of heritage rather than broadening definitions to serve a diversity of cultural and historical experiences” (Waterton and Smith, 2010, p.11).

This was found to correspondingly be an issue in Huelva, with a key theme emerging that the local community feels that key elements of their heritage are excluded. If local people are not afforded the opportunities to better understand their heritage then this ultimately leads to exclusion and a lack of interest. It was found in Huelva that there was a feeling amongst respondents that many local people are not interested in the representations of

their local heritage and local heritage attractions. A respondent who explained this in-depth stated that:

“Here people don’t care about the museums. Because the museum as the way there are put now the way they share the culture are obsolete. No one connects with it. The museum does not connect with the people. That’s why people only go to the museums that connect with the people. Like the British museum, the Louvre museum, because they connect with people through objects that you will love forever, I will love the Mona Lisa forever. Why would you go to a place where you do not feel you will get some profit, not economic, symbolic or cultural profit. I felt more connected to the Mona Lisa than to my local museum in Andalucía. The areas here they are not connected, there is nothing interdisciplinary. Tourism people think in tourism, culture doesn’t want anything to do with tourism. So there are no links. So when they talk about the culture now it’s true that there is a department that they care about the history of Andalucía. There is a department that look at this but they don’t publish, disseminate to the people they just publish there work on the page and only for the scientific reasons, for researchers. So if I want to know about my culture I have to look for that, to see how was my past. But that point of the cultural is nothing to do with modern culture, so there is no link between anything. You have to put the link in yourself. You interested, you want to know, you have to find the link to understand what’s happened in your culture and your history and how we develop and how we get to the point that we are” (Student).

It can be seen here that the dominant voice of heritage and culture in southern Spain focuses on what the destination management organisation feels is most appealing for the

international market. Respondents in this study stated that they felt excluded from the representation of their heritage and culture, as this response illustrates:

“But they don’t ask really to the local people really. What do you think about your local community? What do you think would be better for you to promote or to show your cultural way of life or whatever you do in your community as a way of life?” (University lecturer)

Therefore, the argument to be advanced regarding Huelva’s heritage tourism marketing develops two interrelated central points identified through this study. The first being that many respondents felt that the way in which the DMO approach the marketing of the destination, does not focus enough from some perspectives, at all, upon the heritage and historical significance of Huelva. As one respondent stated:

“For me it’s sad when people say, ‘oh from Andalucía, Olay, Olay, Olay’ it’s the only thing that you know about me. Because that is all that they are told about Huelva, it is all that they see from the tourist information. So for me its kind of a challenge to show to the people that come here that I have more to say and to do. Because the ‘Olay Olay Olay’ and the Flamenco is far away from me. That’s a point because I want to understand more about my culture, my own culture. That’s why I was beginning to see what it happening here. What does it mean to be from Andalucía, what’s behind that, what does it mean?”

(Researcher)

A second key theme that emerged concerned the ways in which the AHD in Huelva constrains the representations of heritage pertaining to the marketing messages representing Huelva's heritage and the selection of heritage value. It is apparent that the DMO who frame and charter the course of the marketing messages for the destination are perceived by the local community as being selective and insensitive when representing heritage. Several respondents suggested that they feel decisions made about marketing and representation were made without consideration of local heritage sensitivities, as one respondent illustrates:

"They put that heritage in a way that it makes no sense, just a product, an object so they forget everything about the sensitivities of the culture".

(Lecturer)

Further to this, the local community have challenged the dominant discourse put forward by heritage marketing practitioners, which they feel is not a comprehensive representation of their heritage. As such, one respondent claimed that at the centre of the problem is the institutionalisation of heritage, as stated below:

"It's very different to talk to one person and to talk to an entity. If you talk to one of the directors of tourism, she or he will probably say of course we care, we want to know we want to help people. Because they have to wish to help. I don't know anyone in this industry that says they don't care about people. Of course what they do they do for people and the community. So a person's cares but institutions, something happens, they want to care but

they don't really care. Something's going on and its obscure, it's hard to understand why things didn't work out because it depends of hierarchy and it depends on someone that you don't know him or her and you don't put a face, things happen and you don't have any face so...its quite complicated"

(Local business owner)

Statements such as this reflect the desire of the respondents of this study to be further involved with the heritage process and to engage with important marketing decisions. This is a further example of the AHD (Smith, 2006) and presences of dissonance are having an impact on community heritage relations.

7.4.2 Commercialisation of Huelva's heritage assets

The following section will identify and explore some key examples of the heritage assets in Huelva and how they are commercially represented. It is argued that throughout time heritage management has largely privileged the protection of physical elements of the past over more intangible components of heritage (Waterton 2005; Waterton and Smith 2008). However, in Huelva as identified, the Lisbon earthquake in 1755 destroyed many of its historical remains. Consequently, there remain some very valuable tangible heritage assets in Huelva from the nineteenth and twentieth century from the province's industrial and mining heritage. Huelva also capitalises upon its strong connections with the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the New World. Although many of the tangible elements of this heritage such as buildings used during the preparations for the voyage were destroyed, many sites have been established in memory of the voyage and its crew, many of who came from Huelva.

Barrio de Reina Victoria

The Barrio de Reina Victoria, derived from the name "*Barrio Obrero*" is Spanish for 'worker's district'. The Barrio de Reina Victoria is what remains of the houses which were home to the English workers who, in the early twentieth century, worked for the Rio Tinto mining company (Díaz Zamorano, 1999). The housing development was meant to help the English workers feel comfortable and at home, and as such, was modeled on a traditional English suburb designed by British architect RH Morgan (Cobos Wilkins, 2005). In this English style the houses have lawns, hedges and rose gardens surrounding them.



Image 17- A typical home in the Barrio Reina Victoria (Author's own, 2014)

The houses (shown in Image 17), whilst intended to be in traditional English style, are in actuality a crossover between English and Spanish style housing. The houses mock traditional Victorian colonial architecture but have more recently been painted in traditionally Spanish primary colours by current residents. In 2002, the Barrio was declared a "Site of Historical Interest" and tours are available for visitors (Cobos Wilkins, 2005). The Barrio is held in great esteem by local people who are very fond of it, and many respondents claimed that they took visitors of their own there as they felt it is an important aspect of Huelva's history and a representation of their past and their relationship with the English.

La Rabida

Christopher Columbus and his expedition to Asia is of great significance to the community of Huelva. Cristóbal Colón is honored by the local people, with a statue of him erected in the square in Huelva city (as shown in image 18). La Rábida, Palos de la Frontera and Moguer are three of the key sites in the story of the famous voyage (Davidson, 1997). The three sites all lie along the eastern bank of the Rio Tinto estuary just outside of Huelva city. La Rábida is the most frequently visited site by tourists (according to the Technical de Turismo Huelva) and has been developed into a very successful visitor attraction.



Image 18- The statue of Cristóbal Colón in Huelva town square (Author's own, 2012)

La Rábida (from the Arabic word 'rábida', meaning fortress) is extremely significant to the voyage, being where Columbus stayed between 1491 and 1492 whilst he was waiting for financial backing from the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, for his voyage to the New World (Davidson, 1997).

The monastery itself was constructed in 1412 on the site of a Moorish stronghold. However the monastery was damaged by the Lisbon earthquake in 1755 and was left derelict in 1835 only to be restored in the late 1770s . It reopened again in 1856 and it was declared a national monument (Andalucia.org, n.d). Although the monastery has been rebuilt its Moorish influences can still be seen in its Mudéjar architecture (Andalucía, 2014).

The monastery also has a fourteenth century Gothic-Mudéjar style church, where Captain Martín Alonso Pinzón who sailed with Columbus as Captain of the Pinta, is laid to rest, the captain is of great significance to Huelva as he was from Palos de la Frontera in Huelva (Wilford, 1991).

More recently, in the early twentieth century, the monastery was used as a convent for monks who still live and work there to this day offering tours for visitors and running a gift shop. As such the site is an example of living heritage within Huelva.

El Muelle de Las Carabelas (Harbor of the Caravels)

Muelle de las Carabelas (Harbour of the Caravels) which lies on the estuary of the River Tinto is a quay with life-size replicas of Columbus's three ships: the Niña, the Pinta and the Santa María. The attraction was built as a tribute to the five hundred year anniversary of the voyage to the New World in 1992. The attraction is very interactive for visitors who are able to climb aboard and explore the vessels and see the story brought to life by figures performing tasks as they would have done, such as preparing meals and navigating the ships. The port itself has been recreated with cobbled streets and a blacksmiths.

Further to this, a small museum entitled Pabellon de la Navegacion has been established at the quayside. The museum houses a small collection of fifteenth century armor, weapons, navigational tools and flags.

Museo de Huelva

Huelva's provincial museum on the Avenida Sundheim is the only museum in Huelva city and houses a varied collection with objects from the megalithic sites of La Zarcita at Santa Bárbara de las Casas and El Pozuelo at Zalamea la Real, Tartessian treasure from the necropolis at La Joya, Moorish artifacts, Phoenician and Greek artifacts which have been discovered in excavations within Huelva.

The key collections within the museum focus upon the city's mining heritage and the voyage of Christopher Columbus. This again highlights the narrow focus that the destination often has when representing its heritage. These key stories are important stories which need to be told but are in many ways dominating the representation of the destination and narrowing the heritage script.

7.5 Community relationship with heritage

As Crooke (2009, p.16) states:

“Community is a multi-layered and politically charged concept that, with a change in context, alters in meaning and consequence. According to the situation, different priorities will come to the fore and the purpose of community-heritage engagement will differ”.

Mydland and Grahn (2012) found that despite the recent surge in literature focusing upon community heritage in recent years there are questions that still remain. They claim that there is still a gap in understanding between local and national understandings of community. This research investigation has further found that there is, in this case, a difference between international conceptualisations of community. It was found that the way in which communities interact and relate to their heritage was different in Huelva to Yorkshire. As Waterton and Smith (2010) state, the concept of community has been used over the past several decades for several different means and purposes. Furthermore, the concept of community is malleable, meaning different things, to different people, in different contexts. In Huelva there was a much more natural sense of community that manifested in a more organic nature, community and sharing heritage values seemed part of everyday life.

The community relationship with heritage in Huelva appeared, from the findings of this investigation, to have a much stronger link and affinity to the intangible elements of heritage over the aspects of heritage in the built environment. This, it was found, was, in part due to the somewhat lack of heritage buildings due to the destruction caused by the Lisbon earthquake, as one respondent explained:

“we do have the buildings, the architecture, that you see in many other parts of Spain, it is very sad, but we are very proud of what we have, and we share it with others who come here” .

(Teacher)

. However, it became apparent that a relationship with the past was more prominent in everyday life due to two key factors relating to community: family and religion. Family and religious life were found to have a large impact upon the way in which people interact and relate to one another as a community of people in a heritage destination. The findings here indicate that the way in which the community in Huelva relate to their past leads to the presence of what is very much ‘lived heritage’. This investigation argues that the two key community factors which lead to this are family life and religious life and this will be explored and argued here.

In Huelva, family life appeared to play a key role in heritage awareness, heritage value and a relationship with the past. Family life and family structure can have a measurable impact

upon the one in which individuals connect with their own heritage and past, as Pearce (2007, pp. 87-88) explains:

“Whatever else the family is or is not, there can be no denying that it is a significant site of cultural production and hence heritage production. This is because its locus as an essential cultural element is asserted within discourses of 'naturalness' which depend upon the study of human biology, of the historical tradition, and on its evident capacity to interlock with many of the giant narratives of modernism like hierarchy and continuity, and, given all this, the emotional drag of the umbilical cord which links almost all of us spent our early years within it”.

What Pearce is saying here is emblematic of family relations in Huelva, where the family play a vital role throughout life. In Huelva, respondents told of how their family got together to celebrate their culture and heritage, and in this sense, kept the close family ties to their heritage alive. Many state that the idea of heritage is essentially the privileging of certain physical remains of the past over others (Bradley, 2008; Byrne 1991; Ellis 1994) However, it was apparent from conversations with respondents in Huelva that what was privileged above all else was in many cases the intangible elements of their past and the memories that had been passed down through generations. As one respondent stated:

“Our heritage, our culture, it is very important to me, to my family. It is something that we share, that we have together. Through the year we have so many celebrations and occasions when we all get together, and we go and celebrate and we teach the children about what is

important. Sometimes I worry that the more American holidays will come over here and make them forget, so its really important to me and the rest of the family to teach the children about the importance of our past, our traditions like January Fifth and San Sabastian”

(Teacher)

These conversations about family were particularly revealing, and highlight a number of issues that aid in understanding how the people of Huelva relate to their heritage as a community. A further issue of note was the importance of heritage to the community. One respondent told of how she privileged the importance of passing on of local culture, heritage and tradition to her children, over and above her own ethics and belief system:

“I do not go myself, I wouldn’t go, I don’t even eat meat! But I think that yes the bullfighting is very important for my culture, for my people, we must keep it going.”

(Sales assistant)

“The Toro’s, I do not like, I would not want to go now. When I was a child my grandfather he took me to see the Toro’s and he thought it was very important, to him this is what it is to be from Andalucia. So it is important, my husband takes my children so that they can see this and they can understand. It is very important yes.”

(Lecturer)

“My son, he wants to be a bullfighter. He looks to the bullfighters like they are like the rock stars! I do hope that this doesn’t happen but I don’t discourage him. It is very important to

our family and our culture so I would not talk badly of it to him, even if this is not what I want.”

(Pharmacist)

These responses are emblematic of the importance of heritage and culture to the people of Andalucía. It appears from these findings that the significance of tradition and culture is more essential than personal belief systems. This evidences how important heritage is to the local community and the point of focus that it takes in their lives. There is evidence here to suggest that in Huelva there is the presence of living heritage. Prangnell et al (2010, p.141) state that living heritage can “include the preservation of language, hunting, dance and other cultural practices”. Thus, the determination of the local community to preserve and pass on the art of bull fighting throughout the younger generations is one example of living heritage in Spain. Bradley (2008) states that living heritage occurs when there is continuing relevance of heritage to modern day life with links to the past being active in people’s lives and that is emblematic of what is happening in Huelva.

Furthermore, it was found that this living heritage and the way in which heritage manifests in everyday life through the communities in Huelva is seen here to be an enabler of heritage relationships and understanding. A key reason why people often do not connect with their heritage is because they do not have the required understanding of it (Waterton and Watson, 2011). However, in Spain the close community and family ties allow for information regarding heritage and culture to be easily disseminated and enable heritage understanding in the younger generations. As a result people seem to have a greater understanding of and relationship with their heritage.

However, it was found that even though the community in Huelva appears to have a strong connection to their heritage, they do not have a connection with the heritage tourism and the way in which their heritage is presented and represented for heritage tourism purposes and evidence and explanation for this will now be presented.

7.5.1 Huelva's community and heritage tourism

In Huelva it has been shown that communities remain closely linked to their heritage and Andalusian culture, with these elements forming a key part of everyday life. However, despite the passion that the community of Huelva have for their past, their relationship with heritage as a tourism product at the destination is a quite different story.

Firstly, it was found that the people of Huelva do not have overall positive views about the ways in which their destination is marketed as a heritage and cultural product for tourists. Many respondents stated that they thought that heritage and history did not play a large enough role in the representations of the destination for tourism. Examples of this are shown in the following sample of responses in table 12 below.

Respondent	Response
Lecturer	They like to focus on the sun, the sea, the food and drink. History is not sexy enough.
School teacher	It is all about the beaches at the moment, not the history or the culture. People come here to drink and relax.
Researcher	No, they don't do much to play up what we have here, I don't understand why.

Flamenco museum guide	No not enough is done to show our history, our past. The tourists that they focus on, the ones they want to come here, they are not as interested in the history. It is more about the food and the sun.
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Table 12: Huelva Interview responses- Destination representation

One respondent felt quite strongly about this issue and stated that:

“For many years, it was only beer, beach and sex. Hopefully this is changing, oh and flamenco, but that was basically what people think of when you say Spain. Flamenco, beaches and having fun and our night culture[...] I don’t think its anymore 100% flamenco, and nights and sex and partying.”

(Researcher)

These examples are typical of the responses received throughout the interview process and illustrate that the local community in Huelva believe that messages concerning the weather, beaches, gastronomy and nightlife dominate the marketing messages and representation of the destination over and above heritage and historical significance. This is not an unfounded concern, as evaluation of documentary sources and interviews with the Technical de Turismo mentioned in the previous section, identify that the tourism strategy is indeed, not focused on heritage.

A further theme apparent is that the local community felt that when heritage is represented and marketed to tourists, it is done so in a very narrow way. As such, it was indicated by many respondents that this narrow focus does not tell the stories of the past in a clear way and that much of the past is neglected. This view was put forward by the majority of respondents, who believed that decisions about marketing their destination's heritage were decided by a small group who has little understanding of the needs of the community and how they view their heritage. One respondent shared her feeling regarding what she understands as a very narrow view of her ancestor's heritage by stating:

"We have a huge bunch of things to say about us, because what we sell is just a small part of our culture. Our culture begins from the dolmans. We have a lot to say about al Andaluçe, no one cares about al Andaluçe. Al Andaluçe was an eight year period of time of the Arabics here and the Arabics bring so much to our culture, gastronomy, architecture, philosophy, so many things. We are talking about how the system of culture makes us diversified and the way we are. We are overall people that want to get smarter and develop. So in that point of view that's the way I want to sell my culture."

(Lecturer)

These conversations were very revealing and demonstrated that the community in Huelva do not relate well to the heritage that is represented and marketed to tourists. The point made here by the respondent that there is little focus upon Al Andaluçe was found true

from investigations in the field, which showed little demonstration of presence of the history outside of the city's museum.

7.6 Community and commercial collaboration

The importance of collaboration between community and commercial heritage tourism stakeholders is of great importance as successful tourism requires a common community perception about the destination itself (Xie, 2010). However, it was found in Huelva that there is little collaboration between the Destination Management Organisation, the Junta de Andalucía, and the local community. In the past, surveys have been carried out enquiring upon community perceptions of tourism and tourism impacts but for the past few years these have not been carried out and a clear answer as to why has not been provided. The lack of collaboration with the local community has resulted in despondent and disconnected feelings among the local community, who feel disregarded.

The findings of this study indicate that the community feel that decisions are made by few experts with no further consideration or collaboration with the community, as one respondent stated:

“Well here is the first, we say, problematic thing. When in the politics made the planning of tourism they don’t think really in the sense of communities. They think in terms of borders, of geography. So sometimes they sell like a sense of community but by their point of view, not the community view. One conversation point in a meeting with 15 or 20 planners, they decide[...]So they just take for granted some reasons to sell a part of the culture. There’s a part of the culture that they want to sell. It’s quite selective”

(Heritage tourism expert, University of Seville)

This response, among others, indicated that due to the selective number of people who influence and represent Huelva's heritage to the public, the heritage represented and marketed is selective. A selective number of people choosing a selective heritage is then the story which prevails here. This is in line with the previous findings within this case study destination and the ramifications of this selected heritage will be further explored and theorised in the following chapter.

7.7 Conclusions

This chapter has identified and explored the ways in which heritage and the past within Huelva are presented and marketed to tourists. The chapter has been concerned with examining what messages are put forward in the representation of the destination, what these messages say and mean, and why.

The local community were investigated, uncovering and further understanding their own perceptions of their past and how this translates through the marketing of Huelva city as a heritage tourism destination. The purpose was to identify any areas of disconnect between the understandings that the local community have of their heritage, and how their heritage is represented.

The findings from Trigueros illustrate some examples of the celebration and sharing of local heritage, and living heritage at the destination. In particular the findings from Trigueros demonstrate that local people are actively engaging heritage processes, however in many cases these are not heritage tourism related or related to representational and marketing practices. Therefore it is argued here that the destination community have a useful and interesting contribution to add to the marketing of the destination, however they need to be empowered and engaged in the marketing processes to share their knowledge and views.

Further, the findings of this chapter suggest that the representations of heritage here are both framed and constrained in such a way representations of the past are a poor reflection of Huelva's past. The ramifications of these versions of the past upon the local community have been explored and further theorised within the following chapter.

PART III

Building Understanding

Chapter 8: Building theory

8.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to synthesise the findings presented in the case study chapters in order to identify the extent to which dissonance exists between community and commercial ideals in the presentation of heritage. The examination and theoretical analysis of these findings reveals the impact of exclusionary heritage tourism destination marketing practices occurring at the case study destinations examined in this thesis.

What follows here is not intended to be an exhaustive comparison of accounts and practices at the case studies destinations presented. Rather, this analysis forms an eclectic confluence of findings at both destinations and uses this to advance argument and build theory. It is hoped that the advancement of theory through what has been found here will aid in future reconfigurations of the complex practice of heritage tourism destination marketing as destinations may attempt to move towards an increasingly inclusive and sustainable approach.

In the interest of clarity and coherence, this discussion is structured around the four central research questions posed for the thesis. Firstly, the dissonance between the commercial and community representations and understandings of heritage within the destinations is

analysed and theorised in order to present an understanding of the severity of the issues herewith.

Secondly, the implications of this dissonance upon the community of the heritage tourism destination are investigated by applying the key themes from the research findings to the extent literature regarding place identity, place attachment and place dependence. Thirdly, the ramifications of how this dissonance affects the commercial stakeholders of the destination are analysed, by exploring how the community could be enhancing the commercial heritage tourism product if their thoughts were included in the marketing and branding process.

Finally the thesis answers the final research question of the investigation by developing a framework for the empowerment and engagement of communities in the marketing and branding of heritage tourism destinations. This framework was applied in Trigueros alongside Turismo Trigueros as part of this study and the results of that are discussed in Chapter 9.

8.2 Research question one

Is there a dissonance present between the community and commercial stakeholders regarding the value of heritage and culture in heritage tourism destinations and how this heritage should be represented?

8.2.1 Dissonance regarding heritage voice and heritage assets

It is evident from the literature that the way in which the host community define and relate to their own heritage is of key importance (Hodges and Watson, 2001 Mydland and Grahn, 2012; Waterton and Watson, 2010; Watson and Waterton, 2011). Further, as identified by Mydland and Grahn (2011) there has been an increasing research interest in the international heritage field regarding community heritage and understandings of heritage. As such, the central issues to be examined here focuses upon the way in which communities view and value their own heritage and the connection that they feel to the destination itself and to the past. As Watson and Waterton (2011, p.2) state “the role that heritage plays within a particular society is central to the way that communities engage with it, particularly in terms of its relationship with identity, dominant ideologies and the extent to which it is integrated with other social phenomena such as leisure, professionalism, contestation and lived culture”. Thus, the discussion that follows will pay particular attention to these fundamental matters; what heritage means to the community and how they wish it to be represented and remembered.

The first research question investigated to what extent there was any sense of disconnect or difference between the way in which the community view the destination and the commercial representations of the destination. For example, are the views of the community different than the views of the commercial bodies, and if so, how does this manifest throughout the marketing and branding of the heritage tourism destination? It has been identified by several authors (notably Bornhorst et al., 2010; Garcia et al., 2012; and Weible, 2006) that the complications which arise from the destination marketing process are due to the challenges surrounding the multitude of stakeholders involved. From this primary research question a number of key issues emerged and these have been divided into two key themes; dissonance regarding the heritage voice, and dissonance regarding the heritage objects.

However, a key issue with this preliminary research question is the concept of heritage itself. As Lowenthal (1998) argued, heritage and even history itself is entirely subjective. As such, there will undoubtedly be issues regarding the disparate views and understandings of the interpretations of heritage at any given destination. As Edson (2004, p.337) states “no view of history is absolute. Every consideration, no matter the perspective or predilection, assigns a personal value to each element of the historical process”. In confronting Edson’s premise, it will be argued here that no version of a heritage tourism destination is absolute and that this issue has serious agency. It is suggested here that the way in which heritage tourism destinations are marketed is a representation of a commercial monoculture understanding of the destination’s past, rather than a shared understanding of the destination’s heritage.

This understanding is one that is prevalent within the literature, as Durrheim and Dixon (2001, p.411) suggest, heritage is “used to privilege the experiences of one social class over another” and this indisputably restricted representation of heritage presents itself within the marketing and branding of heritage. Consequently, this results in what Waterton (2010, p.159) argues as narrow representations which defines the past “at the expense of alternative understandings of heritage”. These issues will now be explored.

It is evident in both case study locations that contrast between the community and commercial representations and values of heritage and culture is prevalent. This concurs with the notion that conservation and presentation of history champions “the spectacular over the mundane, the large over the small, the beautiful over the ugly and the unusual over the commonplace” (Turnbridge & Ashworth, 1997, p.97). A key theme that emerged throughout the primary data was the arising issue of narrow representational practices concerning both tangible and intangible heritage assets and this will now be analysed.

Examination of the touristic images of York highlights the medieval and distant past mentioned by the community and further negates that which is written out of the heritage script. For example, one respondent in York noted that “it seems there is a very narrow mindset in York with tourism, it’s all Vikings and that’s fine but we have a lot more going on here” (Café worker, 23). This is concurrent with Smith’s (2006) notion of the Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD) in which she claims elements of heritage are selected and validated, privileging some aspects of the past over others. Waterton and Smith (2011) found that this is due to expert’s interests being placed over and above the interests of the local community, who are excluded.

From discussions with key informants working in the DMO in York it was evident that when planning the marketing communications and campaigns for the year, consideration of residents and community interest are often not taken into consideration. For example, the head of research for Visit York stated that the only real link with residents in York is the residents’ survey, done once a year. Overall the focus in York from discussions with the DMO and analysis of the documentary sources indicated that the focus appeared to be on competitive edge and reach at the expense of local people.

This is in line with the current conceptualisations of the commercialisation of heritage. Still, what became apparent is that throughout discussions with commercial respondents an emphasis was in fact placed upon the importance of local community and their value.

However, when answering practical questions about what they actually did and why, there was little to no mention of community inclusion. This came across from discussions with the destination marketing organisation in York, who explained that the only work that they did with residents was the residents' festival and the associated residents' feedback survey, which take place one weekend every January (Visit York Marketing Manager).

Similarly, in Huelva, community involvement with the heritage marketing process was seen as secondary to other marketing concerns. One respondent stated "we don't get a say on what goes on, them, they, they do it, just a few of them with no listening to us" (PhD student). This is in line with Waterton and Smith's (2011) study in which they stated that when heritage professionals do engage with the notion of community engagement it is for more superficial reasoning, with professionals gaining self-gratification for engaging with the concept of community inclusion. This is emblematic of what Arnstein (1970) refers to as tokenism, or some degree of tokenism. Tokenism itself, is when stakeholders are asked their views and allowed to voice them, however they still have no power to influence decision making.

In York, the findings further reflected this, as it was felt by community members that the council and commercial bodies like to think that they are acting on behalf of community needs and desires, even though the community feel differently. As such, data collected from community members reflected an understanding of the narrow approach taken. A sense of disconnect between the ascribed identity of York and the ways in which the

community identify with York was evident, as demonstrated by one of the active member of the York Past and Present Society, who stated that;

“We seem to be taking on this city and it’s a city that just sells itself as this old walled city where practically every building is a listed building. It reminds me of that sexist ideal of the dumb blonde, very beautiful but there’s not much going on, and not much going on is just literally Vikings and Romans and you try to get anything beyond that and it’s very difficult” (York Past and Present focus group, 2015).

The group member seemed increasingly frustrated at the way in which his city is being presented and portrayed. It was apparent that the identity of York portrayed to the public is very much based on a monocultural understanding of York’s past, which from the evidence he provided is based mostly on York’s medieval history. The respondent explained that the representational practices in York choose to frame York’s past around this medieval past and the community strongly demonstrated that there is a lot more to York’s history than that which is being represented. What is being presented here is a narrow and circumscribed representation of York’s heritage. Indeed, other members of the group had similar views, citing a selected past, with one member described York’s heritage tourism offering as akin to a “greatest hits history”, in which their views did not get sufficient consideration.

However in Trigueros, a more community based approach is being now being taken, such as through the community events and lectures run by Turismo Trigueros, such as the event St.

Catalina Pasado y future, which invites the local community to take part, stating “Tourismo Trigueros Te invita a conoer tu partrimonio” meaning, “Tourismo Trigueros invites you to connect with your heritage” (shown in Appendix H). This event was very positively received by the local community, with a strong turnout for the event, one respondent who attended the event stated that “I am so happy that we have the dolmen, and we can know what is happening. It is important for our children, for the future of Trigueros, so we need to be involved”.

Further evidence that much of York’s heritage voice is written out of the heritage script and is presented in ‘York: A Walk On The Wild Side: Tales of Riot, Revolt and Revolution by Paul Furness published in conjunction with the community group ‘York Alternative History Group’ in 2014. The book was written due to a feeling that people need to know about the true history of York, with no omissions. Furness (2014) describes the publication as follows;

“Even Guy Fawkes has to shout to get himself heard in York...which makes the point that what is left out of York’s rich history may be more relevant than what gets included in the “official version” that brands this tourist town a must visit experience. Within these pages you’ll find the story of York “they” don’t want to tell you about-because it doesn’t fit the heritage image which has been invented for the express purpose of shopping!”.

This statement reflects an active frustration at the level of control over York’s heritage and a sanitisation of its history. Furthermore, the reference to the term “they” suggests a level of

resentment from those who edited the book towards those who sell York's heritage. Furness (2014) further states that stories such as those told in his book are omitted from the shared history of York in order to keep up appearances and market the more pleasing elements of the city's past. One of the members of the group explained the purpose behind this project, highlighting that "in a way we want change; we want a more democratic culture in the city to be an on-going lived thing" (York Past and Present Focus Group, 2015).

These views represented a much negotiated sense of place in York, one that relies on its medieval and industrial heritage with the varying interests of stakeholder groups being far removed. This issue is of significance as Sharon Sullivan (former director of the Australian Heritage Commission) stated "management is only effective if it is rooted in the values of the culture whose heritage is being managed" (cited in McBryde, 1995, p.8).

It has been demonstrated here that in both case study locations how the reframing of heritage for commercial purposes resulted in an overly limited and constricted representation of the past. Such findings compliment the extant literature, which highlights that the imperatives put in place due to the representational practices result in a narrowing of the heritage script (Waterton, 2011). As Ashworth and Turnbridge (1994, pp.13-14) stated "all heritage involves choice from a wide range of pasts, many of which will not be selected". However, Hodges and Watson (2001) argue that the key issue here then is

identifying the degree to which local features are important to host communities and in what way they cite this as being a problematic issue for heritage practitioners.

Furthermore, Stuart and Kirby (1998) highlighted that there is a need to identify the associating factors that drive a community desire to construct and develop local heritage. As such, when analysing the theme of narrow representational practices, this study explored what needs and/or wants are driving this desire for community heritage. In York, a key agenda for community heritage was a desire for a plural representation of the past. Respondents noted frustration with the ways in which heritage is so tightly framed and represented.

In Huelva a similar theme emerged. It was evident that the local community are not considered by the commercial bodies representing and marketing the destination. As one respondent stated *“they just take for granted some reasons to sell a part of the culture. There’s a part of the culture that they want to sell. It’s quite selective”* (Local heritage expert). Such marginalisation identified here reflects the existing findings in the field, with Ashworth and Howard (1996, p.5), noting that heritage is “riddled with complexity” and fraught with dissonance (Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1998; Dicks, 2003; Graham et al., 2000;; Harvey, 2001; Smith, 2006). It was found that this dissonance was prevalent in both tangible heritage objects and intangible heritage, such as the stories and plural pasts that are negated from the heritage script. A key example of this concern seemed to surround the messages that were conveyed visitors to the city, as stated in the York Past and Present 2015 focus group:

“We get between four and seven million visitors a year and they sell that history in a certain way that we’ve got to live with, and also trying to get any information of the reality of that history through is very difficult” (York Past and Present focus group, 2015).

This member of the community suggested that there is more to York’s heritage story to share with visitors. Consequently, in order to share what he feels are important historical information with visitors he created a free historical tours of York where he *“takes them to see lots of things that are really part of it but none of them are marked with anything”* (York Past and Present focus group, 2015). This view was reinforced by a number of respondents, who felt it is important a broader view of York’s heritage is shared, highlighting that currently the commercialisation of York’s heritage is narrowly focused on the city’s medieval past and negates elements of the more recent past.

It is evident here that because some sites of historical importance are not marked or identified to tourists, visitors to the city may not see any value in them and may pass them by. The prominent issue here is that some members of the community feel so strongly about this that they attempt to rectify these issues themselves. An example of this is the Plaque event and LGBT plaque events presented by York Past and Present. These comments reinforce the notion that there is a community view that what is currently being sold to tourists as York’s heritage is only a small part of York’s past. The findings demonstrate there

is a lack of community engagement concerning the commercialisation of York's heritage assets.

In Huelva, a very similar situation emerged, with communities organising historical and cultural tours of their own. However, in Huelva these tours are intended to be for the local community and not for tourists. As such, and as explained by one respondent, these talks and tours are less about destination representation, and more about community involvement and community heritage.

8.2.2 Concluding remarks

Accordingly, it is apparent that in both case study destinations there is a clear dissonance between community and commercial representations of heritage present. These findings reveal how and why this dissonance is present. This supports the findings of many researchers (such as Ashworth and Turnbridge, 1994; Dicks, 2003; Graham, 2002; Harvey,

2001; Smith, 2006, (among others)) who have cited dissonance as a prevalent concept with heritage studies. The dissonance presented here demonstrates a clear separation between community understandings of heritage and the community approach taken to understanding and representing heritage commercially.

As established, the communities presented in both case study destinations felt a substantial difference between what they regard as the heritage and culture of their destination and the way in which this is presented both externally and internally. As highlighted, this is an increasingly complex issue as heritage is a subjective process with there being alternative understandings of the past held between disparate stakeholders (Watson and Hodges, 2011). It is recognised that tourism stakeholders are complex in nature possessing varying interests (Ramirez, 2001).

However, as identified by Sautter and Leisen's (1999, pp.316-317) stakeholder "interests cannot be summarily restricted to consideration of a single variable". From a Foucauldian perspective, a vital issue of contention here is the lack of power possessed by the community as a stakeholder group of great interest and legitimacy within heritage tourism destinations. West (1994) accounted that there has been little attention paid to the ways in which stakeholders can advance their interests within tourism from a power perspective. Two decades later there remains some truth to this statement as several studies have focused upon the issue of stakeholder power with tourism (see Fidella et al., 2015 and Kennedy and Augustyn, 2014 as some notable recent examples).

Moreover, as Hall (2003) recognises, many of these studies over simplify the idea of stakeholder collaboration and unity, romanticising the interactions between stakeholders at tourism destinations. As such, an issue to be explored is the extent to which stakeholder groups within tourism destinations can further legitimise and advance their power. This will now be explored in the following section.

8.3 Research question two

What are the effects of the dissonance present upon the community stakeholders?

8.3.1 Dissonance and disinherited communities

Following on from the identification of the difference between the community and commercial ideals of heritage, the second research question presented aims to decipher the agency of this issue. It has already been shown here (Chapters 6 and 7) that there is a clear disconnect between the heritage presented in heritage tourism destinations and the heritage and culture that the local community feel an attachment to. Here it will be examined what effects this has upon the local community as a stakeholder group.

The case studies presented in previous chapters have already highlighted how these effects manifest, now these issues will be compared and contrasted to those of previous studies and theorised in order to develop a thread of understanding to enable understanding of the severity of the issue. Here the discussion will analyse how representations of place and heritage can affect local communities, focusing not only on quality of life and everyday issues but further analysing the effects on individuals personal value systems and their own attachment to their past.

Within this study, it has been established that the lack of power and legitimization of communities as primary stakeholders within the heritage tourism destination marketing process means that there is dissonance between the commercial and community understandings and representations of heritage. Further, it is argued here that there is also a dissonance created between the community and the heritage itself and this will now be explored. Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996, p.21) have argued that the very nature of heritage itself is dissonant as they explain:

All heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's: the original meaning of an inheritance [from which 'heritage' derives] implies the existence of disinheritance and by extension any creation of the past disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially. This disinheritance may be unintentional, temporary, or trivial importance, limited in its effects and concealed; or it may be long-term, widespread, intentional, important and obvious.

The findings in both case study destinations suggest that dissonant tensions have arisen at both destinations. The study will now examine the effects that the presence of this dissonance has upon the community. The findings of this study show that the effects of the dissonance present have many effects on the local community, but three key issues manifested which also assimilate with three theoretical schools of thought and these are shown below in Figure 19.

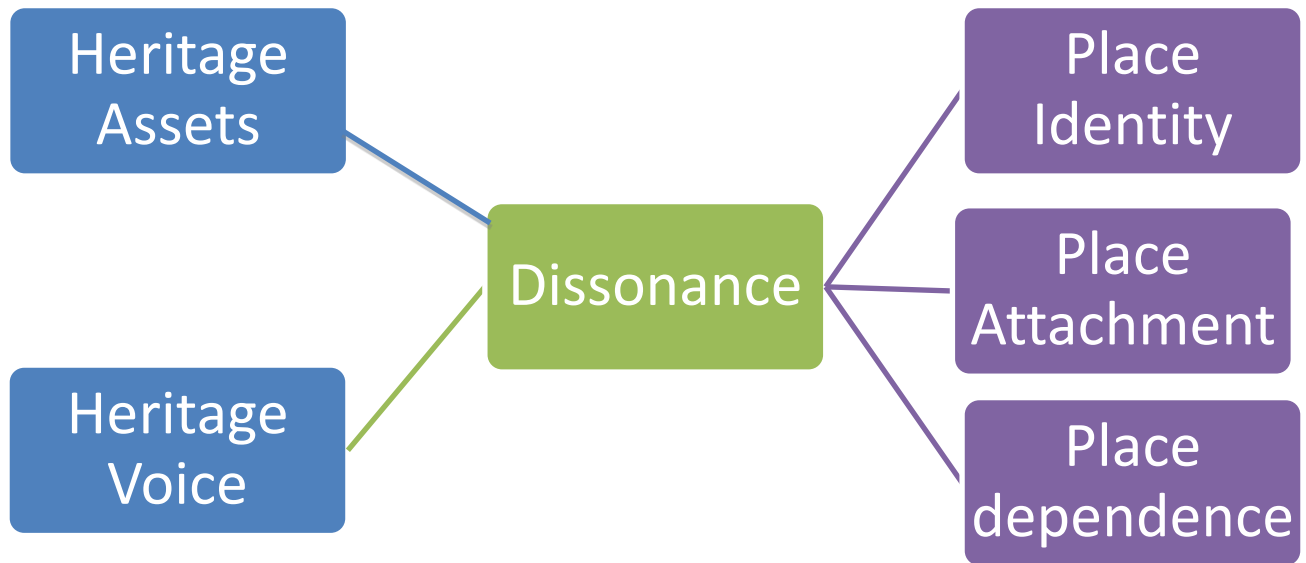


Figure 19: The effects of dissonance upon the local community (Author's own)

Figure 19 above depicts the effects of dissonance on the local community of a heritage tourism destination. The model shows the two central ways in which heritage is represented, through the voice and the assets of the heritage. These representations come from both community and commercial stakeholders. These varying views lead to a dissonance present at the destination. This destination lies between the contrasting and disparate stakeholder representations. The model then illustrates that the dissonance has three key implications for the local community. These are place identity, place attachment and place dependence. These three key implications became apparent throughout the data collection process in both interviews and in the study of the extent literature. A full explanation of these three concepts and how they emerged throughout the investigation is explained throughout the following three sub sections of this chapter.

8.3.2 Place Identity

It is argued here that a connection with heritage is of great importance for sense of self and wellbeing. The extant literature presents evidence to support this, Korpela (1995) states that a person's place-identity is seen as part of a person's overall self-identity which over time increases a person's confidence and sense of belonging to the place where they live. Place identity can be recognised as a deeply embedded concept of one's self, as a person or people's heritage is unique to them, as Lowenthal (1998 p.7) recognises, "heritage differentiates; we treasure most what sets us apart". This is in accordance with Howard's statement that heritage is of "concern to all people who believe in something, or simply believe they are different" (2003, p.1).

The literature demonstrates the importance of the feeling of identity and a connection with one's own heritage and the links between heritage and identity have been made frequently (see Palmer, 1999, 2003, 2005; Coleman and Crang, 2002; Waterton, 2010). Previously, social exchange theory has been used in order to investigate the personal value systems at play in tourism (Pearce et al., 1991). However, Gu and Ryan (2008) state that attitude towards tourism activity cannot be fully explained in this manner. As such, more recent heritage studies analysing residents and communities have focused instead upon the issue of place identity (Gu and Ryan, 2008; Nunkoo and Gursoy, 2012; Palme et al., 2013).

Accordingly, community members were asked questions that stimulated responses that demonstrated their local identity, or in other words, what it meant or felt like to be from the

destination in question. It was found in both case study destinations that the community felt a very strong identity and sense of place. The community respondents were proud of their home remarking on its beauty and historic significance. For example, in Trigueros the local community expressed a pride surrounding the opening of the Dolmen de Soto for tourists. One respondent stated that she was very “excited” and “emotional” (PhD student) about the Dolmen and its recent tourism developments. This is in accordance with the findings of Uzzell (1995) who remarked that people living in historic towns had a strong sense of pride through association with the destination.

Furthermore, it has been indicated that a person’s identity has been shown to influence their behaviour (Hagger et al., 2007 and Mannetti et al., 2004). This occurs as identity instructs behaviour by giving a person the information that they have available when they make plans to act out a behaviour or set of behaviours (Hagger et al., 2007). If a person’s identity is consistent with their behaviour then it is said that self-verification exists (Burke and Stets, 1999).

Alternatively, if a person does not engage in behaviours consistent with their identity then self-verification is lacking, and this creates a cognitive dissonance of some kind, with the person being in an internal conflict as their behaviour and identity are inconsistent (Callero, 1985). The findings of this study assert that the same links can be made between place identity, behaviour and self-verification. In both case study destinations it was found that people had a lack of self-verification in the first instance as their lived heritage did not correspond to what they considered their own heritage i.e. their place identity. This

manifested in local communities taking matters into their own hands and forming community groups and events in which they could engage with and exhibit what they see and value as their own heritage and place identity. In this way their behaviours could then correspond with their place identity and self-verification could be reached. McCool and Martin (1994), and Kinuntaviwat and Tang (2008) argued that the nature and strength of the local communities place identity is an important factor for harmony between the tourism industry and destination communities. The findings of this investigation advance this theory, arguing that the strength of local people's self-verification is also an important element for ensuring successful coexistence between the various stakeholder groups involved at heritage tourism destinations. As, if behaviour is altered due to the way in which their heritage is portrayed then their place identity and behaviour will be compatible and self-verification will not exist. A result of this could pertain to negative attitudes towards tourism and related activity in the destination.

Another important aspect of heritage identity identified in the literature is that heritage is an expression and representation of a shared identity and as such helps to place and authorise groups such as communities (Graham and Howard, 2008). This is demonstrated by the inclusion of this link within the very definitions of heritage. One example of this is in Bessière's (1998, p.26) following description of heritage;

"Heritage, whether it be an object, monument, inherited skill or symbolic representation, must be considered as an identity marker and distinguishing feature of a social group. Heritage is often a subjective element because it is directly related

to a collective social memory [...]social memory as a common legacy preserves the cultural and social identity of a given community, through more or less ritualized circumstances”.

Moreover, Macdonald (2006, p.11) identifies heritage as a “material testimony of identity [...]a discourse and set of practices concerned with the continuity, persistence and substantiality of collective identity”. For this reason it has been argued that it is of high importance that the people who live in a place feel an identity and connect with the destination as it integrates them into a place and into a social group. Beltane festival in Thornborough appeared to be constructed with the idea of social process in mind. This was clear from the data presented in table 7 which demonstrated respondents’ sense of belonging at the event, which they used for social interaction with their peers.

It was found in Huelva that the community heritage groups were, in most cases, constructed for social identity purposes and sharing among the community. The distinction here is that in Huelva people felt a more natural sense of their own identity and links to their past. In groups formed for community heritage it was found that these were for the purposes of the enjoyment and continued education of the group members themselves. These groups were not formed for the interest of tourists or for pushing a story forward.

In contrast the community groups analysed in Yorkshire, where although also enjoying the social processes and social identity aspects of joining the group, there was another agenda

involved. Community groups in Yorkshire were, in many cases, established in order to tell a heritage that they felt was written out of the script and ensure that people understood their past as they see it. A direct example of this is the alternative plaque event put on by 'York's alternative history group', which they used to tell people visiting York important stories and aspects of York's past which they might otherwise never have known. The group actively demonstrate that much is left out of the heritage script stating that "there's more to York and to York's history than Vikings, Romans and pretty medieval streets. We explore the histories of York which don't make the guidebooks from creating political alternatives to alternative ways of working, living and loving. From histories of specific political, social and cultural organisations to histories of informal networks and friendships" (York Alternative History , n.d).

This is clearly a community of people who have a strong sense of identity and want their voices and their stories to be heard and shared with those who visit the destination. This is in line with the findings of Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) who found that places can be considered as elements of great significance to individuals and something which they consider their own and thus very valuable. Furthermore, it was found in York that one factor which was distancing communities from their own heritage identity was access issues. It was found in York that there is a widely held feeling that their heritage is being managed in a way, which often is inaccessible to them and isolates them from their past. As a key respondent illustrated:

“York City Council hire private firms to do their documentation, and the private firms keep their images private, they are not made available to the general public. And that’s something that as a group we wanted to change. It’s history, we wanted it to be a shared history and not kept to private firms, which is where this documentation comes in. We wanted to get in there and say look these are our buildings, our history, we should all share this, we want it to be public”.

(Chairman of York Past and Present historical group)

This was a reoccurring theme throughout the research carried out in both case study destinations. In both places the local community had taken steps towards archiving their own past as they are unsatisfied with the commercial representations of their heritage and feel the need to build upon this. This is unsurprising as access issues have long been problematic within the field of heritage tourism representation and promotion (see Smith, 2006 Morgan and Pritchard, 1998; Waterton and Watson, 2010). However, there is an important caveat arising from this investigation regarding the fragmentation and selection of historic and heritage identity.

One further issue that arose in both case study destinations was the formation of groups for the specific purpose of forming an identity, which it was not felt, was represented by the commercial and dominant tourism bodies active in the destination. One example of this in York is the formation of the ‘York Alternative History Group’, which works with the lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender community in York as part of their work in representing York’s

past. It was felt that important elements of the heritage script had been written out due to the sexual preference or orientation of the characters involved in these constructions of heritage. This is in accordance with Palmer's findings in 2005, who stated that "dominant groups in society frequently construct definitions of identity to serve their own ends" (Palmer, 2005, p.8). The formation of such groups in order to fulfil personal and cultural identity based needs is one that is here encouraged. However, in York specifically, the formation of such groups seemed to result in a greater division between groups and exacerbate the already present 'us' and 'them' culture so frequently alluded to within the field. This analysis makes comment on the significance of such language and the inherent ideological instances inferred here, as Palmer (2005, p.9) states;

"This does not mean that everyone will agree with the discourse presented, as people do not passively absorb the messages presented to them; they engage in a process of negotiation whereby certain aspects will resonate with their version of nationhood while other aspects will not".

This was found to be the case in Endensor's research at both the Taj Mahal in 1998 and later at the William Wallace "Braveheart" monument in Scotland in 2002. Endensor found in both places that despite shared understandings of the cultural, historical or iconic value of these heritage places they still held varying meanings and interpretations due to the differences inherent to the individuals that visit these places. As he identified:

“The dramatic and representative values of heritage expressions are often subordinate to symbolic or mnemonic allusions. However vague or personal these references may be, they stimulate a response that implies understanding. The heritage in most circumstances can be regarded as identity through time and, if so, that identity (individual or group) verifies something (heritage) as being important. When a person or group has that time/space relationship (memory), there is an innate notion of identity and with that identity the related heritage has validity (Edson, 2004, p.338)”.

People in both case study destinations demonstrated a longing for a connection to their past and a need to know the story of those before them. This manifested in different ways within the varying destinations. It appeared that in the rural heritage tourism destinations it was easier and more accessible for people to try to identify with their past. This is perhaps because the smaller communities mean that things are more available and community groups are more easily accessible and known about in smaller communities.

Whereas in the urban destinations of York and Huelva there was still a profound lack of place identity acknowledged. As such, one community respondent in Huelva noted that she wished that she could know and understand more about her culture and her past; *“What does it mean to be from Andalucía, what’s behind that, what does it mean?”* (Female, 30, Student). Clearly this respondent feels detached from her own heritage identity and is searching for something greater, something more meaningful than can fulfil her sense of self.

There is an important caveat arising from this regarding the interest and emotional attachment that people have to the places in which they live. As such an important area of interest to come out of this study is the effect of heritage marketing and representation upon community place attachment. As such the following section analyses the implications of the representation of heritage destination upon community place attachment through application of the primary findings of this study to the extant literature.

8.3.3 Place attachment

There have been many studies across a range of disciplines analysing the attachment of people to places (see Gu and Ryan, 2008 and Kerstetter et al., 2007 as some notable examples), however it is still not recognised what exactly it is that influences people to be attached to the places in which they live (Hidalgo and Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2008). This study hopes to build on the existing basis of knowledge by analysing if and how the commercial representations of place have any effect on place attachment for local communities. It is said that people are naturally emotionally attached to the places in which they live and places they were born or grew up (Alegre and Juaneda, 2006) and these links which are made and sustained by people vary throughout the person's life (Hernandez et al., 2007; Kaltenborn, 1997). Ritzer's (1996) study found a link between place attachment and length of residency, concluding that people who had lived in a place for longer were further attached to that place.

Similarly, Gu and Ryan (2007) found that residents who had lived in a place longer, presented a stronger place attachment. This study do not seek to directly measure place attachment, however it must be noted that strong levels of attachment were evident. For example, in York, some respondents had settled in York after coming to the city for university and said that they literally "fell in love with York" (Female, 23, café worker). One respondent even decided to stay in York after university to establish what has become one of York's most popular historical terror tours as he felt that the terror tours available did not

give an accurate and authentic account of York's history which he had come to feel so passionate about and wanted to share with others. Furthermore, a similar story presented in Huelva, with both long term residents and residents who had recently moved to the destination, demonstrating a strong attachment to the place. For example a university student who had only lived in Huelva for two years states in an interview; " this is my city" (Female, Student, 30).

Therefore, the question remained as to whether there was a link between the way in which the resident felt about how the destination was represented and branded, and their attachment to the place itself? This was found to be a double-faceted concept as in some cases it appeared that the residents themselves had been drawn in by the marketing communications and activities occurring in the destination. Whilst conversely some community respondents were attached to the destination despite their disagreement with the way in which the destination was presented.

Further, the study here has found that in both case study destinations people are very attached to the places in which they live. However, the extents to which people are attached to heritage destinations and for what reasons are not sufficiently considered by the commercial bodies who market the destination as a product for tourism purposes. Some considerations are extended to residents but this appears to be at a very superficial level and does not actually appear to take any effect in the cases presented in this research. The research also explored the implications of heritage destination representation upon

community place dependence. The following section analyses this by applying the findings in Yorkshire and Huelva to the findings from the extant literature.

8.3.4 Place dependence

As previously alluded to, place dependence is an important part of a community's connection and establishment with a place. Brown and Raymond (2007, p.90) state, "place dependence refers to connections based specifically on activities that take place in a setting". As such, tourism activities that arise as a result of the heritage destination marketing process can be seen to play a part in a community member's perceived dependence on place. This research is concerned with the connections based on the heritage tourism marketing activities that take place in a destination.

The research here found a correlation between those who had a strong dependence on place, i.e. those who worked in the service or tourism sector as one indicator, and those who had a more heightened sense of awareness of the history and heritage of the destination. As such, this study has found a direct link between place dependence and place identity and this correlation presented in both case study destinations.

An important caveat of note here is that the change of activities that are due to tourism may well reflect changes in place dependency; place identification, social interaction and self-identity that help explain assimilation and demonstration effects. This was found to be the situation in York, where the representation and commodification of the city for heritage tourism purposes had an active effect on the elements of the city on which the residents depend.

For example, an active member of York Past and Present explained one example of how the push towards more tourist friendly shops in the city centre affects residents' daily lives. She stated;

“York city market has been there for years, my grandparents used to take me when I was a child to buy apples and things. And what the council are saying now is that they don't want the cheap stalls on the market anymore, they want to take the 'cheapness' and take it out of York city centre and put it into the outskirts and bring more expensive shops into the city. But for those people that live in the city centre why should they have to go outside of York to go and do their shopping? When we asked one of the councillors where people were going to be able to buy cheap clothes, his response was that well, they are building a Primark outside of town. It's just wrong really.”

(Member of 'York Past and Present group)

This response demonstrates how some community members in York feel that York's representation as an exclusive destination with premium shops, impacts upon their everyday life. If as shown here, the community do not feel that the city centre caters to their needs and wants anymore, then this has a direct effect upon their place dependence and thus their place identity.

Another member of York Past and Present further felt that the shops selected for tourism purposes and placed in the city centre did not match the needs of residents, he summarised

that “All the council want is fudge shops and scented candles, which you can’t live off really!”. This further illustrates that the feelings of the local community in York reflect a feeling of social exclusion due to the framing and representation of the destination as predominantly middle-class space. This is in line with Mordue’s (2005) study of York, which found that the community were feeling excluded due to the endemic trinkitization of the local shopping offer.

The implications of the staging of heritage destinations as middle-class shopping enclaves were also demonstrated in Huelva. Respondents stated that they “can’t afford to shop here really” (Male, Museum guide, 25), stating that the shops were “too expensive, it’s for the tourists” (Female, Lecturer, 30) and explaining “I go to the markets further away to do my shopping” (Male, shop assistant, 38). These findings are supported by Endensor (2001) who states that issues of social exclusion in urban tourism spaces are common. Additionally, this issue is further prevalent within heritage destinations, as the spatial narrative in heritage destinations is fabricated for the middle-classes, who are the central creators and consumers of heritage (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000).

8.3.5 Concluding remarks

From an analysis of both the literature and the findings of this investigation it can be seen that the commercial representation of the past has significant effects upon the communities of heritage tourism destinations. The effects have been classified into key themes looking at place identity, place attachment and place dependence and the ramifications upon each of these issues due to the representations used.

However, what each of these contains is a common thread of heterogeneous community desires and needs from heritage. In all case study destinations investigated the communities involved had their own voices, separate from that of the commercial bodies representing them and their past. This is in accordance with Waterton's study of the visual imagery used to represent England's heritage. Waterton (2010, p.168) concluded that the representations of heritage depicted "ignore the interplay of people with heritage, and the resultant conflict over meaning". Waterton (2010) claims that these representations are therefore absent of the argumentative texture and do not reflect the varying voices and interpretations of heritage at play. The same inference could be made about the commercial representations of heritage in York, that they lack an argumentative texture and do not reflect the varying voices of York.

However, the community groups in York have such a strong sense of identity and place attachment that they have mobilised themselves to share their stories with the world. The diverse past of York is well represented online, through social media and even in intangible

forms such as the alternative tours, which are offered in York. In this way the community has begun to advance their viewpoints.

As such, it is argued here that the general representation of Yorkshire and Huelva through online media and other forms analysed here represents the argumentative texture at play representing the competing and contradictory viewpoints and histories of the people of York. It is argued here that this a progressive and increasingly inclusive representation of the past, which may be an indication of the ways in which heritage tourism destination communities will endeavour to tell their stories. The key issue here is that this method and indeed the presence of the argumentative texture is only active due to the active determination of such community groups. This is still not an inclusive or acceptable approach to community engagement in heritage tourism marketing.

As stated by Morgan and Pritchard (1998) driving change in tourism promotion is not just about looking at external change but also monitoring internal change. The findings of this study suggest that community groups are eliciting their own changes, and an integrated approach alongside such groups would be a more beneficial way to manage and develop the brand identity of a heritage tourism destination. The value to be gained from such an approach and the importance of a community integrated heritage marketing process will be explored within the following section of this discussion.

8.4 Research question three

What can be gained from increased stakeholder collaboration between the community and commercial voices of heritage tourism?

8.4.1 The value of heritage destination communities

It is argued here that the overall effect of the creation of dissonance between community and commercial understandings and representations of heritage is that the community becomes detached from the heritage process. The previous research question explored how this affects the community in terms of identity and attachment. However, this further implicates the heritage tourism process itself, as the lack of community inclusion has practical implications for the destination as a commercial heritage product also. Indeed, the evidence from this study suggests that the value of the local community and their contribution to the heritage product is in many cases overlooked.

This it is argued here, is an oversight from the commercial stakeholders of heritage tourism destinations as the residents of any destination can often be the determinant of whether a tourist's trip is deemed successful or not. As such, the community themselves can be seen to be central to the successful marketing and branding of a heritage tourism destination and furthermore delivering the experience portrayed through marketing communications to the tourist upon their visit. Therefore, the full potential of the destination simply cannot be reached without the resident's involvement as Howie explains:

“However, despite the customer orientation that marketing must take, destination branding should be done with the active involvement of-or at least consultation with-the destination’s residents. They too are part of the reality as well as the marketing mix of the destination and marketing professionals cannot afford to be out of touch with the ‘message on the street” (Howie, 2003, p.156).

This view is furthered by Rehmet and Dinnie who state, “Internal stakeholders, particularly citizens, have been recognised as an important asset of places for the delivery of a brand consistent message” (Rehmet and Dinnie, 2013, p.31). It can be seen that local communities have such an effect on the destination brand as a whole in many ways and these came across in four key themes as identified by the data analysis process. These four key themes are represented below in Figure 20 developed by the author. The following section will explain each facet of the model below demonstrating the importance of local communities and illustrating how an increasingly community inclusive approach to heritage tourism destination marketing can be used for brand advantage.

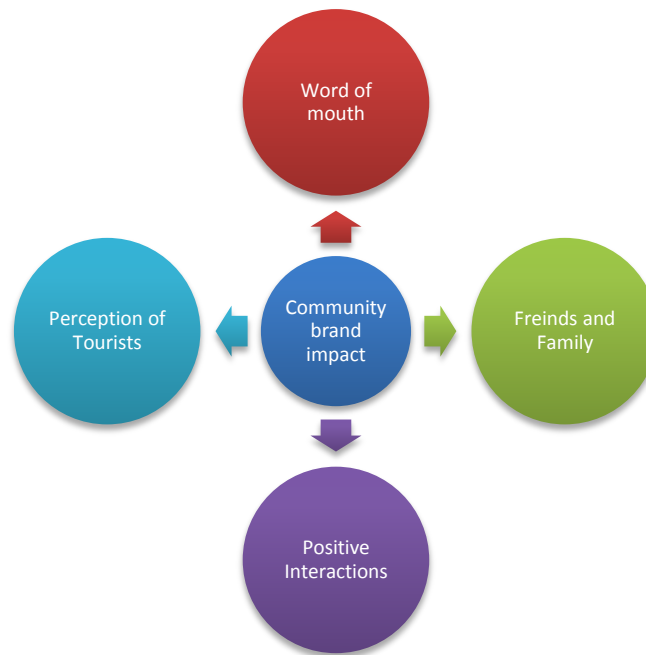


Figure 20: The key effects of community impact upon the heritage tourism brand image (Author's own)

Figure 20 clearly demonstrates the four key themes that the research found relating to the impact that the community have upon the success of a heritage tourism destination through affecting the brand image of the destination. These themes emerged through the analysis of documentary sources and the interview process. The results analysed here are a result of both community and commercial perspectives, as both understood that the community have an impact and that this manifests in several different ways.

8.4.2 Word-of-mouth

Word-of-mouth marketing is incremental to the marketing process with tourist's interpretations of the destination having direct effects upon the decisions of prospective tourists, with an AC Neilson survey finding that 92% of consumers trust recommendations from friends and family above all other forms of advertising (Grimes, 2012). Word-of-mouth is increasingly having ramifications upon destinations with the increased usage of the internet. Consumers can now easily acquire access to online reviews of and opinions on prospective holiday destinations. Netnography has affirmed this with an AC Neilson study of Global Trust in Advertising markets finding that 70% of consumers felt recommendations from other consumers online were trustworthy, with online reviews being the second most trusted form of information (Nielsen Media, 2011).

Word-of-mouth marketing was found to be a strong factor for tourists when deciding whether or not to visit York. The Visit York Visitor Survey 2012-2013 found that word-of-mouth and local experience was the number one factor affecting the decision making process when respondents were planning a trip to York (Visit York Visitor Survey, 2012-2013). Furthermore, once in York, tourists most used source of information when making decisions during their trip was local knowledge and word-of-mouth (ibid). Similar information was not available in Huelva.

Chen and Šegota (2015, p.149) have identified that it is of great importance that the community in their role as brand ambassadors “perceive the destination brand consistently with how the destination conveys itself through public messages and marketing communications”. This is of great concern to this study as it was found in both case studies that the community were unhappy with the marketing messages of the destination and held their own, disparate views. Examples of this are shown in Table 12 (Chapter7) in Huelva, and were demonstrated in York through both interview respondents and in the focus group analysed.

In addition to this, the primary findings of this study demonstrate that word-of-mouth is one of the key ways in which a heritage destination community have an impact upon the success of the heritage tourism destination marketing. It can be seen that word-of-mouth influences brand image through application of the Stage-theories of destination image developed by Gunn (1972, p.120), whereby visitors go through 7 different stages producing three different forms of destination image; organic, induced and modified-induced. The findings of this study show that word-of-mouth can influence both the organic and induced image.

Firstly, word-of-mouth can influence the organic image before visitors arrive, in the traditional manner of stories passed from one person to another which help the visitor to build up a mental image of the place in their mind. Secondly, word-of-mouth can influence the induced image, as both community members and visitors will post images and share experiences online, reviewing the destination for others. These will be seen by others in the

modification stage (Gunn, 1972) and thus influence their induced image. This view is demonstrated by Chen and Šegota (2015, p.146) who state that;

“The emergence of new technologies (i.e. internet) has facilitated residents’ empowerment in destination branding. Nowadays, residents’ advocacy of a destination is not limited to family and friends, but is available to the wider public through various communication channels (such as travel forums, social media, travel websites etc.) that encourage tourism service participation and word-of-mouth”.

Further, Simpson and Siguaw (2008) identify that online word-of-mouth has become the most powerful form of marketing. This further reinforces previous views by those such as Cheong and Miller (2000) that to a large extent the success or failure of any tourism destination lies within the power of local brokers and residents. These findings demonstrate the extensive impact that the local community have upon a heritage tourism destination through word-of-mouth, which must be taken into account toward the achievement of destination branding success.

8.4.3 Friends and family

The residents of any destination hold the key to a very powerful sector of the market- friends and family or friends and relatives. In the UK the second most popular reason for travelling abroad is to visit friends and relatives with 19.53% of British people travelling internationally for this reason in 2010 (Office for National Statistics, 2010). In 2010, more than one in four inbound visitor to the UK cited visiting friends or relatives as the main purpose of their trip, that translates to 10.45 million visitors to the UK in 2015 alone (Visitbritain.org, 2015). It was found that during their stay these visitors spend on average £459 each and in total they generated £4.8 billion for the UK in 2015 (Visitbritain.org, 2015). In York, specifically, it was found that visiting friends and relatives is the third most popular reason for visitors to come to the city with 10% of respondents citing it as the reason for their trip. During interviews there was a reoccurring theme that local people are happy to show people York and its beauty; *“Residents of York tend to be incredibly proud of this city, with good reason. I mean it’s a lovely place”* (Former Lord Mayor of York)

Indeed, the people of York do seem to be very proud of their home and some seemed to take pleasure in sharing it with friends and relatives, displaying the destination and its beauty and character. For example, one community respondent spoke of how she enjoyed inviting her family from America to visit York during Christmas because at this time of year the city is “lit up ready for Christmas, looking beautiful[...] they can see what they are missing out on” (City centre Gift shop owner and manager).

This illustrates that residents hold the key to a powerful market. Often friends and relatives will stay with their family rather than in accommodation but they will often stay for several days, making them a much more valuable market than day-trippers. It was further found from a respondent who managed one of York's leading hotels that friends and relatives make up a valuable portion of the market and furthermore are often repeat visitors to his hotel coming at the same times each year providing valuable revenue for York's accommodation sector and the economy of the city.

In Huelva, it was conversely found that friends and family play less of a role in the local tourism market as families tend to live closer together in the first instance, however with globalisation and improving technologies, this may not be the case for much longer as the younger generations may move away in pursuit of their own goals. In this instance the market for friends and relatives would become much more valuable.

However, the residents of York are more likely to invite friends and relatives to visit for as long as they are proud and contented with the destination and its offerings for their guests. When York becomes too busy, congested, noisy, dirty etc. they will be far less inclined to parade the city to their friends and relatives.

8.4.4 Positive interactions

A destination brand can be seen as a consistent group of characters, images or emotions which consumers recall when they think of the destination (Simeon, 2006). Seemingly the actions of the people whom tourists come into contact with within the destination will constitute part of these recollections as part of the tourist experience relies on the quality of human encounter they have (Chair of Leisure Services for York City Council). This level of human encounter refers to the “Mentifacts” or attitudes and behaviours of the hosting community (Snaith and Hayley, 1999). Negative relationships between residents and tourists can lead to a low perception of the destination which can in turn lead to negative word-of-mouth and decreased brand loyalty. This is a view shared by Singh, et al., (2003, p.213) who state that:

“The attitudes of a host community’s residents are a key component[...]Resident perceptions of tourism may be one factor in shaping the attractiveness of a destination and negative attitudes may be one indicator of an area’s ability (or inability) to absorb tourism”.

Resident’s opinions of tourism are particularly important given the suggestion (Pearce, 1993 Snaith & Hayley, 1999) that a happy host is more likely to welcome the tourist and in so doing generate an atmosphere which is conducive for both increased return visits and positive word-of-mouth marketing (Snaith and Hayley, 1999).

Further, the friendliness of local residents is a destination attribute that many tourists seek and is often referred to in promotional brochures or marketing departments. In many destinations it ranks considerably above tangible features shown in the annual surveys of the national tourist boards in the UK (Cooper et al., 1998).

However, this is largely beyond the direct influence of destination management due to the 'heterogeneity' of tourism products, as identified by Cooper et al., (1998, p.355-6) who state that:

“Service products are often referred to as being inseparable, which means the product is often consumed and produced simultaneously. Because there is less opportunity to pre-check a tourism or hospitality product, it can vary in the standard of its service delivery”.

In York it was recognised that interactions with local people were of high importance. This is also reflected below in a previous statement from The Chair of Leisure Services for York City Council

“There is a recognition that part of the experience for tourists coming here is the quality of the human encounter they have...If the person behind the desk is rude and grumpy and badly paid and badly trained, that is not good for the individual’s business or the business of York as a whole”

Similarly, in Huelva interactions are highly valued, with typical Spanish hospitality being considered important. Community respondents in Trigueros spoke of how they enjoyed engaging with visitors and sharing their past with them and trading stories. One respondent noted that he made an effort to talk to or include people if he notices that they are visitors (Youth worker).

It is surprising, then, that little is done towards active community inclusion throughout the heritage tourism destination marketing process. The destination marketing organisations in both case study destinations expressed a view that more does need to be done to include the community in the processes but that little was being done at present.

8.4.5 Perception of tourists

The final element included in Figure 20 is perception of tourists. It is argued here that positive perceptions and acceptance of the tourists and their presence in the city among the local community is the fundamental to the successful marketing and management of any heritage tourism destination. This is in accordance with the findings of Snaith and Hayley (1999, p.601) who stated; “a supportive resident population will lead to greater tourism potential for historic York.”

Many previous studies have been carried out in several heritage destinations including resident’s perceptions of tourism impacts. However, little has been done to identify how residents feel about the tourists themselves and how they perceive them as a group sharing their community both spatially and contextually. This point was picked up on during an interview with a respondent and it even appeared as though this was the moment of realisation that this issue had been overlooked:

“As far as I know nobody has ever tried to ask the residents of York what sort of visitors they want to come to York. And that’s interesting. I am not sure how you would ask that question diplomatically however, but clearly residents don’t want stag and hens or those sorts of consequences” (Assistant Director, Economic Development and Partnerships, City of York Council)

There was a very obvious and at times passionate consensus between interview respondents that the groups of tourists who visit York for the party scene are not perceived in a positive light, as a key informant mentioned:

“There is a dual sided aspect to tourists as well because there are two kinds, there are the kinds who come here for the city and then there’s hen nights, racersgoers and fools who come here to just be idiots, for lack of a better word. With those kinds of people, you wonder why they bothered to come at all” (Historical tour guide)

Such a comment is representative of the general consensus in York. Similarly, Mordue’s extensive study of the destination in 2005 found that many residents were unhappy with the large numbers of tourists who visited and seemed not to sufficiently contribute to the local economy, he stated that:

“Although not explicitly made, the underlying point seems to be that there are too many tourists in York enjoying an inappropriately cheap time” (Mordue, 2005, p.241).

Mordue (2005) found that the day-trippers were not well perceived by local residents and business people as it were thought that they did not hold any value. At a surface level this can be deemed true, however if we consider tourism as an ever evolving process and each tourist as a part of that evolving process we must consider their on-going contribution to the evolution of the destination and not just their contribution on the particular day of the

visit. Any tourist who visits either as a day-tripper who wonders around the city and spends nothing or an international tourist staying for weeklong holiday will have the same opportunities available to them following their visit. Firstly, they will have the opportunity to engage in word of mouth marketing and furthermore in our ever-increasing digital age, consumer based content marketing in the various online outlets available to them. Secondly they will both have the opportunity to visit again and if possible to bring others along, friends and family perhaps. The latter point was picked up on by a respondent who stated that:

“The first time that you visit York it might be on the cheap, so what, it doesn’t matter, if you get a taste for the place you might want to come back for more, we have many repeat visitors. A day visitor is in a way no longer a day visitor if they come a few days a year” (Visit York employee).

On close examination it is clear to see that visitors of any kind hold a value to the destination even if they are not perceived as such. Furthermore the city of York simply cannot refuse these kinds of visitors as is recognised by a key informant:

“It is perfectly possible to do York on the cheap, walk around the city and keep your hands in your pockets and bring your own lunch. But I repeat, the council, Visit York, anybody, is in no position to turn visitors away, with the possible exception of some sort of draconian

measures with the drinkers, on the whole York is open for business for anybody” (Assistant Director, Economic Development and Partnerships, City of York Council)

In line with this, Mordue (2005, p.196) argued that despite the wishes of some residents to ‘cleanse the market’, it simply was not a possibility and thought that many local people underestimated the importance of day-trippers. The point that “York is open for business for anybody” is undeniable, as people simply cannot be excluded. So the issue here for the York City Council and Visit York is working on residents viewing tourists in an increasingly positive light. In Huelva, such strong opinions were not found as part of this study. The local community were welcoming towards tourists. This could be due to the lower number of tourists present, however it is not the purpose of this thesis to analyse these differences and compare, but to learn from what was found.

8.4.6 Concluding remarks

The research question posed here has been satisfied through consideration of the various aspects of value that local heritage communities hold. Here, the thesis has argued that a more inclusive stakeholder approach is required at heritage tourism destinations not only for the benefits that will arise for the communities themselves but for the viability of the destination as a heritage tourism product. The value possessed by local communities is wide ranging and of course is not considered to be homogeneous, but the findings of this study identified four key areas in which heritage communities possess value which could benefit the heritage process (Figure 21). The key effects of community impact upon the heritage tourism destinations brand identified here it is hoped offer a practical insight into what can be gained from a more consistent, community based approach to the heritage marketing process.

8.5 Research question four

How can local communities be increasingly included in the representation of heritage tourism destinations and their marketing processes?

The information presented thus far in this study has addressed the issues of representation of heritage and culture in heritage tourism destinations. The argument has been advanced that there is a clear and active dissonance between the way in which heritage tourist destinations are represented and the attachment and identity that local communities have to their own heritage.

Furthermore, evidence has been provided to demonstrate the agency that this dissonance has and the effects of the act of disinheritance upon both the community and the heritage tourism destination itself as a result of this. At this stage, as the resulting ramifications of the issue have been explored, in consideration of these issues the thesis will now apply the primary findings from this study to the extent literature in order to identify possible solutions.

It is argued here that the solution required clearly comes in the form of stakeholder collaboration that can work towards a community consensus of heritage representation. The findings of this thesis support those of Beritelli's (2011) study, which found the key

factor behind collaboration among the key stakeholders in a tourism destination is cooperation among the various parties involved.

The idea of communities as brand ambassadors is not new (Chen and Dywer, 2010). The extant literature demonstrates that tourism destination could benefit from the understanding that local communities are ambassadors for the destination brand (Berry, 2000; Simpson and Siguaw, 2008; VanAuken, 2003).

However, such studies have focused upon improving general resident quality of life and inclusion in planning, research investigating creating resident brand ambassadors through improvement of relationship to place has been overlooked in the academy thus far (Chen and Šegota, 2015). Furthermore, Beritelli (2011, p.209) found that “cooperation among stakeholders in tourism destination communities is necessary but per se neither obviously occurs nor is formally established”. Therefore a framework has been developed as a result of this thesis for the formal establishment of the engagement of the community in the heritage tourism destination marketing and branding process.

8.5.1 A proposed framework for community inclusion in the heritage tourism destination marketing process

The purpose of this section is to present evidence to support the development of a model which makes explicit the areas in which key stakeholders, particularly the local council and the tourist board or destination management organisation, should take in order to empower the local community and involve them in the representations of their heritage. These steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process are presented in Figure 21 on the following page.

The model focuses on empowering the local community in order to allow and encourage them to engage with the representations of their heritage in the heritage tourism destination marketing and branding process. The importance of community empowerment is imperative to the contribution of heritage tourism destinations. Empowering the local community to contribute is required in order to ensure community support for tourism (Scheyvens, 2002).

The proposed model involves four key steps, which are: education and schools, awareness and information, collaboration and partnerships and community consultation. These steps are part of forming a long term solution to the current issues identified here and as such these issue face embedding and empowering community participation in a realistic and sustainable way, rather than a short term, superficial solution.

The framework is a development of the findings of the thesis and was built upon throughout the course of the research investigation as the findings developed.

This framework and its four key stages have been embedded through the consultation process at Trigueros, which came as a result of this study. The researcher and research supervisor worked in consultation with Turismo Trigueros throughout the development of the thesis, from the beginning of the data collection stage. Trigueros was a case study destination for investigation and due to the success and development of the findings the findings were then piloted as a framework within Trigueros. Accordingly the four key stages of the framework were implemented in order to empower the local community and enable them to engage in the marketing of Trigueros as a heritage tourism destination. Each of these steps and their implantation in Trigueros will now be considered in detail in the ensuing sections of this chapter.

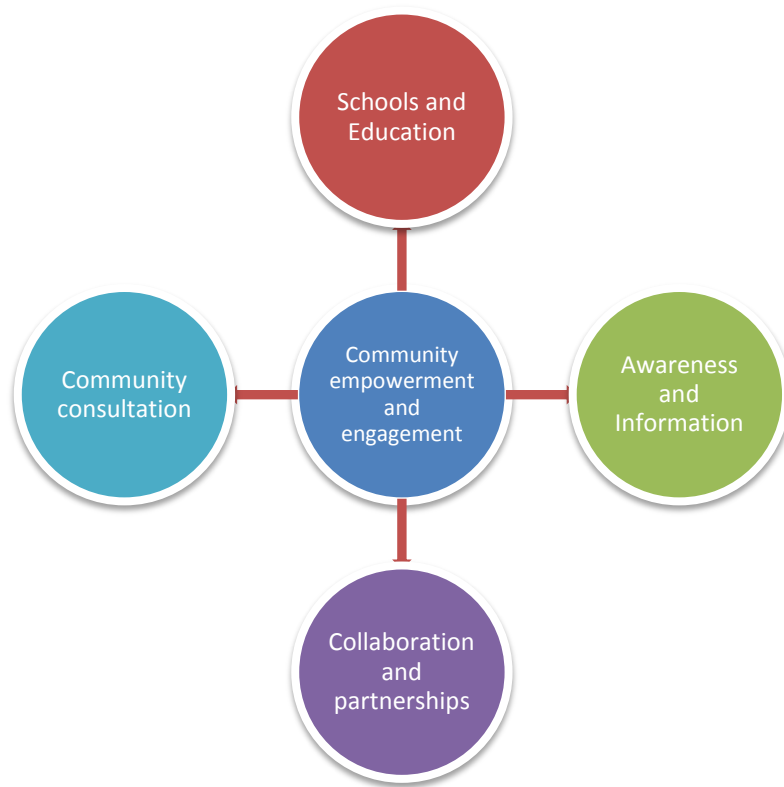


Figure 21: The key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage marketing process (Author's own)

8.5.2 Awareness and information

It was found in both case study destinations that one reason why the local community felt negatively towards the representation of heritage is because they are often not made aware of what is happening at the destination. The findings of this study revealed that the community are often not made aware of the heritage and historical events, festivals and promotions going on within the destination. This is because they are not in the target market focused on by the commercial authorities involved in heritage and historical attractions and events at the destination the community often are not made aware of activities that may be of interest to them. This was discovered in both York and Huelva from conversations with the DMO's, who stated that: "we don't really deal with the residents besides the residents' festival (Head of Research, Visit York) and "no, no, we are here to help the tourist" (Turismo Huelva).

This is a further example of how people become disinherited and displaced as they are not as actively involved in the heritage story of their own destination. This is in accordance with the extant literature, which shows that there is often a lack of awareness of tourism activity among local communities (Timothy, 2000; Sharpley and Tefler, 2002; Theobald, 2005). The literature further shows that this leads to communities feeling inadequate and less important than the tourists in their own destination (Timothy and Wall, 1997; Theobald, 2005). This is consistent with the findings of this study, particularly in York, where residents felt that they were not deemed as important as the tourists and as such were not communicated to.

Moreover, Nyanpane and Timothy (2010) identified that increased visitation to heritage sites by the local community can help them to improve local heritage awareness and further, will increase positive feelings regarding heritage at the destination among the community. This is supported by the findings of Komoo (2004) who found that when communities have a higher awareness of the unique resources at their destination, they experience an increase in community pride and as such have a stronger sense of place and place identity.

As such, it is suggested here that more is done by the commercial bodies involved in tourism to provide information to the local community on heritage events and attractions at heritage tourism destinations. The following examples are suggested:

- Increased advertising of local heritage events and attractions within the local media
- More discounts and incentives offered for local people at local heritage attractions and events
- Suitable notice given to local residents regarding special events and festivals
- Increased access to historical archives and documents of interest for residents

8.5.3 Collaboration

Collaboration is defined as;

“A process of joint decision making among autonomous, key stakeholders of an inter-organisational, community tourism domain [designed] to resolve planning problems of the domain and/or to manage issues related to the planning and development of the domain” (Jamal and Getz, 1995, p.188).

It was found in both case study destinations that there is very little collaboration between the commercial and community stakeholders within the heritage tourism destinations explored here. The importance of collaboration between destination stakeholders is explored at great depths within the field (e.g. Gunn and Var, 2002). It is thus imperative to work to increase collaboration efforts at heritage tourism destinations regarding the representation and marketing of the destination. It is argued here that only this will aid toward the construction of shared consensus between commercial and community views of heritage.

The possible steps needed towards collaborating with the community effectively include:

- The establishment of a role within the destination management organisation in which a person is tasked with effective collaboration with the local community through the following suggested mediums:

- communicating with the local community through workshops, community meetings, focus groups, surveys and increasing the presence at the resident's festival or similar community events
- welcoming, analysing and effectively responding to correspondence from the local community regarding their thoughts and concerns
- using findings to work alongside the marketing executive to ensure that the community views are considered when designing new campaigns and communications
- opportunities provided for local people to volunteer to assist with heritage and historical events and festivals which interest them
- A platform should be provided for local community interest groups to relay their concerns to the council in an increasingly approachable way, such as some sort of forum or annual meeting

8.5.4 Schools and education

The findings of this study demonstrate that education plays a vital role in connecting the community to their heritage, enabling understanding and fostering connections. In York it was found that there were some excellent examples of fostering a connection with heritage for young people through the work of the York Civic Trust. The primary school public speaking competition and drama competitions are seen as very important for educating children on York's past and stimulating an interest in local history. This was illustrated by the Former Lord Mayor of York who said, "it is very important that young people in York know about the history of York. So we run the year six primary speaking competition, the drama competition and we used to run the Georgian Ball at the Mansion House".

In Huelva it was found that whilst important elements of local history and culture, typically elements of intangible heritage, were passed down through families, not as much is being done in schools. For example, one respondent stated "we spend time as a family, visiting in the area, but there are lots that he [the respondent's son] does not know, when I was at school I knew" (Lecturer). As such, overall, respondents felt that more local history education is needed in schools in order to improve the awareness of children to local heritage and culture. Further, regarding Komoo's (2004) findings, this would help children to develop a stronger sense of place of place identity from a young age.

However, this is a much wider issue. The aforementioned authorised heritage discourse (Smith, 2006) is controlled by a dominant middle class white-elite group of heritage and

historical professionals (Waterton, 2011). Therefore, in order for the discourses of heritage to become more inclusive and represent a wider range of pasts and cultures, it is argued here that there needs to be increased heritage education, particularly local heritage, which will encourage a broader range of people to enter the professional heritage field. This view is supported by King (2008) who argues that a central reason for under-representation of disparate pasts is due to a lack of heritage education for all.

As such a series of education projects is a key part of the framework with the following projects being examples of work that can be carried out:

- Collaboration with school history societies
- Arranging talks and workshops within schools
- Working with the careers department in schools and universities offering placements for students working with heritage at the destination
- Arranging heritage and historical fairs and festivals within schools

8.5.5 Community consultation

One of the main gaps found in this research was that there is insufficient community consultation carried out regarding the representation and marketing of heritage tourism destination. Huybers (2007) identified that community consultation is of great importance to the field of tourism development. Further, Williams (2003) argues that a structured approach to stakeholder participation in tourism decision making can help to generate community trust and social capital.

However, analysis of the literature found that whilst community consultation is prevalent within tourism development this is focused on the tangible elements associated with development such as town planning and building use. The intangible elements, such as strategic direction of the destination and the marketing and representation of the destination and are overlooked and often not included in consultation efforts. More often than not, this role is found at the end of the process, in the form of educational or informational criteria which is what Arnstein (1970) refers to as tokenistic stakeholder participation and is of little value. Instead the public is largely removed from the equation by a process that enables archaeological and other heritage experts consistently to apply hegemonic understandings of the past by allocating exclusive priority (Waterton, 2005, p.319).

It is argued here that community consultation through the marketing and branding process is a key issue that must be effectively implemented in order for the framework to be

successful. It was found in both case study destinations that one of the reasons why the community felt displaced or disinherited in some way is partly due to the fact that they are not consulted in the heritage marketing and representation process. The community feel that they make no contribution to the ways in which their heritage is represented and commodified for modern day purposes, they have no command over their own heritage voice. As such, it was found that in York particularly, communities are empowering themselves and writing their own heritage stories through their own projects and publications. As commendable as this is it often serves to work to conflict with the commercial voice (for example the book "York: A Walk On The Wild Side). As such it is advised here that an effective strategy for community consultation is put into place at heritage tourism destinations.

The importance of community consultation cannot be overlooked; with Timothy's (2002) findings demonstrating that community consultation can contribute positively to tourism destinations. Further, involvement of the local community in the development of a destination will enable the community to further their understandings and appreciations of heritage and subsequently improve their livelihood. However, it is important to understand that consultation can be understood on a continuum. To illustrate this Arnstein (1969) used a ladder metaphor to explain the hierarchy of community involvement. Similarly, Cole (2006) understood participative stakeholder activities to range from a minimum level of being consulted (where the stakeholder has no real action) to the highest level of being fully empowered. Therefore, in many cases stakeholder participation is being carried out, however has no real impact or effect (Byrd, 2007).

Moreover, Sharpley and Telfer (2002) state that if proper and effective community consultation is not carried out, then as the community feel they are ignored, they will in turn neglect the tourism work being carried out at the destination. This will only work to further displacement from heritage and identity, broadening the gap between community and commercial views. This may be due to the issue that when marketing heritage tourism destinations, the control is in the hands of the commercial experts, who are given free reign as the authorities of the heritage voice. This is emblematic of the works of Waterton and Smith (2011), who found that regarding the commercialisation of heritage the community are often disregarded, as they are not seen as having the knowledge of authority in the field. They state that:

“Some people are included within those groups entitled to make decisions about what is (or is not) heritage, while others are excluded. Not only are many people overlooked as authorities capable of adjudicating their own sense of heritage, so too is their lack of access to necessary resources[....]They are in effect, subordinated and impeded because they do not hold the title ‘heritage expert’, as well as lacking the resources assumed necessary to participate in heritage projects [...]and also potentially ‘lacking’ a particular vision or understanding of heritage and the accepted values that underpin this vision” (Waterton and Smith, 2011, p.18).

It was found that these issues held true at the case study destinations investigated here. In North Yorkshire and Huelva consulting the community on the marketing and branding of the city had never been considered. Furthermore, the community are not later consulted on what their opinions and issues are regarding the marketing and representation of the destination. In order to consult the local community on the marketing and branding of heritage destinations, the following recommendations are suggested here;

- Actively carry out research into the views of the local community concerning the representation and marketing of the destination using surveys, focus groups and online questionnaires
- Assess and apply the input from the local community when planning campaigns and communications throughout the year
- Provide an online forum for the community to share suggestions, ideas and conceptualisation of local heritage
- Identify and invite key stakeholders from the local community (such as the heads of community heritage groups) to attend the annual conference and annual general meeting of the DMO so that they may liaise with other involved in heritage representation and represent the views of the community

8.5.6 Concluding remarks

According to the findings presented here, the inclusion of the local community in the heritage destination marketing process pertains to resolving issues relating to four key areas; community consultation, awareness and information, collaboration and partnerships and schools and education. As confirmed by the findings of the thesis, these four key areas are not currently effectively dealt with through the current approaches and practices used to engage with local communities in Yorkshire and Huelva.

The main aim of the framework presented is to give communities a platform to engage with the heritage destination marketing process. This platform needs to be solidly founded in order to be able to allow communities to engage in the process in an authentic way. It is argued here that these four key areas presented in the framework if used correctly, will enable a stable platform to be constructed and authentic engagement to ensue.

This framework was developed as a broad basis, and therefore there is no clear reason why this framework could not be generalised to other heritage tourism destination wishing to identify the means with which to engage communities in the heritage tourism marketing process. The framework is deliberately written in a generic format to ensure that it has the flexibility to be adapted to meet the requirements of most heritage tourism destinations.

8.6 Conclusion

Based upon both the primary and secondary findings of this research investigation, this thesis has argued that a new approach to the representations of heritage at heritage tourism destinations is required in order to create destinations that are a true reflection of local heritage and history.

Firstly the research findings here have demonstrated that there is clear and active dissonance between the community and commercial understandings of heritage and this manifests through the representation of heritage tourism destinations. This is in part due to the nature of the authorised heritage discourse, which continues to privilege certain elements of the past over others in the representations of heritage (Smith, 2006). Notably, the tangible elements of heritage such as buildings and monuments are privileged as notions of heritage and this was reflected in the findings of this study.

In addition, it was found that this disjoint between the way in which heritage is represented and marketed and how the local community perceive their heritage has agency and affects the local community in several ways, affecting place identity and place dependence among other variables. This not only affects the community but the destination's success as a heritage tourism destination as unsatisfied, displaced communities do not make welcoming and engaging hosts for visitors.

However, the thesis found that there is much to be gained from increased stakeholder collaboration between the community and commercial voices of heritage tourism. This demonstrates that allowing the local community to become empowered and engaged with their heritage voice will have positive ramifications upon the destination. These were most notably categorised into the power that the community has over word-of-mouth, friends and family, positive interactions for tourists and acceptance of tourists. It is argued here that by allowing the community to be increasingly involved in the representations of tourism there will be the opportunity for positive effects and improvements in these areas over which the community have control. Additionally it is of significance here to recognise that the community do have almost entire control over these four areas and as such are vital stakeholders in the tourism marketing process.

Finally, the thesis has concluded that the key to bridging the gap between the community and commercial understandings and representations of heritage tourism is through empowering the community and putting in place the required processes to allow the community to engage with the representation of heritage at the heritage tourism destination. These processes have been conceptualised into a simple model for illustration purposes and understanding.

Chapter 9: Conclusions and Original Contributions

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw the thesis to a close through examining the key findings of this research and the implications of these findings, and in doing so, identify both its theoretical and practical contributions. The chapter revisits the initial motivating factors and theoretical foundations upon which this research is positioned, and summarises the research journey that has been undertaken. The theoretical and practical contributions towards the field of heritage studies and the practice of marketing are discussed. The study concludes by reflecting on the limitations of the research, implications and contributions for practitioners and viable directions for future study.

9.3 Research Impact

This study has the capacity to evidence impact through application of the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage marketing process (Figure 21). This framework has already been piloted through application in Trigueros, Huelva. In Trigueros, the researcher worked in collaboration with the Technical de Turismo (tourism official) who manages tourism activity in the town. The town had recently acquired ownership of and responsibility for the Dolmen de Soto in the summer of 2013. The Dolmen was previously managed by de Junta de Andalucía, but was given to the town after a series of government cutbacks. Trigueros then worked towards opening the Dolmen as a tourist attraction in 2015. During this time the researcher collaborated with the Technical de Turismo and his team, to ensure that this heritage asset empowered and engaged residents and considered them in the marketing and branding process. As such, the approach taken took a community inclusive approach to marketing the attraction. This involved application of the framework presented in Figure 21, which has been adapted below to illustrate the application of this for Trigueros.

The evidence presented in chapters six and eight, illustrates the effect that this approach had on the community of Trigueros, who felt involved and engaged with the marketing of the town and the Dolmen de Soto. As such, it is now the intention that the same framework will be applied in more destinations, in order to reduce dissonance between community and commercial representations of place, and create a more meaningful and authentic presentation of the past.



Figure 21- The application of the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage marketing process in Trigueros (Author's own).

9.6 Study limitations

This study has a number of limitations that should be acknowledged. Firstly, the method of in-depth interviewing is often criticised as a method of research due to the nature of in depth-interviews the opportunity for comparison is reduced and data analysis is more difficult (Finn et al., 2000). However, this study did not intend to perform a comparative analysis of the case study destinations involved, but rather, to learn from a broader range of cases. Additionally, it is argued that an issue with in depth-interviews is that the quality of the data collected is dependent upon the communication and listening skills of the researcher (Finn et al., 2000). In an attempt to achieve a series of high quality in-depth interviews the researcher attended research training courses aimed at the learning and developing of interview skills. In this way, the researcher developed the appropriate skills needed to negate these issues as much as possible.

Secondly, whilst not being directly comparative, the multiple case study method could be criticised for being irregular in data collection. This is because more interviews were conducted for the Yorkshire case study than the Huelva case study. This was due to the access issues that invariably come with carrying out an international case study approach. The researcher was based in York and thus had the access and time required for arranging and conducting interviews within York and Yorkshire. However, in Huelva obtaining access to key informants was more challenging. This was in part due to the language barrier. Therefore, in order to try to overcome this, the researcher engaged in Spanish language classes for two years, gaining both preliminary and continuation certificates in Spanish.

Furthermore, the researcher developed and maintained a working relationship with the University of Huelva. This enabled the researcher to develop some initial contacts and then through the purposive sampling method snowball these respondents to generate a wider range of research respondents. This then provided access to further key informants who were able to provide rich understandings of the heritage tourism destination and its community.

With regard to the sample size itself, Silverman (2009) highlights that it is important to recognise that when adopting a qualitative approach the emphasis should be on the quality rather than the quantity of the sample. Therefore, a purposive sampling strategy was used to generate rich and reliable data through the selection of relevant participants for interviews at each case study destination. Accordingly, there was no specific number of interviews, which needed to be conducted in the mind of the researcher and no set goal to achieve in terms of number of interviews conducted. Only when it was felt that the sample had been exhausted and the key issues had been uncovered and explored sufficiently by a wide range of respondents were the interviews stopped. Furthermore, regarding several key issues, often saturation point was reached in the interview process, which signalled to the researcher that sufficient interviews had been carried out. The researcher did take care to ensure that respondents were comparable in order to draw trustworthy conclusions at each case study destination.

Finally, a further limitation of this research investigation is based upon just two case study destinations. This could be termed a narrow sample. However, referring once again to

Silverman (2009), due to the objectives and interpretive philosophical nature of the study, it was deemed appropriate to concentrate on just two key destinations and allow the time and the scope to fully explore and emerge in these destinations in the research process. Had a wider range of destinations been used in this study then the level of depth of analysis desired from the researcher would not have been able to be reached.

9.7 Scope for Future Research

There are several potential avenues for research investigations arising from this thesis, and there remains a need for further investigations into community involvement in heritage destination marketing (Alexander and Hamilton, 2016). Firstly, future studies could replicate this thesis through application of the same methods of enquiry in different heritage tourism destinations, across a wider range of international tourism destinations in order to see if different results can be found and additional dimensions can be added to the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process (Figure 21). Studies of this kind would further add to the body of knowledge identified here and would additionally evaluate the reliability and generalisation of the results of this thesis.

Secondly, this thesis has made a number of practical contributions, but has not yet identified the impacts of applying these findings outside of Trigueros. As such, future studies could apply the framework of the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage marketing process identifying the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process (Figure 21) and measure the resulting impact in other heritage destinations.

Third, the researcher now wants to continue this line of enquiry through examining in further depth the relationship between the dissonance present in the heritage destination of York, and the community destination image.

Finally, it is important to note here, that one of the most prevalent and highly considered authors in this field, Professor Steve Watson, is no longer here to continue his notable investigations and contributions to the heritage debate. As such, it is imperative to look to the future and it is hoped that the work presented here will encourage further investigations into the field of heritage studies and will encourage others to join the heritage debate “with energy, insight and scholarship” (Watson and Waterton, 2011, p.10), and long may work of this kind continue.

Regarding heritage destination marketers, it is recommended from the findings of this study that the key steps for community empowerment and engagement throughout the heritage destination marketing process (Figure 21) are applied where possible within heritage destinations. The model was designed to be flexible and pragmatic, and so there are many ways that destination marketing organisations can apply the aspects of this model despite possible limited resources. This was demonstrated through application in Trigueros where there were both financial and time based restraints but collaborating together the local community could achieve more, such as using various community groups (e.g. the cycling club) to engage with and promote the Dolmen de Soto.

9.8 Concluding remarks

The main purpose of this study was to identify the agency of the dissonance between community and commercial heritage understandings and representations of the past and to identify practical solutions. Interpretation of the literature and the primary data examined here suggests that dissonance between commercial and community heritage tourism stakeholders is still prevalent, despite the extent of community heritage studies, which suggests that solutions are yet to be found (e.g. Hodges and Watson, 2001 and Waterton and Watson, 2010, 2011).

Additionally, the thesis has identified the agency of this dissonance for both the community and the commercial stakeholders, taking a balanced approach to the heritage debate and investigating both issues. As a result of this, the practical contribution of the thesis identifies a practical framework that identifies four key ways for the facilitation of heritage tourism destination communities in the marketing and branding process.

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Appendix

Appendix A – Case Study Protocol

Overview	Standard Procedures
Research aim	The overarching aim of this study is to identify, through an international collective case study analysis, the extent to which a dissonance might exist between the commercial and community representations of and relationships with heritage, agency of that dissonance, and how and for what purposes a community inclusive approach may be taken.
Research objectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. To review the extent literature in the field of heritage tourism 2. To review the extent literature in the field of stakeholder analysis and community 3. To review the extent literature in the field of marketing and branding tourism destinations 4. To design a suitable methodology by which to collect, analyse and interpret data 5. To identify and interpret the community and commercial representations of the past in Yorkshire and Huelva 6. To draw together the primary findings with the extent literature in order to build new understanding 7. To analyse the overall implications of the research project and its contributions
Role of protocol in guiding the case study researcher	The protocol is a standardised agenda for the researcher’s line of inquiry.
Data required to address the research questions	<p>Documentary sources</p> <p>Audio recorded interviews</p>
Data collection plan	<p>Key dates</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews in Yorkshire, UK were conducted between April 2012 and September 2015. • Interviews in Huelva, Spain were conducted during four separate visits to the city, the first in July 2012, the second in May 2013, and the third in September 2014 and the final visit in May 2015.

<p>Pilot study</p>	<p>A pilot study was conducted in 2011.</p> <p>Pilot Study Key dates</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews in York, UK were conducted between May 2011 and September 2011. • Interviews in Paphos, Cyprus, were conducted during three separate visits to the city, the first being in May 2011, the second in July 2011, and the third in September 2011.
<p>Preparation prior to visits to case study locations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thorough exploration and frequent engagement with local and national media, including newspaper articles in both destinations regarding tourism, politics, planning and decision making; • Review of the marketing communications of each destination, such as; DMO website, social media pages and community heritage group websites and published content • One familiarisation visit to Huelva, Spain took place in May 2012 in order to establish contacts and to test the viability of the research and the suitability of the destination as a case study.
<p>Items to take to case study destinations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview schedule • Note book and pen • Ipad • Consent forms • Dictaphone • Iphone (as back-up recording device) • Batteries • Camera • Business cards • List of key contact details • Map and bus schedules
<p>Data collection process</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collection of relevant documentary evidence regarding tourism governance, tourism management and planning, local authority planning, minutes and statistical information. Requested copies of relevant documentation both formally and during the interviews themselves. 2. Semi-structured interviews with relevant informants from both destinations. Each interview was conducted

	following the interview schedule and protocol. Each interview was audio-recorded and transcribed. Each informant signed a consent form and received a copy of the interviewer's business card.
Data analysis process	Thematic analysis was adopted as the tool for analysing the interview transcripts.
Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interview transcripts were given to all interviewees for verification.

Appendix B- Yorkshire Interview Participants

York Respondents-

1	York City Council Worker
2	Senior Marketing Executive Visit York
3	Visit York Marketing Executive-Research
4	Student
5	Gift Shop worker
6	Local Business Owner
7	Café Worker
8	York Past and Present Member
9	Actor-York's Chocolate Story
10	Assistant Director of Economic Development and Partnerships, York City Council
11	Gift Shop Owner
12	Museum Guide
13	Former Lord Mayor
14	Head of the York Civic Trust
15	Business Support Services Manager, Make It York
16	City Centre and Markets Manager, Make It York
17	Historic Tour Guide
18	Owner of Historic Tour Company
19	York Theatre Royal Café Worker
20	York Theatre Royal Youth Theatre Assistant
21	Stay at Home Mother

22	Novotel York Manager
23	Visit York Director 1
24	Visit York Director 2

Thornborough Henge Respondents-

1	Event Organiser, Beltane Fire Festival
2	High Priest of Beltane Fire Festival
3	Annual Visitor, Beltane Fire Festival
4	First time Visitor, Beltane Fire Festival
5	Festival Trade Stall Owner, Beltane Fire Festival
6	Brigantia Player, Beltane Fire Festival
7	Independent Journalist
8	Bar worker, Beltane Fire Festival

Appendix C- Huelva Interview Participants

Huelva City Respondents-

1	Lecturer
2	Technical de Turismo , Turismo Huelva
3	Local business Owner
4	Researcher
5	Student
6	Teacher
7	Pharmacist
8	Heritage Tourism Expert, University of Seville
9	Heritage Tourism Expert, University of Huelva
10	Manager, Museum of Flamenco Dance
11	Marketing Director, Museum of Flamenco Dance
12	Guide, Museo de Huelva
13	Restaurant Owner
14	Hotel Manager
15	Hotel Receptionist
16	Waiter

Trigueros Respondents:

1	Mayor of Trigueros
2	Technical de Turismo
3	Principal de Turismo
4	Student

5	Stay at Home Mother
6	Waitress
7	Toro Breeder and Trainer
8	Restaurant Owner



Appendix D- Interview Consent Form

Research Consent Form

If you (the interviewee) consent to participate you will be agreeing with the following statements:

- The research will involve an interview. The interview is semi-structured and will be recorded on an audio tape with the consent of the interviewee. Alternatively, notes will be taken.
- As the interviewee you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time without having to provide an explanation.
- The interviewee understands that every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality and privacy; their name will not be published.
- The interviewee will receive a full transcript of the interview in which they are invited to add comments, amend or remove any part of the transcript.
- The interviewee understands that the transcripts will be viewed and discussed by other academics.
- The interviewee understands that excerpts from the interview may be published as a result of this study.
- The interviewee understands that the interview transcripts may be archived both on paper and digitally for future research.

The above information has been adequately explained to me and I freely give my consent to participate in this research study.

Signature:

Date:

Appendix E – Interview Guide

In accordance with the research questions, key themes were established for the interview process. These key themes emerged from the review of the extent literature. These were not however used as a rigid structure, and respondents were given the opportunity to develop and express their own themes and ideas.

Thus, questions were not objectively predetermined. A copy of the interview guide based upon these themes is shown below.

- Community understanding of heritage
 - Community attachment to heritage
 - Community representations of heritage
 - Community understanding of current destination image and heritage representation

- Place attachment

- Place identity

- Destination image- unique brand

- Satisfaction with tourism at the destination

- Approaches to marketing and branding heritage tourism destinations

- Community engagement

- Marketing messages

- Heritage selection processes

- Community empowerment

- Discourses of local heritage
- Inclusion of dissonant heritage
- Community engagement

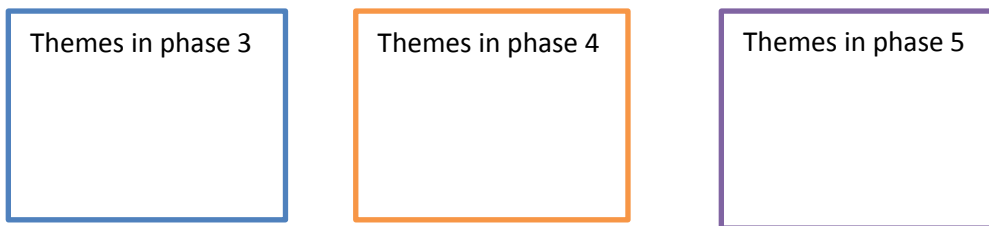
Appendix F-Interview Protocol

Check	Task
	Interview No:
	Respondent:
	Date:
	Time:
	Location:
	Thank participant for their involvement and time
	Explain the purpose of this study again This study seeks to explore community and commercial representations of heritage in Yorkshire/Huelva. This study is for my PhD at York St John University.
	Participation and withdrawal -Your participation in this study is voluntary and you can change your mind at any time and the recording can be deleted. Please do not feel that you need to provide any reason for the interview to stop, just let me know. If there are any questions which you feel you are unwilling or unable to answer please let me know and we will move on. If there are any questions which you do not wish to answer you may still remain in the study without consequences of any kind.

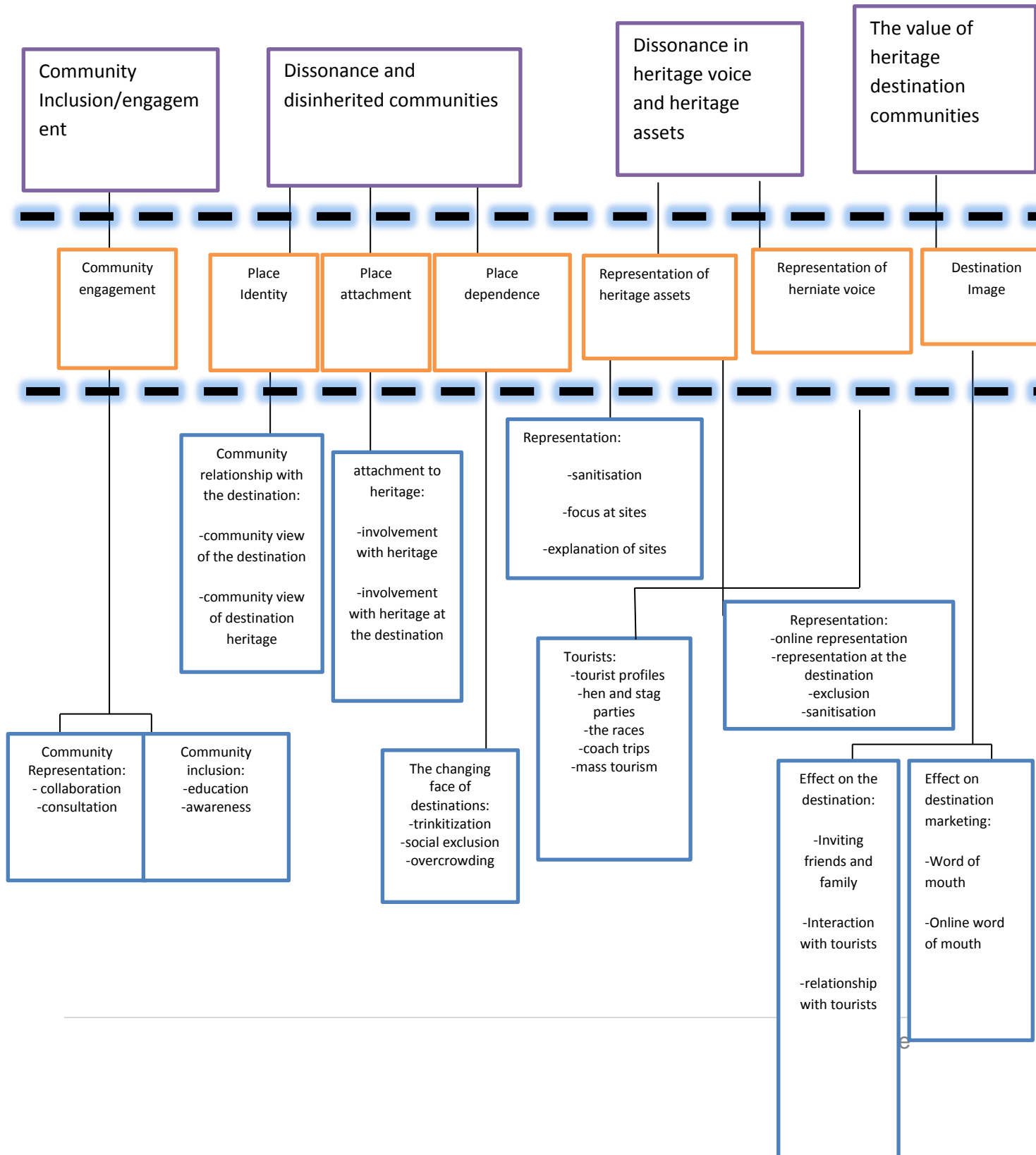
	<p>Anonymity and confidentiality</p> <p>The information provided will remain confidential and no individual names will be used to secure personal beliefs.</p> <p>Access to raw data of this study is only considered necessary for the supervisory team at York St John University and will not be shared further.</p>
	<p>Sign letter of consent and distribute business card</p> <p>This is a letter confirming that you consent to being a part of this study and your responses used in the write up of this thesis and any publications that follow. However, this does not obligate you to anything, if after today you change your mind please let me know and I will withdraw your responses from my study.</p>
	<p>Explain interview structure</p> <p>I am very interested in your opinion on how your destination is marketed and represented, with a specific interested in heritage representation. I will ask you questions about commercial representations of this and your views on that and the community representations and views of heritage and your views on that. There are no wrong answers; I am interested in your opinion and your perspective on things. If you are aware of anything which may be of particular interest to this study and I have not asked you about it, please let me know and we can have a conversation about it. Also, if after the interview you can think of anyone else who may be of interest to this study who I could also interview, please let me know and I would be very grateful.</p> <p>As I said before, you can stop at any time or skip a question. If anything is unclear please let me know and I can repeat/clarify my question.</p> <p>If you are happy to proceed then we can begin.</p>

Appendix H –Codes and Themes

The following diagram highlights the relationship between the codes and the themes which emerged from the data analysis process. Phase three of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) data analysis process involved the sorting of different codes into potential themes, this is shown in section one of the diagram. Having identified the emerging themes from the data, during phase four the themes were further refined as shown in section two of the diagram. Finally, the themes were further refined in phase five of Braun and Clarke’s (2006) data analysis process as shown in section three of the diagram. A key to the diagram is as follows:



Appendix G- Relationship between the codes and the themes



Appendix H- Turismo Trigueros

t turismo trigueros

Te invita a conocer tu patrimonio

Sta. Catalina

Pasado y futuro

24 de Abril de 2015 19.30h

Recorrido por el legado artístico del monumento bajo la mirada del artista local Job Flores. Visita al edificio, a continuación conferencia en el Salon de Exposiciones del Centro Civico

19:00h CAFE TURISTICO-PUNTO DE ENCUENTRO en CAFETERIA LA TERRAZA (consumicion por cuenta propia)

ORGANIZA:

AYUNTAMIENTO DE TRIGUEROS

CONCEJALIA DE TURISMO

t turismo trigueros

Diseño: MCRB