Nationalism and Tourist-Host Relationships:
A Case Study of Bala, North Wales

by

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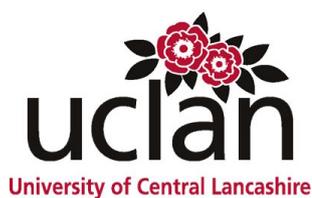
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Abstract

Within the domain of tourism, tourist-host relationships are dynamic and complex. The nature of interaction between tourist and host potentially renders a destination more or less desirable to tourists and this, in turn, may impact upon the development and promotion of tourism for that destination. In particular, differences between tourists and hosts will influence the kind of relationship that emerges at the points of contact between them. In 'intra-national' settings, where tourists from one country interact with hosts from another, such differences will inevitably be in evidence. Thus, understanding the relevance of nationalism to tourist-host relationships is fundamental to the management of tourism in these contexts.

To date, however, little academic attention has been paid to nationalistic determinants of tourist-host encounters. The purpose of this thesis is to address this gap in the literature. Critically exploring the influences of nationalism within tourist-hosts relationships, it focuses specifically on the case of Bala, a small community and tourist destination in North Wales, identifying and appraising the extent and implications of nationalism on the relationship between English tourists and Welsh hosts. Utilising Q method, a technique designed for the systematic study of subjectivity, the research seeks to elicit English tourists' and Welsh hosts' subjectivities concerning nationalism, and by association, uncover subjectivities towards national identities, culture and tourism. It reveals that, fundamentally, nationalism *does* influence the nature of the relationship between English tourists and Welsh hosts in a number of ways, particularly with respect to nationalistic understanding, perceptions of self in relation to others and perception of others. However, the research also indicates that the nature of relationships between tourists and hosts is essentially an ongoing social process which, given time, will reach an organic equilibrium condition. As a consequence, tourism policy and process interventions to manage tourist-host relationships are considered futile within 'intra-national' environments.

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In writing this thesis they have both been tirelessly supportive and have constantly heard the words from me 'in a minute'.

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Chapter One

Introduction:
Nationalism and
Tourist-Host Research

Chapter One

1.1   Introduction

The movement of people engaging in tourism activity within and to alternative locations and destinations will inevitably result in contact being made with local people which in turn, facilitates a social interaction (Sharpley, 2008). Within these social encounters, different kinds of relationships will occur between tourists and local people and the nature of these relationships will largely be dependent upon the personal motivations (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Ryan, 1991), attitudes (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Smith, 1957; Sheldon & Var, 1984), and behaviours (Clawson, 1960; Williams, 1998) of both local people and tourists. Tourism, then, is essentially a social phenomenon and, as Reisinger and Turner (2002) suggest, these interpersonal relationships represent an important element of the tourist experience (Harlark, 1994). More specifically, Fagence (1998) argues that 'it is the richness of the interaction between residents and tourists which gives the region its particular attractiveness' (Fagence, 1998: 257). In other words, the attraction of a destination to tourists lies as much in the (perceived) opportunity for social interaction with local people as in its physical and cultural attractions. Thus, it is logical to suggest that the potential for future tourism to and tourism development within a particular destination can ultimately be influenced by the kind of interpersonal relationships that exist at the points of contact between host communities and tourists.

A number of factors account for the growth of tourism as a social phenomenon. These include: the overwhelming pressures of urban life and the desire to escape the everyday (Krippendorf, 1986); changes in mobility and accessibility enhanced by growth in air transportation and private car ownership and; increased leisure time and longer periods of vacation, facilitated by relatively sustained economic growth and rising incomes

(Cooper *et al*, 2008). These are usually summarised in terms of time; money; and

technological influences, although a variety of more specific factors, as illustrated in

Table 1.1 below, have driven the development of tourism.

Table 1.1: Factors in the development of Tourism.

Factors Influencing the development of international tourism

Transport	Technological improvements:	More efficient aircraft Alternative (i.e. high speed trains)
	Diversification:	Charter operations 'no-frills' flights
Accommodation	Innovation in accommodation services:	Time share/club share Self catering All-inclusive
Emergence of travel operators	Tour operating & travel retailing:	Large operators providing the 'complete' experience Image of safety, reliability Widespread network of retailers
	Scale of operations:	Economies of scale/the package Providing competitive prices
Integration	Vertical and horizontal integration:	Improved quality Economies of scale
Development of support services	Banks/currency:	Increasing ease of obtaining currency
	Insurance:	Travel/safety information (the internet)
	Health:	Improved health services
Public sector involvement	Government policies:	Positive policies to develop tourism
	Consumer protection:	Regulation (e.g. EU Package Travel Directive)
	National/local organisations:	Services for tourists
Changing Demand	Holidays:	Demands for new destinations, experiences
	International business	Growth in global business related travel
	VFR markets	New VFR markets related to global migration patterns

Source: Sharpley (2002: 26)

Consequently, as tourism has grown in both scope and scale, so too have the forms of tourism that people engage in, and the reasons and motives for doing so, become more numerous. Generally, however, it has long been recognised that the previous experiences of tourists will play an important role in determining the type of holiday they will consume in the future, impacting on future tourism development. Moreover, there is a direct social-cultural impact which may occur as a result of contact between the host community and the tourist. De Kadt (1979) suggests there are three broad categories of such contact:

1. When the tourists buy goods and services from the hosts;
2. When the hosts and tourists share a facility, such as the beach, a train, a restaurant, or a bar;
3. When tourists and hosts come together for the prime purpose of cultural exchange.

The nature and, indeed, the magnitude of the direct socio-cultural impact associated with tourist-host interaction will also be determined by the extent of the difference in socio-cultural characteristics between hosts and guests. Inskeep (1991), for example, suggests that these differences include:

- Basic value and logic system
- Religious beliefs
- Traditions and customs
- Lifestyles and dress codes; and
- Sense of time budgeting.

At the same time, the manner in which encounters between tourists and hosts occur may also influence the nature of interaction and subsequent impacts. Typically, encounters between tourists and local people are momentary and, thus, are likely to be superficial and facilitated as a 'means to an end'. For instance, transactions in a shop may be fulfilled in order to seek an instant satisfaction, the purchase of a souvenir by the tourists, whilst the local 'host' makes a sale. It is also noted that tourist-host encounters tend to be unbalanced. For instance, there may be displays of wealth from the tourist generating feelings of, perhaps, inferiority by the hosts. Equally, as argued here, there may also be an asymmetry about the encounter if one of the participants in the encounter is able to speak the other's language, or they maybe more knowledge about the other's cultural features.

Generally, Hunter (2001:45) argues that modern tourists intentionally seek out this *difference*, from their post industrial societies, creating as Cooper *et al* (2008:192) imply, a 'push' factor that may be manifested in a desire to escape urbanisation, overcrowding and tedium. In this temporary, and as indicated recently, often brief, encounter, this difference or perception of 'other' is created because impersonal relationships easily occur when there are barriers to the development of a shared social and interpersonal meaning. The 'encounter with the other' (Hunter, 2001:42) perhaps reinforces a self-identity against this difference, or imagined 'other', made real through literature and media - a myth of absolute difference that can never actually be experienced (Kroker *et al.*, 1990). This mistaken perception as not-real in turn shapes the social condition of a host destination. The host destination then experiences tourists not as they actually are in their respective places of origin, but as they appear, reacting to the real that seems to them unreal because it is not as they may have imagined. The

encounter, amongst these layers of misplaced expectations, must therefore be a 'hotbed of misunderstanding' (Hunter, 2001:46)

Whilst this social phenomenon of encounters and engagement in tourism activity has attracted considerable serious academic interest (Hall, 2005), it remains a relatively young area of study (Cooper *et al.*, 2008). Nevertheless, the popularity of tourism and the recognition of the importance by governments of its impact on economies, communities and environments, has accelerated the study of tourism (Sharpley, 2011). However, there are those who are critical of the lack of academic rigour applied to the study of tourism, arguing that the growth of tourism as a sector has resulted in tourism research consisting of the recording and documenting of events as case studies (Franklin & Crang, 2001). Such a view can be traced to earlier tourism impact-related research, such as the work of Archer (1972) who recorded tourism to regional areas as an economic phenomenon, Cohen's (1978) research documenting some of the effects of tourism on the physical environment, or Pizam's (1978) study of host population perceptions of tourist interaction. At the same time tourism, has no clear boundary (Gilbert, 1990) and, as a result, has often led to tourism impact research being fragmented, emphasising specific types of impact to the exclusion of others. Nevertheless, Xiao and Smith (2006) argue the case for, and legitimacy of, case study methodology and that, indeed, previous arguments suggesting case studies in tourism research are conceptually and analytically weak, are not substantiated.

Most of the studies of the consequences of tourism focus primarily on only one of three types of impact, those being: economic (Archer, 1972, 1984); environmental (White, 1974; Wall & Wright, 1977); and social impacts (Pizam, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984).

The economic emphasis of much impact related research is a reflection of the optimism with which tourism was generally viewed in the 1960s (Mathieson & Wall, 1992).

Furthermore, the emergence of economic concepts such as multipliers (Archer, 1996; Pieda, 1994) and National Income Accounting Frameworks (see Gratton & Taylor, 1985; 2000) saw new emphasis on the economic benefits of tourism activities to regional and local areas (Archer *et al.,* 1974; Crompton & Lee, 2000; Vaughan, 1985). The size of the impacts of tourism prompted a shift towards a more balanced perspective examining the costs or negative impacts, although Young (1973) was one of the first to identify the negative aspects of tourism.

In contrast to economic impacts, social impacts are more difficult to define and establish and those studies that have been conducted generally include some measurement of the differences in attitudes, perceptions, values and expectations of the visitor and host communities. Sheldon and Var (1984), for example acknowledged that host community responses towards tourists included issues associated with tourists having a negative social impact and cultural exchanges with visitors were seen as the most important issues by the residents. More generally though, there is a substantial body of literature on the subject of social-cultural issues towards tourism and its perceived impacts. A number, although not exhaustive, of these are summarised in Table 1.2 overleaf. Evidently, a large proportion of the studies in Table 1.2 pay particular attention to the perspectives of local people in relation to social-cultural impacts, with few focusing upon the tourist's perspective. Furthermore, an important observation to note here is that the nature of enquiry of the majority of those studies that fundamentally seek to establish attitudes and perceptions towards tourism *development*.

Table 1.2: Social-cultural Impact Studies of Tourism

Authors	Resident Focused	Tourist Focused	Study Area	Theory
Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, (2005)	Yes	-	Arizona, USA	Attitude Measurement
Belisle & Hoy, (1980)	Yes	-	Santa Marta, Colombia	Perceptions
Brougham & Butler, (1981)	Yes	-	Isle of Skye	Perceptions
Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma & Carter, (2007)	Yes	-	Sunshine Coast, Australia	Perceptions
Getz, (1994)	Yes	-	Scotland	Attitude Measurement
Gunce, (2003)	Yes	-	Northern Cyprus	Attitude Measurement
Huh & Vogt, (2008)	Yes	-	Alaskan Island	Attitude Measurement
Liu & Var, (1986)	Yes	-	Hawaii	Attitude Measurement
Mura & Lovelock, (2009)	Yes	Yes	Sydney	Perceptions
Nepal, (2008)	Yes	-	British Columbia, Canada	Attitude Measurement
Pérez & Nadal, (2004)	Yes	-	Balearic Islands, Spain	Perceptions
Pizam, (1978)	Yes	-	Cape Cod, Massachusetts	Attitude Measurement
Pizam & Jeong, (1996)	-	Yes	Korea	Behaviour
Pizam & Sussmann, (1995)	-	Yes	London	Behaviour
Pizam, Uriely & Reichel, (1999)	-	Yes	Israel	Social relationships
Prentice, (1993)	Yes	-	Porthmadog, North Wales	Perceptions
Reisinger & Turner, (2002)	Yes	Yes	Gold Coast, Australia	Tourist-host Interaction
Ritchie & Inkari, (2006)	Yes	-	Southern England	Attitude Measurement
Sheldon & Var, (1984)	Yes	-	Gwynedd, North Wales	Attitude Measurement
Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejia & Bueno, (2009)	Yes	-	Huelav, Spain	Attitude Measurement
Wang & Pfister, (2008)	Yes	-	Washington, North Carolina	Attitude Measurement
Williams & Lawson, (2001)	Yes	-	New Zealand	Perceptions
Zamani-Farahani & Musa (2008)	Yes	-	Masooleh, Iran	Attitudes and Perceptions

Importantly, however limited research has been carried out in the area of social interaction within cross-cultural settings, particularly within the tourism context. In other words, little research has been undertaken into how tourist-host interaction may be influenced by the cultural background of both tourists and local people in destinations. This is not to say that this important area of study has been overlooked completely. For example, of the few studies that focus on social interaction, national cultures were found to have an important effect on tourist behaviour (Pizam & Jeong, 1996; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995) and that rules of social behaviour related to cultural background determined the patterns and depth of social interaction (Triandis, 1977). Yet, despite these early findings of the influence of national cultures upon tourist behaviours and, implicitly, the potential effects within the social interpersonal relationship, there still remains a gap in the tourism literature with respect to what may be described as nationalistic determinants within social interaction settings. Putting it another way, few if any attempts have been made to identify the extent to which encounters between tourists and local people may be influenced by their respective national cultural determinants or, more specifically, nationalism. The distinction between nationality and nationalism will be explored in more depth in Chapter Three but the point here is that such a lack of research is, perhaps surprising given not only the importance placed on national cultures and the effect on tourist behaviour by earlier research, but also the fact that international tourism (and hence, encounters between tourists and hosts of different nationalities) continue to increase.

From existing research, it is recognised that the issue of nationality is a factor that accounts for differences in tourist behaviour. Residents in destinations where the majority of tourists are foreigners tend to differentiate tourists by nationality and perceive tourists to be very different from themselves with respect to general behaviour

and attitudes (Boissevian & Inglott, 1979; Brewer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995). These differences in rules of behaviour, as differentiated by nationality, may undoubtedly cause tourist and host interaction difficulties. Yet, to date, no study has been undertaken to explore the extent to which nationality / nationalism might influence the nature of tourist-host interaction. The purpose of this thesis is to address this gap in the literature. Specifically, it seeks to answer the question: to what extent does the influence of nationalism have on tourist-host relationships?

It is important to note that, as Dann (1993) argues, the use of nationality as a sole variable for explaining differences in the behaviour of tourists has a number of limitations. Firstly Dann suggests that it may be difficult to establish the nationality of tourists when they possess multiple nationalities or where their country of birth is different from their 'nationality'. A specific point Dann makes here is that the Welsh, English and Scots have a common nationality – as British. However, McCrone and Keily (2000) observe that nationality does not necessarily share a commonality between the Scottish and Welsh. Furthermore, Bechhofer *et al* (1999:518) suggest 'being English, Scottish and Welsh expresses *national* identity' whilst McIntosh *et al* (2004) add that perhaps the 'English' continue to be the 'Other' which defines what it means to be Scottish or Welsh (Pitchford, 1995; see also Bauman, 1991; Cohen, 1985, 1994, De Beauvoir, 1978; Levinas, 1998; Miles, 1989). Hence, for around a fifth of the population of Britain, the idea of nationality would be as Scottish or Welsh (McCrone & Keily, 2000).

The second point Dann makes is that the importance of nationality is dwindling as a result of a new political order forming throughout the world. Yet it could be argued here that it is precisely because of political manoeuvres that the consideration of nationality

has become more recently emphasised. For example, in 2005 the 'Life in the UK' British citizenship test was introduced for 'foreigners' to become naturalised as 'British' and to obtain a British passport (Home Office Advisory Group, 2007). Those wishing to seek 'naturalisation' must complete, and ultimately 'pass', the test, the nature of which asks participants questions based upon the society, history and culture of Britain (Danzelman, 2010). Moreover, it has been suggested that, in an alleged post-modern world, the de-differentiation of local structures and institutions has encouraged a focus on re-affirming national cultures and identity (Sharpley, 2008).

Within Britain the issues of nationality, national identity and citizenship have, perhaps, also attracted further interest as a result of relatively recent sovereignty changes: the formation of the Welsh Assembly Government; a new Parliament for Scotland; and Britain as a member of the developing European Union. Cohen (1994) has described the issue of British nationality as 'fuzzy' for the island's external relations.

> British identity shows a general pattern of fragmentation. Multiple axes of identification have meant that Irish, Scots, Welsh and English people…even 'Aliens' have had their lives intersect one with another in overlapping and complex circles of identity-construction and rejection. The shape and edges of British identity are thus historically changing, often vague and to a degree, malleable – an aspect of the British identity I have called a 'fuzzy frontier'. (Cohen, 1994: 35).

It has long been a tradition whereby the terms 'English' and 'British' were seen as synonymous and that Britain was in fact England (Aslet, 1997; McCrone & Kiely, 2000; Palmer, 2005; Weight, 2002). Indeed, Haseler (1996) argues that Englishness has assumed the role of a state-sponsored ideology where English markers of identity have come to represent the uniform identity of the British nation. Storry and Childs (1997)

add weight to this by observing that, within tourism, these English markers tend to dominate. For example, Sir Winston Churchill's former dwelling, 'Chartwell', has been transformed into a metaphor for the whole of the nation [Britain] (Palmer, 2005), yet there is no clear dividing line between what constitutes Englishness and British-ness. It is not surprising, then, that differences of identity create confusion about nationality. Anderson (1991), Nairn (1977) and Kammen (1991) argue that there exists a common urge to create a national identity to overcome diversity and difference within a nation. Nationalism is a concept which is based upon an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991: 6) and the role that tourism plays in creating this 'imagined' community is clearly an influencing factor. The role of tourism in developing a nationality 'concept' will be covered more deeply in Chapters Two and Three. Nairn (1977) argues that the development of nationalism brings with it an attachment to custom and tradition '....drawing more deeply upon their indigenous resources, resurrecting past folk-heroes and myths about themselves and so on' (1977: 348). This attachment to tradition or, in other words heritage, representing a nation's past are an important element in the construction of a national identity (Johnson, 1995) with Lowenthal (1998) adding to this by suggesting 'Heritage…is the chief focus of patriotism' (1998: 2). One means of providing this sense of common heritage and providing a nation with history is through the provision of museums, and as Lenier and Ross (1996) suggest, 'Tourism, in effect, makes a place into a museum' (1996: 374). Similarly, MacCannell (1973) observed that tourism provides a nation with a medium through which to broadcast a message about its history and culture, and perhaps, identity. One point that is not made particularly clear by MacCannell, however, is whether this refers to the tourist receiving destination communicating this identity though contemporary marketing methods or if, in fact, this refers to the meeting points of both receiving and generating tourism nations of host

communities and tourists. As already noted, no study has been undertaken into the nationalistic determinants of social interaction.

This is particularly so in the case of tourism of British home nations and, more significantly, of English tourists and Welsh hosts. Establishing whether and how nationalism plays a part within these relationships may determine what policies or practices may need refining in enhancing the quality of life for residents and maintaining positive tourist experiences, thus ensuing the sustainability of the attractiveness of the region and maintaining tourist interest.

1.2 Research Aim, Questions and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis, therefore, is to build a theoretical bridge between the principles and practice of tourist-host relationships and the broader framework of the social impacts resulting from tourism. In so doing, it introduces a more solid, theoretical foundation to the nationalism and tourist-host relationships debate whilst addressing a notable gap in the relevant literature. Thus the primary focus of this thesis is the debate surrounding nationalism and its influence upon the interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between host communities and tourists. Its principal aim is to establish the influence nationalism has on interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts. The research aim, question and objectives are outlined in Table 1.3 overleaf.

Table 1.3: Research Aim, Question and Objectives

Research Aim	To establish the influence nationalism has on interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts. Establishing if nationalism plays a part within these relationships will determine what policies or practices may need refining or defining in order to facilitate effective tourist-host relationships.
Research Question	What effects do nationalistic determinants have on tourist-host relationships, particularly in the context of British home countries?
Research Objectives	1. To explore contemporary aspects of nationalism and *tourist – host* experiences and meanings. 2. To explore residents' and tourists' *subjectivities* towards national identities, culture and tourism. 3. To synthesise potential relationships between *English tourists and Welsh hosts* and the contemporary consumption of tourism. 4. To apply the theme of *nationalism* to the analysis of tourist-host subjectivities in relation to social interactivities in order to generate theoretical frameworks for tourism policy and management within Britain.

Differences in rules of behaviour, as differentiated by nationality, may undoubtedly cause tourist and host interaction difficulties. But also if, on the other hand, local residents were to collaborate with tourists within tourist-host interactions then questions may also arise as to how the realities of host and guest run together without one destroying the other.

Thus, this research arises from a simple, yet fundamental interest in the social reality of 'national belonging' (Bond, 2006: 611), and how nationalistic characteristics not only manufacture themselves within contemporary society but also how interactions and relationships where 'difference' are contemplated, with one such example being the relationships within tourist-host interactions.

1.3   Thesis Structure

The thesis is presented in seven chapters, with each chapter focussing on one or more of the study objectives. Furthermore, the thesis is essentially structured into two sections. In the first section, Chapters Two, Three, and Four develop, through a review of the relevant literatures, a theoretical link between nationalism and tourism within tourist-host relationships, as well as discussing the methodological underpinning of the research. More specifically, Chapter Two presents the broad background and foundation of the thesis, exploring definitions of tourism and the role tourism has on social movements. The broader issues of tourism development are considered and the subsequent impacts associated with the activity of tourism are explored. The chapter then goes on to focus upon the characteristics of social contact, whilst developing this theme further by exploring tourist and host social interaction. Chapter Three explores the concept of nationalism. An analysis of the distinctions of nationality and nationalism provides a foundation upon which the concepts of nation and national identity are appraised and themes and issues relating to nationalism are considered. Finally, Chapter Three presents a theoretical 'bridge' between tourism and nationalism. Chapter Four introduces the case study (Bala, North Wales) where the validity of the theoretical

arguments in the preceding chapters is tested, and 'concludes' the first section of the thesis.

The second section of the thesis details the empirical research into tourist-host relationships, in so doing drawing upon the broader theoretical underpinning developed in the chapters within the first section of the thesis. Chapter Five, then, begins the second section of the thesis and explains the methodological perspective and approach to the study where the validity of the theoretical arguments in the preceding chapters is tested. Chapter Six provides the results and analysis of the research which subsequently informs the discussion of the characteristics of the interaction of 'guests' and local people in Bala. Finally, Chapter Seven presents the main conclusions from the study. Figure 1.1 overleaf outlines the overall thesis structure.

Chapter One	Introduction: Nationalism and Tourist-Host Research

SECTION ONE

Chapter Two	Tourism: Themes, Issues and Consequences

Chapter Three	Nationalism: Themes, Issues and Concepts

Chapter Four	Croeso i Gymru or Neighbours from Hell?

SECTION TWO

Chapter Five	Methodology

Chapter Six	Analysis of Findings & Discussion: English Tourists and Welsh Hosts Relationships

Chapter Seven	Conclusions

References

Appendices

Figure 1.1: Overall Thesis Structure

1.4   Chapter One Summary

To summarise, then, tourism is a social phenomenon. It involves the movement of people to other places, and their interaction with local people in those places. Not only is this interaction between tourists (or 'guests') and local people ('hosts') a fundamental element of the tourist experiences; the nature of such interaction may influence, in turn, the nature of the tourist experience and, ultimately, the future development of tourism in the destination. Therefore understanding interaction processes and influences of tourist-host interaction is fundamental to the planning and development of tourism. However, although significant academic attention has been paid to the form, function and outcome of tourist-host encounters, relatively little research has been undertaken into the underpinning influences of the nature of the encounter. In particular, the ways in which nationalism (and nationality) provides a cultural framework for defining the interactions between tourist and local people remains under-researched.

The purpose of this thesis is to address the gap in knowledge. Based upon a case study of Bala, in North Wales, it sets out to identify and critically appraise the influence of nationalism on encounters between English 'guests' and Welsh 'locals'. In so doing, it seeks to enhance knowledge and understanding of tourist-host interaction. The first task, then, is to review the relevant literature with respect to both tourism and nationalism as the over-arching conceptual framework for the subsequent research. This is the focus of the following two chapters.

Chapter Two

Tourism:
Themes, Issues & Consequences

Chapter Two

2.1   Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the potential influences of nationalism within tourist-host interpersonal relationships. In other words, although significant academic attention has been paid to the form, function and outcome of tourist-host encounters, relatively little research has been undertaken into the underpinning influences of the nature of the encounter. In particular, as already noted, no specific study has been undertaken into the nationalistic determinants of social interaction. The purpose of the first part of this thesis is, therefore, to outline the underpinning literature within the domains of tourism, more specifically tourist-host relationships, and nationalism. The subject area of nationalism in itself is broad and far reaching, and thus only those areas considered salient to the research within the nationalism domain will be reviewed. In so doing, it introduces a more solid, theoretical foundation to the nationalism and tourist-host relationships debate whilst addressing a notable gap in the relevant literature.

For this study, the perceptions of tourists' and hosts' experiences within social interactions with one another are investigated. More specifically, the influences of nationalism within these social settings are examined. Therefore, this chapter commences with an overview of tourism, both in terms of defining tourism as an 'activity' and thus, tourists as participants in this activity, but also in terms of tourism as an 'industry'. The growth and development of tourism will be considered, and the subsequent 'impacts' associated with this will be reviewed. For instance, the economic significance of tourism to destinations will be discussed, along with a necessarily brief

acknowledgement of the environmental consequences that may result from the development of tourism.

As explained in the introductory chapter, this thesis focuses upon tourism interactions between hosts and tourists within the setting of Britain. In particular, it is concerned with the interpersonal relationships that occur at the points of contact between Welsh hosts and English tourists and, as such, it examines the concept of social contact and the rules governing social interaction. The elements and characteristics of this tourist-host contact are explored in more detail in this chapter. Additionally, it will be necessary to incorporate the concept of cultural contact as part the discussion surrounding the concept of social contact. Furthermore, issues regarding stereotyping and nationality are identified and examined in relation to tourist-host relationships. These are of particular relevance given that the study considers the responses and issues of local people towards tourism and, more notably, how residents 'cope' with the presence of tourists, but also importantly, how tourists 'cope' in the presence of residents.

2.2   Defining Contemporary Tourism.

Tourism can be thought of as a system (Leiper, 1990; Mill and Morrison, 1998; Farrell and Twining-Ward, 2004) consisting of an enormous variety of individuals, businesses, organisations and places which combine in some manner to deliver what is essentially a 'travel experience' (Ryan, 2002). This element of 'travel' is, in essence, the movement of people within and to alternative locations and destinations. Fundamentally, then, tourism is a social phenomenon. Described by Lett (1989: 277) as the 'single largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world', it is about millions of people who travel either within their own country or across international borders, whose behaviour and perceptions are influenced by their own

experience and culture, and who experience and interact with other peoples and cultures. As Sharpley (2008: 1-3) summarises, tourism is about people who, through their contact and interaction with other people and places, have experiences 'that may influence their own or the host community's attitudes, expectations, opinions and, ultimately, lifestyles.'

At the same time, of course, tourism is an economic phenomenon. That is, tourism as a social activity is largely dependent upon the provision of a wide variety of goods and services that enable people to travel, to stay in destinations and to participate in activities during their stay. Indeed, the growth of international tourism, particularly since the 1960s, has to a great extent been driven by the emergence of an innovative and sophisticated tourism 'industry' which has become one of the world's largest economic sectors. For example, in 2009 international tourism alone generated US$852 billion in export earnings (UNWTO 2011a) and, as considered in more detail shortly (Section 2.5.2), the perceived economic benefits of tourism are a principal reason for its promotion and development. Thus, tourism is a multi-dimensional, multifaceted activity which touches many lives (a social phenomenon) and involves many different economic activities (an economic phenomenon) in both the tourist generating and destination regions within the tourism system (Figure 2.1). Each element of this system interacts with other elements not only to produce / deliver the tourism product, but also to create social transactions and impacts, the central theme of this thesis.
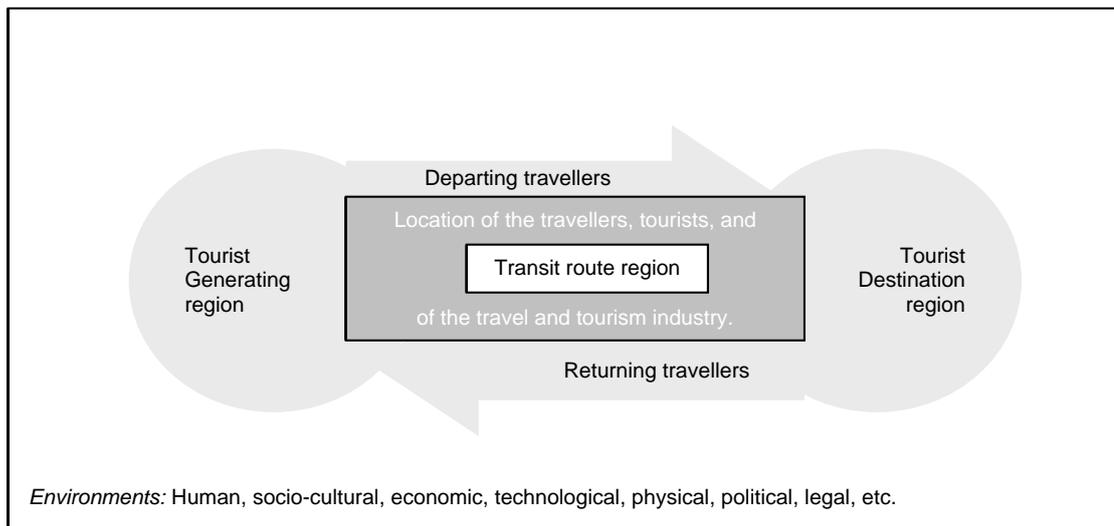
Figure. 2.1: A basic tourism system. *Source:* Leiper (1990)

The complexity of these 'multi' components of the tourism system has ensured that

tourism has long proved difficult to define. Although some suggest that the word

'tourist' first appeared in the English language in the early nineteenth century (Feifer,

1985), there still remains little consensus amongst scholars with regards to a definition

of tourism. Indeed, some suggest that tourism can no longer be defined as a separate,

identifiable social practice; that is, the concept of mobility (the increasingly widespread

movement of people, information, capital and material goods) is considered a defining

characteristic of contemporary society and tourism is 'increasingly being interpreted as

but one, albeit highly significant, dimension of temporary mobility' (Hall, 2005: 21).

Given the complex nature of tourism, this lack of an agreed definition is, perhaps,

unsurprising although it may also be seen as reflecting the relative infancy of the field

of tourism research (Cooper, *et al*., 2008; Sharpley, 2009). Certainly, there is limited

evidence of a coherent approach to defining tourism; over the years, a number of

definitions have emerged and have tended to be created to meet particular needs and

situations. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to define tourism which, in essence,

capture either the 'essential nature' or 'technical' (Burkhart & Medlik, 1981)

characteristics of tourism. For example, Mathieson and Wall (1992) refer to the 'nature' of the movement of people as a defining characteristic of tourism, whereas Kelley (1985) identifies the 'technical' element of engaging in a form of activity, for example, a purpose. Conversely, Shaw and Williams (1994) incorporate, perhaps, both the naturalistic and technical elements in their definition of tourism - a stay that takes place outside the home environment (nature) within a certain time frame (technical element). These differing elements are categorised by Burkhart and Medlik (1981: 41-43) as *technical* and *conceptual* definitions. On the one hand, technical definitions attempt to identify different types of tourism activities and tourists, generally for the measurement of economic activity or for legal purposes, whereas, on the other hand, conceptual definitions are concerned with attempts to identify the function and meaning of tourism as a social activity (Sharpley, 2009). Thus, technical and conceptual categories of definitions are, in effect, contrasting views and represent two poles on a definitional continuum (Buck, 1978).

This wide variety of definitions and descriptions attached to the term tourism reflects, in part, the 'abstract nature of the concept of tourism' (Burns & Holden, 1995: 5) and attempts to define tourism have not escaped criticism; as Smith (1989: 33) observes 'defining tourism in terms of the motivations or other characteristics of travellers would be like trying to define healthcare professions by describing a sick person'. Moreover, to complicate matters further, there has been a shift in emphasis in the development towards definitions with respect to the 'supply' side and 'demand' side of tourism, more or less representing the tourism system. However, both supply-side and demand-side definitions still incorporate elements of technical and conceptual definitions to enable measurement and clarification. An example of a 'supply' side definition is suggested by Leiper (1979: 400): 'The tourist industry consists of all those firms, organisations and

facilities which are intended to serve the specific needs and wants of tourists', a definition that places emphasis on the services associated with the activity of tourism. One notable omission from the 'supply' side of definitions is that of the role of communities within destinations. It is argued here, and will be discussed further later in this chapter, that the 'host community' is a fundamental element of the tourism 'industry' but one that is frequently overlooked as an important 'facility' in providing services for tourists.

Conversely, an example of a 'demand' side tourism definition is provided by the World Tourism Organization (WTO, more recently renamed the UNWTO) and the United Nations Statistical Commission (UNSTAT). They define tourism as: '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' (WTO and UNSTAT, 1994). Here, clear emphasis is placed on the travellers and, helpfully, definitions of who is or who is not a tourist are provided (Table 2.1).

However, it is evident from the literature concerned with defining 'tourism' that, whilst perceptions of what constitutes tourism activity are provided by either the academic community or industry related agencies, there is a lack of understanding of what constitutes 'tourism' from the participants' (that is, tourists themselves) perspective. It remains uncertain, for example, what the perceptions are of those engaged in the activity of 'tourism' with respect to what tourism 'is'. Yet it could be argued that definitions of tourism fundamentally rely upon the perceptions of the participant – for example, 'tourism' may be perceived by one as 'recreation' and as 'work' by another.

Table 2.1: Technical definitions of tourists

To be included in tourism statistics		Not to be included in tourism statistics
Category	*Purpose*	*Category*
Tourists:	holidays	Border workers
non-residents	business	Transit passengers
nationals resident	health	Nomads
abroad	study	Refugees
crew members	meetings/missions	Members of armed forces
	VFR	Diplomats
Excursionists:	religion	Temporary immigrants
cruise passengers	sport	Permanent immigrants
day visitors	others	
crews		

*Source***:** adapted from WTO and UNSTAT (1994)

The inclusion of 'leisure' within the WTO/UNSTAD (1994) definition of tourism undoubtedly reflects popular understandings or interpretations of tourism; business travellers are, for example, unlikely to think of themselves as 'tourists', nor are leisure tourists likely to think of business travellers as tourists. Equally, however, it implies that not only is leisure intrinsic to tourism but that, as a consequence, the activity of tourism is, itself, leisure time factored (Roberts, 2004). This further complicates the task of defining tourism for not only are the elements within the tourism system interlinked, as identified earlier, but tourism may also be closely related to other activities and concepts including, of course, leisure. The leisure concept is, perhaps, even more problematic to define than tourism, as leisure embraces a multitude of constructs which are possibly understood in quite different ways by each and every individual. Leisure researchers provide a plethora of early definitions and conceptualisations (see Clawson & Knetsch, 1974; Godbey & Parker, 1976; Jansen-Verbeke & Dietvorst, 1987; Kaplan, 1960; Lynch & Veal, 1996; Neumeyers, 1958; Pieper, 1952; Torkildsen, 2000) of what might constitute leisure, yet others (Gratton & Taylor, 1985; Neulinger, 1982) argue that there are no clear objective definitions of leisure as it fundamentally relies upon the

perceptions of the participant – what may be considered leisure time to one may be perceived as a constraint to another. Nevertheless, a clear commonality emerging from attempts to theorise the leisure concept suggests that leisure is associated with 'free' time, however it may be undertaken or perceived. In other words, this 'free' (from constraints or obligations) time provides opportunities for people to do things for pleasure, for 'intrinsic satisfaction' (Roberts, 2004: 3). One way in which people may use this 'free time' for personal pleasure is to go on holiday or trip. Thus, in this context, tourism is associated with the use of 'free' time, but not necessarily 'free' of cost. Tourism, then, is fundamentally a part of the leisure 'industry'.

Furthermore, tourism is frequently associated with recreation; recreation is considered a key element of tourism as tourist activity essentially takes place also for the purposes of personal pleasure and satisfaction. Two terms often used indiscriminately, although closely related, are 'leisure' and 'recreation'. An early simple distinction identifies leisure with time and recreation with activity (Pigram & Jenkins, 1999). Recreation pursuits are undertaken voluntarily purely for pleasure and satisfaction, during leisure time. Cushman and Laidler (1990: 2) suggest that recreation 'can also be seen as a social institution, socially organised for social purposes'. In this instance it is argued here that like tourism, recreation is a social phenomenon - it is a socially *constructed* phenomenon.

Tourism then is, first and foremost, a social activity and without the ability to or desire amongst people to travel from one place to another, tourism would simply not exist as an entity. However, as noted earlier, tourism is also a service activity and, without the provision of transport, accommodation, attractions, businesses and the like, the majority of people would simply not be able to participate in tourism to the extent that they

nowadays do (Sharpley, 2008). Put more simply, the two are inextricably linked: to travel, people require the services of the travel 'industry' and the continued provision of these services requires people to travel.

At the same time, however, touristic forms have undergone considerable change within the context of globalization, concomitant with theoretical shifts towards postmodern conceptualizations of tourism (Meethan, 2001; Urry, 1990, 2002; Uriely, 2005). Leisure travel has continued to grow in volume and intensity and, as such, has brought about rethinking with regards the impact of tourism on people's lives in modern societies (McCabe, 2005). Evident in this work are post-modern accounts of a de-differentiation between the conceived discrete spheres of life, work and leisure, the mundane and extraordinary, everyday reality and touristic reality (Lash & Urry, 1994; Rojek, 1995; Rojeck & Urry, 1997).

Furthermore, tourism activity is now recognized as being crucially linked to identity in many nuanced ways, for instance in the context of national identity (Palmer, 1999, 2005); social identity (Desforges, 2000), theoretical concept of self (Wearing & Wearing, 2001) and in the context of members' language practices (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004). Fundamentally then, tourism is a multidimensional, multifaceted activity which has the potential to touch upon many individuals. For the purposes of this thesis therefore, the activity of tourism will be considered as: all aspects of the visitor experience, whether on a day trip, a short holiday, or indeed, a long holiday and visiting for leisure or business.

2.3 Who is a Tourist?

Similar to the issues associated with defining the activity of tourism, there is no single definition of 'the tourist' or indeed 'who is a tourist?' (Cohen, 1972: 527). There exists a diverse array of definitions and denominations in respect of tourists (see Cohen, 1972; 1974; Crick, 1989; Frechtling, 1976; Plog, 1973; Pearce, 1982; Smith, 1989). Definitions have, over time, evolved with the increased interest in tourism research and vary according to particular concerns or perspective of the individual researcher. For example, Smith's (1989) typology of tourists is based upon tourist numbers and their relationship with the destination environment, reflecting her anthropological interest in the link between tourist type and the associated impacts on host communities (again, a core theme within this study). Conversely, the theoretical underpinning of Cohen's (1972, 1979) seminal work on tourist typologies is the sociological familiarity-strangerhood continuum. Cohen argues that the principal differentiating factor between tourists consists of the degree of familiarity-strangeness sought or experienced by people in a continuum of types of touristic experiences (Cohen, 1972: 177). In practice, tourists represent a heterogeneous, not homogeneous group with different personalities, demographics and experiences and therefore any attempt to 'type cast' tourists *per se* would be seen as an unrealistic proposition (Holden, 2000).

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) in 1933, as cited in Mathieson and Wall (1992: 10), defined the tourist as 'one who makes a tour or tours; especially one who does this for recreation; … one who visits a number of places for their objects of interest, scenery or the like.' In comparison, a more recent edition of the OED (1996) defines a tourist as 'a person making a visit or tour as a holiday; a traveller, especially abroad.' Frechtling's (1976) analysis of the literature of definitions for travel research outlined four basic principles associated with the term 'tourist': purpose of trip; mode of

transport; length of stay; and the distance travelled. Mathieson and Wall (1992) point

out that the purpose of the trip and mode of transport used are insufficient criteria for

contemporary definitions of the tourist. The principles of length of stay and distance

travelled tend to dominate other definitions, often depicting tourists' stay in excess of

twenty-four hours. The inclusion of the principle of length of stay may have

undoubtedly been influenced by a definition of tourism proposed in 1937 by a group of

statisticians at the League of Nations, in which a tourist was defined as someone who

travels for twenty four hours or more outside their normal country of residence

(Sharpley, 1998). However, one of the limiting factors of this definition was the

exclusion of domestic tourists – whose travel remained within their country of

residence. Similarly, the description of a 'visitor' given at the United Nations

conference on Travel and Tourism in 1963 also excluded the domestic 'visitor':

> any person visiting a country other than his usual place of residence, for any
> reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country
> visited (cited in Mathieson & Wall, 1992).

The distinction between domestic and international tourists is, in reality, beginning to

show signs of blurring in particular parts of the world (Cooper *et al*., 2008). For

example, within the European Union and, in particular, within Britain, the distinction

between international and domestic travel is increasingly unclear. With specific

reference to the focus of this thesis, a person travelling from England to Wales should

strictly be classed, in theoretical terms, as an international tourist, but in reality is likely

to be perceived (and, perhaps, statistically measured) as a domestic tourist.

In short, there are a number of ways in which tourists have been 'defined' within the

tourism literature. Briefly then, a tourist can be characterised through the act of

travelling or making a journey that starts and finishes in the same place (McCabe,

2009), or in other words, quite simply, making a 'visit'. For the purpose of this thesis, however, a tourist will be defined as:

A discretionary visitor, whose trip begins and ends at the same location.

2.4   Development of Tourism

Tourism as an activity has experienced unprecedented growth rates during the last half century (Cooper, *et al.,* 2008). International tourism alone has demonstrated remarkable growth over this period in terms of both arrivals and receipts (Table 2.2) and, although the average rate of growth has been declining (Table 2.3) - and despite a drop of some 4.2 percent in arrivals in 2009 - forecasts suggest that the volume and value of international tourism will continue to increase (WTO, 1998).

Table 2.2: International tourist arrivals and receipts, 1950-2008

Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)	Year	Arrivals (million)	Receipts (US$bn)
1950	25.3	2.1	1996	575.0	446.0
1960	69.3	6.9	1997	598.6	450.4
1965	112.9	11.6	1998	616.7	451.4
1970	165.8	17.9	1999	639.6	464.5
1975	222.3	40.7	2000	687.0	481.6
1980	278.1	104.4	2001	686.7	469.9
1985	320.1	119.1	2002	707.0	488.2
1990	439.5	270.2	2003	694.6	534.6
1991	442.5	283.4	2004	765.1	634.7
1992	479.8	326.6	2005	806.6	682.7
1993	495.7	332.6	2006	847.0	742.0
1994	519.8	362.1	2007	903.0	856.0
1995	540.6	410.7	2008	919.0	941.0

*Source***:** adapted from UNWTO data

Table 2.3: Tourism arrivals and receipts growth rates, 1950-2000

Decade	Arrivals (average annual increase %)	Receipts (average annual increase %)
1950-1960	10.6	12.6
1960-1970	9.1	10.1
1970-1980	5.6	19.4
1980-1990	4.8	9.8
1990-2000	4.2	6.5

*Source***:** adapted from (UNWTO 2011b)

Moreover, domestic tourism activity is thought to be between six to ten times greater than international tourism - globally, it is estimated that domestic tourist arrivals total some 3.5 billion (Bigano *et al*., 2007) - and although no data is available, it might be expected that growth rates similar to those in international tourism are being experienced in the domestic tourism domain.

Given the scale and, in particular, the continuing growth in tourism, it is not surprising that numerous destinations actively seek to attract tourism as it can play a significant and positive role in national, regional and local development (Jenkins, 1991; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002). Indeed, the developmental role of tourism has long been recognised and officially sanctioned:

> World tourism can contribute to the establishment of a new international economic order that will help eliminate the widening economic gap between developed and developing countries and ensure the steady acceleration of economic and social development and progress, in particular in developing countries (WTO 1980: 1).

In particular, tourism is frequently a fundamental element of the development policies of many less developed countries (Opperman & Chon, 1997; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008), though frequently as an option of 'last resort' (Lea 1988). However, in more marginal

places within the developed world, tourism is also widely seen as an option for industry-diversification and for facilitating the transition from an agriculture-based economy toward a service industry (Buhalis, 1999; Hohl & Tisdell, 1995; Wanhill, 1997). Akin to any other form of industrial or economic development, therefore, tourism has the potential to provide opportunities for the inflow of capital and economic growth, to be a source of employment creation, and to contribute to increases in the population's overall wellbeing (Keller, 1987). As such, tourism has evolved into a powerful, world-wide economic force. Even with the recent global economic downturn, the tourism sector provided over 235 million jobs worldwide in 2009 (WTO, 2010) whilst, in 2010, the total economic contribution of tourism to the global economy was over $5,571 billion, with predictions of average annual growth of 4.4 percent by 2020 (WTO, 2010).

Inevitably, however, tourism does not represent a universal panacea to global development challenges and, frequently, its development and promotion fails to realise expected wider socio-economic benefits. A full consideration of the relationship between tourism and development is beyond the scope of this thesis (see, for example, Reid, 2003; Scheyvens, 2002; Sharpley 2009) but, nevertheless, it is important to note that the use of tourism as a potential development tool should be accompanied by a recognition of the possible consequences, not least the risk that development may eventually undermine the destination's attraction for tourism (Blomgren & Sorensen, 1998). Should the demand prove too great or be inadequately managed, then destinations that begin to prosper economically may become overcrowded, environmentally degraded or subject to pressure to modernise, thereby losing the very characteristics that encouraged their success in the first place.

However it is not only the environment that may be impacted. As is widely recognised, the development of tourism is also typically accompanied by a variety of economic and socio-cultural impacts; indeed, the rapid growth of tourism over recent decades has been mirrored by equally rapid growth in concern over the negative consequences of tourism development. These 'impacts' have long been considered in the literature (for example, Young, 1973; de Kadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Hickman 2007) and, for the purposes of this thesis, are reviewed briefly in the following sections.

2.5   Impacts of Tourism

As already noted in the previous section, the rapid growth in tourism may be viewed as a powerful and beneficial agent of economic change. But this rapid growth also raises many questions concerning the social and environmental desirability of encouraging further expansion of the tourism sector. For example, do the expenditures on tourist activities benefit the residents of destination areas? Do local authorities direct their development priorities to satisfy the needs of visitors to the area rather than residents? And, what is the saturation level beyond which further growth in visitor numbers creates more problems than benefits? In other words, tourism destinations often face what Telfer and Sharpley (2008) refer to as a tourism development 'dilemma', or the challenge of ensuring that the potential benefits of tourism are not outweighed by its negative consequences.

Environmental impact conclusions of any kind are extremely difficult to make (Wall & Wright, 1977) as many studies are post-tourism or activity, so it is almost impossible to reconstruct the environment minus the effects induced by visitors. Similarly, the social impacts of tourism are more difficult to measure than economic ones and include

differences in attitudes, perceptions, values and expectations of the visitor and host community. Environmental and social impacts may be viewed as both positive and negative, for instance a positive social impact maybe the preservation of local customs and traditions. Increased awareness and expenditure towards conservation issues may be regarded positively, but those viewed as negative include the displacement of wildlife and increased pollution and the social disruption of traditional values resulting in commercialisation of culture and staged authenticity.

2.5.1   Environmental Impacts

As indicated above, tourism can cause environmental damage because tourism is often developed in attractive but fragile environments (Holden, 2000; Mieczkowski, 1995). In addition, there is the possibility that local development policy becomes focused on meeting the needs of tourists, often without regard for the environment (Andereck *et al*, 2005). Furthermore, the industry may be unwittingly undermining itself by being insensitive to the environmental impacts it is causing (Doggart & Doggart, 1996). The environmental consequences of tourism development noted by Andereck (1995) relate to different types of pollution, such as air, water, and noise pollution, to wildlife disruption and destruction, and to the destruction of vegetation. Andereck (1995) also cites environmental consequences related to human disturbance. These include so-called architectural pollution, or inappropriately styled buildings which may impose on or destroy views; graffiti; and landscape erosion and vandalism. Conversely, much of the literature also reveals positive views on the part of residents with respect to the environmental impacts of tourism. For example, additional recreation and park areas, improved quality of roads and public facilities and enhanced community appearance may result from the development of tourism (Liu & Var, 1986; McCool & Martin, 1994; Perdue *et al*., 1990).

On the other hand, a number of studies reveal local concerns over the impact of tourism, including traffic problems (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Johnson *et al.*, 1994; King *et al*, 1991; Liu et *al.*, McCool & Martin, 1994; Reid & Boyd, 1991), litter (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Gilbert & Clark, 1997; Lankford, 1994), vandalism (Liu *et al*, 1999), overcrowding (Johnson *et al.*, 1994), pedestrian congestion (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Reid & Boyd, 1991); and parking problems (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997). In other words, it is evident that host communities may experience a variety of negative environmental impacts.

However, Mathieson and Wall (1992) remark that the negative physical effects of tourism are mostly the result of inadequate planning. Tourism is, essentially, an environmentally dependent activity (Mowl, 2002). Therefore, the maintenance of the environment is fundamental to the longer-term success of tourism both in situ and as an 'industry'. The relationship between tourism and environmental sustainability has been recognised as a 'prerequisite to optimising tourism's developmental potential' (Sharpley, 2009: 22) since the 1980s. Environmental impact assessment approaches to tourism development have led to a more realistic approach to balancing environmental sustainability with optimisation of the benefits to local communities, the tourism sector and the tourists themselves (Dowling, 1992). In other words 'attention turned to sustainable tourism development as a means of maintaining a balanced relationship between tourism and the environment upon which it depends' (Sharpley, 2009: 23).

2.5.2 Economic Significance and Impacts

This section outlines the economic significance of tourism as well as the economic impacts associated with the industry. Of the many well-meaning reasons put forward to

support the development of tourism, for instance hosting the Olympic Games, it is the economic benefits that provide the main driving force for tourism development (Sharpley, 2009). For example, the estimated potential tourism benefit from hosting the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympics Games is estimated to be worth £2.1bn between 2007 and 2017 (Deloitte, 2010) whilst, as previously noted, foreign exchange, income and employment generation can more generally be seen as major motivators for including tourism within development strategy, be it local, regional, national or international.

International tourism activity is often easier to measure than domestic tourism because it involves border procedures and currency exchange. In 2009, international visitors to the UK (including fares to UK carriers) spent £19.1 billion (Deloitte, 2010). However, domestic tourism spending is estimated to have been significantly greater, at around £70.8 billion, with the largest component being day visitors' expenditure, which reached £47.6 billion in 2009 (Deloitte, 2010). Thus, the economic impact resulting from tourism activity in a given area or locality may often be significant and communities within coastal, lake and mountain areas are often dependent on such business (Clawson & Knetsch, 1974). The amount of money spent in connection with tourism is growing although tourist expenditure can only be estimated with some degree of accuracy. Tourists spend their money on a wide range of goods and services provided by a wide range of businesses, therefore making it intricate and complex to 'track' expenditures.

Economic impact studies are a key tool in enhancing awareness of the role tourism has on regional or local economies as a contributor to economic development (Crompton & Lee, 2000). For instance, communities within the English Lake District are supported

substantially by income generated from the provision of tourism services, and tourism is a vital component to the locale rural economy (Higgins, 2000; Jarvie *et al.*, 1997). Many economies over the past few decades have experienced growth in their service sectors, despite the decline in more traditional agricultural or heavy industry sectors (Bristow, 2000).

The economic significance of tourism may be ascertained by two measures: in terms of the proportion of total global visitors attributable to individual countries, thereby assessing the relative importance of single countries in determining the volume of world travel; and/or in terms of the importance of tourist activity to the economy in each destination. Both of these can reveal how some countries may be extremely important as tourist generators and how others may be highly dependent upon the receipt of tourism activity. Britain, for instance, is currently ranked 7th as a top ranked tourist generating country with respect to tourist expenditure (VisitBritain, 2010).

The measurement of the economic impact of tourism is far more involved than simply calculating the level of tourist expenditure. Moreover, Archer (1996) argues that data on measuring the economic impact of tourism locally or regionally is problematic, as consumer expenditure in these areas rarely exists. Therefore, estimations of the economic impact of tourism based on tourist expenditure can be misleading and inaccurate. The measurement of the economic significance of tourism expenditure, if it is to be meaningful, must encompass the various effects of tourist spending as it impacts throughout the economy – that is, the direct, indirect, and induced effects, also known as the 'multiplier effect' (see Vaughan, 1985, 1987; Archer, 1972, 1973, 1973b, 1976, 1977, 1984; Archer *et al*, 1974; Edwards *et al*, 1976; Greenwood, 1973; Howarth & Howarth, 1981; Leontief, 1966; Pieda, 1994).

The direct effect of tourist expenditure is the value of tourist expenditure in supplying the 'front-line' goods or services, for example bed and breakfast accommodation. The indirect effects emerge when the organisations that directly receive the tourist expenditure also need to purchase goods and services from other sectors within the local economy, for instance, laundry services for 'front-line' accommodation services. Furthermore, the suppliers to these 'front-line' services will also need to purchase goods and services from other organisations, such as cleaning products in order to fulfil the laundry services, and so on.

Induced effects materialise as wages, salaries, profit, rent or interest to local residents employed or otherwise within the organisations during the direct and indirect rounds of expenditure. This additional local income will, in part, be re-spent within the local economy on goods and services, which ultimately generates yet further rounds of expenditure.

The economic significance of tourism on a host community is generally positive (Sharpley, 2007) although does carry with it some negative aspects. In general, the literature is biased towards the positive aspects of economic impacts (Gratton & Taylor, 1985; 2000), but it is important to establish how significant tourism spending is to an economy in order to determine the level of dependency and to inform any development. The relevance of economic impacts to this thesis is that the level of visitor expenditure may provide an indication to the extent of interaction between tourists and the host destination.

2.5.3   Social and cultural impacts

The growth of tourism provides enhanced opportunity for people to engage in, explore and experience new countries and new cultures (De Vito, 1992). The impact of social and cultural exchanges between tourists and local communities will affect the potential development of a destination, thus influencing the economic dependency on tourism to that destination. If tourists' experiences are enjoyable then it is likely they will want to return; however, if their experiences are not positive, then repeat visits are unlikely to occur (Harlark, 1994; Fagence, 1998; Reisinger & Turner, 2002). It is at the destination where primary interactions between tourists and local people, or 'hosts', take place and where social encounters occur. Of particular relevance to this study, certain situations may result in a 'hotbed of misunderstanding' (Hunter, 2001:46), which may result from a lack of knowledge on the part both host and guest about each others' traditions, national cultures, values, attitudes, and from misplaced expectations (Pearce, 1982). As explored later in this thesis, nationalism may be one source of such misunderstandings and misplaced expectations.

The social tourist-host encounter is influenced by a number of factors, including values (Feather, 1980), rules of behaviour (Triandis, 1977), attitudes and perceptions (Smith, 1957), or perceptions of costs and benefits derived from interaction (Ap, 1992). In a cross-cultural setting, when contact participants are members of different cultural groups, speak different languages, and have different values and perceptions of the world (Bochner, 1982; Sutton, 1967), the cultural factors tend to be the most influential upon the tourist-host encounter (Sutton, 1967; Taft, 1977). The influence of cultural factors on social interaction largely depends of the degree of cultural similarity or difference between tourists and hosts (Levine, 1976). Similarities in cultures are positively related to mutual attraction, liking, an increase in familiarity (Brewer &

Campbell, 1976), and social interaction. Any dissimilarity in cultures will, however, distort the meanings of people's behaviour (Triandis, 1977), lead to communication problems (Pearce, 1977, 1982) and, ultimately, inhibit social interaction (Robinson & Nemetz, 1988). Future contact may even be lost (Kamal & Maruyama, 1990).

The characteristics and dynamics of tourist-host encounters, as the principal focus of this thesis, are addressed in more detail later in this chapter. More generally, however, the social-cultural consequences or impacts of tourism may be defined, albeit somewhat simplistically, as the ways in which tourism affects the lives of local communities and people. These impacts are manifested broadly, from the production methods of arts and crafts to transformations in the fundamental behaviour of individuals and collective groups, and may often be positive. For example, studies have demonstrated how tourism preserves or even resurrects the traditional craft skills, or enhances cultural exchange between two distinct populations. However, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism may also be negative, such as commercialisation of the arts, crafts and events of the host population. Whilst positive benefits may exist economically and culturally, should tourist numbers increase drastically then daily resident lifestyles may be severely disrupted, thus creating predominantly negative social impacts (Reid & Boyd, 1991). Tourists may then be seen by local residents as intruders, potentially resulting in host hostility and social dissension (Reid & Boyd, 1991). Additionally, the host community may hold preconceived ideas about international visitors (Sheldon & Var, 1984) which, though perhaps based on very limited information, may nevertheless influence their behaviour towards tourists. This altering of behaviour towards tourists may mean that tourists visiting a region for culture and heritage may never actually experience the real culture, as traditional ways of life may be abandoned for the sake of tourism (Kroker *et al.*, 1990).

A prominent feature of the literature on social and cultural impacts, as highlighted in Table 1.2 in Chapter One (page 3), is the relative lack of research focused on the perceptions of the impact of tourism on and from the *tourist* population. In contrast, the tourism literature focusing on host communities is relatively substantial. Butler (1974), for example, acknowledges attitudinal and behavioural responses to the effects of tourism on community cultures, ranging from strong support to aggressive opposition, whilst Dogan (1989) provides a typology of strategies adopted by communities for coping with the effects of tourism in the context of developing countries. His typology draws upon a range of specific case studies by Buck (1978), Esman (1984), Greenwood (1989), and Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987). Models have also been developed to evaluate relationships between resident values, attitudes and behavioural intentions in relation to tourism development (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Feather, 1994; Fredline & Faulkner, 1998; 2000; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2003; Homer & Kahle, 1988; Heaven *et al.*, 1994; Kristiansen & Matheson, 1990; McCarty & Shrum, 1994; Maio & Olson 1994; 1995). Other studies, such as those by Ap (1992), Ap and Crompton (1983), Brown and Giles (1994), Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988), Long, Perdue and Allen (1990), Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1991) Ritchie and Inkari (2006) have examined the idea of segmenting residents of tourist areas by their attitudes and behaviour to tourism impacts in more developed destinations, forming part of the growing literature examining resident perception studies more generally (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Perez & Nadal, 2004; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Doxey, 1975; Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma & Carter, 2007; Getz, 1994; Johnson, Snepenger & Akis, 1994; King, Pizam & Millman, 1993; Liu & Var, 1986; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Prentice, 1993; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Williams & Lawson, 2001).

There is a tendency within the literature to view social and cultural impacts as a combined effect. This would, perhaps, seem logical given the fact that sociological and cultural effects overlap to a large extent. There is also a tradition of examining the social-cultural impacts of tourism purely in terms of the contact that takes place between the host and tourist populations. This approach is not without its critics (for example, Cooper *et al*, 2008) who argue that a 'true' social-cultural impact of tourism is far-reaching and encompasses effects in a manner similar to economic impacts. Whilst this may indeed be the case, it is nevertheless argued that in order to question, explain and understand the dynamics of the interpersonal relationships between tourist and hosts in relation to examining a unique area of inquiry, such as nationalistic influences (Sutton, 1967), focusing specifically on tourist-host social contact is considered absolutely essential.

This present study recognises that tourism is a social and cultural phenomenon and that interpersonal relationships play an important part in the tourist experience (Murphy, 2000). Moreover, the richness of the interaction between host communities and tourists provides the destination with attractiveness for future tourism. However, limited research has been carried out in the area of social interaction in cross-cultural settings, in particular within the tourism context. More specifically, no literature exists that specifically focuses on the nationalistic determinants of social interaction within tourism of British home nations and more significantly of English tourists and Welsh hosts. Therefore, in exploring the potential influence of nationalism on tourist-host encounters, it is important to consider social contact as a conceptual framework.

2.6   Social Contact

The concept of social contact is, at best, complex and it is variously defined. Cook and Sellitz (1955), for example, suggest that social contact may refer to the:

> Personal association taking place under certain circumstances; or to the interaction which covers a wide range of behaviours from observation of members of the other group without any communication, to prolonged intimate association (Cook & Sellitz, 1955: 52).

Social contact can refer to a multitude of different experiences taking place in a multitude of different situations (Cook & Sellitz, 1955). For example, social contact can take place within the work situation, the residential neighbourhood and between children and adults, and so forth (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). According to Bochner (1982), each social contact is personal, always occurs between a minimum of two people, and is often referred to as an interpersonal encounter with other people. Murphy (2000) defined social contact as the everyday encounter with other people. Each social contact has the potential to be positive, negative or superficial (Fridgen, 1991). Additionally, it is argued here that social contact can also be pre-arranged (initiated), incidental, inevitable or invited.

Within the literature, two levels of social contact have been identified: co-presence and focused-interaction (Murphy, 2000). Co-presence contact refers to the minimum level of social interaction, which occurs 'when two or more individuals signal (though their bodily and facial movements, and the use of space) their awareness of one another's presence and their accessibility to one another'. Focused-interaction occurs 'when people gather together and cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention as in conversation, games, and transaction in shops' (Murphy, 2000: 51). Additionally, Murphy adds that 'the co-presence may or may not lead to focused interaction in the form of conversation' (ibid: 51).

The effectiveness of social contact 'encounters' is largely reliant upon the skills of individuals to engage in social interaction and to determine the degree of difficulty the participant has in social interaction. Thus, those who are 'socially' skilled can interact more smoothly, although Argyle *et al.,* (1981) argue that other factors are also fundamental in influencing any social interaction. Their Analysis of Social Situations theory incorporates nine features of social interaction influences and provides a framework for the analysis social contact. These are shown in Table 2.4 below.

Table 2.4: Fundamental factors that influence social interaction

Analysis of Social Situations Theory		
1	Goals	The purposes that direct and motivate social interaction
2	Rules	Shared beliefs that regulate social interaction and generate actions
3	Roles	Duties, obligations or rights of the social position or the contact participants
4	Repertoire	- of elements, the sum of appropriate verbal and non-verbal behaviour
5	Sequences	- of behaviour, specific order of actions needed to behave effectively
6	Concepts	Elements individuals need to possess to behave effectively in situations
7	Environmental	- setting, in which the encounter occurs and consists of space and boundaries
8	Language	- and speech, how individuals understand to behave in the interaction
9	Difficulties	- and skills, social situations that require, perceptual, motor, memory, linguistic skills in order to be understood successfully

Source: adapted from Argyle, Furnham and Graham (1981)

However, what is not particularly clear is whether all of these influences need to be present simultaneously during social interaction or, indeed, how these influences are developed or 'matured'. One might also argue that, ultimately, it would depend upon the desire of the participants within social contact settings to either apply or comply with these influencing factors. Furthermore, the influencing factor associated with the concept of 'rules' of social interaction plays a central role in social relationships. Rules create a framework for stable relationships by coordinating behaviour and avoiding conflict (Argyle *et al.,* 1986). As such, they are worthy of attention and, therefore, the following section analyses their role in human interactions and, more specifically, the rules governing contact with strangers and differences in rules of social relationships

between cultures. Such an analysis will be useful for understanding and interpreting social interaction between tourists and hosts.

2.6.1   Rules of Social Interaction

The concept of 'rules' for social interaction has previously generated wide academic interest (Berne, 1966; Garfinkel, 1967; Goffman, 1961, 1969; Harre, 1972, 1974; Harre & Secord, 1972; Kim & Gudykunst, 1988; Segal & Stacey, 1975; Toulmin, 1974). Harre and Secord (1972) define rules as directives for people's behaviour and guidelines for their actions. As such, rules apply to most social relationships; they indicate to participating persons what actions are appropriate or inappropriate in social interaction and how people 'ought' or 'ought not' to behave (Argyle & Henderson, 1985). Rules also define the responsibilities and obligations within a given social relationship (Kim & Gudykunst, 1988). Furthermore, Harre and Secord (1972) argue that 'knowing the rule…provides some ground for *expectations* one may have of the behaviour of other people…' (ibid: 182 – emphasis added). Kim (1988) defined rule as a system of 'expected' patterns of behaviour that serves to organise interaction between individuals in the host country. Since rules determine expectations of appropriate or inappropriate behaviours in a situation (Gudykunst *et al.,* 1988), rules are, it can be argued, future oriented and can provide predictions of behaviours (Moghaddam *et al.,* 1993). Furthermore, it is also argued that values also influence social interaction behaviours. The concept of values (Rokeach, 1973) guide interaction patterns and can prescribe particular behaviours of individuals or groups (Samovar & Porter, 1988). Values are also related to 'rules' and can refer to desirable modes of interaction behaviour. In other words, values can determine rules of social behaviour. However, values are more personal and 'internalised' than rules and therefore not easily observed and can also be difficult to interpret and translate into different languages.

The development of rules enables understandings of events, actions and behaviours help define the meaning of a situation and behaviour within that situation. Furthermore, rules also enable harmony of interaction within social relationships (Moghaddam *et al.,* 1993), satisfaction with interaction or indeed, as Goffman (1971) states, to achieve 'public order'. Thus 'without a knowledge of the rules, we cannot understand the intention and meaning of an act' (Noesjirwan & Freestone, 1979: 20) and, therefore, are unable to evaluate the behaviour of others. Behaviour that conforms to socially accepted and shared rules is more predictable and, therefore, definable (Shimanoff, 1980). However, rules are also conditional – that is they can be followed, broken (McLaughlin, 1984), modified or simply ignored.

A plethora of rule types exist within social interactions, which arguably can be considered as either implied or explicit, or specific or general. For instance, there are interpersonal rules and task rules and rules that prevent conflict. More simply stated, people should be nice to one another, help one another and should cooperate with one another (Pearce, 1988). As such, rules are important components of relationships (Argyle & Henderson, 1985), although the degree to which rules influence relationships can be dependent upon the type of social relationship. For example, within voluntary relationships there is less need for the behaviours to be regulated by explicit rules, as opposed to involuntary relations whereby there is a greater need for explicit rules to guide interactions (Kim, 1988; Moghaddam *et al.,* 1993). Tourist-host contact is considered to be a form of voluntary relationship (Reisinger & Turner, 2003) and, thus, implicit rules play a more important role in this contact (Kim, 1988; Moghaddam *et al.,* 1993). However, it is argued here that this is also due to the temporary nature of tourist-host contact.

Within the literature, it is proposed that rules that govern social situations and interactions are culturally determined or, as Kim (1988) suggests, provide 'rules of the game'. In other words, rules are patterned by underlying cultural values (Barth, 1986; Noesjirwan & Freestone, 1979). Different cultures have different rules of interaction, whilst the expectations and meanings of rules also differ across cultures. These differences include the ability and the desire to speak English (March, 1997). Therefore, rules that are socially accepted in one culture may have quite different meanings in another and, as a consequence, members of different cultures may misunderstand and misinterpret the rules of other cultures that can cause difficulty interacting leading to confusion, generating tension, and even conflict. This is specifically relevant to tourist-host contact. As Pearce (1982) identifies, many tourists and hosts report interaction difficulties due to cultural differences in rules of social interaction. These difficulties also occur because rules are not written but held unconsciously (Noesjirwan, 1978). Consequently, an investigation or measurement of the rules governing social contact with strangers such as 'foreigners' is important (Argyle *et al.,* 1986) and can facilitate the improvement of social relationships (Argyle, 1981) in tourism. Such an analysis is fundamental to understanding and interpreting social interaction between tourists and hosts. That is, knowledge of the influences on social relationships governing tourist-host interaction would be an important element for improving tourists' and hosts' relationships with each other. More specifically, knowledge of the culturally determined rules influenced by nationalistic determinants would also positively influence the tourists' and hosts' mutual perceptions.

2.6.2 Measuring Social Contact

There are a number of variables that can be used to measure social contact. For instance, Allport (1954) identified no less than 30 variables that can measure social contact, including the area (location) of contact, social atmosphere, status of the participants, and the culture of the individuals who are in contact. Cook (1962) suggested that social contact may be measured by analysing such aspects as the characteristics of the contact situation, contact participants, and their attitudes, requirements and expectations from the interpersonal interaction. It is also suggested that social contact should be measured by the number of people encountered and the status of individuals (Chadwick-Jones, 1962), nationalities (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967), the degree of intimacy (Goldsen *et al.,* 1956), or number of friends made (Vassiliou *et al.*, 1972). However, the most often used measurements of social contact are those summarised in Table 2.5 overleaf. Social contact has also been measured by the ability to speak a foreign language and, in particular, whether or not the English language was spoken in the home country (McAllister & Moore, 1991).

The concept of social contact can, of course, be applied in a tourism context. The nature of this social (touristic) interaction can be either: tourist-host, tourist-tourist, tourist-potential tourist, or tourist-provider contacts (Fridgen, 1991). However, criticisms of the 'measurement' of tourist-host contact are directed towards the notion that the key variable of contact between stranger and host is *not* the length of time a stranger spends in the host country or the purpose of visit, but the extent of stranger-host similarities or differences and the hosts' attitudes towards the stranger (Pitt-Rovers, 1968).

Table 2.5: Social Contact Measurement Techniques

	Social Contact Measures
Bale (1950)	Based on observation of interactions. Criticisms – difficult to apply in order to examine all possible types of interaction.
Triandis and Triandis (1960)	*Social Distance Scale* – measure of social contact between people of different cultural backgrounds.
Hall (1966)	*Social Distance Zones* – four physical social distance zones: intimate, personal, social, public.
Vassiliou *et al* (1972)	Social contact measure by number of *intimate* friends made: from several to no intimate friends.
Gudykunst (1979)	*Cross-Cultural Interaction Index* – measured amount and type of social interaction – inferring level of 'difficulty' in interacting with people from different cultures. *Potential for Cross-Cultural Interaction Index* – proportion of free time spent with people from different cultures, degree of difficulty in understanding cultures and number of hours spent together *Number of Cross-Cultural Friendships Index* *Cross-Cultural Attitude Index*
Feather (1980)	*Direct Measure* – Frequency of invitations to 'socially interact' *Indirect Measure* – Knowledge and use of the host language and perceived similarities and differences in characteristic and behaviours.
Bochner (1982)	*Variables* of cross-culture: who's territory the contact occurs; time span and frequency of interaction; purpose; degree of intimacy, status and power; characteristics.
Marsh and Henshall (1987)	Social contact measured by: scale, frequency and intensity of interaction, the person who chooses to interact; and style of interaction.
Black and Mendenhall (1989)	Social contact measured by: *Intensity* of social contact. e.g. routine verses unique, formal verses informal.
Kamal and Maruyama (1990)	*Direct Measure* – Amount of direct social contact *Indirect Measure* – Amount of indirect social contact Degree of Social interaction assessed by multiplying frequency of interaction, importance and nature of interaction.

The focus of this thesis is on the tourist-host contact, which can be defined as the personal encounter that takes place between a tourist and a host (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The nature of tourist-host contact is determined, to a great extent, by cultural factors (Aitchison *et al.,* 2000; Amir, 1969; Sutton, 1967; Taft, 1977). Amir (1969) noted that the influence of cultural variables is fundamental in explaining social contact. Indeed, it is particularly important for analysing tourist-host contact where tourists and hosts are members of different cultural groups, speak different languages, and have

different values and perceptions of the world (Bochner, 1982; Sutton, 1967). These cultural factors are discussed in more detail in the following section.

2.6.3   Cultural Contact

Culture may be defined as 'the sum of people's perceptions of themselves and of the world' (Urriola, 1989: 66). Similarity in perceptions indicates the existence of similar cultures and the sharing and understanding of meanings (Samovar *et al.,* 1981). Triandis (1972) refers to a 'subjective culture' as a cultural characteristic way of perceiving the environment. The principal components of subjective culture include values, attitudes, stereotypes, beliefs, expectations and opinions. Thus, members of similar subjective culture share similar values, rules and norms, develop similar perceptions, attitudes and stereotypes, and use a common language (Samovar *et al.,* 1981; Triandis, 1972). Language has been suggested to be 'the symbolic guide to culture' (Sapri, 1964: 70) and 'transmits values, beliefs, perceptions, norms' (Samovar *et al.,* 1981: 141). Cultural differences create differences in verbal communication and, thus, different ways of expressing beliefs, values and perceptions.

Culture then, is essentially about difference (Wallerstein, 1990). Differences can be how groups of people do things differently and perceive the world differently and can ultimately bond people together (Dodd, 1998; Potter, 1989). Put more simply, if there were no differences, there would be no cultures (Triandis, 1972). However, these cultural differences can cause differences in interactional behaviours and misunderstanding in their interpretations, particularly in tourist-host contact, and thus may create conflict.

Tourists to particular destinations bring with them their own or that of their country's culture; in other words, the tourist culture. The host culture is the culture of the host country within which tourists are in contact (Jafari, 1987). The behaviour of all participants involved in the tourism process creates a distinct 'tourism culture', which is distinct from that of their routine and everyday culture (Jafari, 1987). Tourists behave differently when they are away from home because they are in a different state of mind; hosts behave differently because they offer the tourists hospitality. However, both groups retain a residue of their own culture when in contact (Reisinger & Turner, 2002). Pizam (1999) noted that tourists of various nationalities possess simultaneously both 'touristic cultures' and 'national cultures'. Further, Pizam questions:

> to what extent are touristic cultures relatively free of national cultures and would be universally reflected in behaviour of all tourists, regardless of nationality or are they subjected to national cultures and therefore would vary from one to another (1999: 394).

However, Reisinger and Turner, (2003) argue that few humans are consciously aware of their own culture and that only when they are exposed to a 'different' culture and become uncomfortable within that culture, do they become aware of their home culture and subsequent differences in cultures.

The magnitude of the direct cultural contact associated with tourism will also be determined by the extent of the difference in cultural characteristics between hosts and guests. Inskeep (1991) suggests that these differences include: basic values, religious beliefs, traditions and customs, lifestyle and dress codes. However, Hunter (2001) argues that modern tourists intentionally seek out this *difference* (2001: 45), from their post-industrial societies, creating as Cooper *et al* (2008:192) imply a '*push*' factor, or the motivation / desire to travel (Dann 1981).

2.7   Cultural Commodification

If aspects of local culture are developed and marketed as products to attract tourists, then there is a risk that their commercialisation for entertainment and profit will replace their inherent cultural meanings. In other words, tourism may destroy the very essence of the authenticity of local culture. The idea of presenting culture as a tourist attraction has coincided with the development of the concept of the 'commodification' of culture. Fears were initially raised by Greenwood (1978, 1989) that the presentation of local culture and events for tourist consumption detracts from the original meaning and renders the event essentially as a tourist 'side-show'. Central to this theme is the idea of cultural representations shifting away from the realm of community ownership and into the realm of business and politics. This leads to a debasing of culture's original symbolic value as a form of societal self-definition, and places it in the capitalist market, where its deeper values are ignored and where it is only measured in terms of its cultural exchange. To put it in the words of Watson and Kopachevsky (1994: 653):

> The point is, human beings can and do cultivate the meaning that objects, not to mention service and experience, eventually acquire. But the meaning is attached at the level of exchange, not the level of production.

Influential in the development of thinking in this field has been MacCannell (1976), who sees commodification of culture through tourism more as an expression of modern capitalist consumption. Tourism, in MacCannell's view, epitomises the growing western trend towards the consumption of signs and symbols rather than the concrete objects being signified. A somewhat similar view is presented by Urry (1990), who takes the position that what is actually consumed in the tourism product is 'sights' falling under the 'tourist gaze'.

Key to this theme of culture commodification is the idea of authenticity, and the position that tourism undermines authenticity and, hence, culture. In other words, residents act in the 'front stage' (after Goffman, 1959) providing inauthentic experiences for tourists (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2002). However:

> One has to bear in mind that commoditisation often hits a culture not when it is flourishing, but when it is actually already in decline, owing to the impingement of outside forces preceding tourism. Under such circumstances, the emergence of a tourist market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish. (Cohen, 1988: 382)

Tourism, then, has been recognised as a potentially useful tool in the enhancement and revitalisation of local cultures, and in regional development (Jafari, 1992; Grahn, 1991). The recognition of this importance of cultural tourism in the European tourist market has led to a proliferation of products based on cultural themes. At the same time there has also been an increased awareness of the potentially negative impacts of tourism on indigenous cultures. On the whole, however, the economic benefits have tended to take precedence over any fears about the tradition meanings of cultures being lost through their presentation as tourism products. As Richards (1994: 102) argues:

> The development of an economic rationale for cultural tourism reflects the tendency for culture as a whole to be viewed as an economic activity.

Cultural tourism (though it may be argued that all tourism is, in a sense, cultural) is relatively simple to define, in that it incorporates any form of tourism that is motivated by a desire to observe, learn or participate in, the culture of a destination (Swarbrooke, 1996). However, the complexity of cultural tourism comes with its infinitely varied nature and scope. For instance, there are different types of cultural tourism (Swarbrooke, 1996) as demonstrated in Figure 2.2 below but, in addition, these different elements of cultural tourism are also inter-related. For example, learning about

traditional crafts may be observed during a specific festival. Similarly, visits to experience traditional food and drink may also be to experience minority languages that may take place within the pre-determined setting.

Some argue that, within Europe, culture is the core tourism product (Richards, 1994; Swarbrooke, 1996) and, thus, cultural activities are considered a major stimulus for tourism to and within Europe. Of particular interest to this research, however is it is also argued that cultural activities 'are also the main motivator for many domestic holidays within different European countries' (Swarbrooke, 1996: 228), such as to

Religious sites	Historic Sites	Modern Popular Culture	Themed Trails and Itineraries	Traditional Food and Drink
Festivals and Special Events:eg folklore				Arts
Industry and Commerce: eg. Farms Markets		CULTURAL TOURISM RESOURCES		Heritage Attractions: eg. Museums Castles Villages
Special Interest Holidays	Traditional Games and Sports	Traditional Crafts	Language	Types of Architecture

Figure 2.2: Cultural Tourism Resources   *Source***:** adapted from Swarbrooke (1996)

observe the traditional Highland Games in Scotland, or perhaps experience the Welsh Language in Wales. But also of relevance to this research is the notion that cultural tourism facilitates in 'attracting well-behaved, relatively affluent tourists who bring few problems' (Swarbrooke, 1996: 235). More specifically, however, it is argued here that these 'cultural tourism types' are inextricably associated with nationalistic determinants, thus providing this diversity and difference between nations. Attachment to custom or tradition and 'drawing more deeply upon…..indigenous resources, resurrecting past

folk-heroes and myths….and so on' (Nairn, 1977: 348) brings with it the development of nationalism.

This attachment to tradition or, in other words, culture representing a nation's past is an important element in the construction of a national identity (Johnson, 1995), with Lowenthal (1998: 2) adding that 'heritage…is the chief focus of patriotism'. What is argued here is that this not only provides the cultural tourism destination a medium through which to 'broadcast' a message about its nationality, cultural knowledge (Frosh & Wolfsfeld, 2007) and history, but also reaffirms cultural tourists' perceptions during this 'encounter with the other' (Hunter, 2001: 42) of self-identity against this difference or imagined 'other' (Bauman, 1991; Cohen, 1985, 1994, De Beauvoir, 1978; Levinas, 1998; McCrone & Keily, 2000; Miles, 1989; Pitchford, 1995).

The growth in cultural tourism is considered to reflect the growth in international tourism more generally (Richards, 1994), and is attributable to a number of factors including the growth in supply of cultural tourism attractions and an increase in the development of new forms of cultural tourism. However, it is this growth that raises concerns, such as those with regards to 'commodification' of culture, but also regarding the sustainability of not only the culture of a particular destination itself but also towards the cultural tourism 'industry'.

	Tourists	**Host Communities**
Pre-Requisites	Knowledge	Strong sense of identity and coherence
	Concern	General agreement on aims/objectives
	Willingness to modify behaviour	Well developed dynamic culture

To facilitate sustainable cultural tourism

	Tourists	**Host Communities**
Outcomes	More interaction between hosts	Larger share of economic and social benefits of cultural tourism
	Greater respect for local people, places and traditions	Satisfaction with level and type of tourism
	Consciously seeking to behave in ways which maximise benefits for local people	Tourism aiding rather than threatening the development of local culture
	Enhanced quality of visitor experience	*Enhanced quality of host experience*

Figure 2.3: Sustainable Cultural Tourism: Pre-Requisites and Outcomes. *Source:* adapted from Swarbrooke (1996)

Swarbrooke (1996) identifies six important principles that represent 'pre-requisites' for, and 'outcomes' of sustainable cultural tourism, these principles being: tourists; destination; host community, tourism industry; government; and cultural industries. In Figure 2.3 above only the two most pertinent principles for discussion are illustrated. The suggestion is that for sustainable cultural tourism to occur there are a number of 'pre-requisite' factors that must be evident within tourists and the host in relation to attitudes and perceptions to tourism. The fulfilment of these pre-requisites will facilitate the 'desired' outcomes for sustainability of the sector. However, whilst it is clear that in order for this to occur 'the richness of the interaction between residents and tourists' (Fagence 1998: 257) is a fundamental factor, it is argued that an additional outcome that ought to be identified to ensure outcomes are indeed reciprocal, is '*enhanced quality of host experience*'. Thus, as has already been discussed, the potential

for future (cultural) tourism and (cultural) tourism development within a particular destination can ultimately be influenced by the kind of interpersonal relationships that exist at the points of contact between host communities and tourists.

2.8 Tourist - Host Relationships

Within any travel destination, residents and tourists are inextricably linked (Zhang, Inbakaran, & Jackson, 2006). Residents, as much as tourists, are drawn to a particular location because of an associated image, whether it is as an escape from urban areas (Sherlock, 2001), the intrigue of a particular religion or spiritual belief (Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Joseph & Kavooris, 2001; Laxson, 1991), or the appreciation for preservation of a culture or heritage at a destination (Hampton, 2005). Residents and tourists are also linked through sharing amenities and services within a destination (Snepenger *et al.*, 1998; Snepenger *et al.*, 2003) and utilising natural resources (Cohen, 2004; Sherlock, 2001). Additionally, tourist and host interaction may be more generally facilitated through the provision of tourism 'services'. For instance, encounters may occur with local people through accommodation provision or perhaps through the use of local tour guides, as examples. Thus, the potential overlap between residents and tourists is evident. The relationship between the host and tourist has been predicated (Wearing & Wearing, 2001) on the dichotomy of the 'self' versus the 'other'. This dichotomy is experienced not only on the part of tourists looking at the resident as the 'other' (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2002; Van De Berghe, 1994) but also on the part of the resident looking at the tourist as the 'other' (Laxson, 1991; McNaughton, 2006).

The impacts or consequences resulting from the interaction between hosts and guests - if indeed local people / communities can be referred to as 'hosts' for, as de Kadt (1979: 50) observes, the two parties come together most commonly in a commercial context -

are well documented, in so far as the previously discussed influencing factors during this interaction are concerned (Feather, 1980; Smith, 1957; Triandis, 1977). As indicated previously, tourists are not a homogeneous group; indeed they are motivated by a variety of factors to engage in the activity of tourism. Additionally, they carry with them different attitudes, values, beliefs and expectations, they may be more or less experienced as tourists, and they differ by age, types of holiday or trip, and socio-economic backgrounds (Sharpley, 2008; Cooper *et al*, 2008).

Similarly, members of the host community are also heterogeneous, and a variety of factors have a bearing on the way in which local people regard tourists. For example, the economic and social conditions within the host destination, the type and maturity of its tourism industry, and language and cultural differences are all factors which may influence the relationships that develop between tourists and local communities (Sharpley, 2008). As such, the existence of a variety of conditions will inevitably give rise to many different types of tourist-host encounters. For instance, both Albuquerque and McElroy (1999) and Harper (2001) found that the crime rate against tourists was higher than that experienced by local residents, an assumption being that residents of the destinations are the individuals committing the crimes (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Other studies have demonstrated residents as being greedy, treating tourists as little more than potential income: 'the hosts are just taking care of business in the same way as any enterprising business owner would' (Aramberri, 2001: 746). Similarly, residents 'staging' or 'comodifying' authentic experiences for tourists can also have a negative bearing on the relationship (Cohen, 1988) whilst, more generally, Johnston (2006) suggests that residents are reduced to objects while tourists are deceived into thinking they are witnessing how 'natives' truly live. Therefore, any analysis of such encounters will indeed be complex and, perhaps, difficult to draw conclusions from.

Nevertheless, early studies have attempted to provide formal models to explain tourist-host interaction, such as by Butler (1980), Doxey (1975) and Smith (1989). Although these models essentially attempt to explain tourist-host relationships, more recent research on the tourist-host encounter tend to focus the nature of the relationship towards attitudes of tourism development (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Jurowski, Uysal, & Williams, 1997; King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993; Sharpley, 2008). Nevertheless, they have provided frameworks within which researchers can examine relevant issues. Many of the other studies on social-cultural impacts of tourism (see for example Gill & Williams, 1994; Price, 1992; Perdue, Long & Allen, 1987; Stokowski, 1996; Sheldon & Var, 1984) have, according to Ap (1992) been specific case study approaches which have lacked the universal rigour allowing the development of an overarching theoretical understanding. Furthermore, these and a number of other studies are either conducted using quantitative methods, or are primarily descriptive and, thus, do not fully explain why residents have certain perceptions with respect to tourism and tourists. This is, perhaps, unsurprising given the complexities and intricacies associated with tourist-host interactions and, more specifically, the relative infancy of tourism research within this area, as noted previously.

However, new theories have been called for to explain better the relationship between hosts/residents and tourists (Harrill, 2004; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). This call within the literature demands the examination of affective relationships between residents and tourists, as these two parties are linked thorough interactions that exist and that they are not as separate as past literature has stated (Wearing & Wearing, 2001). This interaction between residents and tourists has received only limited attention within the literature. Of the few studies that have been undertaken, Teye, Sonmez and

Sirakaya (2002) found positive interactions of Ghana residents with tourists. Similarly, positive interactions between working tourists and the host community in Israel was found to lead to a change from typical negative attitudes and feeling towards their host to more positive attitudes and feelings (Pizam, Uriely & Reichel, 2000). Furthermore, positive interactions between host and tourists were also found to have an influence upon the attractiveness of a particular destination. For instance, Prentice, Witt and Wydenbach (1994) found in a study of tourists in South Wales that tourists may be endeared to a destination and locals through informal social interactions, such as chatting with residents and participating in everyday social activities with residents. Rothman (1978) found that when such informal social interactions are frequent, intimate relations are likely to develop between residents and tourists.

Therefore, examining the depth and complexity of tourist-host interactions is necessary for a more holistic understanding of tourism experiences and the relationships between residents and tourists (McIntosh, 1998). Pizam *et al.,* (2000) note that more research is needed to examine residents' feelings towards tourists through their interactions, but it is argued here that it is necessary to *simultaneously* examine tourists' feelings towards residents through these interactions. In other words, to date the great majority of studies have focused only on the attitudes / perceptions of residents; including simultaneous exploration of tourists' attitudes and perceptions in the same research context, as this study does, not only adds an additional dimension to the research but also has the potential to augment significantly knowledge and understanding of tourist-host encounters.

2.8.1 Stereotyping

Tourists and hosts attribute certain qualities to their behaviour during interactions that may be influenced by the situation or environment or indeed by personality (Valle & Wallendorf, 1977). Furthermore, hosts and tourists might be biased in their comparison of self 'likened' to the other because they may have less knowledge about those who are perceived than about themselves. Therefore, since there may be differences in perceptions of likeness, misunderstandings may occur, particularly when tourists and hosts from different cultures make contact (Triandis, 1975). This 'hotbed of misunderstanding' (Hunter, 2001: 46) may inevitability lead to misguided perceptions of the 'other' on the basis of common characteristics or, in other words, stereotyping. Jandt (1988) refers to stereotyping as judgments made about the other on the basis of their ethnic group membership, whereas Scollon and Scollon (1995) note that stereotyping is simply another word for over-generalisation. Either way, the concept of stereotyping is important for the study of tourist-host contact as it may be influential in the description of tourists (Brewer, 1984) as well as the hosts. Stereotypes often form the core of the perceptions tourists and hosts use to interact with each other. McCannell (1984) observes that tourists and hosts are vulnerable to stereotypes that can easily influence the perceptions they hold of each other. Pi-Sunyer (1978) similarly suggests that stereotypes are also useful in distinguishing various categories of tourists and explain tourist and host behaviour. Stereotypes have also been shown to provide a model for the tourist-host interaction (Frankowski-Braganza, 1983) as they provide an effective way of dealing with unknown people and managing unfamiliar interactions (Lippman, 1922).

Early studies focusing on stereotypes of national groups within the context of tourism identified different types of stereotyping (Brewer, 1984; Callan & Gallios, 1983; Chandra, 1967; Pi-Sunyer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer & Smith, 1989; Triandis, 1972; Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967; Turner & Ash, 1975). In many destinations, residents have been found to stereotype tourists by nationality, whilst research has revealed that tourism industry employees believe that tourists of different nationalities behave differently (Reisinger & Turner, 2002). For instance, Catalans stereotype English tourists as stiff, honest, dependable and socially conscious (Pi-Sunyer, 1978), whereas Welsh residents stereotyped English tourists as the least nice and considerate (Sheldon & Var, 1984).

However, although stereotypes may have a 'kernel of truth' in their description of the characteristic of the group, they are, in many cases, inaccurate (Brislin, 1981). As Scollon and Scollon (1995: 156) point out 'stereotyping is a way of thinking that does not acknowledge internal differences within a group and does not acknowledge exceptions to its rules'. This ultimately results in a tendency to regard all members of a particular group in a similar way without acknowledging the differences between them. Many stereotypes are inaccurate and often highlight negative attributes, while positive attributes are largely ignored (Lustig & Koester, 1999). As such, labelling a group of people from interpreting their behaviour can have negative connotations. For instance, stereotypes may promote prejudice and discrimination of members from one group other than one's own (Lustig & Koester, 1999). Furthermore, stereotypes may develop without any evidence in reality (Pepitone, 1986). For example, hosts may develop stereotypes from gossip, observing tourists, or from personal past experiences in contact with tourists. Tourists, on the other hand, may well develop stereotypes of hosts from tourist literature, media, other tourists, and from prior travel experiences. However, it is difficult to foster interaction if stereotypes are negative, and once 'labelled' can be

difficult to change. Negative stereotypes are usually maintained when social contact is minimal, for example in tourist-host contact, and can be inflexible and long lasting (Frankowski-Braganza, 1983).

2.8.2   Tourists' Perceptions of Hosts

Whilst the impact of tourism on host communities has received a significant amount of discussion in the study of tourism, the issue of host-tourist interaction from the tourists' perspective has only recently received attention. In effect, tourists interpret the environment and host communities they visit in personal ways. Experiences are thus consumed and negotiated in terms of tourists' prior knowledge, expectations, mythologies and personal meaning (Craik, 1997; McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Walle, 1996). Therefore, implicit in an understanding of how tourists are affected by their experiences of host communities is the nature of what is in effect subjectively 'consumed' by tourists (McIntosh, 2003).

As such, the perception of hosts held by tourists in an important part of the overall tourist perception of their experience. These perceptions of the host are important as they may detract from or contribute to the success of the destination (Gee *et al.,* 1989; Hunt, 1975). Thus, tourists' perceptions of the host may influence the destination choice and motivate repeat visitation, particularly if they believe the hosts are friendly and courteous (Gee *et al.,* 1989). Furthermore, as Pearce (1980, 1982) argues, tourists' 'pre-travel' favourability toward the visited nationality positively influences their 'post-travel' evaluation: 'When the pre-travel favourability is initially high, tourists will be mentally prepared….to evaluate visited people' (Pearce, 1980: 14).

However, the significant gap in tourism research with respect to the perceptions of tourists in relation to tourist-host contact means little is known about what tourists perceive as being most important in social contact with hosts. Nor is it understood how tourists relate to or, indeed, perceive hosts who are 'culturally' different, and whether they, in fact, *want* to interact with the hosts.

2.8.3   Hosts' Perceptions of Tourists

Host perceptions of tourists have been studied more frequently than the tourists' perceptions of hosts. Nevertheless, the impacts of tourism at the local community level are still not widely understood (Allen *et al,* 1988). According to Husbands (1989: 239),

> one persistent problem in this body of work is that the theoretical understanding of residents' perceptions of, or attitude to, tourism is weak. This accounts for the general absence of explanation grounded in the social structure of the destination society. There is, so far, no theoretical justification of why some people are, or are not, favourably disposed to tourism.

However, Ritchie and Inkari (2006) stress that these impacts on host communities 'should be one of the greatest concerns with respect to the long-term sustainability of tourism' (2006: 27). Critics of early research in this area argue that there is a problem in defining the concept of hosts. Some studies refer to hosts as host communities or local residents; others refer to them as service providers and people within the tourism industry. Therefore, there is a major conceptual problem in previous studies analysing host perceptions. Moreover, as Sharpley (2008) suggests, the notion that local communities in destination areas are, indeed, willing hosts to tourist 'guests' has come under increasing scrutiny.

Nevertheless, resident or host perception research has provided the basis for the development of attitude predictors, which according to Harrill (2004), enable groups of factors influencing resident attitudes towards tourism to be identified. These groups of predictors fall into three main domains: economic dependency, spatial factors, and socio-economic factors (Woosnam, Norman & Ying, 2009). But as Andereck *et al.,* (2005) point out, these predictors have produced mixed findings, with no one variable consistently explaining the variance in resident attitudes.

The more a community is economically dependant upon tourism, the more likely it will be in support of tourism (Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). Additionally, those community members who stand to gain the most financially from tourists have the highest support for tourism and its development (Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Smith & Krannich 1998). However, as Doxey (1975) and Wall and Mathieson (2006), argue residents have a tolerance threshold for tourists that, once exceeded, ultimately results in less support for tourism.

Within the limited theory that has been applied within resident attitudes research (Harrill, 2004) one of the most commonly used frameworks is social exchange theory (Ap, 1992; Andereck *et al.*, 2005; Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Hritz & Ross, 2010; Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; McGehee & Andereck 2004; Wang & Pfister, 2008). According to Woosnam, Norman and Ying (2009: 246), the main issue with social exchange theory is that 'it treats the relationship between residents and tourists as one based on solely financial transactions', although Aramberri (2001) claims that such financial exchanges are the main phenomena connecting residents and tourists. Social exchange theory will be discussed later in this chapter in section 2.8.5.

Of particular relevance to this study, in many destinations residents have been found to have specific stereotypes of the tourist determined by nationality (Brewer, 1984; Callan & Gallios, 1983; Chandra, 1967; Pi-Sunyer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer & Smith, 1989; Triandis, 1972; Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967; Turner & Ash, 1975). Furthermore, early research has also found that residents within host communities do differentiate tourists by their nationality and perceive tourists to be very different from them (Boissevian & Inglott, 1979; Brewer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995).

2.8.4   Nationality

As noted above, many host communities perceive tourists of different nationalities to be different and to behave in different ways. Indeed, it was found that in destinations where the majority of the tourists were of different nationality, tourists were perceived to be different according to a variety of characteristics, such as behaviour, attitudes, ways of spending leisure time and morality (Boissevian & Inglott, 1979; Brewer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995; Pizam & Telisman-Kosuta, 1989). However, in destinations that were frequented mostly by domestic tourists, residents perceived only minimal differences between tourists and themselves in behaviour and attitudes (Pizam & Telisman-Kosuta ,1989). In contrast, however, English tourists in Welsh destinations were ranked by the residents as the 'least nice and considerate' out of all tourists, including those from more distant countries (Sheldon & Var, 1984: 47), thus indicating that residents perceived a marked difference in the behaviour and attitudes of domestic tourists, particularly English tourists, from their own.

Several studies analyse the influence of nationality on tourist behaviour (Pizam & Sussmann, 1995; Pizam & Jeong, 1996; Pizam & Reichel, 1996; Pizam *et al.,* 1997)

whilst Pizam (1999) specifically investigated the perception that British, Israeli, Korean and Dutch tour guides had of tourists of different nationalities. Collectively, these studies indicate that nationality influences the tourist culture and that there is a significant perceived distinction between different nationalities of tourists with respect to their behaviour. Yet, despite these early studies of the influence of national cultures upon tourist behaviour and, implicitly, on the potential effects of nationality within the social interpersonal relationship, there still remains a gap in the tourism literature in relation to nationalistic determinants within social interaction settings, more specifically in relation to domestic – or as termed here as '*intra-national*' tourism, or travel to different countries within a 'nation-state', for instance the different countries of England, Scotland, and Wales within Great Britain. This lack of research is perhaps a little surprising, given the importance placed on national cultures and their influence on tourist behaviour as identified in earlier research.

It has already been identified in Chapter One that the use of nationality as a sole variable for explaining differences in the behaviour of tourists has a number of limitations. For instance there may be difficulties in establishing nationality when tourists possess multiple nationalities or when their country of birth is different from their country of residence. Similarly, there may be a perception that different countries, such as Wales, England and Scotland have a common nationality – as British. However, McCrone and Keily (2000) observe that nationality does not necessarily share a commonality between the Scottish and Welsh. Furthermore, it was also argued in Chapter One, that 'being English, Scottish and Welsh expresses national identity' (Bechhofer *et al*., 1999: 518) and in doing so the 'English' continue to be the 'Other' (Bauman, 1991; Cohen, 1985, 1994, De Beauvoir, 1978; Levinas, 1998; Miles, 1989).

Thus, this comparison towards the 'other' essentially defines what it means to be Scottish or Welsh (Pitchford, 1995).

An additional limitation highlighted previously for using nationalitiy as a sole variable is that the importance of nationality is dwindling as a consequence of globalisation and the new political order forming throughout the world. Again it was also argued in Chapter One, and reiterated here, that, in an alleged post-modern world, the de-differentiation of local structures and institutions has encouraged a focus on re-affirming national cultures and identity (Sharpley, 2008).

2.8.5   Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory is used in several disciplines such as sociology, economics, and social psychology to interpret aspects of social relations along with the exchanges that occur within them. Within the field of tourism, social exchange theory has recently received more attention (Woosnam & Norman, 2009). Social exchange theory offers a framework within which resources, whether physical or symbolic, are shared or traded among individuals or groups. The theory explains how attitudes towards relationships with another person are largely reliant upon perceptions based upon: the balance of the relationship; the kind of relationship expected; and the chance of having a better relationship with others (Andereck *et al.,* 2005; Emerson, 1976; Wallace and Wolf, 2006). A number of researchers have adopted social exchange theory to explain the identified significant relationship between benefits and residents' attitudes toward tourism (Ap, 1990; Nash, 1989). The application of social exchange theory in *understanding* residents' attitude towards tourism has, however, leaned more favourably towards measuring the economic value domains of tourism (Andereck *et al.,* 2005; Jurowski, Uysal & Williams, 1997; McGhee & Andereck, 2004; Perdue, Long, &

Allen, 1990, Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez, 2002). Whilst some support the usefulness of the framework in establishing resident's attitudes towards tourism (Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez, 2002; Wang & Pfister, 2008), others show mixed support and critique its application in establishing an understanding of resident's attitudes (Andereck *et al.,* 2005; Hernandez, Cohen & Garcia, 1996; McGhee & Andereck, 2004). As such, tourism research using social exchange theory has produced inconsistent findings. Furthermore, Andereck *et al.,* (2005: 1073) point out that 'while social exchange theory may be a potentially useful framework, alternatively it may be an incomplete structure for understanding response to tourism phenomena by community residents.'

Social exchange theory adapted to tourism research outlines the parameters by which residents become involved in tourism exchanges. The model, outlined in Figure 2.4 overleaf, demonstrates the exchange process: initiation of exchange; exchange formation; and exchange transaction evaluation. The components involved within the process can be used as predictors of behaviour within tourist-host exchanges and will largely influence the participants perceptions of the 'exchange process'.

In the social exchange model overleaf (Figure 2.4) it is assumed that social relations involve an exchange of resource among people; essentially people seek mutual benefit from the exchange relationship. Hence the primary need or motive for initiating exchange must exist for both resident and tourist for the exchange to commence. Without which there is simply no reason for either party to initiate an exchange (Sharpley, 2008).

EXCHANGE RELATION

Need Satisfaction

Motives

Antecedents

Rationality
Satisficing
Benefits
Reciprocity
Justice Principle

Form of Exchange Relation

Balanced

Unbalanced

Consequence of Exchange

Outputs

Actions

Outcomes

1

2

3

Exchange Initiation

Exchange Formation

Transaction Evaluation

No Exchange

Negative Evaluation of Consequences (Withdrawal of Behaviour)

Positive Evaluation of Consequences (Reinforcement of Behaviour)

Figure 2.4: Model of the Social Exchange Process.   *Source:* Ap (1992: 670)

Sutton (1967) suggests that the encounter or exchange is asymmetrical and unbalanced in nature. Mathieson and Wall (1982) also describe the tourist-host encounter as unequal and unbalanced. The exchange 'may provide either an opportunity for rewarding and satisfying exchanges, or it may stimulate and reinforce impulses to exploitation on the part of the host and, to suspicion and resentment on the part of the visitor' (Sutton, 1967: 221). Any asymmetry that exists within this exchange will provide negative perceptions of the encounter, the result of which may ultimately lead to withdrawal of behaviour to initiate further exchange. Therefore, it is important the social exchange, or tourist-host encounter, must be reciprocal (Sharpley, 2008); in other words; 'the resources exchanged should be roughly equivalent' (Ap, 1992: 675).

Whilst social exchange theory within tourism research has focused upon 'the relationship between residents and tourists as one based on solely financial transactions' (Woosnam, Norman & Ying, 2009: 246), there has been a more recent shift towards a sociological approach to social exchange theory (Andriotis & Vaughn 2003; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000, 2002), highlighting the benefits derived for extending social capital Wang and Pfister, 2008), a move closer to embracing intimate relationships, and more specifically defining social interactions between host and tourists (Sutton, 1967). This sociological approach provides a framework of social representations (Moscovici, 1981; Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996) which includes the 'concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications' (Moscovici, 1981: 181). Pearce *et al* (1996: 31) claim this social representation theory, a response to social exchange theory, centres on the 'way social knowledge is created and shared by people in various groups, societies or communities'. However, Woosnam and Norman (2009: 366) argue that 'tourists are not considered part of such groups, societies, and communities' and it is, therefore, almost impossible to consider the potential intimate relationship between resident and tourist. As Trauer and Ryan (2005) point out, it is difficult for tourists to be part of such intimate relations for two reasons: firstly, locals can potentially commodify tourist experiences and, secondly, tourists can exhibit self-serving, self-caring behaviours. This, argue Wearing and Wearing (2001), reduces the relationship between host and tourist to that of self versus the other.

2.9   Chapter Two Summary

This chapter identified tourism as essentially a social phenomenon. The relative growth and size of tourism may be viewed as a powerful and beneficial agent of economic change for destinations. However, this chapter also examined the environmental and social desirability of further expansion, focusing particularly on the varying nature of the relationship between tourists and local people in destination areas. The concept of social interaction can be used to explain tourist-host contact and rules of social relationship play a central role within these interactions, stabilising behaviour and avoiding conflict. Rites of social behaviour determine the patterns and volumes of social interaction. There are universal and culture specific rules of social interaction. Differences in culture create barriers to social interaction. Cultural similarity generates positive perceptions of interaction, whereas dissimilarity results in perceptual mismatches. Tourists' perceptions of hosts are important in assessing holiday satisfaction and may attract or deter tourists from a destination. Similarly hosts are important players within this interaction and can influence the success or failure of local tourism. As already indicated the purpose of the first part of this thesis is to outline the underpinning literature within the domains of tourism, more specifically tourist-host relationships. Similarly, as the potential influences of nationalism within tourist-host relationship are a key concern to this research the subject area of nationalism needs to be reviewed. Therefore, in Chapter Three it provides a theoretical foundation to the subject of nationalism in order to ascertain underpinning literature salient to tourist-host relationships.

Chapter Three

Nationalism:
Themes, Issues & Concepts

Chapter Three

In Chapter Two, tourism was defined as a social phenomenon, fundamental to which is the interaction between tourists (guests) and residents or local communities ('hosts') in destination areas. Not only is it inevitable that tourists will come into contact with local residents, whether on a commercial basis (buying goods, receiving a service) or socially, but the nature of that contact has a direct influence on the tourist experience and, ultimately, the longer term success of tourism development at the destination. Whilst much academic attention has been paid to host-guest relationships in general, however, the influence of nationality / nationalism on the contact between tourists and local residents has been largely overlooked. The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to review the underpinning literature on nationalism. In doing so, it facilities the construction of a conceptual model of the potential influences of nationalism on host-guest interaction which, in turn, provides a framework for the subsequent research.

3.1   Introduction

It is likely that, in everyday life, people rarely give thought to the meanings of or distinctions between 'nationality', 'nationalism' or 'citizenship', except perhaps when confronted with documentation requiring them to state their nationality. There may be occasions when ideas or concepts of nationality become mediatised public discourses, particularly during times of political debate and election campaigns, but even here it is unlikely to promote thought-provoking discourse distinguishing macro level national identity and citizenship and micro level 'everyday nationalism' (Brubaker, 2006). Yet, within the United Kingdom, the issue of nationality, national identity and citizenship has, perhaps, attracted increasing interest in recent years both amongst academics and

more generally, in particular reflecting relatively recent sovereignty transformations – specifically the formation of a Welsh Assembly Government and the new Parliament for Scotland – as well as ongoing debates with respect to the Britain's position as a member of a developing European Union.

In the current academic climate, there can be little question that 'nationalism sells' (Knight, 1997: 174) and, for much of the past two decades, scholars have covered considerable ground in the study of nationalism (Anderson, 1991, 1995; Billig, 1995; Brass, 1991; Breuilly, 1993, 1996, Brubaker, 1996; Calhoun, 1997; Connor, 1994; Gellner, 1997; McCrone, 1998; McCrone & Kiely, 2000), and national and ethnic identity (Abell *et al*, 2006; Coakley, 2007; Cohen, 1994; Fenton, 2007; Grosby, 2005; Kiely, McCrone & Bechhofer, 2005; McIntosh, 1998; Meer, Dwyer & Modood, 2010; Smith, 1991). For example, there is an abundance of theoretical ventures into the emergence, occurrence and reproduction of nationalism and ethnicity, many of which build on the concept of 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1995). Such studies have been based largely upon social constructivist approaches and have conceived nationalism and national identity 'as an idea or discourse rather than as an empirically observable social 'unit' defined by features such as dress, language, or customs' (Tilley, 1997: 511).

Typically, these studies focus on determining the elements, factual or otherwise, that contribute to the construction of a particular nation, identity or portrayal of nationalism. They include explorations of the circumstances under which identities develop, the changes they undergo over time, and the social and political objectives for which identities may be created (Brass, 1991; Chatterjee, 1986; Eller & Coughlan, 1993; Haas, 1993; Handler, 1994; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Nevertheless, in the current

discussion of British and English national identity (see, for example, Bryant, 2003; Johnson, 2002; Kumar 2000, 2003; Langlands, 1999; McCrone, 2002), the question of how *seriously* people take the question of national membership has been largely neglected, an area which will be explored as part of this thesis. However, a small number of recent studies consider whether people regard themselves as British, English or Scottish, and whether they see being Scottish or English as prior to, or subordinate to, being British (Abell *et al.* 2006; Curtice & Heath 2000; Fenton, 2007; Kiely *et al.*, 2005a, 2005b; McCrone 2002; McCrone *et al.*, 1998; Wellings, 2007) and to whether a sense of Englishness is on the rise (Heath *et al.,* 2006; Lee 2000). For the most part, however, this literature affords few opportunities for considering the Welsh perspective of nationalism or national identity. Nor is there to be found in this literature a theoretical account of why individuals might be expected to accord high importance to their own national identity within a temporal or spatial setting, for instance either as a tourist or as a tourist receiving location, particularly within Britain. Both of these elements will be focused upon within this study.

This chapter critically reviews concepts and themes related to nationalism that are key to developing the subsequent research. For the purpose of this thesis, the issue of nationalism and, subsequently, nation are evaluated in relation to Britain, focusing specifically on English and Welsh nationalisms. Therefore, the chapter commences with a discussion of what is considered to be and determined as a nation, particularly within the context of the factors associated with a relatively mobile global society and, essentially, to provide some clarity to the complex entanglements related to nationalism. More specifically, it is logical firstly to establish what a 'nation' is, particularly as the concept of nation has become an increasingly problematic element of 'national identity' and is often an on-going feature of social and political life within Britain. Furthermore,

perhaps the most interesting and crucial issue in understanding nationalism and its potential influence within social interconnections, and ultimately a key factor for this research, is the question of 'how the national cause achieves personal relevance for the individual - that is, what binds the self to the nation?' (Terhune, 1964: 258).

3.2   Nations

3.2.1   Stating the 'Nation'

Throughout history, humans have formed groups of various kinds based upon criteria that are used to distinguish 'us' from 'them', such as religion, dress, language, ethnicity and gender. One such group is the nation, where the tendency of humanity is to divide itself into distinct, and often conflicting, groups. Indeed, in the tenth chapter of the book of Genesis, there is recognition of territorial and linguistic divisions of humanity into what the ancient Israelites called '*gôyim*' (Grosby, 2005: 2).

> These are the sons of Shem according to their clans and languages, in their lands according to their nations (gôyim). These are the clans of the sons of Noah according to their lineage in their nations (gôyim) (Genesis 10:31-32, cited in Grosby, 2005: 2)

The relative ease of mobility of contemporary society will ensure that encounters with 'different groups' of humanity become increasingly the norm rather than the irregular within everyday life. So in this context, for example, a person going about their normal business might encounter people within different territories, such as living in the north of England and travelling across the border into Scotland to their place of work. Or similarly, a person may in fact encounter 'groups' with quite different languages possibly within urban environments, or indeed a person may reside in an area alongside different cultural or ethnic 'groups'. Doubtless, then, there are countless numbers of

groups that find confidence in the fact that they each have a separate sense of being, a distinctiveness, which is largely derived from what could be termed as 'culture' (Knight, 1982; Samovar *et al.,* 1981; Triandis, 1972; Urriola, 1989; Wallerstein, 1990). Historically, people were defined by the social group into which they were born, providing a natural tendency to show preference to their 'own' language and social group characteristics, customs and traditions (Kohn, 1939; Bohannan, 1964, Tilley, 1997). There was also, and still is to varying degrees in contemporary society (Knight, 1982), a close territorial association with the social group, often providing the group with an 'identity' and structure. A significant change, however, that occurred during the course of a complex series of various processes that emerged in different parts of the world over several centuries was within the social group-to-territory relationship (Jones, 1966; Knight, 1982; Shafer, 1955). Whereas a socially cohesive group once defined its territory, over time the politically bounded territory came to define the social group. This placed a transference of emphasis from 'group identity' to 'territory identity', as illustrated in the following: 'England was once the country in which Englishmen lived: Englishmen are now the people who inhabit England' (Jones, 1966: 56). As a consequence, people from different parts of a country developed a sense of belonging to a territorial unit larger than the social group and, in turn, that territorial unit came to define who they were. This new territorial definition of group gave rise to a new concept, a 'nation'. Although the origins of the Western concept of nation go back several centuries, it was during the eighteenth century in particular that people in the middle classes in Western Europe and North America increasingly came to identify with the feeling that the 'nation belonged to them' (Knight, 1982: 518). The two oldest 'modern' examples of modern national consciousness are the French (16th Century) and the English (17th Century) nations.

But, what is a 'nation'? Smith (2009) argues that defining the concept of nation is the most problematic and contentious term in the field of study of nationalism, whilst Tilly (1975) describes the term nation as 'one of the most puzzling and tendentious items in the political lexicon' (1975: 6). More recently, Brubaker (1996) has argued that nation should be viewed '…as a category of practice, nationhood as an institutionalised cultural and political form, and nationness as a contingent event or happening' (1996: 21). Definitions of the nation range from those that stress objective factors, such as language, religion and customs, territory and institutions, to those that emphasise purely subjective factors, such as attitudes, perceptions and sentiments. An example of 'objective' factors can be found in Stalin (1973), who states that 'a nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture' (1973: 61). It could be argued here that the use of the term 'common culture' is itself problematic, particularly in the context of contemporary societies that display a multitude of cultural characteristics; as Thompson (1999: 245) observes 'the question of a common culture is considerably more complex than some writers have maintained'. Objective definitions are, quite evidently, prescriptive in nature and, although illustrating or listing important features of the concept of the nation, they tend to exclude (Weber, 1948), perhaps in some cases intentionally (Smith, 1991), broadly recognised nations.

Perhaps the most influential and widely cited subjective definition within the scholarly community is that provided by Anderson (1991), who proposes that a nation 'is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign' (1991: 6). In contrast to objective definitions, subjective definitions tend to take in too large a range of characteristics and thus 'nations'; moreover, they tend to be problematic

as they are open to interpretation and, therefore, mis-interpretation. At the same time, a focus on subjective factors, such as sentiment, imagination and perception, as criteria of the nation and national belonging makes it difficult to distinguish nations from other kinds of collectives, such as religion, tribes and empires, which attract similar subjective attachments (Connor, 1994).

The problems of defining the concept of the nation, the idea of the nation and national character *predating* the concept of the ideology of nationalism (discussed further in this review) are well documented and discussed (Kermilainen, 1964; Deutsch, 1966; Rustow, 1967; Greenfield, 1992; Connor, 1994) and as such are beyond the scope of this chapter. However, more recently, scholars have warned of the consequences of reifying the concept of the nation by seeing nations as 'substantial, enduring collectivities'(Brubaker, 1996: 21). Through nationalist ideology, nationalism highlights the popular sentiments evoked by the idea of the nation; that the nation is a felt and lived community, a category of behaviour as much as imagination and one that requires of the members of that nation certain kinds of action (Smith, 2009). This 'substance' and 'endurance' (Brubaker, 1996) of the nation resides in its repeated consequences, as in other kinds of community. For instance, the character of a Welsh nation has survived for centuries despite historical conflicts, and it is this history of resistance and survival that has helped produce the perception of a Welsh people (Harris, 2007). Moreover, Williams (1985) points out that 'The Welsh as a people have lived by making and remaking themselves in generation after generation…Wales is an artefact which the Welsh produce' (1985: 304).

The distinction between historical and felt reality needs to be taken into account without seeking to reify the nation; as argued by Connor (1994: 202), 'what counts is not what

is, but what is felt to be, the case'. In other words, a nation does not exist as an object separate from the humans who constitute it and it is, therefore, a living thing.

However, within academic circles, a contingency strategy has tended to be to choose criteria which span the 'objective – subjective' spectrum which has, as a result, provided interesting though conflicting definitions for the term 'nation'. Yet, despite a lack of scholarly consensus on these definitions, there is nevertheless agreement on two specific points: Firstly, a nation is not a state and, secondly, it is not an ethnic community (Smith, 2009). A nation is not a state because the concept of state relates to institutional activity (this will be further discussed in the next section 3.2.2), and can be defined as a set of autonomous institutions possessing a legitimate monopoly of coercion in a given territory. This contrasts significantly with the concept of the nation as indicated previously; nations are felt and lived communities whose members share a territory.

A nation is not an ethnic community because the ethnic community usually has no political core and, in many cases, lacks a public culture or even a territorial dimension, since it is not necessary for an ethnic community to be in physical possession of its historic territory (Cohen, 1997). A nation, on the other hand, *has* to occupy a homeland of its own and to aspire for a measure of autonomy (Armstrong, 1982). In other words, a nation occupies its homeland but ethnic communities can wander the earth (Grosby, 2005).

3.2.2 Ethnic community

In practice, the distinction between nation and ethnic community is not necessarily clear cut, as both belong to the same category of phenomena, that being 'collective cultural identities' (Smith, 2009: 12). Nations, like ethnic communities, share the attributes of collective names, common myths, shared memories and continuity, shared beliefs and engage in joint actions. The concept of the nation is brought very close to that of the ethnic community by Miller (1995: 27) in his definition of the nation as:

> a community (1) constituted by shared belief and mutual commitment, (2) extended in history, (3) active in character, (4) connected to a particular territory, and (5) marked off from other communities by its distinct public culture.

In the contemporary world, many ethnic communities are found within and alongside nations. The only major difference between the nation and ethnic communities within Miller's definition is that ethnic communities generally lack a public culture, as previously highlighted. It could be argued that ethnic community is, perhaps, the more generic concept, and that nation is the more specific; but that in becoming more specialised, or more specific, the nation also becomes more inclusive, more complex and less tied to its original ethnic base. However, pan-use of the distinction between ethnicity and nation requires the application of due diligence (Panossian, 2000) as there are nations which comprise separate ethnicities that have, for one reason or another, come together. Indeed, they may have been forced together, forging a common history and shared political memory, in contrast to what was suggested earlier in this section – that ethnic communities do not necessarily have a political referent or pertain to a political community (Anderson, 1991).

In the field of ethnic and racial studies, Bulmore and Solomos (1998) provide the following remark in a more recent attempt directed towards combining political and representative cultural substances of the nation:

> A nation is not only a political entity but something which produces meanings – a system of cultural representations. People are not only legal citizens of a nation; they participate in the idea of the nation as represented in national culture. A nation is a symbolic community and it is this which accounts for its power to generate a sense of identity and allegiance (1998: 827).

The response to this statement by the ethnic and racial studies community evoked more questions and doubts rather than providing clarification. Questions which were raised included: how is the modern nation imagined? and, what representation strategies are deployed to construct commonsense views of national belonging or identity? These salient questions are to be considered more closely within the current research. However, it is beyond the remit of this thesis to *reconstruct* definitions of nations, but rather to identify consensus to the key characteristics of the nation within the scholarly community and thus provide a fundamental foundation upon which to base the empirical research.

Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis it is necessary to clarify and define the concept of nation as a basis for subsequently addressing the concept of nationalism. Drawing on the characteristics of the nation described by Miller (1995), Smith (2009) proposes a working definition which, essentially, is a summary of pure or 'ideal-types' of a nation (Chatterjee, 1993), shaped by beliefs and sentiments of elite members of nations (Smith, 1981, 1991; Motyl, 1999). It is this definition that is adopted here for the purposes of this thesis: a nation is a 'named human community occupying a homeland, and having common myths and a shared history, a common public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all members' (Smith, 2009: 13).

3.2.3   The Nation(al) State

As a starting point in exploring the concept of 'nation-state', it is helpful to refer to the seminal work of Connor (1994), who argues that the concepts of nation and nationalism must be distinguished from those concepts of state and patriotism. The state may be loosely defined as a structure that, through institutions, exercises sovereignty over a territory using laws that relate to individuals within that territory to one another as members of the state.

There are often different aspects to patriotic attachments that an individual forms to his or her nation, formed as a consequence of the different factors involved in historical formation of a particular nation. For instance, loyalty to that nation may be because of its laws, or its customs or religion. Patriotism also implies a commitment to the well-being of that nation by working out the differences between individual members of the nation through the process of compromise, normally manifested in politics and political structures and processes, and to promote the well-being of that nation (Grosby, 2005). The loyalty of the members to the larger territorial state (rather than the family unit) and its institutions, contrasts with 'ethno-nationalism' – a psychological bond of ancestral relatedness, stemming ultimately from kinship sentiments. By way of illustration, Connor indicates a British (larger territorial) state patriotism will and can coexist with ancestral relatedness of English, Scottish and Welsh ethno-nationalisms (Connor, 1994: 102, 202).

However, Smith (2009) argues that such a distinction as proposed by Connor (1994) between the concepts of nationalism and nation and the concepts of state and patriotism cannot effectively be maintained in practice. As an example, Smith (2009) suggests that 'the English have always found it impossible to distinguish their own ethno-nationalism

from a British patriotism' (2009: 16), implying that they perceive both as equally as their 'own'. Another illustration is offered by Gildea (1994) as to how this distinction may exist in principal but not necessarily in practice. Gildea (1994) argues that to separate the French nation from France, the national state, would be complex and difficult to achieve when so many of the key symbols of French nationalism are political.

These examples and, of course others like them have, perhaps, been influential in the tendency for the terms 'nation' and 'state' to be ultimately fused together, forming the notion of 'nation-state'. The popularity of the use of this compound term implies a monolithic 'nation-state' (Connor, 1972), whereby there is just one nation in a given state and one state for a given nation. However, as Giddens (1985) points out, this situation is somewhat rare and that 'ninety percent of the world's states' are indeed 'polyethnic' (Giddens, 1985: 216) as a consequence of a relatively mobile global community.

Keeping with this theme of increasing global flows of people, or a 'new globalising era' (Featherstone, 1990), much of the sociological theory relating to globalization has tended to conceptualize the national and the global through dichotomy that contrasts the national (modernity) with the global (post-modernity) (Chernilo, 2006). Thus, the era of modernity, defined in terms of the primacy of the nation-state, was largely viewed as stable, rational, fixed, bounded and internally homogeneous (Skey, 2009). This point can be further illustrated with reference to two examples from the social sciences literature:

> the deterriotrialization of culture refers to the way that a national or even regional culture can no longer be conceived as reflecting a coherent and distinct identity (Papastergiadis, 2000: 72);

there are no simple answers. The purely national has been broken, and it is not being replaced by the purely global, but by a combination of both. What is important is that there is no way of going back to the era of the pure national, that has been changed profoundly (Rantanen, 2002: 139).

So, taking Papastergiadis' and Rantanen's points above, it could be argued here that within Britain, therefore, the national cultures of England and Wales could, for example, be viewed as indeterminate from each other, or indeed for that matter, from Scottish or Irish identities. Yet evidence suggests that this is by no means the case in reality (Bond, 2006; Calhoun, 1997; Fenton, 2007; Greenfeld & Chirot, 1994; Kiely *et al.,* 2001; McCrone *et al.,* 1998).

In direct contrast to modernity, the (alleged) current post-modern era is conceptualised in terms of fluidity, flux, mobilities (Szerszynski & Urry, 2002), hybridity (Papastergiadis, 2002), and not rooted (Appadurai, 2003). Yet, as Chernilo (2006) strongly argues, 'the nation-state has always been historically opaque, sociologically uncertain and normatively ambivalent' (2006: 15), a point further acknowledged by Abell *et al* (2006) who also argue that 'the idea that any modern states are stable in the sense of being unchallenged over time, or lacking in internal or external challenges is highly questionable' (2006: 208). Therefore, it could be argued that presented theories of a new era of global or 'cosmopolitan' realities are perhaps merely simply reifying (Brubaker, 1996) the myth of a stable, coherent nation-state in modernity. More appropriately, therefore, it should be acknowledged that nations are not, and have never been, stable, solid, coherent or fixed entities, but are subject to 'permanent crises' (Chernilo, 2006: 15).

Nevertheless, Billig (1995) rejects those arguments that herald a decline in the nation-state in a new era of global people flows and post-modern 'overstated' identities (Skey, 2009: 338) and, instead, equates globalisation with 'Americanisation' (Billig, 1995: 153). In this, he refers to the 'transmission of American culture' (ibid: 149), through the medium of films and music and such branding as Coca Cola and Levis, as evidence of the existing 'nation-state', adding that 'the "global culture" which is supposedly threatening traditional national cultures, is not itself disconnected from all sense of national place.......[and] what is essentially an American conception of the world' (Billig, 1995: 149). This 'McDonaldisation' of the world raises concerns by critics of globalisation through the swamping of existing cultures by bland, Americanised consumerism (Williams, 2003; see also Ritzer, 1996).

Addressing the numerous studies that have investigated 'the increasing pace and intensity of global flows' (Basch *et al.*, 1996: 24) and their associated impact on nations and national identities is beyond the scope of this chapter. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the most sophisticated of these studies (Appadurai, 2003; Beck, 2000; Edensor, 2002; Featherstone, 1990; Giddens, 2002; Moore, 2004) tend to argue that increasing inter-connectivity is critical in offering individuals new meanings, values, and ways of imagining the world, a view that will be reflected within this study by examining the inter-connectivity of tourists and hosts.

In going someway towards addressing the potential implications associated with the use of the term nation-state, Smith (2009) provides a useful neutral alternative of 'natio*nal* state', as opposed to 'nation-state', with defining characteristics as 'a state legitimated by the *principle* of nationalism, whose members possess a measure of national unity and integration (but not of cultural homogeneity)' (Smith, 2009:17, emphasis added).

Essentially, the current research will be centred on the concept of 'national state'. In doing so, it will enable to empirically establish the significance of often taken-for-granted concepts within associated diverse groups within nations or indeed national states. For instance, the concept of identity or belonging among the, often, diverse groups is presumed to utilize or equally reject these 'taken-for-granted' concepts in their everyday lives, for example Welsh and English identities within a British (national) state. As Hester and Housley (2002) observe, failure '…to ascertain the [identity] categories that are relevant for members….and instead presume the relevance of particular categories' (2002:6) ensure that sociological concepts prevail over, what maybe, everyday realities.

3.2.4   Formation of a nation

In order to be considered as a nation, pre-modern societies had to, to one degree or another, fulfil the six characteristics to justify them as nations: (i) a self-designating name; (ii) a written history; (iii) a degree of cultural uniformity (often as a result of and sustained by religion); (iv) legal codes;(v) an authoritative centre; and (vi) a caption of a bounded territory (Smith, 2002:5).

According to Grosby (2005), however, key to the existence of a nation are the memories about the past of the nation that are shared among each of the many individuals who are members of that nation. Every nation has its own understanding of its distinctive past that is conveyed through stories, myths, and history. Whether historically true or not, these memories contribute to the understanding of the present that distinguishes one nation from another. These memories (or perception of memories) of traditions, customs and laws become incorporated into an individual's understanding of the self. When

those traditions that make up part of one's self-conception are shared by other individuals as part of their self-conception, then both are related socially (Freyer, 1998). This relationship is, according to Renan (1986), referred to as the term collective consciousness. This distinguishing, shared self-awareness is expressed in and influenced by the everyday conduct of the individuals who make up the social relation of the nation, for example the language spoken or the religious beliefs held. Furthermore, it is sustained by various institutions, such as the Parliament for England, the Scottish Parliament or the Welsh National Assembly, that bear those traditions around which the social relation of the nation is formed. This, in turn, provides a structure for the nation; the nation is, thus, formed around shared beliefs that have a structure.

Where there is a spatial focus to the relation between individuals, then place becomes the basis on which distinctions are made between one person and another. The inhabitants of a particular place or location understand themselves to be related to those whose self-understanding contains reference to that location also. Thereby, the location is no longer merely an area of space; it has become a space with meaning, a territory. Usually, this self-understanding revolves around a birth territory, therefore enabling recognition of a relation to those who also have been born in that territory. In such a situation there exists 'a territorially formed 'people' that is believed to have existed over time, and this is what is meant by the term nation' (Grosby, 2005: 11). In other words, birth within the territory is recognised to be the criterion for membership in that nation.

The modern English word 'nation' is derived from the Latin *nationem* – a meaning similar to 'clan', 'tribe', or even 'family'. This, in turn, has evolved from the Latin verb *nasci*, that means 'to be born from*' (Allison, 2000). This criterion of birth to become a member of that nation provides the recognized traceable lines or relations of biological

descent to view the nation as a form of kinship. Similar to the nation, a person is born into an ethnic group and, because of this characteristic of birth, both the ethnic group and the nation are often perceived as being 'natural' relations (Grosby, 2005a). Despite this perception, both of these forms of kinship incorporate other cultural traditions, such as language and religion, as boundaries of social relations. Whilst it is sometimes difficult to distinguish clearly an ethnic group from a nation, ethnicity tends to emphasize beliefs in descent from an ancestor or ancestors as if the ethnic group were an extended family, whereas the focus of the nation is territorial descent.

The concept of ethnicity will be refereed to again later in this chapter. At this point, however, it is important to highlight that kinship is an ambiguous relation, as it is essentially the consequence of the 'perception' of being related. So, in order to summarise the points made so far, there are two recognised lines of descent to validate membership to a nation: firstly, descent in the territory of the nation and, secondly, descent from parents who are members of the nation. Or as Grosby (2005b: 14) indicates, 'the nation is a community of kinship, specifically a bounded, territorially extensive, temporally deep community of nativity'.

Typically, any nation contains within it numerous ethnic groups and, similarly, all nations are formed over time out of a combination of different populations. All nations have immigrants and, to become members of the nation, immigrants are usually required to undergo a legal process of 'naturalisation' or citizenship; that is, they must be transformed as if they had been born in the national territory.

However, central to the existence of the nation is the tendency of humanity to form territorially distinct societies, each of which is formed around its own cultural traditions

of continuity. These societies seek out the past and location which establishes continuity with the post modern existence and which must be located (Harris, 2007) within a particular cultural context, becoming in essence a community of sentiment (Fulcher, 2000). In other words, they seek a sense of common heritage representing a nation's past in order to construct a collective national identity.

> it is ... the self view of one's group, rather than the tangible characteristics, that is of essence in determining the existence or non-existence of a nation (Connor, 1994, p. 43).

3.2.5 National Identity

Discourses of nationalism exist throughout the world and, although the line between fact and fiction within them is often obscured, in nearly all instances people display or express some level of national affinity (Davis, 1999; Nagel, 1994). Although the debate over imagined communities, invented traditions and constructed identities should continue, the sacrifice, creation, and destruction that have been undertaken by many on behalf of their nations requires that national identity should not be viewed simply as some irrational, illogical or nonsensical phenomenon. Nor, however, should it be viewed as a powerful and important marker braced with enthusiasm (Fenton, 2007). Rather, an understanding of how *seriously* people regard national membership should be considered (Fenton, 2007: 321, emphasis in original).

Work within the field of nationalism assumes that national attachments are, by their very nature, powerful and enduring. Nations are seen by both nationalists and observers of nationalism as *natural* communities which command the loyalty of their members through birth and socialisation (Skey, 2009). They are, therefore, considered to be real. For example, the nationalist Gwynfor Evans takes it 'for granted' that the Welsh who

fought with King Arthur were Welsh in just the same way he is (Evans, 1973, 1975).

National identity claims are based on 'identity markers', defined as '…any characteristics associated with an individual that they might choose to present to others, in order to support a national identity claim' (Kiely *et al.,* 2001: 36). Furthermore, Bond (2006: 611) argues that the three most prominent markers of national identity are 'residence, birth and ancestry' (Bechhofer *et al.,* 1999; Kiely *et al.,* 2001; McCrone *et al.,* 1998). Therefore, within any national context, an individual who can claim national belonging on the basis of all three of these markers of national identity will almost certainly have a 'straightforward claim to this identity' (Bond, 2006: 611).

Smith (1991) argues that modernists underestimate the power of historic identities, or ancestry, by portraying nationalism primarily as ideologically functional, a consequence of cultural homogenisation. Moreover, Smith (1991) sees modern nations as having ancestral roots which have attracted a sense of attachment and loyalty prior to the period of modern states. It is unclear as to how and why national identity might be powerful in its hold on a community and individuals within it. However, Smith (1991) speaks of cultural memories and national symbols and ceremonies conveyed in the life of a community that reinforces emotions of attachment:

> …flags, anthems, parades, coinage, capital cities, war memorials, remembrance for the national dead, passports…national recreations, the countryside, popular heroes and heroines, fairy tales, forms of etiquette, styles of architecture, arts and crafts…..all those distinctive customs, styles and ways of acting and feeling that are shared by the members of a community of historical culture…(Smith, 1991: 77).

The popularity of the term 'national identity' (Stelzl & Seligman, 2009) is relatively recent and has replaced earlier terms, such as 'national character' and 'national consciousness,' which were widely used until early in the twentieth century (Smith, 1991). The discontinuation of these terms may have occurred because of what is argued

as widespread concern with identity as part of a broader trend of contemporary

individualism (Calhoun, 1997) or, perhaps, reflecting the anxiety and alienation of

many people in an increasingly fragmented world (Kemilainen, 1964; Bhabba, 1990).

Modern nationalisms require a certain level of individualism, meaning that individual

identity has a special importance in modern nations:

> the modern discourse of national identity is closely linked to the idea of the
> individual…..National identity assumes a special priority over other collective
> identities in the construction of personal identity (Calhoun, 1997: 125).

 Calhoun's (1997) view echoes the argument of Greenfeld and Chirot (1994: 79), who

propose that :

> in the modern word, national identity constitutes what may be called the
> 'fundamental identity', the identity that is believed to be the very essence of the
> individual…other identities are considered secondary.

The modern nation-state makes a direct appeal to the individual, in an individualistic

society. Thus, according to Fenton (2007) national identity is not only important, it is

supremely important, making other identities secondary.

> the individual does not require the mediations of family, community, region or
> class to be a member of the nation. Nationality is understood precisely as an
> attribute for the individual…the trump card in the game of identity (Calhoun,
> 1997: 46).

Within postmodernist accounts of identity (Sarup, 1996,) it is not known whether

national identity has any salience for individuals, as the plurality of identities and the

de-stabilisation of (modern) identities are two recurrent themes in these accounts

(Fenton, 2007). As McCrone (1998: 33) argues, 'the demise of over-arching or meta-

identities appears to have allowed a plurality of new ones to emerge'. However, it is not

clear which, if any, of these identities have a kind of primacy. Hall (1992) suggests that

'global cultural homogenization' erodes national identities, but these identities become

'strengthened by resistance to globalization' (Hall, 1992: 301). In other words, if

national identities appear to be threatened, some may go in search of reassurance and certainty. Thus, it would appear that an individual's sense of national identity is indeed negotiated from time to time and 'for quite lengthy periods entirely stable' (McCrone, 2002: 308). Similarly 'national identities depend critically on the claims which people themselves make in different contexts and at different times' (Bechhofer *et al.,* cited in Hester & Housley, 2002: 3).

3.2.5.1 Britishness, Englishness, Welshness

Considerable effort has been devoted to considering whether people regard themselves as British, English or Scottish, and whether they see being Scottish or English as prior to, or subordinate to, being British (Curtice and Heath 2000; Kiely *et al.,* 2005a, 2005b; McCrone 2002; McCrone *et al.*, 1998). However, it does not appear that the same effort has been afforded to considering whether people regard themselves as Welsh, or indeed, whether they see being Welsh prior to, or subordinate to, being British.

> …Scots, are thinking of themselves in terms of Scottishness rather than Britishness . . . in England where the whole issue of English identity is full of complexity and ambivalence, of implicit superiority and suspicion of nationalism, 'English' has been treated by the new Britons as a closed ethnicity rather than an open nationality. Hence, while many…….have come to think of themselves as hyphenated Brits, few yet think of themselves as English. (Modood *et al*., 1997: 77)

Furthermore, Bechhofer *et al* (1999: 518) suggest that 'being English, Scottish and Welsh expresses *national* identity' with McIntosh *et al* (2004) adding that perhaps the 'English' continue to be the 'Other' which defines what it means to be Scottish or Welsh (Bauman, 1991; Cohen, 1985, 1994; De Beauvoir, 1978; Levinas, 1998; Miles, 1989; Pitchford, 1995).

More recently, Fenton (2007) discovered that there was a significant element of indifference and disregard for national identity towards British and English identities. Interestingly, however, in contrast it was clearly evident that in comparing their own English-British identities, references to Welsh and Scottish identities were made frequently, as the relevant 'other' (Triandafyllidou, 2001). Moreover, to those who identified enthusiastically with England (not Britain), the context of Welsh and Scottish 'nationalisms' was significantly relevant: 'if 'they' can, why shouldn't we?'; and, 'they' (the Scottish and Welsh) 'hate us' (Fenton, 2007: 336).

Within the literature there is support for the argument that Englishness is 'suppressed' because of its dominance within Britain. Kumar (2000, 2003), in particular, has argued that the English have been shy and unforthcoming about their nation simply because to be otherwise would be impolite and impolitic in a union which they dominate. Fenton (2007: 337) argues that dominant identities reflecting powerful status or populations are 'muted because they can be so much taken for granted.' Moreover, this may be further compounded with the fact that it has long been a tradition to see 'English' and 'British' as synonymous terms and to consider that Britain was in fact England (Aslet, 1997; McCrone & Kiely, 2000; Palmer, 2005; Weight, 2002). Furthermore, Haseler (1996) argues that Englishness has assumed the role of a state-sponsored ideology where English markers of identity have come to represent the uniform identity of the British nation. This, therefore, essentially reduces the sense or 'visibility' of 'Englishness.' Storry and Childs (1997) add weight to this argument by suggesting that, within tourism, these English markers tend to dominate. For example, Sir Winston Churchill's former home, 'Chartwell', has been transformed into a metaphor for the whole of the nation [Britain] (Palmer, 2005), yet there is no clear dividing line between what constitutes Englishness and Britishness. Wellings (2007) argues that it was only the

impact of Scottish and Welsh nationalism that disaggregated these two concepts for the English. It is hardly surprising, then, that differences of identity create confusion about nationality.

Within Britain the issues of nationality, national identity and citizenship have, perhaps, also attracted further interest as a result of relatively recent Sovereignty changes referred to in the introduction to this chapter: the formation of the Welsh Assembly and the Scottish Parliament, as well as developments in the role of Britain as a member of an enlarging European Union. As identified in Chapter One, Cohen (1994: 35) has described the issue of British nationality as 'fuzzy' for the island's external relations.

> British identity shows a general pattern of fragmentation. Multiple axes of identification have meant that Irish, Scots, Welsh and English people…even 'Aliens' have had their lives intersect one with another in overlapping and complex circles of identity-construction and rejection. The shape and edges of British identity are thus historically changing, often vague and to a degree, malleable – an aspect of the British identity I have called a 'fuzzy frontier'

In addition to these *external* 'fuzzy' boundaries, national identity *within* Britain is further problematized by the multi*national* nature of the British state. This means that, whilst formal British citizenship may be sufficient to guarantee certain legal, political and social rights, it does not prevent exclusion from those national identities which exist parallel to Britishness; that is, English, Scottish and Welsh national identities. Bond (2006) suggests that, on the one hand, this may be a self-imposed exclusion. For instance, someone who moves from one of the 'constituent' nations of Britain (England, Scotland or Wales) to another may well prefer to retain their national identity of origin, rather than that of the destination. But, on the other hand, exclusion from one of these national identities may be externally imposed by the response (or anticipated response) of 'others' to claims to this identity. Moreover, the 'identity markers' used to substantiate claim and attribution of 'these' national identities will also vary to some

extent across these nations. For instance, Thompson and Day (1999: 36) demonstrate that 'in Wales, one of the key resources of Welsh national identity is the capacity to speak the Welsh language' whereas in Scotland there is no equivalent language representing a central marker of identity.

Anderson (1991), Nairn (1977) and Kammen (1991) argue that there exists a common urge to create a national identity to overcome diversity and difference within a nation. It could be argued, then, that 'nationalism' has not fundamentally changed, but the emphasis is different. The criticism of much of the literature on national identity in particular is that it has tended to be retrospective to the extent that such 'forward looking' concerns (Meer *et al.*, 2010:93) do not enjoy widespread appeal in scholarly accounts of national identity

3.2.6   Attachment to the Nation

Nationalism is generally discussed in relation to (often violent) attempts to strive for, or secure, national independence, so much so that in both the social sciences and popular discourse it becomes conceptualised as 'extraordinary, politically charged and emotionally driven' (Billig, 1995:44). Moreover, those involved in these 'outbreaks of "hot" nationalist passion' (ibid: 44) are generally found in remote areas of the globe or, when closer to home, portrayed as members of extreme political movements. For example, it was the Republican movement and not the British government that was described as nationalist during the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland (Coakley, 2007: 574). In this way, nationalism essentially disappears as an issue for developed nations both in the spheres of politics and academia (Coakley, 2007).

Indeed these outbreaks of 'hot' nationalist passion symbolise the deeper levels of affinity with 'their' nation (Davis, 1999), suggesting an 'attachment' to it. Druckman (1994: 44) argues that 'the feelings of attachment that comprise loyalty for many are not whimsical but are generally basic to the individuals' definitions of themselves.' These feelings of membership, inclusion and commitment are where the bonds between individuals and nations are regarded as essential components in the development and maintenance of national communities. The need for belonging, reinforced by an unconscious positive emotion associated with membership in a collective (the nation), represents an emotional attachment by which an individual seeks inclusion, not only for personal benefit but also because the alternative of solitary existence is something to be avoided: 'The experience of being outside, disconnected, ostracized, or rejected by one's …… national group is so painfully desolating that groups can expect a remarkable degree of compliance among members who value their inclusion' (Mack, 1983: 54).

As such, Mack (1983) identifies the existence of three essential human needs that can be fulfilled only through group membership: a need for belonging, a concern about survival, and a need for a sense of worth or value. Mack (1983) argues that, during the twentieth century, the nation has been the entity that most often satisfies these demands. The nation and its tangible components represent one such form of group association by which individuals may fulfil this desire for involvement, affiliation, and inclusion. Thus, membership in a collective (in this regard, nation) represents an emotional attachment or 'belonging' to that collective. In relation to Mack's (1983) survival need met through membership in various collectives, individuals begin to draw distinctions between those within the group (us) and those outside (them). Davis (1999) suggests that individuals then develop anxiety and latent fears about the intentions of outsiders, leading them to further embrace the collection, or in this case national group, as a protector from

perceived threats. The last of Mack's needs regards the attachment to a collective as someway to achieving a sense of value and self-worth. This form of attachment stems from early childhood experiences of being loved and valued by others (Golding, 2006). This quest of reassurance of self-worth is dependent on group contact and association with a community. As argued here, it is also dependent upon the contact and disassociation with 'outsiders', which is in this sense, contact with other national identities.

Attachment to the nation can also be characterised by sentiment, where the nation is 'valued as the familiar, the secure, and the place of fond memories' (DeLamater *et al.,* 1969: 258). Additionally, an individual's self-perception of national identity from attachment through self-worth (Golding, 2006) will be influenced by the accomplishments or failures of the nation; thus, any criticism or praise directed toward the group (the nation) will impact on personal self-esteem, or egotism. Consequently, national pride, honour, glory, power, heroism, shame and disgrace become personalised through the experience of the collective (Brewer, 1991; Kowalski & Wolfe, 1994).

Numerous attempts have been made to explore the notion of 'what binds the self to the nation' in order to develop an understanding of the 'personal' side of national identity and to generate insights into collective behaviour and the links between individuals and nations (Terhune, 1964; DeLamater *et al.,* 1969; Mack, 1983; Druckman, 1994; Kelman, 1997). What has emerged is that there is some combination of national attachment-detachment in national communities throughout the world and that the 'underlying needs for attachment may take several forms' (Druckman 1994: 43). Further, Druckman argues that '…these needs, in general, characterize the bases for nationalism' (1994: 45). In other words, these needs are the *roots of nationalism*.

3.3   Nationalism

3.3.1   Defining the key concepts

In order to understand the term 'nationalism' and also to provide a contextual basis from which to draw upon for the purposes of this thesis, it is important to identify and analyse the various definitions that exist not only of the term 'nationalism', but also of those terms that are widely used in connection with and when referring to nationalism. Some of these terms are discussed at greater length at appropriate points in the following narrative; others are mentioned briefly in order to provide relevant disclosure of the term for the purposes of this thesis.

The term 'nationalism' is often used as a synonym for the term 'nation' whereas the two terms are, in fact somewhat different in meaning and concept. In short, nationalism refers to a set of beliefs about the nation. A particular nation will contain differing views about its character which, in turn, present different and competing beliefs that may often manifest themselves as political differences. In contrast to nationalism, and as discussed earlier in this chapter, the nation is a particular kind of society, indicating nations are, essentially, human creations. However, a proper understanding of nationalism requires that it be distinguished from other forms of human creation which will be addressed below.

3.3.2. The meanings of 'Nationalism'

Of the divisions and radical disagreements within the scholarly community over the definition of key terms of the phenomena of nationalism and nations, there is one point on which there is consensus, namely, that the term 'nationalism' is quite a modern concept (Smith, 2009). Its earliest recorded use in anything remotely resembling a social and political sense dates back to the work of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) and the French counter-revolutionary cleric, the Abbé Augustin de (1741-1820) towards the end of the eighteenth century. Its first use in English medium, in 1836, appears to be based upon a theological perspective in that nations are divinely elected. Thereafter, it tended to be equated with national egotism but usually other terms, such as 'nationality' and 'nationalness', were preferred (Zernatto, 1944; Snyder, 1954; Kemilainen, 1964). More recently, however, terms associated with national-identity (Hester *et al*, 2002; Fenton, 2007), national state (Connor, 1994; Smith, 2009), state-nation (Zartmann (1964), national symbolism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Mosse, 1975, 1990) and, controversially, banal nationalism (Billig, 1995, 2009), have all been used in association with the concept of 'nationalism'.

During the last century, the term 'nationalism' acquired a range of meanings that are used in association with what could be termed as, 'contemporary' nationalism. Those that are deemed the most important are identified by Smith (2009: 5) as being:

- a process of formation, or growth, of nations;
- a sentiment or consciousness of belonging to the nation;
- a language and symbolism of the nation;
- a social and political movement on behalf of the nation;
- a doctrine and/or ideology of the nation, both general and particular.

The first of these meanings, the process of formation, or growth, of nations is in essence a general meaning which also embraces a series of more specific processes which often

form the object of nationalism. This meaning was considered previously in this chapter. National consciousness or sentiment is perhaps the most subjective meaning and, therefore, needs to be carefully distinguished from the remaining three and although they are closely related, they do not necessarily go together. For example, a person can possess considerable national feeling in the absence of any symbolism, movement or even ideology on behalf of the nation. In other words, it is based upon intrinsic connectivity with the nation rather than extrinsic markers.

Conversely, a group could exhibit a high degree of national consciousness but lack any overt ideology or political movement on behalf of the nation; however, the group is likely to possess at least some national symbols and myths. The contrast between an organized ideological movement of nationalism and a more dispersed feeling of national belonging requires the concept of national consciousness or sentiment to be treated separately from that of nationalism (Kohn, 1967; Michelat & Thomas, 1966; Seton-Watson, 1977).

The term nationalism, therefore, will be understood for the purposes of this thesis as referring to one or more of the following meanings: a language and symbolism, a socio-political movement and an ideology of the nation. The key concepts of nationalism's distinctive language or discourse (Brubaker, 1996; Calhoun, 1997) form intrinsic components of its core doctrine and characteristic ideologies and, therefore, cannot be considered separately since they are so closely tied to the ideologies of nationalism. As Dumézil (1958) argues, members of a nation often view language as an important factor in distinguishing their nation from another. For example, within the United Kingdom the Welsh language is perhaps one of the most distinguishing factors between the Welsh

and the English as nations (Parker, 2007). The conceptual language of nationalism has been considered earlier under the heading of national identity (see Section 3.2.5).

3.3.3   Symbolism of Nationalism

The symbolism of nationalism, although again closely connected to ideology, is discussed here due to the regularity with which it is used across the globe. A national symbolism is distinguished by its all-encompassing nation but, equally, by the tangibility and vibrancy of its characteristic signs. These start with a proper name which is either retained from the past or chosen to express the nation's distinctiveness, heroism and sense of destiny, and to echo these qualities amongst its members (Smith, 2009). Similarly, with national flags, their colours, shapes and patterns, and verses and music of anthems epitomise the special qualities of the nation and aim to conjure a vivid sense of unique history and destination among the designated population. To outsiders, the differences between many flags may appear minimal and verses of anthems may appear to reveal a limited range of themes. However, what is important is the potency of the 'meanings' conveyed by such signs or symbols to the members of the nation. Every nation hosts a capital city, a national assembly, passports, as well as their own national museums, national academies of art, science and music, and so on, which suggests that the symbolism of the nation has an assumed life of its own. The array of national symbols only serves to express, represent and reinforce the boundary definition of the nation and to unite the members 'inside' through a common imagery of shared memories, myths and values (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Mosse, 1975, 1990).

As a socio-political movement, nationalism places emphasis upon cultural development and representation. The ideologies of nationalism require an immersion in the culture of the nation, that is, the rediscovery of its history and heritage, the revival of its

vernacular language through philology, the cultivation of its literature, in particular poetry, and the restoration of its arts and crafts as well as its music (Smith, 1997). For example, the emergence of popular rock music bands such as Catatonia, The Stereophonics and The Manic Street Preachers have given Wales an increased visibility and credibility within the popular realm (Harris, 2007). A label to describe this renaissance was provided by the media and, interestingly, adapted the 'Cool Britannia' theme, which provides little or no recognition of the music bands' Welsh roots. The development of this musical renaissance was positioned alongside other social changes within Wales towards the end of the 1990s (Ellis, 2000), notably the formation of the Welsh National Assembly in 1999. This connectivity of culture with ideologies of nationalism may account for the cultural revivals associated with nationalist movements and the variety of cultural activities which nationalism can stimulate. Typically, a nationalist movement (Breuilly, 1993) will commence with an appearance of historical research, music festivals and cultural journals (Esman, 1994).

Of course, national symbolism and nationalist movement cannot be divorced from the ideology of nationalism. The ideology of nationalism serves to give force and direction to both symbols and movements within the nation. Objectives of the socio-political movement are defined by the basic ideals of the ideology (Smith, 2009). Similarly, the characteristic symbols and language of nationalism are shaped by the role they play in interpreting and evoking the ideals of the nation and advancing the objectives laid down by nationalist ideology. Therefore, in defining nationalism, one must look towards the *meaning* of nationalism, in particular ideology of the nation, as the contents of nationalism are defined by the ideologies which place the nation at the centre of their ideological concerns (Smith, 1995).

3.3.4   Defining 'Nationalism'

There is a long-standing and widely shared quest within the scholarly community for an adequate definition of what essentially does not exist, in reality, as a collective body. The real problem, Tishkov (2000) argues, is in the weakness of scholars to define what nationalism actually is. A similar inference is made as follows:

> Nationalism and, indeed, the nation itself appear in an ever greater diversity of forms and configuration, changing and constantly reinventing the phenomena that scholars have meticulously tried to fit into analytical categories. However, even though no definition may appear completely satisfactory given the complexity and multidimensionality of national identity, a working definition is necessary for constructing a theoretical framework (Triandafyllidou, 1998: 594).

Thus, there is a situation when the phenomenon being analysed is described not through 'analytical categories' but through selected 'working definitions' for the purpose of developing further theory. This mystification surrounding the notion of nationalism, which may not be viewed by some as an academic or politically functional category, has ultimately raised questions:

> For me the question is: how useful is the idea of "nationalism" for sorting all this out, first intellectually and then in policy terms? I have no simple answer to this question and no complicated one either. But doubts arise when ordering concepts such as "countries", "peoples", "societies", "cultures", and of course, "states", all seem to get sucked into "nationalism", as though it were some sort of strange attraction….. (Geertz, 1997:4).

This plethora of concepts surrounding 'nationalism' becomes weakened or the particular force and meaning of the concepts are lost as they become interchangeable with nationalism and with each other (Geertz, 1997). The weaknesses of these concepts applying to the category of nationalism and to its derivatives – that is, nation, nationality, and nation-state – are that they are really 'multiple synonyms with floating referents' (Tishkov, 2000: 639).

> Nationalism can and should be understood without invoking "nations" as substantial entities……To understand nationalism, we have to understand the practical use of the category "nation", the ways it can come to structure perceptions, to inform thought and experience, to organize discourse and political actions (Brubaker, 1996: 7).

As highlighted at the end of the previous section, nationalism is an ideology that places the nation at the centre of its concerns and seeks to promote its well-being. These generic goals, or concerns, that seek to promote the nation's well-being are: national autonomy, national unity and national identity (Smith, 2009: 9) and, for nationalists, a nation cannot survive without the existence of all three. For the purposes of this thesis, a working definition of nationalism provided by Smith (2009: 9) is adopted: 'An ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity for a population which some of its members deem to constitute an actual or potential "nation"' (2009:9)

3.4   Sport and Nationalism

In the preceding section, the notion of national*ism* implied two fundamental elements: firstly, the 'nationalist' must have a tendency to concern themselves towards 'their' nation and, secondly, there must be a belief that the nation is a morally demanding form of collective existence. The quest for identity, nationhood or independence draws upon romanticism, mythology, invented tradition and objective cultural artefacts. Whatever elements form the basis of nationalist expressions, all expressions of identity and nationhood are '*selective, timebound* and *expressive*' (Jarvie & Reid, 1999: 103). In this way, all nations have at some point indulged in some imaging.

Nevertheless, it was highlighted that, in the main, people gave little thought to the distinctions of nationality and nationalism in everyday life (Brubaker, 2006).

Exceptions to this may be when people are confronted with documentation that asks for their nationality or similarly at times when modern concepts of nationality are mediatised public discourse. For example, discourse may define nations by religion (Israel, Pakistan), by language (Germany, Italy) and by ideology (the United States of America) (Allison, 2000). However, more recently, it is argued here, nations or symbolic nationalism can also be defined through sport in modern discourse. For example, in rugby the concepts of nationality are entwined with the sport: blue for Scotland, red for Wales, green for Ireland and white for England.

The imaging of and about nations asserts that nation-ness and nationalism have often been built up on cultural artefacts of a particular kind. In this sense, sport often provides a uniquely effective medium for articulating national feelings because, in capturing political moments, it provides a form of symbolic action which states the cause for nation (Jarvie & Reid, 1999). The popular identification between sports teams, for example in rugby, has led to the suggestion that sporting struggles are expressions of national communities and divided cultures (Jarvie & Reid, 1999). A Welsh rugby crowd will sing '*Mae hen wlad fy nhadau*' (Land of my Fathers) or a Scottish crowd 'Flower of Scotland', both being tales of blood and sacrifice, and more specifically about the English being sent back across the border 'tae think again' (Brand, 1978: 125). It is as if for the moment the imagined community (Anderson, 1983, 1996) or nation becomes more real in the sports arena.

Support for a national team may be a purely cultural link, similar to support for a club team. But, it is equally apparent that sport can act in an important catalytic way with respect to nationalism: 'after all, it was a soccer match between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969 which killed 6,000 and left 24,000 wounded' (Kapuscinki, 1990, cited

in Allison, 2000: 351). Similarly, nearer to home, an abundance of 'English flags' are displayed during the football World Cup, for example. But interestingly, this overt support for a national team is not readily evidenced at such times of 'important' matches with English cricket. This may be that, since the Scottish, the Welsh and the Irish barely play cricket, there is arguably less rivalry on an '*intra*-national' perspective. The organisation of modern sport has readily absorbed a national dimension, and this national dimension is an important part of sport. This dimension incorporates the meaning that an intense sense of shared national identity gives to watching a team perform. It is this intense feeling of identification which is the 'kernel' of the relationship between sport and nationality, particularly in those nations which are perceived by their members as being ancient and with a history of oppression, engendering a sense of loyalty that can be more akin to a tribe than a modern institution (Allison, 2000; Jarvie, 1991, 1993). Thus, there can be a collective sense of national humiliation, helplessness and depression when a national team is defeated. On the other hand, however, a national victory may result in intimate emotions of pride, glory, pride and heroism (Davis, 1999). Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that a 'national' sport has helped a nationalist cause more than it has hindered or made no difference at all. Furthermore, rugby is considered the game of Welshmen 'because…the social function had merged with sporting success to become a focus for nationality' (Smith, 1984: 35).

'British' teams have only come into existence because of organisations that insist on a 'nation-state' identity, such as the Olympic Games. It is of little doubt that hosting the forthcoming Olympic Games in 2012 has received enhanced media discourse, and the notion of a 'one' Britain, that is connected by a commonality. It is assumed in the 'marketing' of the Olympic Games that this is indeed a shared and, more importantly,

understood commonality. Yet, it could be argued here that this commonality clearly has to be 'sold' both internally and externally to the British Islanders.

> Britain is a stimulating and exciting place to be. A place of constant reinvention where castles host music festivals, museums hold fashion shows, country houses are transformed into spa hotels and where you'll find world renowned historic landmarks right next door to modern art galleries and restaurants. Not just one country but three, each with their own character and traditions, but connected by a common spirit and people who are genuine, down to earth, interesting and quirky. A country that will host the Olympic and Paralympic Games in London in 2012 and also invites you to experience the character and charm of the whole of Britain, right now. (VisitBritain, 2010: 20).

Furthermore, it is argued that, by the inclusion of the notion of being 'reinvented', it is clear that Britain does appear to have an 'identity crisis'. It is acknowledged that, however, the above statement is provided to attract tourism and, more specifically, that one of the legacies from hosting the Olympic Games is to 'increase overseas visitor spend to all parts of Britain and improve Britain's ranking on the destination wish list for international travellers' (VisitBritain, 2010:7).

Yet the English markers of identity are arguably dominating here (Storry & Childs, 1997) to represent the uniform identity or 'branding' (VisitBritain, 2010: 5) of the British nation (Haseler, 1996). Once again, Britain is in fact England (Aslet, 1997; McCrone & Kiely, 2000; Palmer, 2005; Weight, 2002). 'Research consistently shows that Britain's key strengths are its heritage, culture, education, sport and London.' (VisitBritain, 2010: 14).

3.5   Tourism and Nationalism

As discussed at length in the previous chapter, tourism is essentially a social phenomenon. Tourists will inevitably engage in social encounters with local people, the result of which will initiate different kinds of relationships occurring between these two groups. These encounters play an important part of group experiences and can often influence the desirability of the destination, in terms of both tourists seeking and hosts welcoming, future visitation. Tourism can provide a group a medium through which to broadcast a message about itself, its history and its culture and also, as argued here, its identity. This portrayal of the group's history and heritage brings with it an attachment to custom and tradition by 'drawing more deeply upon indigenous resources, resurrecting past folk-heroes and myths about themselves….'(Nairn, 1977: 384) and, more specifically, patriotism (Lowenthal, 1998). This attachment to tradition and custom facilitates the notion of nationalism towards a 'historically "real" national identity' for the group (Smith, 1997: 200)

The dissemination of common national identity, or 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1991) includes the modes of maps and museums. Maps delineate the territorial extent of the nation, whilst museums provide the defining characteristics of historical evidence of the nation's credibility of existence and of individual existence. (Pretes, 2003; Trilling, 1972). Tourism 'sights' may project and manifest the foundation 'myth' of the nation, for example Hadrian's Wall between England and Scotland, or Offa's Dyke bordering England and Wales. These sights may project a hegemonic, or indeed official, discourse of nationalism and, thus, disseminating a sense of national identity 'roots' for the host group, and reaffirmation for the visiting group. Tourism, then, in effect 'makes a place into a museum' (Lenoir & Ross, 1996: 374) but, furthermore, tourism is a service industry where people from different nationalities meet.

Franklin (2003) regards travel and tourism as an integral part of national life through which people experience the idea of nationhood and collective past. Furthermore, Neumann (1992) suggests 'travel often provides situations and contexts where people confront alternative possibilities for belonging to the world and others that differ from everyday life. Indeed, part of the promise of travel is to live and know the self in other ways' (1992:183).

More specifically, however, heritage tourism plays a pertinent role in the maintenance and promotion of the nation (Palmer, 1998). Park (2010) argues that the view of heritage as a symbolic cultural 'production' plays a fundamental role in imaging an essence of national identity. Therefore, heritage, or culture has the potential to continually remind nationals upon the symbolic foundations upon which a sense of belonging is based. Accordingly, Biessière (1998: 26) asserts: 'Heritage, whether it be an object, monument, inherited skill or symbolic representation, must be considered an identity marker and distinguishing feature of a social group.' Thus, tourism can be considered as an important medium in national 'imagination' and therefore raises an important point regarding the interaction between tourism and nationalism. Suffice it to say that what is successfully presented for consumption by 'outsiders' also redefines the parameters of the legitimacy and 'authenticity' of the nation for 'indigenous' audiences. It is argued here therefore that a conceptual framework developed for this research, shown in Figure 3.1, represents the overall 'picture' of internal and external processes reinforcing self 'national belonging' or national identity.

Everyday 'Nationalism'

Culture at the 'heart' of national identity

Touristic 'Nationalism'

National Identity at the 'heart' of culture

Arrows depict the direction of 'reinforcement'.
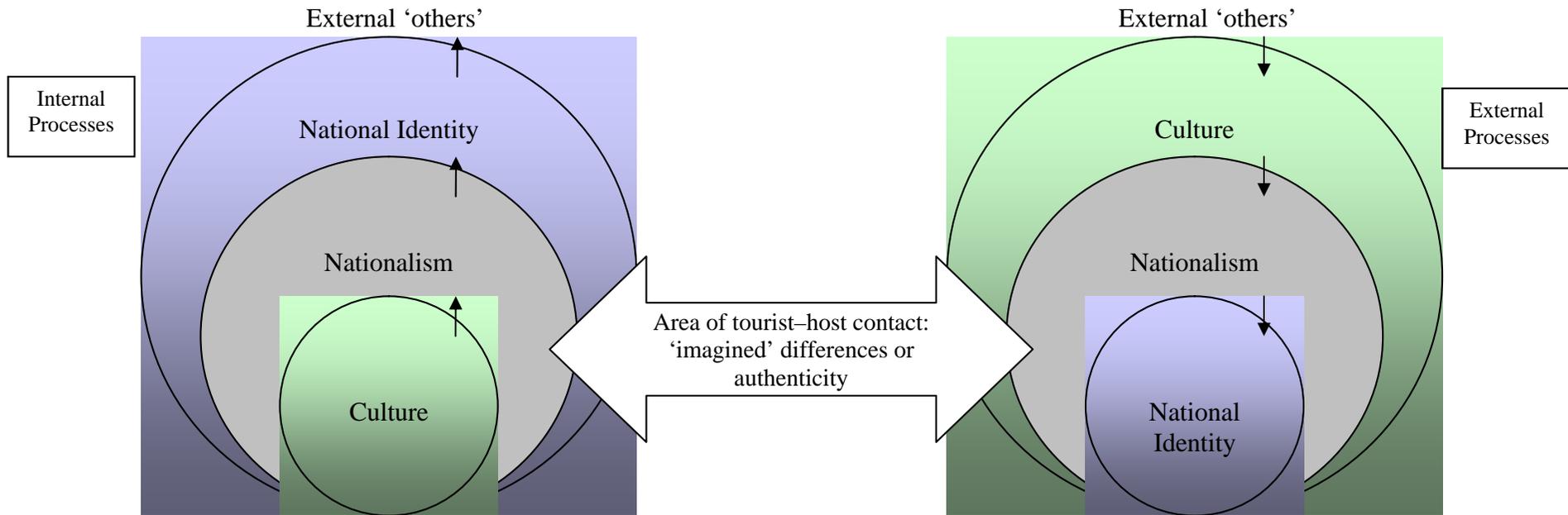
Figure 3.1: Conceptual Framework of Nationalism Influences on Tourist-Host Relationships

3.5.1. Towards a Conceptual Framework.

The internal processes identified in the conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) assume that in 'everyday reality' culture is at the heart or core of national identity. This is not to assume this is a conscious process. Shared beliefs and values about a common 'heritage' or culturally authentic past of a group are 'disseminated' through symbolisms, such as flags, festivals, signs, historic sites, heroes, territory, people, architecture and language. These 'symbols' or identity markers of 'nationalism' continually reinforce a concept of self, or collective, national identity, which is presented externally to 'others'.

In contrast, it is however argued that the 'processes' are somewhat different in the 'realm' of tourism. Within a tourist domain, the culture of a group, be it sought from tourists or 'marketed' from a host destination, is 'presented' or 'imagined' externally to 'others'. This culture is reinforced via 'tangible' nationalism 'symbols' such as language, flags, signs, festivals, people, historic sites, territory, heroes and architecture. These symbols in turn reassure 'national identity' of self, or 'others'. National identity becomes the core or heart of tourism (cultural).

The 'layer' of 'nationalism' is, as argued here, where social interaction between tourists and host communities occurs. In other words, experiences of language, people, flags, territory and so forth. This social interaction process may 'struggle' as competing interests argue for their own interpretation of national history, or authenticity. In this respect, authenticity is a label attached to the visited cultures or peoples in terms of stereotyped images and 'imagined' expectations held by the members of the tourist-sending society (Britton 1979; Silver 1993). Similarly

national cultures have an important intervening effect on tourist behaviour: 'this is especially true in the case of *perceived* nationality differences where residents or tourist-entrepreneurs tend to hold specific stereotypes of tourists based on their nationalities, regardless of their country of birth, ethnic background and country of origin.' (Pizam and Jeong, 1996: 282)

The view that studies of national differences have significant value is further reasserted by Clark (1990) who suggests, first, that evidence about cross-national differences do exist; second, that these differences can be observed and recorded; and third, that these observed differences have a significant bearing on the behaviour of tourists. However, Dann (1993) criticises the practice of using nationality as a sole discriminating variable for explaining the differences found in the behaviour of tourists. Dann's criticism is based on four observations: (1) the fuzzy nature of these variables, (2) the globalization of the world, (3) the cosmopolitan nature of generating societies, and (4) the pluralistic nature of receiving societies.

The development of the conceptual framework implies a deductively driven research, but the intention is to use this framework in order to bring together the elements from both tourism literature and nationalism literature that are seen as key to the tourist-host interaction setting. The conceptual framework presented in Figure 3.1 in essence provides a macro-view of the interconnectedness of tourism and nationalism.

3.6   Chapter Three Summary

This chapter has evaluated the current discussion on the issue of nationalism and, more specifically, with reference to Britain. Moreover, the question of national 'membership' has been explored and devoted to the consideration of whether people regard themselves as English, Scottish, Welsh or indeed British. A theoretical account of why individuals might accord high importance to their own national identity has also been considered.

A 'nation' can be defined or regarded as a territory, but fundamentally a nation 'exists' as 'imagined' (Anderson, 1991) by those who share occupancy and constitute it, and therefore it is a 'living' thing. This imagined nation or collective of people will share common myths, memories, beliefs and mutual commitment, have a distinct 'public' culture and engage in joint actions. The key to the existence of a nation is the memories held amongst its members about the past of their nation. These memories of traditions and customs become fundamental in an individual's understanding of the self. This distinguishing self-awareness is expressed in and influenced by the everyday conduct of the individuals who make up the nation, for example the language spoken.

Tourists will inevitably engage in social encounters with local people, the result of which will initiate different kinds of relationships occurring between these two groups. These encounters play an important part of group experiences and can often influence the desirability of the destination, in terms of both tourists seeking and hosts welcoming, future visitation. Thus, tourism can be considered as an important medium in national 'imagination' and therefore raises an important point regarding

the interaction between tourism and nationalism. The 'layer' of 'nationalism' is, as argued here, where social interaction between tourists and host communities occurs, and thus the principal concern of this research is to establish the influence of nationalistic determinants on the tourist-host relationship. In order to explore this phenomenon, the specific case of relationships between English tourists and Welsh hosts provides the context for this study in general and the town of Bala, situated in the Northern area of Wales and the case study location for this research, in particular, are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter Four

Croeso i Gymru
or
Neighbours from Hell?

Chapter Four

4.1   The Context of Tourism in Wales

The purpose of the research, as revealed in the first chapter of this thesis, is to explore critically how nationalistic characteristics not only manufacture themselves within contemporary society but also how this 'difference' is contemplated or experienced where social interactions and relationships occur within tourist-host settings. Establishing the extent to which nationalism plays a part within these relationships will determine what policies or practices may need or may not need refining or defining in order to facilitate effective tourist-host relationships, thus fulfilling the aim of this research.

As emphasised in the preceding chapters, this research questions the effect that nationalistic determinants have on tourist-host relationships, particularly in the context of the home countries within Britain. In particular, it examines the specific case of relationships between *English tourists* and *Welsh hosts* within the contemporary consumption of tourism. As such, the research adopts a case study approach which is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five. The case study approach is used to gain an in-depth understanding of a situation (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000) and is particularly appropriate for the study of relationships, including specific encounters (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Thus, a case study is a strategy for research which involves empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real life context (Hamel *et al*., 1993; Robson, 1993; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Yin, 1994). The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the national context of this study (Wales)

in general and the town of Bala, situated in the Northern area of Wales and the case study location for this research, in particular.

4.2 Introduction

Initially, this chapter provides a broader perspective on Wales, including a basic geography of the Principality. The culture and characteristics of Welsh society are then explored, including issues such as identity, Welsh life and patronage. Tourism has been promoted as a means of diversifying the economy in Wales, and this too is examined. The importance of tourism to the area of North Wales will be highlighted and, more specifically the case study location of Bala in the county of Gwynedd, North Wales will be discussed in terms of history, events and opportunites for future tourism.

With specific relevance to the research question, the chapter considers the current political situation in Wales and, in particular, how Wales is represented as a hotly debated 'stateless' nation. It also reviews how the Welsh and the English have co-existed, sometimes amicably, and often not, over the course of recent history. Figure 4.1 overleaf provides on overall perspective of Wales' positioning within Britain, and also more specifically the boundaries of particular counties within Wales.
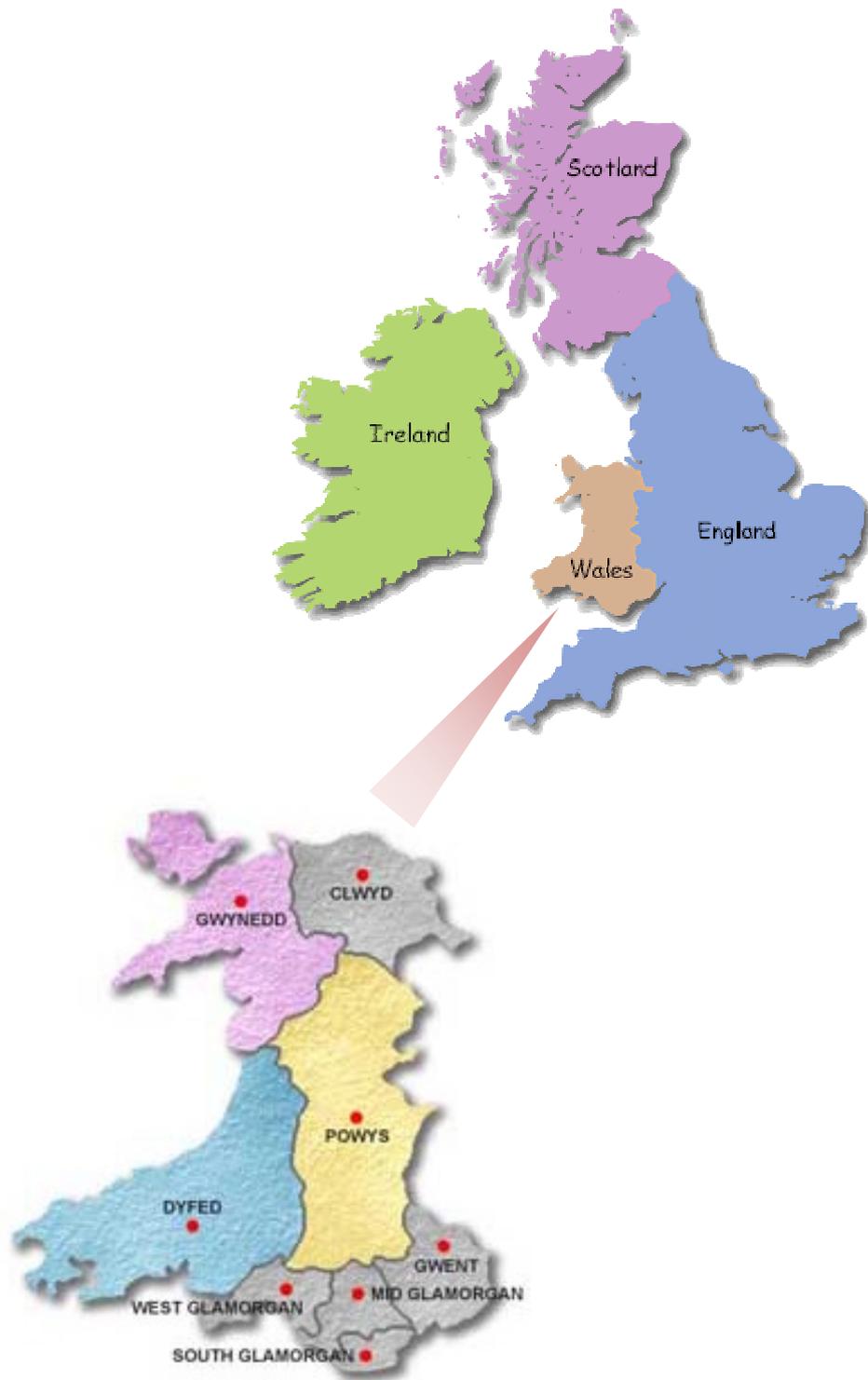
Figure 4.1: Map of the British Isles and Wales

4.3 ‘For Wales – See England’

> The Welsh are cordially liked and heartily respected by all their fellow-subjects, as a gallant and most gifted race. Year by year, the English know them better, and year by year the English like them more. There really is not a lingering trace of national jealousy. Long ago, we fought our last fight with the Welsh, and luckily for them we won it (*Daily Telegraph*, 15th September 1867).

The ‘For Wales – See England’ directive is to be found in the Edwardian *Encyclopaedia Britannica* entry on Wales (Harris, 2007). According to Morgan (1971), this directive epitomised the humiliation and patronising indifference which helped launch the modern national movement in Wales. In the shadow of its much larger neighbour, Wales has throughout the course of time had to define itself with reference to England which, within this context, may be seen as underpinning an inferiority complex: ‘it is in opposition to Englishness that Welshness is defined’ (Bowie, 1993: 190).

One of the directives in the establishment of the European Union was to offer greater opportunity for (re)asserting marginalised identities (Harris, 2007). Yet, despite this emphasis on ‘marginlised’ nations within the European Union, the Principality found itself omitted from the map of Europe when the front cover of the Euorostat Yearbook 2004 had somehow failed to include Wales on the map of the British Isles providing instead a larger expanse of the Irish Sea.

The initial subjugation of Wales to England following the defeat of Llewelyn, Prince of Gwynedd, in 1282 was confirmed by the Acts of Union between England and Wales of 1536 and 1543 (Ross, 2010). The subsequent incorporation of Wales into the English state became inevitable as the Tudors, a Welsh dynasty, modernised the

administration of government and completed the removal of distinct Welsh legal, educational and administrative structures. As a consequence, Wales became annexed to England, creating what Davies (1989: 60) considers 'a classic example of an internal colony.' English law and administration were imposed and the Welsh language was banned for all official purposes. Whilst this language suppression was most brutal during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Durkacz, 1983), the punishment of children for speaking Welsh in school continued into the twentieth century (Atichison & Carter, 1991; Pitchford, 2001). In 1866, *The Times* asserted that 'the Welsh language is…the curse of Wales…its prevalence and the ignorance of the English language have excluded the Welsh people from the civilisation of their English neighbours' (cited in Stephens, 1976: 158-159).

If Wales was a colony of England, it was not always or entirely an unwilling one. Whilst it may be considered that annexation made the Welsh 'second-class citizens' (Thomas, 1992: 10), annexation also brought about an element of stability and prosperity. For instance, during the industrial growth in the nineteenth century, Wales was developed largely for its mineral resources (Ross, 2010). In particular, the expansion of the south Wales coal fields in the mid-1800s generated both an abundance of jobs and also huge profits for the culturally- and geographically-adrift coal-owners who 'were undeniably Welsh by birth' but, as Morgan (1981: 69) continues, 'their Welshness often ended there.' Nevertheless, in comparison to England, Wales remained relatively poor in terms of income and infrastructure and had lower-quality housing and education. By the 1930s, when the Depression reduced the demand for coal, unemployment rates in south Wales soared to well

above fifty percent and were subsequently slower to recover than in industrial centres in England (Morgan, 1981).

However, the argument remains that annexation by a highly centralised state resulted in Wales becoming a provincial 'backwater' of Britain (Osmond, 1985). Furthermore, it is also argued that this also facilitated Anglicised Welsh elites rejecting Welsh culture (Ragin, 1979). Thus, the country was generally considered as beng increasingly backward and inferior and associated with poverty and isolation (Hechter, 1975). At the same time, there has often been an ambivalent quality to Wales's 'image', inasmuch as poverty, ignorance and squalor are often romanticised as simplicity, intuitiveness and quaintness (Chapman, 1978; Morgan, 1983; Piggott, 1968). However, as Owens (2000: 13) warns, 'you have to be wary of romanticism. Wales is a much more complex and divided place than some people think. It isn't this glowing ember of close-knit communities.'

In more recent times, Wales has changed markedly and there is much anxiety about the decline of social capital and the fragmentation of face-to-face community rooted in place (Delanty, 2003). Within an age characterised by individualism, positioned alongside the forces of globalisation and Europeanisation, traditional notions of community and place are, perhaps, in a state of flux: 'Old Wales is dead. The Wales of stereotypes, leeks, daffodils, look-you-now boyo rugby supporters singing Max Boyce songs in three-part harmony while phoning mam to tell her they will be home for tea and Welsh cakes has gone' (Thomas, 1997: 7). It is argued here, that the identity of Wales has, therefore, been shaped by discourses of identity which assert that some may be '….constitued as more powerful and more valuable than others'

(Rose, 1993:6). In other words, 'power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and re-negotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics' (Atcheson & Reeves, 1998: 51). Such discourses are not irreversible but are constantly evoling and Wales, as a nation is currently in transition: economically, socially, politically, and culturally (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). These processes may shape the relationship between culture, identity and touristic marketing of places and peoples.

Contemporary Wales is, perhaps, undergoing a fusion of cultural and political processes which may have facilitated the promotion of a more 'overtly' Welsh tourism image. As indicated in the previous chapters, tourism is essentially a cultural 'arena' and reflects these configurations of 'power', in terms of how tourism imagery constructs peoples and places (Britton, 1979; MacCannell, 1984; Silver, 1993). The cultural tourism 'product' may also be influenced in the ways the landscapes and destinations are 'imagined' and may manifest into implications for how those places and their people are perceived. For indeed, as Weightman (1987:23) commented 'The tour brochure directs expectations, influences perceptions, and thereby provides a pre-conceived landscape for the tourist to "discover"'. Thus, the *directed* landscape *becomes* the real landscape and as Peirce Lewsi (1979: 21) notes, 'The advertisement….becomes a self-fulfilling prohecy'.

4.4   Geography, Language and the Nationalist Response

> The Wales of today is not a community. There is not one Wales; there are
> three…There is Welsh Wales; there is industrial, or as I sometimes think of
> it, American Wales; and there is upper-class Wales, or English Wales. These
> three represent different types and different traditions. They are moving in
> different directions, and, if all three survive, they are not likely to re-unite.
> (Smith, 1999, cited in Osmond 2003: 2).

The above description of Wales was given in an address by Sir Alfred Zimmern,

Professor of International Politics at the University of Wales, at Jesus College,

Oxford in 1921 (Osmond, 2003). Zimmern clearly identified an underlying three-

way division of Welsh society which, to some degree, persists today, and his

analysis was a catalyst for the development of the 'three-Wales' model. This model

divides Wales into three distinct political areas based upon responses to two survey

questions in Dr Denis Balsom's Welsh Election Study in 1979 in Aberystwyth. The

responses to: 'Do you normally consider yourself to be Welsh, British, English or

something else?' and 'Do you speak Welsh?' were geographically mapped,

producing three areas (Osmond, 2003). These areas are shown in Figure 4.2. Balsom

(1985) makes a distinction between 'Y Fro Gymraeg', 'Welsh Wales' and 'British

Wales'. The first (Y Fro Gymraeg) is the Welsh speaking heartland of the nation,

embracing North and West Wales (with the exception of Pembrokeshire), where the

language is most commonly spoken on a daily basis and agriculture and rural life

dominate. Not surprisingly, perhaps, it is in this area that Plaid Cymru (the National

Party of Wales) enjoys its greatest political support and the sense of being Welsh is

most acutely felt (Williams, 2000).

Figure 4.2: Three-Wales Model. *Source:* Adapted from Osmond (2003)

Welsh Wales – or the Valleys – is the industrial belt across South Wales which has

long served as the Labour Party's electoral heartland for its dominance of Welsh

political life. Welsh Wales has the highest proportion of inhabitants born in Wales,

with economic decline and deprivation increasingly becoming features of this area as

the coal and steel industries disappear and people leave in growing numbers (Ross,

2010). British Wales comprises the remainder, that is, the coastal belts of North and

South East Wales and the border areas. Parts of British Wales have a high

percentage of English-born inhabitants, the area has received the bulk of inward investment and enjoys the highest rates of economic growth. Consequently, modernisation occurred most rapidly in British Wales. It is also here that the issue of identity is most contested (Pritchard & Morgan, 2003). Those in British Wales are considered 'not really Welsh' and are easily viewed as labouring under a false consciousness (Williams, 2003: 3). Thus, it can be argued that Welsh identity and nationhood are negotiated differently in each of these 'areas'.

The pre-legislative referendum in 1997 was essentially held to establish the level of support for the creation of an assembly for Wales with devolved powers. Initiated by a Labour manifesto, this was the second referendum held over the question of a devlotution, the first being in 1979 (Ross, 2010). The three-Wales model was further confirmed by the National Assembly referendum in 1997 and was broadly utilised as an east/west division for securing European Objective One status for the Principality in 1998. For an EU region to qualify for Objective One funding, it must have demonstrated a GDP below 75 percent of the overall EU average. Based on the Three-Wales model, two-thirds (incorporating west Wales and the Valleys) of the country's GDP was measured at 72.5 percent of the European Union average at designation. Under the previous north/south divide utilised by policy makers (Osmond, 2003), no part of the Principality would have qualified for Objective One status funding (Morgan & Price, 1998).

The 1997 referendum for a National Welsh Assembly did not attract full support from the people of Wales. Just over half of the eligible voters turned out and of those 50.3 percent were in favour of the Welsh Assembly and the remaining 49.7

percent against. Nevertheless, as only a majority vote was necessary the Government of Wales Act was passed at Westminster in 1998 (Ross, 2010). In a more recent poll, however, 56 percent of electors are in favour of increased law-making powers for the Assembly, with 34 percent against (Ross, 2010). After the low level of support during the 1997 referendum, a 'post mortem' uncovered explanations that centred on two broad areas: the failure of political communication and the weakness of national identity in Wales. The former Secretary of State for Wales, Ron Davies, attributes the outcome of the referendum to a failure of political education (Taylor & Thomson, 1997). Further, he argues that this failure occurred at two levels: firstly, the refusal of the Labour Party in Wales to involve other political parties and wider civil society in the formation of its devolution policy and, secondly, the British Labour Party's reluctance to campaign on the issue (Taylor & Thomson 1997). This resulted in an inability to develop a coherent intellectual case for devolution which undermined a campaign to win the hearts and minds of the people of Wales. Others argue the public's response was, in essence, more deep-seated, the narrow and half-hearted mandate for Welsh devolution reflecting the weakness of Welsh identity and the fact that national aspirations in Wales have always proven 'divisive' rather than 'integrative' (Bogdanor, 1999; Curtice, 1999).

> There is no historical necessity for Wales; there is no historical necessity for a Welsh people or a Welsh nation. Wales will not exist unless the Welsh want it. It is not compulsory to want it. Plenty of people who are biologically Welsh choose not to be Welsh. The act of choice is beyond reason. One thing, however, is clear from our history. If we want Wales, we will have to make Wales' (Williams, 1979: x).

As Wales was unable to retain the separate legal, educational and religious structures that, in comparison, have underpinned a distinctive national culture in Scotland, it

may be argued that society in Wales is characterised by a lack of confidence and, therefore, identity (Ross, 2010). In the nineteenth century, pressure for greater institutional expression for Welsh identity took the form of protest to defend the Welsh language. The event that gave rise to such protest was the publication in 1847 of the 'Blue Books', in which English educational commissioners attributed what they saw as Welsh immorality and backwardness to the Welsh language (Williams, 2000). As a consequence, a Welsh consciousness began to emerge and, in the 1850s, Wales acquired its national anthem and established the annual National Eisteddfod – a cultural festival. However, efforts to establish separate political institutions failed and it was not until the post-war period that Wales received any political acknowledgement of its distinctiveness. The Welsh Office was only established in 1964.

4.4.1   Cymro. Dydw i ddim yn siarad Saesneg.

The unequal relationship between England and Wales has been played out in cultural contexts, but more specifically with regard to the Welsh language (Jones & Merriman, 2009). The Welsh language is the oldest language in Britain, both spoken and written (Davies & Bowie, 1992) but, as indicated earlier, when Wales became annexed with England in 1536 the use of the Welsh language was banned for all official purposes:

> The people of the dominion [Wales] have and do daily use a speech nothing like nor consonant to the natural mother tongue used within this realm….No person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have or enjoy any manor, office or fees within the realm on England, Wales, or other the King's dominions upon pain of forfeiting the same offices or fees unless he or they use and exercise the speech of language of English' (The Act of Union between England and Wales, 1536, cited in Parker, 2007: 46).

The Welsh language has been something of a contested issue throughout history, and continues to be so (Jones & Merriman, 2009; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001; Smith, 2000). Wales is a country in which two languages reside side by side and, unlike other Celtic languages, Welsh remains a feature of daily life, albeit to a decreasing extent (Burkitt, 2004; Aitchison & Carter, 1991). In the 1800s, for example, most of the country was Welsh speaking but, by the end of the nineteenth century, the proportion of the population speaking the language had declined to 57 percent. Since then, Welsh usage has continued to decline and, currently, just 21 percent of the population is Welsh speaking (Welsh Language Board, 2003). Nevertheless, in Wales language is a crucial, and at times determining, factor. Much of the political geography of Wales is shaped by the language and the decline of Welsh usage has been accompanied by the territorial shrinkage of Welsh speaking regions with corresponding concerns about the ethno-linguistic vitality of the language (Williams, 2000). Consequently, measures have been taken – both official and unofficial – to preserve and protect the language in these shrinking zones. For example, the Welsh Language Acts and the activities of both Meibion Glyndwr (Sons of Glyndwr, perhaps better known outside Wales as the 'cottage burners') and the non-violent Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg), have all been responses to the perceived threat to the language. The long-term nationalist leader, Saunders Lewis, argued that the 'fate of the language' was in the balance and that only the deployment of revolutionary methods could secure its future (Lewis, 1962). As a direct response, the Welsh Language Society, formed in 1962, employed action campaigns as a means of drawing attention to the lack of support afforded to the Welsh language, and by implication the Welsh nation, by the English state (Davies, 1974; Phillips, 1998). A fundamental objective of the Welsh Language Society is to

enhance the legal and social status of the language and, in so doing, it has been instrumental in developing a sense of national consciousness within Wales and a more favourable image outside Wales (Jones, 1993; Pritchard & Morgan, 2002; Thomas, 1991). Thus, defending the language has come to lie at the heart of Welsh nationalism. Moreover, Jones (1993:13) argues that the campaign for the Welsh language has 'brought back to a negative-oriented people a positive attitude towards being Welsh…..They [Welsh Language Society] have to a certain extent transformed a people.' This view is further supported by Plaid Cymru's manifesto that 'the Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets... In recent years, Welsh has proven that it can be a *modern* and creative medium which combines its rich heritage with a will and ability to contribute to the *modern* world.' (Plaid Cymru 1997: 38 – emphasis in original).

However, the outcome has been one of political conflict inside Welsh society across what Anglo-Welsh historian Dai Smith has labelled the great linguistic divide (Davies & Bowie, 1992). In particular, the special treatment for the language is seen by some English-speaking Welsh people as a threat. For instance, the New Labour minister Kim Howells (1990) talked of the 'philistinism of the language zealots' whom he saw as constituting a narrow élite that ran much of Welsh life with the priority of advancing the Welsh language. Conversely, Williams (1999:13) argues that 'the place, within the nation, for those who do not speak the local language is certainly considered to be problematic by at least some of those who continue to speak it as their mother tongue'. The tension between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers is 'not merely linguistic. It was also a fracture in the economy and society which led to a difference in collective psychology' (Smith 1984: 8).

During the foundation year of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (later simply Plaid Cymru) in 1925, nationalism within the British Isles was a live and current theme (McAllister, 2001; Ross, 2010). In Ireland, twenty-six counties had formed the 'Free State' in 1922 and a violent guerrilla movement, Sinn Fein, was fighting for the six counties of Northern Ireland to be included. In Scotland in 1921, a Scots National League seeking full independence was also established. In its early years, Plaid Cymru was not a party seeking political office. With membership of around 500 in 1930, it was seen chiefly as a Welsh Language pressure-group run by scholars to protect the language, rather than as an expression of identity (Ross, 2010). Yet there is a Welsh adage that suggests: *cenedl heb iaith, cenedl heb galen* (translated: a *nation* without a language is a *nation* without a heart – emphasis added).

Far from being resolved, the issue of the Welsh language is further complicated by a number of problems. Firstly, there is the question of defining what 'Welsh-speaking' actually means; secondly, there is the debate surrounding the status of the language in public and social life; and thirdly, there is the relationship between language and identity and language, identity and politics. In June 2000, the Welsh Language Board published a report on The State of the Welsh Language, which gives a more nuanced picture of the Welsh language in contemporary Wales (Welsh Language Board, 2000). With regard to the meaning of Welsh-speaking, this report defined Welsh-speakers as those who speak the language 'fluently' or 'very well'. It emerged that just eleven percent of the population were fluent, five percent spoke it fairly well, two percent spoke some Welsh and 27 percent spoke just a few words, while 55 percent of the population spoke no Welsh at all. However, on perhaps a more positive note, there is recent evidence of an increase in Welsh speaking among younger age

groups, specifically aided by the introduction of compulsory Welsh in schools and the provision of Welsh-medium schools (Aitchison & Carter, 1991; Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). The same report (WLB, 2000) revealed that 75 percent of those interviewed (including both English- and Welsh-speakers) consider the language will continue as a living entity for the foreseeable future, whilst 89 percent of all respondents thought the language was important for Welsh culture. At the same time, a significant proportion thought that knowledge of the language was useful in obtaining employment and that the demand for bilingual skills would grow, especially in certain sectors such as education, health service and local government. More interesting, though, was the finding that almost all respondents (with only 6 percent disagreeing) thought there should be more bilingual education than is currently available and that more English medium schools should teach some subjects in Welsh (Welsh Language Board, 2000).
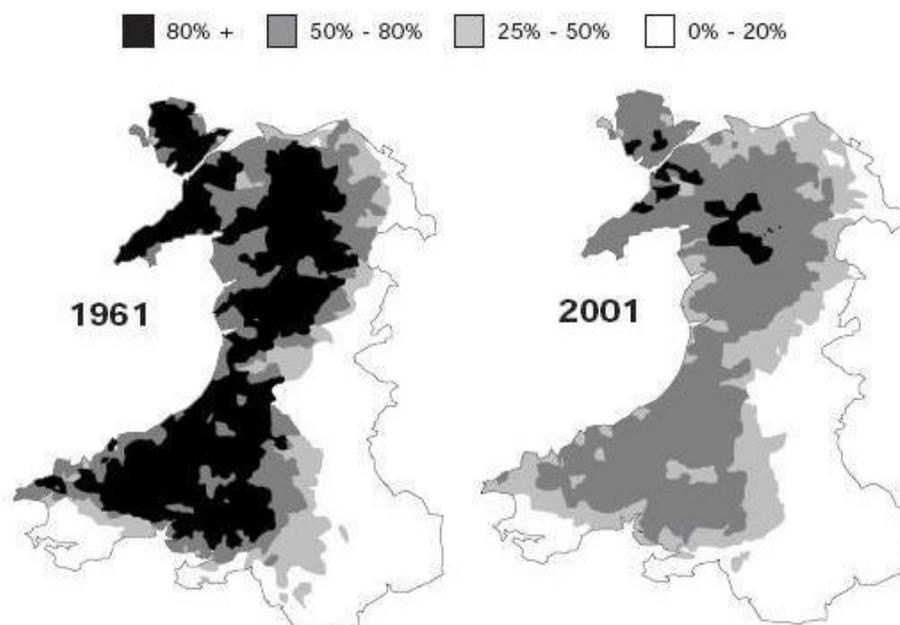
Figure 4.3: Welsh Speaking Populations

These developments are significant when compared to attitudes towards the Welsh language during the 1979 referendum on devolution, when there was widespread concern amongst the English-speaking community that 'Welshies' would dominate a devolved Assembly (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). The position of the language has also been strengthened in public policy terms by the Welsh Language Act of 1993 and the subsequent establishment of the Welsh Language Board to protect and promote the language. More generally, 'language politics' certainly do not appear to feature as they did a generation ago and leading figures have declared that the age of language politics has passed in Wales (Aitchison & Carter, 2000; Loughlin, 2000).

4.4.2   A Nationalist Response

Welsh identity and Welsh nationalism have always been promoted in opposition to a dominant English polity (see Hechter, 1975). Symbols of resistance call up 'great' moments in the struggle against oppression by reference to individuals or events that depict examples of courageous struggles in the face of adversity. Moreover, symbols of resistance justify a policy of spirited self-defence (Tajfel, 1981). While the right of a group to pursue their interests and defend themselves against aggression or suppression may be widely accepted by society at large, the means used toward those ends are, however, likely to be more controversial.

A case in point is that of Welsh nationalism and the fifteenth-century 'national hero', Owain Glyndwr. Glyndwr led the last successful revolt against the English in 1400 and ruled over an independent Wales until 1415. By the 1770s, Glyndwr was well established as a national hero in Wales (Morgan, 1983). As noted previously, one of the most militant of more recent nationalist organisations in Wales was a clandestine

group called Meibion Glyndwr, or Sons of Glyndwr. In 1979, Meibion Glyndwr (pronounced may-byun glin-doer) began an arson campaign directed mainly at English-owned second and retirement houses in Wales, the purchase of which was perceived as threatening the Welsh character of some communities and driving property values out of the reach of most Welsh people. Pitchford (2001) argues that, by choosing its name, Meibion Glyndwr sought nationalist legitimacy by identifying itself with the memory of a six-hundred-year-old-tradition of unruly politics that is part of the national mythology: 'The very name Glyndwr…is heavily charged with significance, and by using it the arsonists attempt to tap into an existing structure of symbolic support' (Geary, 1994: 85; see also Gamson, 1990). Furthermore, the campaign had symbolic value beyond its potential efficacy in discouraging English in-migration: 'few believe that the arson campaign has much effect….it seems to be valued as a symbolic gesture of defiance; a refusal to go down quietly' (Geary, 1994: 85). Moreover, this fringe nationalist movement bears all the characteristics of extremist or 'hot' nationalism or, in other words, the reinforcing of nationalism during particular times of crisis. These representations of 'extreme' nationalism from an 'active minority' directed towards the English people, will have undoubtedly distorted the impressions of Wales and Welsh people, and to Wales as a tourism destination. As Osmond and Balsom (1998) noted, there were already concerns over the impressions of Wales and the character of Welsh people as '…clannish and unltranationalistic, unfriendly and hostile', with the Welsh language being described as 'unintelligible, irrelevant, and a barrier to economic progress' (Smith, 1998:5).

Beyond stressing the intrinsic value of the Welsh language, nationalists also link the language campaign to widely accepted standards of civil rights for minorities. Plaid

Cymru's manifesto claims that the Language Act it supports is 'in line with the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, and the Resolution of the European Parliament on the language and cultures of minorities in the European Community' (Plaid Cymru, 1997: 38). The Welsh Language Society also adopts this strategy by implying that 'it is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language in your own country, without fear or feeling ashamed' (WLS n.d.: 7). This notion of a 'basic civil right' invokes a value that has currency in contemporary Britain, yet evidence would suggest that many English visitors are hostile to the idea of a bilingual region of Britain (Schlakman Research Ltd., 1984). The threat of linguistic pluralism to national unity can be met with hostility or ridicule, but it can also be met with indifference, by insisting 'we're all British.' However, a 'British' identity, as previously discussed, means in essence an *English* identity (Wright & Hartley, 1986).

The importance of a Welsh identity threat becomes apparent when considering the strategies available to minority groups, such as Welsh speakers. In particular, disempowered minorities may suffer a more chronic threat to identity given that (almost by definition) they will be unlikely to gain the numerical power and support enjoyed by majorities. In such cases, the reasons for engaging in action against an out-group may have as much to do with existential concerns (for instance, a concern that the in-group's identity may be eroded or even disappear) as with rectifying a political or social inequality (Kelman, 1999), especially where group identity is defined by potentially vulnerable group attributes, such as a threatened in-group language (Bourhis, Giles, & Tajfel, 1973; Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1977; Trosset, 1986). As already identified, only around 21 percent of the population speak Welsh

(Welsh Language Board, 2003), exacerbating a sense of identity threat in the Welsh speaking community. This threat is heightened further by the historical absence of social and political structures that define Wales in relation to England (Fitz, 2000). Moreover, identity threat is often seen as originating from the influence of English culture and the influx of English people into traditionally Welsh-speaking areas (Bowie, 1993; Cloke, Goodwin, & Milbourne, 1998; Trosset, 1986). The potency of such threats is clear because, as Giles *et al*., (1977: 308) argue, 'ethno-linguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive'. It follows, therefore, that group members who perceive threats to this vitality (and in-group identity) will be motivated to defend it where possible (see Bourhis & Giles, 1977).

Thus, a key aspect of Welsh national identity is the importance of the Welsh language. It is the most important dimension in defining Welshness, even for those who do not speak it (Bourhis *et al*., 1973; Giles, Bourhis, *et al*., 1977a; Giles, *et al*., 1977; Trosset, 1986). Revaluing the language has been crucial to building a positive Welsh identity and, as a symbol of Wales' difference from England, the language serves as a frame aligner, linking nationalists' revaluation of that difference to the cultural frame of civil rights, which itself forms an important part of contemporary British values.

4.4.3 Everyday 'Nationalism'

> To the ordinary Englishman, the greatest of all strangeness is a strange language in a familiar country……where else in this Island would he find his own language taking second place in daily life?….Our traveller realises that….somewhere on this journey he has crossed an unnoticed frontier….In spite of outward similarities, in architecture and in landscape, in face and in figure, he becomes aware of differences. That sense of remoteness persists, and indeed grows stronger with time. Closer acquaintance with these people, he finds, tends to stress the points of difference: what is common ground between him and them is quickly accepted and loses its interest (Griffiths, 1950: xiv).

In the preceding chapter on nationalism, it was identified that much has been made in the recent years of the common processes that reproduce nationalism as a form of personal or group identity. Billig (1995: 6), for example, emphasises the ways in which all kinds of nationalism are reproduced on a day-to-day basis: 'the world of nations is the world of the everyday'. Furthermore, he suggests that the significance of the continual use of personal collective pronouns, such as 'we', 'us', and 'our' used in particular by political leaders and the media, illustrates the widespread belief amongst groups of people in their membership of, and by association, others' membership of 'their' nation. This notion of 'groupness' of nations (Brubaker, 2004) is, according to Billig, something that needs to be forged through continual and interactive practice. In addition to being reinforced during extreme or 'hot' circumstances, as previously discussed, nationhood is '…near the surface of contemporary life' (Billig, 1995: 93).

As noted previously, Billig (1995) viewed the term 'banal nationalism' as a variety of contexts within which nationalism is reproduced. Other authors have also used the notion of banal nationalism to focus on the mundane and routine ways in which nationalism is reproduced. For instance Scotland, unlike Wales, has its own 'styled'

denomination (Gilbert, 1998; Hewitt, 1995; Unwin & Hewitt, 2001) or the way in which the 'everyday' decisions or routines may be associated with nationalism, for example, the choices made by Welsh speakers concerning which pubs or bars they should frequent (Edensor, 2002; Haldrup *et al.*, 2006; Jones & Desforges, 2003). In referring to the latter, these seemingly mundane practices have led to vociferous and more contentious expressions of nationalism, in particular when set against the expressions of 'out' group identity, more specifically English speakers. Conversely, it may be considered by the 'out' group that use of the Welsh language is something of a 'point to prove' - 'I know it's their language but…they are speaking English and then they deliberately start speaking Welsh' (WTB, 1994:22). Or, as is more commonly perceived or experienced: 'I walked into a pub and they all started speaking Welsh.'

The embedded-ness of nationalism in the landscape, whether in street names or place names, has also drawn attention within the framework of banal nationalism. Azaryahu & Kook (2002: 195), for example, note the importance of street names as banal symbols of group identity through their '..symbolic construction of national identity, mainly in terms of historical heritage. In this capacity they belong both to the discourse of political identity and to its experience on the level of everyday life.' Moreover, street or place names facilitate human movement, whether as tourists or as residents, yet subtly reinforce a nation's historic memory whereby they 'introduce an authorised version of history into ordinary settings of everyday life' (Azaryahu & Kook, 2002: 199). As previously mentioned, the rise of the Welsh Language Society occurred largely as a response to the perceived everyday context within which the English language was increasingly dominating Welsh society. It was this Society, for

example, that campaigned against the (monolingual) English road signs that were spread throughout the Welsh landscape of the 1960s (Jones & Fowler, 2007, 2008; Jones & Merriman, 2009). The significance of the monolingual road signs for Welsh nationalists was the symbolism and everyday reminders of the linguistic domination of Wales by England (Edensor, 2002).

The campaign in favour of bilingual road signs began in late 1967; however the campaign opposing monolingual road signs was formally launched on 2nd January 1969 when fifty members of the Welsh Language Society walked into Betws-y-Coed police station to admit that they had painted over road signs (Cwmni Gwasg Rydd Caerdydd, 1972: 8). A number of different organisations were involved in the campaign, including the Welsh Language Society, Plaid Cymru and Cyfeillion yr Iaith (Friends of the Language). The Welsh Language Society demanded 'statutory provision of bilingual road signs in order…to highlight the inadequate representation given to the [Welsh] language in public services' (Williams, 1977: 442). Bilingual road signs would, as perceived by the Welsh Language Society, act as a 'symbol of justice' for the Welsh nation (Cwmni Gwasg Rydd Caerdydd, 1972), thus essentially representing a counter-measure to the symbols of oppression of the monolingual English road signs (Dadydd Iawn, 1968). Adding to this, Davies (1974: 114) viewed monolingual road signs as a 'ubiquitous proclamation of the superiority of the English language and everything English.'

The subsequent events during this campaign are well documented and beyond the scope of this chapter (see for example Jones & Merriman, 2009; Ryder, 1980; Merriman & Jones, 2009). However, the significance to this research is that

campaigns towards the road signs brought to the fore, often in opposition to one another, entrenched and heated forms of identity politics within Wales, in particular between Welsh and English speakers. Similarly, a number of pragmatic issues concerning the bilingual road signs ensued, including issues of safety: 'Wales enjoys the company of a million tourists every year. Their safety is on our conscience' (Welsh Grand Committee, 1973: 19) and to avoid 'cluttering up the roadside with a multiplicity of signs distracting drivers' attention from the road ahead' (Hosegood, 1967, cited in Merriman & Jones, 2009: 351). Conversely, benefits to be derived from the erection of bilingual road signs were also recognised and thought to 'be important for the future of the Welsh language and …will mark out the distinctive Welshness of Wales' (Welsh Grand Committee, 1973:14). Additionally, it was viewed that tourists might indeed be attracted by the 'difference and exoticism of Welsh language signs' (Merriman & Jones, 2009: 351). But, in doing so, and also of significance to this research, is the underpinning sense of 'Welshness' of these 'symbols' of difference to visitors and, hence, stimulating a possible sense of nationalism amongst (English) visitors.

4.4.4   Welsh National Symbols

In Chapter Three, it was emphasised that cultural memories and national symbols and ceremonies reinforce a national identity, but also reinforce emotions of attachment to that particular nation. Symbols also have an ability to convey a meaning, to transmit very particular messages about a nation, indeed its culture (Palmer, 1999). Thus, national symbols, ceremonies and customs of a nation provide an almost inexhaustible supply of material which can be appropriated and adapted for the purpose of creating a distinctive sense of nationhood for tourists. Wales has

some recognisable features of nationhood, most notably its language, as discussed in the preceding sections. However, other features include the Welsh flag, national ceremony (St David's Day), and a sense of difference from others (specifically the English) in terms of a 'national dress' heritage, and national emblems, specifically the daffodil and the leek. However, the following symbols outlined below continually reappear within tourism publications and promotional materials. Furthermore, they are more commonly visible as either a souvenir for tourists or to symbolise the Welsh nation, Welsh identity and Welsh people.

4.4.4.1 The Welsh National Flag

The Red Dragon (*Y Draig Goch*) (Figure 4.4) is the heraldic symbol of Wales and is incorporated into the Welsh national flag. According to tradition, the Red Dragon appeared on a crest born by Arthur, whose father, Uthr Bendragon, had seen a dragon in the sky predicting that he would be king. The dragon as a symbol was believed to have been introduced into Wales by the Roman legions (Ross, 2010). Medieval Welsh poets often compared their leaders to dragons, praising their bravery; for example, Gruffydd ab yr Ynad Coch said of Llewelyn ap Gruffudd *Pen dragon, pen draig oedd arnaw* ('A dragon's head he had').
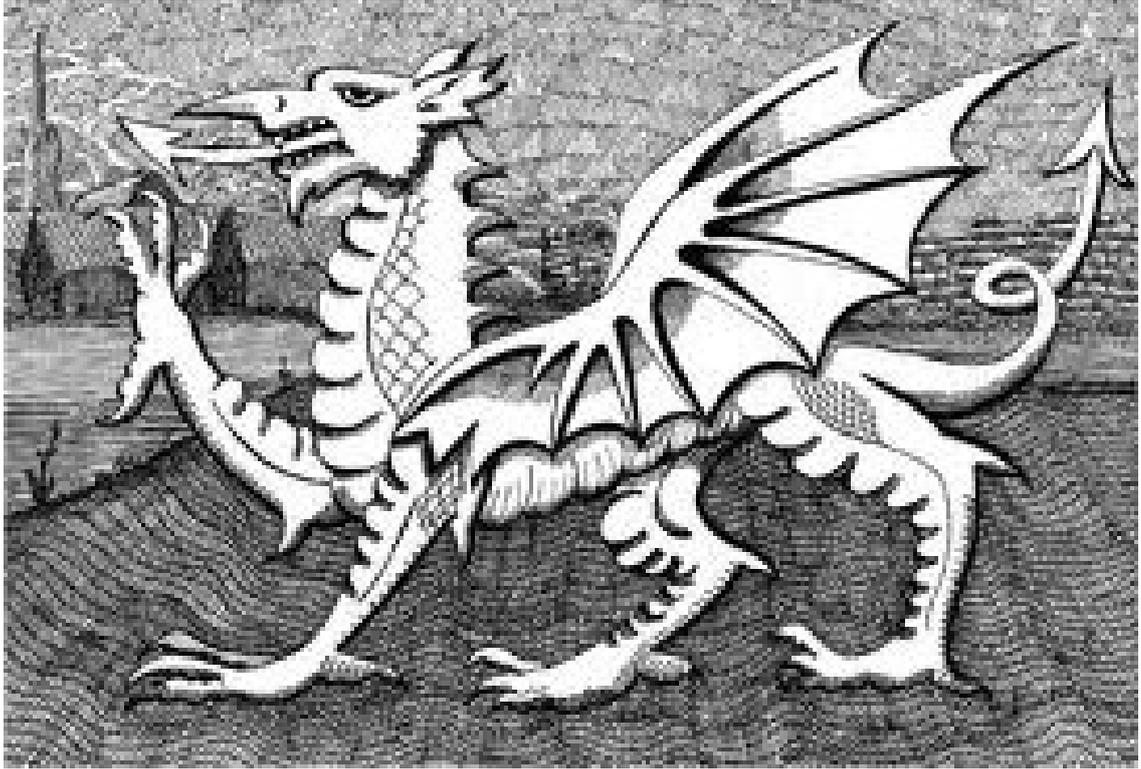
Figure 4.4: Y Draig Goch (The Red Dragon)

Between 1485 and 1603, the dragon formed part of the arms of the Tudor dynasty. However, the Welsh influence waned when the Scottish James VI became James I of England in 1605, and the dragon was replaced by a unicorn in the royal arms. It did not return to the Royal Badge of Wales until 1807. The Red Dragon was and is frequently used in the regalia of Welsh patriotic societies, and was officially recognised by the Queen in 1959; it is now widely used as the Welsh national flag (Ross, 2010). Yet, the Welsh flag is the only flag of the constituent countries in Britain not seen represented in the Union Flag. Under the sixteenth century Laws in Wales Acts, Wales was considered to be a part of England.

4.4.4.2 Welsh 'National' Dress

The popular image of Welsh 'national' dress, of a woman in a red cloak and tall black hat, is one which largely developed during the nineteenth century. It was part of a conscious revival of Welsh culture during a period when traditional values were under threat (Evans, 1973; Williams, 1971). The costume that is regarded as national dress is based on clothing worn by early nineteenth century Welsh countrywomen, this being a striped flannel petticoat worn under a flannel open-fronted bed-gown, with an apron, shawl and kerchief or cap. The style of bed-gown varied: loose coat-like gowns; gowns with a fitted bodice and long skirts; and also the short gown, which was very similar to a riding habit style. The hats generally worn were the same as hats worn by men at the period. The tall 'chimney' hat did not appear until the late 1840s and seems to be based on an amalgamation of men's top hats and a form of high hat worn during the 1790-1820 period in country areas (Ross, 2010).

Lady Llanover, the wife of an ironmaster in Gwent, was influential in encouraging the wearing of a 'national' dress, both in her own home and at eisteddfodau. It was considered important to encourage the use of the Welsh language and the wearing of an identifiable Welsh costume. At the time, Welsh national identity was under threat and the wearing of a national costume was one way to promote that identity. A further influence to the portrayal of a national 'identity' was the work of artists producing prints for the rising tourist trade, which had the effect of popularising the idea of a typical Welsh costume, and later the work of photographers who produced thousands of postcards (Figure 4.5). This contributed to the stereotyping of one style of costume, as opposed to the various styles which were, in fact, worn (Ross, 2010).

Figure 4.5: Edwardian Postcard Depicting the Welsh National Dress. By kind permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales

4.4.4.3 The Leek and the Daffodil

Both the sixth-century poet Taliesin and the thirteenth-century Red Book of Hergest praise the virtues of the leek which, if eaten, encouraged good health and happiness. Thus, a national respect grew around this plant, which was worn by the Welsh in the Battle of Crecy. By 1536, when Henry VIII gave one to his daughter on 1 March, the leek was already associated with St David's Day. It is possible that the green and white family colours adopted by the Tudors were taken from their liking for the leek.

Figure 4.6: The Daffodil and the Leek as National Emblems

In comparison with the ancient Welsh associations of the leek, the daffodil has only recently assumed a position of national importance. An increasingly popular flower during the 19th century, especially among women, its status was elevated by the Welsh-born Prime Minister David Lloyd George, who wore it on St David's Day and used it in ceremonies in 1911 to mark the investiture of the Prince of Wales at Caernarfon (Ross, 2010).

4.4.4.4 Tourism and The Welsh Language

Wales has a range of assets which underpins its tourism appeal and its diverse natural environments, particularly its coastline and mountains, and this is the main factor in attracting UK and European visitors (Pritchard & Morgan, 1995). Wales' other principal tourism asset is that it is a distinctive country with its own language. The promotion of Wales' language and thus culture, has been used by the Wales Tourist Board as a marketing advantage in overseas markets for visitors seeking a 'new' culturally diverse experience (WTB, 1994:55; Pritchard &Morgan, 1996, 1998).

As already discussed in Chapter Three, ethnicity and national identity are multifaceted and problematic. In the case of the Welsh, they have long been defined by 'their' language – Cymraeg. The representation and construction of Wales as a tourism 'space' (Selby & Morgan, 1996) in the British 'intra-national' market of another cultural and linguistic heritage has, perhaps, generated a mixed response from English tourists (WTB, 1994). Prospective English tourists have revealed an ambivalent view of the Welsh language, but this has also generated a substantial resistance amongst others (WTB, 1994). Furthermore, 'only a minority fully understood that Welsh was a living language and speaking it was therefore normal' (WTB, 1994:22). However, these negative comments towards the Welsh language were from UK tourists who had never actually visited Wales, thus 'there is evidence to suggest that the idea of an ethnically distinct, bilingual region within the United Kingdom sometimes arouses hostility' (Pitchford, 1994:40).

Conversley, for those tourists from the UK who have visited Wales, the Welsh language is a significant attraction (ECTARG, 1988; Light, 1992; WTB, 196, 1997, Morris, 1998).

From a tourism marketing perspective, the Welsh language has been more 'comfortably' promoted within overseas tourism publications than to the UK market place (Pritchard & Morgan, 2001). The rationale for this approach is that the reception of the Welsh language abroad has been far more positive where 'there are no negative assertions with the Welsh language – it's just another language (Owen, 1999 cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2001: 176).

However, promotion of Wales and Welsh culture in a British market has previously been approached with caution by the Wales Tourist Board. It is argued that this is because 'there was some fear that the culture of Wales was not as accessible as the culture of Scotland because of the language' (Owen, 1999 cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2001: 176).

Nevertheless, the conception of Wales, Welsh identity and community has largely been promoted through images of Welsh Wales and Y Fro Gymraeg (Pritchard & Mrogan, 2003). Thus the association of the Welsh language with 'tourism' can be traced back to the late 1800s, as Figures 4.7 and 4.8 overleaf indicate.
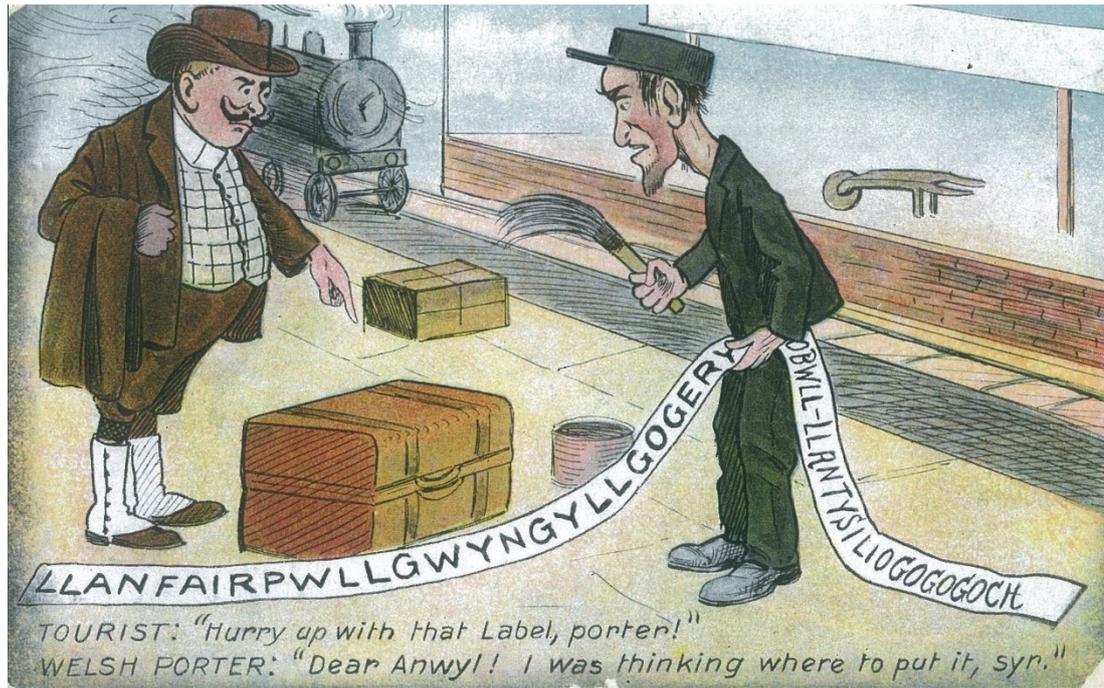
Figure 4.7: Edwardian Postcard 'Llanfair'. By kind permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales.
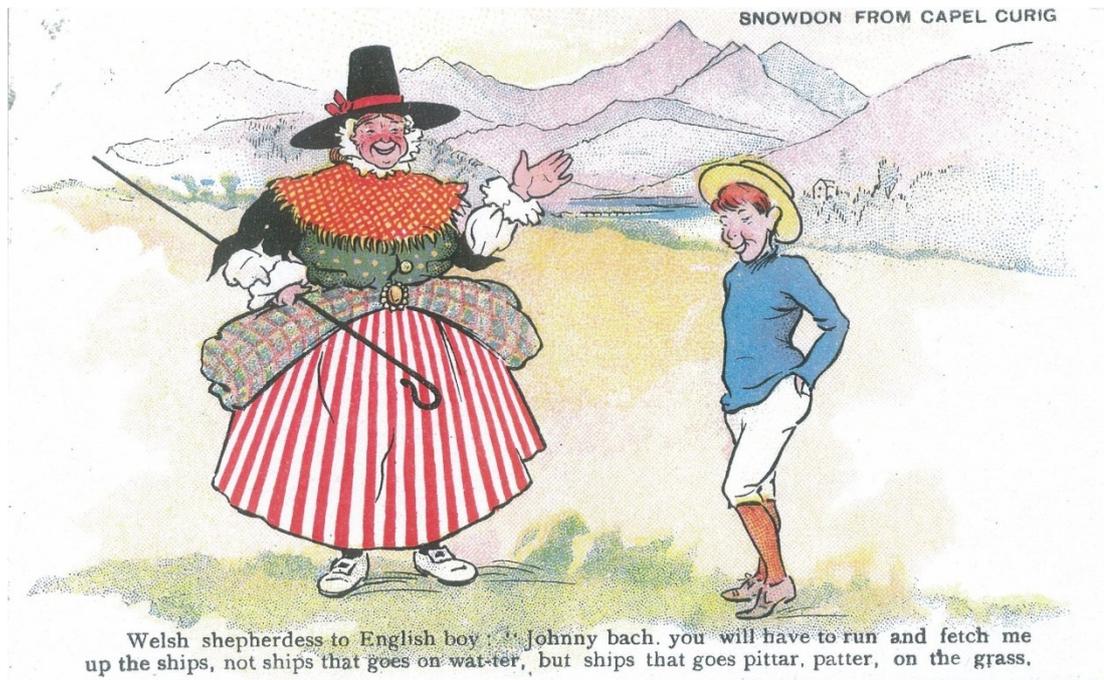
Figure 4.8: Edwardian Postcard 'Snowdon from Capel Curig'. By kind permission of Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru / The National Library of Wales.

4.5   The Welsh Economy

One of the key developments to have shaped Welsh life in the last twenty-five years is the level of restructuring that has taken place in the economy. With the decline of heavy industry, there are few remnants of the traditional industrial sectors that once dominated Welsh economic output (Bristow, 2000). This restructuring led to the establishment of the Welsh Development Agency (WDA) in 1976, which was given the task of regenerating the economy of Wales. One of its key objectives was to attract foreign direct investment to compensate for the loss of jobs in traditional sectors and it has succeeded in attracting many large companies from overseas, notably from the USA, Europe and Japan (Loughlin, 2000). Whilst potential job creation was almost invariably greeted favourably, increasing concerns have been raised in the last few years over the sustainability of such a strategy. Many of the manufacturing jobs that were attracted to Wales on the basis of favourable commercial conditions – including relatively low wages – have now been lost to areas that have even lower labour costs, especially Eastern Europe (Loughlin, 2000). As a consequence, the debate more recently has shifted in favour of devoting more resources to indigenous business. This is reflected in a number of strategic initiatives that seek to promote economic prosperity in Wales.

Within these strategic initiatives, much attention has been focused on creating sustainable, high-value jobs. The Welsh Development Agency has sought to be at the forefront of some leading edge European practices, especially in the field of innovation (Rhisiart & Thomas, 2000). Another important area where Wales has traditionally lagged behind, as noted above, is entrepreneurship. Recognition of the problem led the National Assembly to issue a strategic document, Entrepreneurship

Action Plan for Wales (2007). The vision outlined within the document is of 'a bold and confident nation where entrepreneurship is valued celebrated and exercised throughout society and in the widest range of economic circumstances' (NAW, 2000).

Restructuring has produced a more balanced economy in Wales where dependency on a few sectors has been reduced. There are, nevertheless, features that distinguish the Welsh economy from the British economy as a whole. In terms of its exports, the Welsh economy is even more strongly integrated into the European Union economy than that of Britain as a whole, with figures for 2010 suggesting 56 percent of exports from Wales going to the EU - compared with 45 percent for the British economy (National Statistics, 2011).

The total contribution of tourism to the economy of Wales compared to other parts of Britain in 2009 (which includes impacts through the supply chain, of capital investment and Government expenditure) accounts for £6.2bn, 13.3 percent of the total economy - compared to 8.6 percent in England, 10.4 percent in Scotland and 4.9 percent in Northern Ireland. The direct contribution of tourism is £2.7bn which equates to 5.8 percent of Wales GDP compared to 3.9 percent in England, 4.9 percent in Scotland and 2.1 percent in NI (Deloitte & Oxford Economics, 2010).

4.6 Croeso i Gymru

Welcome to Wales. Tourism plays an important role in the Welsh economy, particularly in rural and coastal areas; in 2007, 2.8 million seaside holidays were taken in Wales, generating visitor spending of £0.48 billion (UKTS, 2007). In 2009, almost 9 million *'intra-national'* visitors from the UK stayed in Wales, spending £1,413 million (VisitWales, 2010) with the largest proportion (78 percent) coming for a holiday. In the same year, the country attracted 955,000 international visitors, who spent a total of £321 million (VisitBritain, 2010). Of these, 39 percent were on a holiday trip to Wales.

Table 4.1: Domestic Visits to Wales by Region, 2007-2009

						Millions
		Wales	**North Wales**	**Mid Wales**	**South West Wales**	**South East Wales**
Trips	**2007**	8.85	2.95	1.64	1.9	2.23
	2008	8.49	3.18	1.42	1.64	2.22
	2009	8.95	2.99	1.75	2.13	1.96
Nights	**2007**	32.1	11.43	6.08	7.87	5.82
	2008	31.9	11.98	5.7	6.72	6.79
	2009	32.88	12.17	6.57	8.2	4.99
Spend (£)	**2007**	1417.53	476.27	199.2	315.32	364.66
	2008	1411.25	499.5	241.5	261.86	358.81
	2009	1412.83	516.68	251.21	357.42	243.13

Source: UKTS 2007, 2008 and 2009

North Wales has consistently been the most popular Welsh region for tourists, attracting almost three million trips in 2009. The most recent day visitor survey indicated that yearly expenditure attributable to tourism day trips amounted to £1.5 billion (VisitWales, 2009).

Table 4.2: Domestic Visits to Wales by Region by trip characteristics, 2007-2009

		Wales	North Wales	Mid Wales	South West Wales	South East Wales
Average length of stay (nights)	2007	3.63	3.87	3.71	4.14	2.61
	2008	3.76	3.77	4.01	4.1	3.05
	2009	3.67	4.07	3.75	3.85	2.55
Average spend per trip (£)	2007	160.17	161.45	121.46	165.96	163.52
	2008	166.22	157.08	170.07	159.67	173.79
	2009	157.86	172.8	143.55	167.8	124.05

Source: UKTS 2007, 2008 and 2009

In 2009, visitors to North Wales stayed longer on average than visitors to other regions, but also compared favourably to the average length of stay for visitors to Wales on the whole. Whilst the above figures indicate the highest average spend per trip was indeed in North Wales, characteristics regarding this expenditure are unclear. For instance is this figure, per person, per couple, per family and so on. In 2010 there was an 11.1 percent increase in the average spend per night and a 18.8 percent increase in average spend per trip compared to the same period in 2009.

Table 4.3: Domestic Visits to Wales by Quarter, 2007, 2008, 2009

	Trips			Spend (£)		Millions
	2007	2008	2009	2007	2008	2009
Jan – March	1.3	1.56	1.12	210.23	235.93	145.17
April – June	2.49	2.34	2.6	350.1	397.91	412.01
July – Sept	3.17	3.13	3.64	552.6	531.98	649.95
Oct - Dec	1.89	1.45	1.59	304.6	245.43	205.7
Total	8.85	8.49	8.95	1417.53	1411.25	1412.83

Source: UKTS 2007, 2008 and 2009

A cursory review of the figures above reveals a pronounced seasonal pattern of demand for the three months of July, August and September. This pattern has been and remains fairly typical, and can be traced back to 2000 (WTB, 2001). Moreover,

in relation to the other home nations, Wales displays pronounced differences in tourist arrivals compared with for England and Scotland, expereincing much larger seasonal variations than in the other two regions with respect to both short and long trips (Koenig & Bischoff, 2003).

Table 4.4: Destination of Trip by Residence by Share of Destination, 2008

		Origin				
						%
		UK	England	Northern Ireland	Scotland	Wales
Destination	UK	100	85	2	8	5
	England	100	92	1	4	4
	Northern Ireland	100	39	46	14	1
	Scotland	100	47	3	48	2
	Wales	100	76	0	2	22

Source: UKTS, NIPS and VisitBritain

Unsurprisingly, trips taken in England were dominated by English residents (92 percent) in 2008, the much larger population size of England in relation to the other nations explaining, of course, why England accounts overall for the largest share of domestic trips. Moreover, as shown in Table 4.4, English visitors accounted for 76 percent of domestic trips to Wales, just under half of the trips made in Scotland (47 percent) and over a third of the trips in Northern Ireland (39 percent).

It is of little surprise that the regions of the North West, West Midlands and South West of England have generated consistently the larger share of visitors to Wales, due to the closer proximity to the Principality's boarders with England. North Wales has been affected by the recent economic recession and a number of remaining large factories have closed down. Tourism, therefore, becomes perhaps even more important to the area of North Wales.

Table 4.5: Domestic Visitor to Wales by Visitor Region of Residence in England

		Trips		
				%
		2007	**2008**	**2009**
Residence of Origin	England (net)	79.07	75.72	79.07
	North West	20.56	18.54	18.36
	West Midlands	18.34	15.78	14.74
	South West	9.4	9.52	11.42
	South East	9.44	9.28	8.92
	East of England	4.56	6.55	6.21
	East Midlands	4.99	5.48	5.7
	Yorkshire and Humberside	4.49	3.92	5.11
	North East	0.7	1.03	1.77

Source: Adapted from UKTS 2007, 2008, 2009

The nature of tourism development in Wales has largely been focused on developing

a 'sense of place.' Indeed, the Wales Tourist Board's (WTB) policy statement

highlighted this notion:

> It is not our intention at the Tourist Board to attract the largest possible
> number of tourists at the expense of our heritage, our language, our
> culture……as well as historical, to create a strong image, especially
> abroad….It is our aim to show the visitor that Wales is a bilingual country
> (WTB, 1991: 4-7).

Thus, in essence the WTB actively promoted the Welsh language by developing a

scheme to increase the number of bilingual signs displayed by businesses. However,

it was argued that, whilst these signs 'remind' visitors that they are in fact in a

culturally distinct area, there is doubt as to whether such schemes increase the profile

of the language enough to offset the cultural costs associated with bringing large

numbers of English speakers into Wales (Pitchford, 1999). Nevertheless, the

contribution of tourism in diversifying rural economies is acknowledged in that

'tourism has done a lot to improve the countryside environment by finding new uses

for old buildings, thereby preventing dereliction, and by restoring traditional and

rural crafts' (WTB, 1991b: 9). Furthermore, 'tourism does help to preserve the Welsh culture in fragile rural communities by creating jobs, which in turn help to stem depopulation' (WTB, 1991a: 6).

Conversely the nature of tourism development in Wales has also attracted the attention of nationalist organisations. The Welsh Language Society opposed tourism development in rural areas on the grounds that it poses a threat to fragile Welsh speaking communities. Plaid Cymru argued that 'education' should be a principal objective of tourism development in Wales: 'to bring knowledge of Wales and Welsh identity and hospitality to the consciousness of the people within and outside Wales' (Wigley, 1987: xxxvi). It could be argued here that this may well be the essence of 'cultural' tourism or, in other words, tourism has indeed become another medium through which the nationalism message is transmitted.

The most heavily promoted tourist attractions in Wales are those associated with history or culture; for instance castles and museums (Pitchford, 1995). There are a large number of attractions within this 'category' using the medium of tourism to consciously and deliberately craft messages to promote and protect the Welsh culture. Visiting historic property or sites in Wales attracts the highest populations of visitors, with over half (52 percent) of tourists from Britain visiting a historic property in 2009 (VisitWales, 2009). Moreover, over 70 percent of staying visitors and over 60 percent of day visitors identified castles and historic sites as the top attractions in Wales. Furthermore, the experience of history and heritage was the most important reason for day trips to Wales (VisitWales, 2009).

4.6.1   North Wales

North Wales accounts for a third of Wales' tourism, attracting 8 million staying visitors and an estimated 17 million day trips in 2007 (TPNW, 2010). The majority of the visitors are from Britain and holiday tourism predominates. Tourism is not evenly distributed across the region, with the North West (Anglesey, Conwy, Gwynedd) accounting for 75 percent of staying visits and 60 percent of day visits, with the balance of 25 percent of staying visits and 40 percent of day visits in the North East (Denbighshire, Flintshire,Wrexham).

The vision for tourism in North Wales is to be:

> One of the top 5 UK tourism destinations, internationally known for its natural beauty, dramatic scenery, heritage and distinctive culture. A place you can boast about visiting, easy to get to but rewardingly different. A centre of excellence for adventure sports and the market leader for activity tourism of all sorts. Plenty going on at all times of the year, whatever the weather, with a lively, living culture and thriving arts scene. A place that is often talked about and features in the media for the quality of its food, hospitality and interesting places to stay. A region that is proud of its heritage and culture, cares for its natural assets and welcomes visitors (TPNW, 2010: 4)

North Wales is an important tourism region. It accounts for 1 percent of the UK's population but attracts 3 percent of domestic tourism nights (TPNW, 2010). The region accounts for around a third of tourism in Wales, attracting a greater share of tourism than any other region in Wales. In 2007, the region attracted an estimated 8 million staying visitors, spending some 35 million nights with day visits, estimated at 17 million, to add to this total. British residents account for 90 percent of staying visitors, with the vast majority emanating from England, previously indicated. Key characteristics of visitors are shown in the figure below.

Staying Profile of BritishVisitors

- Holiday tourism predominates (82%). Business tourism and VFR are relatively small.
- Half of all holidays are short breaks (1-3 nights) and only 8% were for more than a week. Most are additional holidays as opposed to main holidays.
- There are high levels of repeat business (82%).
- Most arrive by car (82%).
- Tourism is strongly seasonal with 69% of trips occurring in the summer 6 months.
- Average length of stay is 3.9 nights. Average spend per trip is £161.
- Half of all trips (46%) and a higher proportion of nights are spent in some form of self-catering accommodation. A quarter are spent in the homes of friends and relatives.
- Over half (56%) are from the ABC1 social classes.
- The majority (88%) come from England, primarily from the North West and
- West Midlands. Only 9% are Welsh.

Figure 4.9: Staying Profile of UK Visitors *Source:* UK Tourism Survey, North Wales Visitor Survey 2004.

The Tourism Partnership North Wales (TPNW), funded through Visit Wales, has a strategic role in the co-ordination of activity on tourism across the North Wales region and is involved in identifying investment priorities and pan-regional marketing activity. The TPNW also identify tourism 'Hubs' within the region. Hubs are places where significant numbers of visitors will stay or visit in search of experiences, services, information or activities and which are capable of providing a distinctive, quality experience. These places will have a disproportionate impact on satisfaction, are key to generating economic benefit, and provide a chance to influence touristic behaviour (TPNW, 2010). Getting the experience right in these places is a priority. Thus, it is argued here, the tourist-host relationship is a fundamental element of the tourist experience. One of the identified Hubs for the North Wales area is Bala, a market town in the county of Gwynedd.

The county of Gwynedd, situated in Balsom's (1995) Y Fro Gymraeg area or 'Welsh Wales', is one of the few areas within Britain that can provide geographical diversity accommodating Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty, beaches, heritage coastlines,

mountain ranges and a national park in a relatively compact area. The Gwynedd area covers a vast and topographically diverse landscape totalling 254,800 hectares (Gwynedd County Council, 2003), just over two-thirds of which is located within the Snowdonia National Park. The opportunities afforded in Gwynedd therefore, ensure tourism forms an important part of the economy. It is estimated that around six million people annually visit and stay within the Snowdonia National Park (Gwynedd Economic Partnership, 2003) whilst, more generally, the county of Gywnedd attracts the highest number of visitors and revenue from tourism in Wales (Gywnedd Economic Partnership (GEP), 2003).

The population of Gwynedd in 2001 was 116,838, approximately 4 percent of the total population of Wales. The Welsh language is spoken by 72 percent (GCC, 2003) of the general population of Gywnedd, compared to a figure of 19 percent of Welsh speakers for Wales as a whole. Around 4,000 people in Gwynedd are employed in tourism-related industries, though well over half of these are part-time and just under three-quarters of employees are female (Digest of Welsh Local Area Statistics, 1999). The market towns and villages of Gwynedd are considered to be an important part of the character of Gywnedd (GEP, 2003) and facilitate services to the tourism sector. One such market town is Bala, situated in the south easterly section of the county.

Figure 4.10: Area Map of North Wales

4.6.2 Y Bala

Y Bala is set on the shore of Llyn Tegid, otherwise known as Bala Lake (Quenby, 1992). Llyn Tegid is the largest natural lake in Wales and its waters are utilised for non-motorised water based activities, including, sailing, wind-surfing, canoeing and rowing. Modestly marketed as an International Centre for water sports (GCC, 2003), Bala's population stands at 2,006 (ONS, 2007) and 79.7 percent of the population are Welsh speakers (ONS, 2007). Bala is also positioned beween two mountain ranges, the Arenig Mountains and the Berwyn Mountains, thus attracting visitors to its landscape. The main road (A494) to Dolgellau, situated on the west (see Figure 4.10), runs through the centre of the town, thus providing visitor access to Bala. However, it has proved difficult to ascertain specific visitor numbers to Bala.

Bala's industrial heritage in the woollen industry during the eighteenth century became well known for 'Welsh flannels and….particularly stockings' (Quenby, 1992: 15). Around this time, it is also reported that for travellers who stayed in Bala,

the fish caught from Lake Bala and served in hotels was also of a particular interest. While trout and salmon were frequently caught and consumed, the Gwyniad received a mixed response (Quenby, 1992). The Gwyniad, a relative of the herring, is a sub-species of the European whitefish also found in Alpine lakes. It is believed to have been trapped in the lake when the glaciers shifted (Quenby, 1992). The Gwyniad is the only British fish bearing a Welsh name, derived from the whiteness of its scales. The stock levels of Gwyniad are currently monitored, although fishing on Llyn Tegid remains an attraction for anglers.

Situated just outside the town and to the north of Bala, the National White Water Centre lies alongside the Tryweryn River in the Cwm Tryweryn (Tryweryn Valley). Cwm Tryweryn was the centre of probably the most infamous and important political battle in recent Welsh history (Evans, 2001). During the mid 1950s, Liverpool was concerned that its water supply would not meet its future needs. More specifically, although the current supply was sufficient for Liverpool city's needs, it was feared that, by the end of the century, it would be impossible to fulfil all of Merseyside's requirements. Consequently, areas with the potential to be flooded to create reservoirs began to be investigated. Possible sites in The Lake District were explored, but these were considered too costly, whilst the same conclusion was reached with respect to a proposal to purify the waters of the Mersey. The first the people of Capel Celyn and its valley knew of the plan to drown their homes was from an article in *The Liverpool Daily Post,* towards the end of 1955, about Liverpool's decision to create a reservoir in Cwm Tryweryn (Stephens, 2001). Consultation was never carried out (Evans, 2001) with the people who lived in Capel Celyn and the valley, where the whole population spoke Welsh. Despite opposition

from Meirionnydd Council, the Liverpool Bill was given Royal Assent in August

1957 and, during the early 1960s, the community of Celyn began to leave the valley.

From 1955 to the official opening of the dam in 1965, there was much debate, unrest,

sabotage and the unity of the Welsh as a nation was brought about.

Figure 4.11: 'Remember Tryweryn': Unofficial graffiti memorial to Capel Celyn,
Tryweryn at Llanrhystrd, near Aberystwyth

4.7 Chapter Four Summary

This chapter has introduced Wales, and in particular the case study area of Bala in the county of Gwynedd located in the northern sector of Wales. The geographical and political terms of Wales has been discussed. Wales and the area of Bala have well established tourism industries, with distinct characteristics, and these have been examined. The culture and characteristics of Welsh society have been explored, including issues such as identity, language, Welsh life and patronage. Politics in Wales are hotly debated and the current political situation, particularly as a stateless nation, has been explained. Overall, this chapter has provided essential background to Wales, particularly in the context of tourism and relationships with neighbouring England. More specifically, the area of North Wales has been identified as attracting large numbers of English tourists, and the area's Welsh speaking populations (Y Fro Gymraeg) indicates a certain 'Welshness'. In particular the relatively recent 'battles' with the English in the area of Bala have been discussed. Thus, the combination of high English tourist levels, a predominatly Welsh speaking area and the recent history with England all provide a reasoned argument for the appropriateness of Bala as the area for the case study.

> It can be said that the Welsh people have been oppressed by the English for some seven centuries. Yet it can then also be said that the English people have been oppressed by the English State even longer. (Raymond Williams, 'Wales and England,' 1985)

Chapter Five

Methodology

Chapter Five

5.1   Introduction

The world which humans inhabit is multivalent, multivariate and connected (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and, as such, 'the world doesn't occur in a vacuum' (Glaser, 1996). Therefore, the practice of social research does not, or should not, exist in a vacuum, 'hermetically sealed off from the social sciences and the various intellectual allegiances that their practitioners hold' (Bryman, 2001: 4). Rather, research should take into account the interconnectedness of actions within everyday life. Thus, in seeking to capture the complexity and interconnectedness of everyday actions, methods of social research are closely allied to different visions of how social reality should be studied. As Bryman (2001: 4) states, 'methods are not simply neutral tools: they are linked with the ways in which social scientists envision the connection between different viewpoints about the nature of social reality and how it should be examined'. This study, therefore, arises from a simple yet fundamental interest in the social reality of 'national belonging' (Bond, 2006: 611), and how nationalistic characteristics not only manufacture themselves within contemporary society but also how this 'difference' is contemplated or experienced where social interactions and relationships occur within tourist-host settings.

In order to reveal and critically analyse the realities that emerge within the relationships between tourists and hosts at points of contact, this study employs a 'Q' methodology that allows the researcher to extrapolate subjective meanings related to respondent experiences of these tourist-host interactions, as well as discovering individuals' attitudes towards national representations that may affect these

intertwined realities (Billig, 2006). The research aim, question and objectives are outlined again below in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Research Aim, Question and Objectives

Research Aim	To establish the potential influence nationalism has on interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts. Establishing the extent to which nationalism plays a part within these relationships will determine what policies or practices may need refining or defining in order to facilitate effective tourist-host relationships.
Research Question	What effects do nationalistic determinants have on tourist-host relationships, particularly in the context of home countries within Britain?
Research Objectives	1. To explore contemporary aspects of nationalism related to *tourist – host* experiences and meanings. 2. To explore residents' and tourists' *subjectivities* towards national identities, culture and tourism. 3. To synthesise potential relationships between *English tourists and Welsh hosts* and the contemporary consumption of tourism. 4. To apply the theme of *nationalism* to the analysis of tourist-host subjectivities in relation to social interactivities in order to generate theoretical frameworks for tourism policy and management within Britain.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to outline and justify the methodological philosophy adopted in this study and the specific research instruments utilized to address the research question. In doing so, subsequent sections illustrate the research strategy and design, as well as highlighting data collection methods and analysis techniques. The chapter concludes by noting specific determinant factors upon the conduct of the research, including particular limitations.

5.2 Research Strategy

Although often used interchangeably, the terms 'methodology' and 'method' refer to different aspects of doing research. Silverman (1993: 1) suggests that 'methodology' may be equated with 'a general approach to studying research topics', whereas 'method' refers to 'a specific research technique'. It is helpful and, perhaps, necessary here to differentiate the two because the former (a general approach to studying research) is much more directly informed by the researcher's epistemological position than the latter (Willig, 2008). This general, rather than specific, approach considers the role of 'knowledge' in relation to the research. For example, a researcher who adopts a predominantly empiricist view of knowledge acquisition will approach research topics through the collection of data rather than through theoretical formulations. In other words, deduced ideas or hypotheses relating to research must be subjected to the rigours of testing before being considered knowledge, or what is more commonly referred to as 'theory'.

This study is based on concerns that national representations may affect the intertwined realities that emerge as 'familiar habits of language' (Billig, 2006) and their meanings within the social encounter experiences between tourists and hosts. As the researcher takes an agnostic view in relation to the ontological and epistemological levels of the research, it is argued for the purposes of this research that the meanings of nationalism representations are neither subjective nor objective, but are 'dislocated' (Hunter, 2010: 2). That is, these meanings are positioned somewhere between the two, thus challenging the ontological, epistemological and methodological conventions of both tourism and nationalism research.

In essence, this study draws together the fields of tourism and nationalism, whilst at the same time drawing together the disciplines of induction and deduction. Graburn and Jafari (1991: 7-8) argue that 'no single discipline alone can accommodate, treat or understand tourism; it can be studied only if disciplinary boundaries are crossed or if multidisciplinary perspectives are sought and formed'. As such, plural modes of analysis offer the opportunity to overcome the exclusivity of attributing particular tourism research to 'single social science silos' (Coles *et al.,* 2006: 297). Echtner and Jamal (1997: 878) also support the possibilities related to moving away from disciplinary 'false divisions' and suggest the drawing together of approaches within either an inter-disciplinary approach, or a multi-disciplinary approach. The former implies the investigation involves:

> working *between* the disciplines, *blending* various philosophies and techniques so that the particular disciplines do not stand apart but are brought together intentionally and explicitly to seek synthesis (Echtner & Jamal, 1997: 878-9, emphasis in original).

The latter, multi-disciplinary approach implies that the investigation of a subject acknowledges and includes information derived in other disciplinary arenas without the researcher 'stepping outside' their disciplinary boundary.

Hence, whilst this study largely adopts an inductive phenomenological research philosophy, it nevertheless also accepts particularities for methodological guidance from applied research. Therefore, it could be argued that this study adopts the positioning of a multi-strategy, multi-philosophical, hermeneutic phenomenological research approach with the overall purpose serving to provide a better understanding of the influences of nationalism within social interactions contextualised in the realm

of tourism activity pertaining to contemporary perspectives of societal constructs. In order to accommodate the intertwining of disciplines within this research, the research adopts 'Q Methodology' in its quest to establish the realities that run together during interactions between hosts and guest at points of contact. Q Methodology (Stephenson, 1953) will be discussed latter in this chapter.

The epistemology and ontology of the research is discussed in the next section. However, although this thesis relies upon interpretivism as a general guiding paradigm (Guba & Lincoln 1994; Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001; Sparkes, 1992), it also draws upon some of the principles of objectivism, which will be considered shortly. Furthermore, it specifically draws upon the philosophical origins of hermeneutic phenomenology. Interpretivism 'looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world' (Crotty, 1998: 67), whilst *hermeneutic phenomenology* addresses experience from the perspective of meanings, understandings, language and interpretations (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010).

5.2.1   Philosophical Approaches

It was argued in Chapter Two that tourism is essentially a social phenomenon with interpersonal relationships playing an important part of the tourist experience (Harlark, 1994). More specifically, the issue of nationality was identified in Chapter Two as a significant factor that potentially accounts for differences in interpersonal behaviours with residents perceiving tourists to be very different from themselves on characteristics such as general behaviour and attitudes. These differences in behaviour, as determined by nationality, may on the one hand undoubtedly act as a catalyst for tourist and host interaction tensions or conflict. But also if, on the other

hand, local residents were to collaborate with tourists within these tourist-host social interactions, then questions may also arise as to how these social interaction 'realities' of host and guest run together without one destroying the other.

There has long been an emphasis on and proliferation of more qualitative approaches in tourism studies, a field that has generally favoured the use of positivistic and quantitative, scientific methods (Jennings, 2001; Walle, 1997). These tended to fit well with the industry, and applied research dominated the study of tourism, as Franklin (2004) and Jamal and Everett (2004) have pointed out. Pritchard and Morgan (2007: 18) observe that 'tourism continues to demonstrate a poorly developed disciplinary base prompted by a failure to engage with paradigmatic shift and theoretical challenge'. These issues and paradigmatic debates deserve further scrutiny, particularly with respect to phenomenological research.

As indicated earlier, phenomenology is a philosophical and theoretical endeavour (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010), and understanding the philosophical and theoretical assumptions that inform phenomenological research helps to situate the various approaches to phenomenology that have evolved over the 20th century within a diverse range of research paradigms (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). Positivist or scientific paradigms have prevailed for the past several hundred years and new ones, such as post-positivism, critical theory and constructivism paradigms, are finally gaining currency (Guba & Lincoln, 2004). These research paradigms are useful in that they assist researchers to recognise where they are situated with respect to the objects and things they study, specifically the philosophical (ontological and

epistemological) suppositions that influence methodological approaches and
assumptions of the research.

5.2.2   Ontological Perspectives

Similar to the terms of methodology and method as outlined previously, the terms
'constructionism' and 'constructivism' are also often used interchangeably. Strictly
speaking, however, 'constructivism' is applied to learning theory and epistemology,
whereas 'constructionism' is a more general term embracing the cognitive and social
dimensions of human behaviour and social practice. Contructionsim suggests that
the tools or framework people employ in helping them to understand this natural and
social world are in fact social products. That is, the categories do not have a built in
essence; instead, their meaning is constructed in and through social interaction. Thus,
a category like 'nationality' might be treated as a social construction whereas, in
contrast, a 'nation' might be treated as an 'object'. This notion implies that, rather
than being treated as a distinct inert entity, nationality is constructed as something
whose meaning is built up during interaction. That meaning, however, is likely to be
a highly ephemeral one in that it will vary by both time and place. A constructionist
perspective focuses upon the making and remaking of society through the actions
and perceptions of a diverse and interlocked world of social actors (Bryman, 2001).
This means that social life is considered a 'work-in-progress', it is never completed
and therefore never ultimately socially constructed.

The constructivist paradigm has been considered as a replacement for the
conventional, scientific paradigm of inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). According to
Burr (2003), social constructionism has become an increasingly influential approach

to research. Social constructionism considers that human experience, including perception, is mediated historically, culturally and linguistically. In other words, what is perceived and experienced is never a direct reflection of environmental conditions but must be understood as a specific reading of these conditions (Schwandt, 2000). This is not to say that 'knowledge' can never be really known, but suggests rather that there exist 'knowledges' rather than 'knowledge'. An important aspect of socially constructed knowledge is language (Fairclough, 1995; Willig, 2008). Language is important because the same phenomenon or event can be described in different ways, giving rise to different ways of perceiving and understanding that phenomenon or event, yet neither way of describing it is necessarily wrong. Hence, this research adopts a constructionist perspective and is appropriate because it is concerned with identifying the various ways of constructing the social realities that are available within English and Welsh cultures at points of contact, to explore the conditions of their use and to trace their implications for human experience and social practices within the tourist-host relationship.

Ontology is the branch of philosophy that is concerned with the nature of the world and questions the nature of reality. Ontological concerns are fundamental (Willig & Rogers, 2008) and it is impossible not to make some assumptions about the nature of the world. For instance, that events maybe generated by underlying structures such as socioeconomic relations, or that indeed psychological phenomena are independent of such structures. In other words, it is the framework or set of ideas with which the researcher approaches the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, Willig, 2008).

Essentially, ontological considerations 'help determine or designate the nature of the knowable' (Hollinshead, 2004: 75) and can be described as 'realist' and 'relativist'. The conventional realist ontology maintains that the world is made up of structures and objects that have cause–effect relationships with one another. In other words, there exists an objective reality that is independent of any observer's interest in it. Research undertaken with an objectivist orientation would assume that within social research humans are 'objects' and respond to external social phenomena which consist of orderly, law-bound structures (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). An objectivist researcher would, therefore, be concerned with discovering facts of human behaviour which are predictable, controllable and would consist of a single explanation which can be generalised to a human population. It is an approach that focuses exclusively on methods and outcomes of enquiry within the social setting.

Conversely, a constructivist researcher argues that social research knowledge is concerned with interpretation, meaning and understanding of events within social practices. This approach rejects the confines of a singular predictable reality, but instead acknowledges the existence of multiple realties within social settings. Constructionism is therefore ontologically relativist and assumes that research occurs in the natural world, and thus is naturalistic (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Hollinshead (2004: 77) argues that ontological relativism seeks to 'understand the identities of, the meaning attributed by and the experiences of different populations, against a background of competing perspectives of life and the world, within the setting being investigated'. Hence, relativist ontology, by contrast, rejects the realist view of the world, maintaining instead that the world is not the orderly, law-bound place that realists believe it to be. A relativist ontology questions the 'out-there-ness' of the

world and emphasizes the diversity of interpretations that can be applied to it (Anfara & Mertz, 2006). Realities are devised by individuals as they make sense of their experiences and, as such, relativists argue that social research knowledge is concerned with interpretation, meaning and understanding of events within social settings. Research within the 'interpretive' paradigm focuses on social practices and assumes all human action is meaningful, humanly created, personal and unique. Therefore, if the meaning of potential nationalism representations of the tourist and the host within social interactions is the research concern, then it needs to be interpreted and understood within the context of these social interactions. Keat and Urry (1982) acknowledge that these subjective meanings through which individuals assess, interpret, and actively construct their patterns of action within the given structures are crucial to understanding and providing an explanation of the phenomena. Furthermore, unlike a realist ontology which defines 'truth' as any assumption that stands in a one-to-one relationship to objective reality, a relativist ontology defines 'truth' as the best informed and most sophisticated construction on which there is consensus, and it is seen as continuously open to alteration (Anfara & Mertz, 2006; Crang, 2003; Willig & Rogers, 2008). Consequently, this relativism is seen as critical to what differentiates constructivism from other paradigms – for instance, positivism, post-positivism, and critical theory (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

According to Hollinshead (2004), ontological reflections are particularly significant in tourism research because tourism, by its nature and processes, implicates interactions between individuals and places. His review of ontological matters in tourism, drawing upon the work of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1992), suggests that tourism research is limited by its inability to embrace the 'ontological *madeness* of

places' (Hollinshead, 2004: 66, emphasis in original). However, this limitation has had significant consequences for tourism scholarship given that tourism is the quintessential 'place-maker' (Hollinshead, 2004). With this in mind, challenging the idea of objective knowledge enables the researcher to 'try and understand the contextual realities and subjective meanings that shape people's interactions with their world' (Samdahl, 1998: 126). Hence, such epistemological and ontological considerations make it possible to view the original contribution to knowledge by this study, as having being filtered through the researchers' own experiences, as well as being co-created with research respondents.

5.2.3 Epistemological Perspectives

Guba and Lincoln (1989, 1998) argue that the constructivist paradigm provides the best 'fit' whenever human inquiry is being considered. This study involves, of course, human inquiry as it aims to understand the potential influences nationalism has on interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts. A constructivist approach acknowledges that respondents will have varying, subjective perspectives on the issues discussed, and cannot by an act of will set aside their own subjectivity.

Epistemological positions range from naïve realist to radical relativist (Madill *et al.*, 2000). A realist position entails the belief that the data collected ought to provide the researcher with information about the world, about how things 'really' are. This means that the methods ought to be designed and implemented in such a way as to facilitate 'true' and undistorted representations. In contrast, a relativist position subscribes to the view that there is no such thing as 'pure experience' and that

research ought to be an exploration of the ways in which cultural and discursive resources are used in order to construct different versions of experience within different contexts. Methods and analysis employed would need to be sensitive to tensions, contradictions and variations in accounts.

A range of positions exist along the 'realist' and 'relativist' continuum. For instance, a perspective that combines the realist ambition to gain a better understanding of what is 'really' going on in the world with the acknowledgement that the data gathered may not provide direct access to this reality is described as critical realism. Another 'in-between' position argues that, while experience is always the product of interpretation and, therefore, constructed (rather than determined), it is nevertheless 'real' to the person who is having the experience. This position is regarded as phenomenological, the stance that is taken by this study.

Relativist ontology influences the epistemology of the research in relation to what knowledge can be known and the relationship between the inquirer and the known (Hollway, 1989). A relativist influenced epistemology asserts that as multiple realities exist, only a subjective posture can be taken. In effect, this means that it is impossible to separate the inquirer from the inquired, to divorce the researcher from the researched. As with the interpretive paradigm, reliance is placed on the people being studied to provide their own explanation of an event. The interpretive researcher tries to 'get inside the minds' of subjects and see the world from their point of view (Veal, 1997). However, the values of both inquirer and respondent cannot be overlooked and within a constructivist paradigm the influential role of both is acknowledged. The researcher cannot keep a distance from the respondent, to

exclude all biases and achieve true objectivity. In order to reach an understanding of the respondents' views, the researcher must interpret their perceptions subjectively. As indicated earlier, an important aspect of socially constructed knowledge is language (Fairclough, 1995). Language is important because the same phenomenon or event can be described in different ways, giving rise to different ways of perceiving and understanding that phenomenon or event. This emphasis on interpretation places a direct importance on the role of language.

The impossibility of remaining outside the research ensures reflexivity is an important part of the research. Reflexivity urges the researcher 'to explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research' (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999: 228). Reflexivity requires an awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process and, accordingly, an acknowledgement of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' the researcher's subject matter while conducting research (Willig, 2008). There are two types of reflexivity: personal reflexivity and epistemological reflexivity (Willig & Rogers, 2008). Personal reflexivity (Tribe, 2006) requires the researcher to reflect upon the ways in which their own values, experiences, interest, beliefs and social identities have shaped the research. Indeed, Botterill (1999) explains the importance of 'self' in influencing both the focus of the researcher's gaze (Hollinshead, 1999) and the consequential knowledge constructed. Similarly, it involves the researcher thinking about how the research may have affected them personally and as a researcher. However, this reflexivity is defined as more than simply a self-indulgent practice; rather, it relates to the researcher's 'ability to look and reflect inwards upon themselves as

researchers, and outwards upon those that they *research'* (Tribe, 2005:6, emphasis in original).

Epistemological reflexivity requires the researcher to reflect upon the assumptions made about the world and about knowledge in the pursuit of the research, and also to think about the implications of such assumptions for the research and its findings. Similarly, epistemological reflexivity also encourages the researcher to question how the research question could have been investigated differently, and to what extent this would give rise to different understandings of the phenomenon under investigation.

The methodology must be such that it exposes the constructions of the variety of respondents, opens each to critique in the terms of other constructions, and provides the opportunity for revised or entirely new constructions to emerge. A hermeneutic methodology will make sense of the interactions. Hermeneutics is fundamentally the art and science of interpretation (Ablett & Dyer, 2009). Interpretations are developed and continuously redeveloped. The interpretive process is centrally about the tension between one's own perspective and the perspective of the other person: 'meaning is always negotiated between ones own preconceptions and those within the horizon of the other' (Tate, 1998: 13, quoted in Ezzy, 2002: 27). The constructivist paradigm is also associated with a dialectic approach, where constructs are compared and contrasted. The methodology involves dialectic of iteration, analysis, critique, reiteration, reanalysis, and so on, leading to the emergence of a joint construction of a case (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

It is here that 'knowledge of what others are doing and saying always depends upon some background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices and so forth' (Schwandt, 2000: 201). In short, then, constructionist perspectives adopted by this study assert that knowledge imposes a subjectivist epistemology that is based upon co-created understandings – that is, between researcher and respondent (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Indeed, all research findings approximate the truth at a particular moment in time (Middleton, 2010).

5.3   Research Designs

5.3.1   Inductive and deductive approaches

The Q Methodological approach (explained later in this chapter) adopted for the research design considers that theory will be incorporated both inductively and deductively. May (1997) observes that induction is based on the belief that research should come before theory and that it is from the collected data that theories are generated. Deduction refutes the idea that research can be produced on the basis of initially rejecting theory. In the deduction process, the theorising comes before the research. Veal (1997) argues that most research is partly inductive and partly deductive because data are rarely collected without some explanatory model in mind or at least some initial information on the subject. May (1997) suggests that researchers should make their theories, hypotheses or guiding influences explicit and reject the notion that the facts speak for themselves.

This research does in part take a deductive approach as it is informed to an extent by theory relating to broader fields of nationalism, tourism and associated concepts.

However, the thesis is primarily concerned with the inquiry in to the nature and influences of nationalistic determinants within the social interaction settings of tourist-host encounters: English tourists and Welsh host communities more specifically. In this respect, the research is inductively driven. Ezzy (2002) shows support for a research study incorporating both an inductive and deductive approach. He suggests that theory is not arrived at solely through logical derivations from abstract principles, nor is theory developed solely through objective observation of an empirical world. Rather, theories are developed through an ongoing dialogue between pre-existing understandings and the data, derived from participation in the world (Ezzy, 2002).

5.3.2   Grounded theory

Grounded theory follows an inductive approach to research. The 'grounded theory' approach has become a popular choice of methodology for social researchers (Glaser & Strauss, 1999) engaged in small-scale projects using qualitative data for the study of human interaction. Grounded theory is an approach that is concerned with generating theories, rather than testing theories. It is an approach that emphasises the importance of empirical fieldwork and the need to link any explanations very closely to what happens in the 'real world'; 'Grounded theory is *what is*, not what should, could or ought to be' (Glaser, 1992: 840, emphasis in original). With this approach, concepts and theories are developed out of the data through a persistent process of comparing the ideas with existing data and new data collected specifically for the purpose. A grounded theorist has an open mind on a subject. This type of researcher is informed about an area and aware of previous theories that might apply, but does not approach the analysis of data using preordained ways of seeing things.

It is important to note that this study does not employ a full grounded theory approach but does, nevertheless, adopt some of its principles. That is, the empirical fieldwork is a significant element of the research and it is very much linked to real life situations, but the research topic is also approached with ideas that shape the focus of the investigation and it draws on existing theories and concepts to make use of the data. However, the researcher also acknowledges the potential for developing new factors and explanations from the data collected, without reference to existing theories.

5.3.3   Quantitative and Qualitative Research Approaches

Quantitative and qualitative research methods are each appropriate to different kinds of research problem. Certain questions cannot be answered using quantitative methods, while others cannot be answered by qualitative ones (Bryman, 2001). It is argued that the research issue should determine which style of research is employed and should be synonymous with the epistemological orientation of the research (Hughes, 1990; Smith, 1983; Smith & Heshusius, 1986).

5.3.3.1 Quantitative Research Approach

Quantitative research is used to test existing theories. It follows a much more structured strategy with the aim of producing hard, reliable data. Quantitative research takes the image of social reality as static and external to the actor, or subject. Contact with the subjects being studied is fairly fleeting or even non-existent (Bryman, 1988). This type of research involves controlling as far as possible the conditions under which the phenomena and relations under study occur. Studies

are designed in such a way that the researcher's influence can be excluded as far as possible, as well as the subjective views of the individuals under study.

However, whilst quantification may sometimes be useful, it can conceal basic social processes. Furthermore, there are areas of social reality which statistics cannot measure (Silverman, 1993) and, thus, not all research methods are compatible with all methodologies. For instance, social constructionist methodology is not compatible with methods that are designed to measure variables in a population. This is because social constructionism, as explained previously in this chapter, focuses on the fact that human experience and perception must be understood as a way of *constructing* a 'reality' rather than simply reflecting environmental conditions or constructs. Social constructionism therefore questions the validity of these given constructs or variables, and is concerned with exploring the various ways in which constructs are indeed 'made real'. This cannot be achieved through an attempt to 'measure' such constructs.

Furthermore, the relativist ontology chosen for this research asserts that there are multiple realities, that it is impossible to separate the inquirer from the inquired and therefore 'true' or 'pure' objectivity cannot be achieved. On account of the aforementioned, a *wholesale* quantitative approach to the present research would not be appropriate as only a subjective posture, in essence, can be taken.

5.3.3.2 Qualitative Research Approach

The most fundamental characteristic of qualitative research is its express commitment to viewing events, actions, norms, values, and so on from the perspective of the individuals who are being studied (Bryman, 1988). Qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with meaning. That is, they are interested in how people make sense of the world and how they experience events. Qualitative research aims to understand 'what it is like' to experience particular conditions and how people manage certain conditions and is, therefore, concerned with the quality and texture of experience, rather than with the identification of cause-effect relationships (Anafara & Mertz, 2006). This style of research takes the image of social reality as a process and a reality socially constructed by the actors themselves. More typically, an unstructured strategy is adopted which produces data that is rich and deep in nature, and through which theories and concepts tend to emerge. Qualitative research involves close contact with the individuals being studied. The fields of study are not artificial situations but are the practices and interactions of the subjects in everyday life (Flick, 1998). This permits a penetrating account which can explore incidents in great detail and can illuminate the full extent of the subject's accounts of a variety of phenomena. Language plays a central role in the construction of meaning and it is the task of qualitative researchers to study the ways in which such constructions are produced, how they change across cultures and history, and how they shape people's experiences.

A qualitative approach which is broadly ethnographic in style was considered most suitable for this research. Mason (1996) suggests that qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which is broadly 'interpretivist' in the sense

that it is concerned with how the social world is interpreted, understood, experienced or produced. It is based on data generation which is flexible and sensitive to the social context in which data are produced. It is also based on methods of analysis and explanation building which involve understandings on the basis of rich, contextual, and detailed data. In all, it allows design methods to be so open that they do justice to the complexity of the 'object' under study. This approach can be appropriate in relatively exploratory situations, and this can be the case when the topic is new, or has not been applied previously to a specific sample group. Additionally, it takes into account how the respondents' viewpoints and practices vary because of the different subjective perspectives and social backgrounds related to them (Flick, 1998). This study deals with people's perceptions, which may vary considerably and be very complex. Perceptions of nationalism within tourist-host relationships have not been studied before in this context. Furthermore, it may not be until after the interview stage that the researcher can be entirely sure of the important variables. For these reasons, qualitative methods were deemed appropriate for inclusion in the present study.

5.3.4   Case Study Approach

Stake (2000) refers to the case study as an established research tool that is used for theory building as opposed to theory testing (Kitchin & Tate, 2000; Merriam, 1998). The case study is used to gain in-depth understanding of a situation (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000), and is particularly appropriate for the study of events, roles and relationships, including specific encounters (Kitchin & Tate, 2000). Hence, case studies focus upon meaning and relationships (Merriam, 1998; Veal, 2006) and are both a process of inquiry and a product of that inquiry (Stake, 2000; Yin, 1994).

More simply stated, a case study is a strategy for research which involves empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real life context (Hamel *et al.*, 1993; Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Robson, 1993; Yin, 1994).

Merriam (1998) suggests case studies should be focused on processes, context, and discovery rather than outcomes, specific variables, and confirmation. Additionally, as 'bounded systems', case studies possess three key dimensions;

- firstly, case studies are *particularistic* – that is, they focus upon a particular event or phenomenon;
- secondly, case studies are *descriptive* whereby the end result is a so-called 'thick' and 'rich' description of the phenomenon;
- and finally, case studies are *heuristic* in the sense they illuminate understanding of the phenomenon under investigation.

A case study approach allowing the researcher to focus on just one instance of the phenomenon that is to be investigated is particularly suited to this inductive research due to the flexibility not evident in many other alternative research modes (Jennings, 2001). The intention is to gain insights from an individual case that can have wider implications. Indeed it is believed that these insights may have failed to come to light in a study that tries to cover a large number of instances. A case study is characteristically 'in-depth' and, by limiting the range of the study to just one, the approach has the potential to investigate in sufficient detail the complexities, the subtleties and the intricacies of a certain situation (Stake, 1995).

A case study focuses on the particular rather than the general; 'the aim is to illuminate the general by looking at the particular' (Denscombe, 2003: 30).

However, it should be noted here that, whilst the theoretical propositions of case studies are indeed generalisable, generalisable to populations they are not (Lipset, Trow, & Coleman, 1956). Case studies have been broadly criticised as speculative, unreliable and too specific to be replicated or applied generally (Beeton, 2005). It has also been argued that case studies tend to reflect the bias of the researcher. Indeed, Hoaglin *et al.,* (1983) suggest that the value system of the researcher tends to influence the presentation of the facts as well as analysis. The usefulness of a case study can be also be influenced by the value system of the reader, who 'tends to remember results that support his/her values, rejecting the others that do not fit as neatly' (Beeton, 2005: 39). Nevertheless, whilst the possibility of bias in the case studies is recognised, bias is not restricted to a case study design (Bryman, 2004). Even so, 'criticisms of case studies are valid and cannot simply be passed off as mere historical or etymological aberrations' (Beeton, 2005:39). Indeed, according to Yin (1994: xiii), 'investigators who do case studies are regarded as having deviated from their academic disciplines, their investigations as having insufficient precision (that is, quantification), objectivity and rigour... [Yet] case studies continue to be used extensively'. Beeton (2005) suggests this continued use of case studies is due to the inherent development of the human psyche. In other words, the case study is a process that provides instant recognition and understanding, as people 'learn from analysing and processing our observations of the world around us, from both direct and vicarious experience' (Beeton, 2005:39).

Nevertheless, a distinctive advantage of deploying a case study approach to this research is the ability to employ both qualitative and quantitative methods (Bryman, 2001) and, more specifically, to develop a mix of qualitative and quantitative

evidence (Yin, 1994). Denscombe (2003) suggests that researchers need to defend the case they have chosen by justifying that it is suitable for the purposes of the research. As is discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the area of Bala located in North Wales was chosen as the case study focus for this research as it provides a suitable real-life context.

Whilst it is acknowledged that the case study approach is vulnerable to criticism in relation to the credibility of generalisations made from its findings (Bryman, 2001; Yin, 1994), it is argued that the aim of this study is not to make its findings entirely generalisable. Rather, it is to produce theoretical models which can be adapted and transferred to other similar settings. Additionally, an important characteristic of a case study approach is that it allows for the use of a variety of research methods (Robson, 1993) and this, in turn, enhances the validity of data through triangulation. The research methods employed for this study are discussed next.

5.4   Research Methods

Research methods are instruments and techniques used for data collection. Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 3) refer to research methods within integrative designs as 'a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible'. Consequently, with methods that seek to represent the world, 'the researcher can study things in their natural settings [and] attempt to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000: 3). Hence, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection in case study research whereby integrative multi-strategy (Layder, 1993) research can be utilised (Merriam,

1998). The principal methods selected for this study were a purposeful integration of respondent interactive Q sorts and semi-structured interviews.

5.4.1 Quantitative Research Methods

Quantitative research can be construed as a research strategy that emphasizes quantification in the collection and analysis of data. Quantitative research methods include questionnaires incorporating nominal or ordinal style 'scaling' techniques.

Questionnaires can be used across a wide spectrum of research situations and were considered as a potential research method for this study. Questionnaires are, again, relatively easy to administer (Sharma & Dyer, 2009; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008) and can supply a considerable amount of research data (Ishikawa & Fukushige, 2007; Lawson, 1997) for a relatively low cost in terms of materials, money and time. Questionnaires can be developed to supply broader perspectives on a particular topic (Gu & Ryan, 2008) and or standardised data, where all respondents are asked exactly the same questions, thus allowing for pre-coded answers (DeLamater *et al*.,1969) and speedy analysis of data. However, this type of research method is most suited to gathering data from large numbers of respondents, where the information required is relatively straight-forward and uncontroversial and where there is a need for standardised data without requiring personal, face-to-face interaction. Questionnaires were not considered suitable for the present study as its aim was to explore the perceptions held towards nationalism. It is likely the data will be rich and possibly controversial, and questionnaires do not allow for such complexities.

Familiar nominal or ordinal quasi-quantitative procedures, such as Likert-style questionnaires or attitude scales, typically aspire to be quantitative in the sense that they claim to provide objective measures of variables which should vary only in quantitative terms (Stenner *et al.*, 2007). Thus, a participant completing an attitudinal test or measure is, from a quantitative researcher's perspective, a 'subject' in the sense of being 'passively subjected to measurement' (Stenner *et al.*, 2007: 218). Furthermore, what the participant 'thinks' or 'feels' about the items they check is, in principle, irrelevant to the process. This is further reflected with the fact that the meaning of each item is carefully predetermined in the process of designing the measure by the researcher. Likert-style questionnaires and attitude scales were not considered appropriate for this study due to the elements of measure of these, rather than the expression of subjectivity - a fundamental element of this study.

5.4.2   Qualitative Research Methods

Qualitative research methods include the use of participant-observation, focus group, individual interviews and document analysis. The qualitative research methods selected for this study were individual interviews, embedded within the main method employed for the study. Fontana and Frey (2005) state that interviewing is one of the most common and powerful ways in which researchers can attempt to understand their fellow human beings. Interviews can facilitate the exploration of people's knowledge, views, understandings, values, beliefs, attitudes, interpretations and experiences (Bryman, 2001; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Lepp, 2008; Zamani-Farahani & Musa, 2008). Most importantly, however, it is considered that interviews can provide fundamental insights into people's perceptions (Mason, 2002) offering deep, rich and meaningful data within 'often multi-layered accounts of respondent experiences'

(Sandiford, 2007: 724). As Denscombe (2003: 165) suggests 'If the researcher wishes to investigate emotions, experiences and feelings rather than more straightforward factual matters, then he or she may be justified in preferring interviews to the use of questionnaires'. Interviewing was considered a complementary and particularly appropriate method for this study as it assists two of the research's main objectives: to explore contemporary aspects of nationalism and *tourist – host* experiences and meanings; and to explore residents' and tourists' *subjectivities* towards national identities, culture and tourism .

One-to-one interviews are relatively easy to organise as, generally, only two people's diaries need to coincide, and they are relatively easy to control as the researcher has to concentrate on only one person's opinions. Moreover, as interviews were held immediately after the Q sorting process (which is explained at a later point in this chapter), respondents were able to give their consent in taking part and this allowed respondents' comments to be treated as a genuine reflection of their thoughts and their words to be used by the researcher at some later date (Denscombe, 2003). There are however, certain limitations associated with personal interviews. Firstly, there may be problems in accessing individuals for interview. Key respondents, such as tourists, may have busy schedules whilst on vacation and may not have the time to, or indeed wish to participate in an interview. Similarly, accessing local members of the community may also have time constraints but, more importantly, there may be language barriers if English is their second language (Kaae, 2006; Lepp, 2008). Focus groups have become an extremely popular form of interview technique (Bryman, 2001) and were also considered as a potential research method for this research. A focus group consists of a small group of people who are brought together

by the researcher to explore attitudes and perceptions about a topic. Focus groups are useful in allowing the researcher to study the ways in which individuals collectively make sense of a phenomenon and construct meanings around it. Unlike conventional one-to-one interviews, focus groups allow interviewees to challenge one another's views which can lead to insights that might not have otherwise come to light (Bryman, 2001; Smith, 2010). However, focus groups are not so effective for discussing sensitive or controversial topics as members of the group may be reluctant to disclose their thoughts in the company of others (Krueger, 1998). The study aimed to explore people's experiences and perceptions of nationalism in respect of Englishness and Welsh-ness and could be considered fairly controversial. It was, therefore, considered that respondents would be more open with their thoughts and perceptions in a one-to-one interview rather than in a group situation (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2009). There are also difficulties in recording and analysing emergent data within a focus group discussion as speakers tend to interrupt one another, talk simultaneously or contain an overtly prominent speaker (Asch, 1951), or particularly, if English is their second language.

Participant-observation is another useful qualitative research method, described by Becker and Geer (1957: 28) as, 'the method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of the researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time'. Participant observation research provides a platform from which to gain rich insights into social processes, it is suited to dealing with complex realities and to elicit the meanings members of that setting attribute to their environment and behaviour. However, participant

observation research places high demands upon the researcher in terms of personal commitment, personal resources and carries with it certain risks to the researcher. One such risk to the researcher is the risk of becoming excessively involved (Gold, 1958) whereby there is a loss of focus on his or her position as a researcher and as a result finds difficulties in collecting data. Similarly, there may be risks to the researcher socially and legally. Participant observation can pose particular ethical problems for the researcher as those being studied may not be aware of the research or their role in it and hence obtaining consent becomes a specific issue. The reliability of participant observation is also open to question because the key instrument is the researcher as a person. This dependence on the researcher's 'self' and on the use of field notes as data leads to a lack of verifiable data. The participant observation research method was not considered suitable for the present study.

5.4.3   Multi-Strategy Research

This study uses a multi-strategy (Layder, 1993) research approach within a case study environment. That is, the method adopted for this research incorporates both quantitative and qualitative research allowing for multi-dimensional methods of investigating the relationships of tourists and hosts at the points of contact.

There are arguments within the academic community against the use of multi-strategy research. One notion against the use of multi-strategy research is that research methods carry epistemological and ontological commitments (Willig, 2008). Others are also critical of multi-strategy research maintaining that quantitative and qualitative research are indeed, it is argued, separate paradigms. The former notion implies 'every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in

commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world'
(Hughes, 1990: 11). The latter concern is closely related to the former, in that
epistemological assumptions, values and methods are inextricably intertwined and
are therefore incompatible between paradigms (Guba, 1985; Kuhn, 1970; Morgan,
1998).

However, there are supporters of multi-strategy research and as Bryman (2001: 445)
argues 'it is by no means clear that quantitative and qualitative research are in fact
paradigms'. Furthermore, 'there are areas of overlap and commonality between
them' (ibid). Indeed, Veal (2006) points out the overlap of research strategies and
philosophical assumptions and argues that most research is partly inductive and
partly deductive because data is rarely collected without some explanatory model or
at least some initial information on the subject. Hence, this study, through a
theoretical analysis of tourist and host relationships and the building of original
conceptual frameworks, as well as subsequent empirical investigations, ensures the
research philosophy is in fact partly inductive and partly deductive, as discussed at
the start of this Chapter. Ezzy (2002) advocates support for any research philosophy
that utilises both inductive and deductive approaches. He suggests that theory is not
arrived at solely through logical derivations from abstract principles, nor is theory
developed solely through objective observation of an empirical world. Rather, the
development of theory is through an ongoing dialogue between pre-existing
understandings and the data – derived through participation in the (real) world (Ezzy,
2002).

One such example of the adoption of a multi-strategy approach to research is the method developed in 1935 by British physicist-psychologist William Stephenson (1953) and which is most often associated with quantitative research due to the method's involvement with factor analysis. However, what Stephenson observed was that factor analytical techniques could also be developed within a radically different ontological framework and to a radically alternative outcome: namely the 'systematic' study of *subjectivity*. Stephenson's (1953) method was designed expressly to explore the subjective dimension of any issue towards which different viewpoints could be expressed. Methodologically, then, subjectivity is made the centre of the concern in two related ways that correspond to the distinctiveness of the methodology. These two ways are the collection of data in the form of Q sorts (which will be explained later in this section) and the subsequent *by-person* correlation and factor analysis of these Q sorts (Stenner, Watts & Worrell, 2008).

In emphasising its multi-strategy dimension, Stephenson's (1953) method has been regarded as a *qualiquantological* method (Stenner & Rogers, 2004). However, it is more often referred to as Q Methodology. The 'Q' in Q methodology refers to a distinction between 'procedures that correlate and factor traits (named 'R methodology' after the 'r' in the famous Pearson correlation) and those that do the same with *persons* or Q sorts (named Q methodology)' (Stenner, Watts & Worrell, 2008: 216, emphasis in original). More simply stated, Q methodological studies involve a group of participants sorting a sample of items into a configuration (the Q sort) that reflects a personal degree of agreement with the items (the subjective dimension). In essence, then, Q Methodology 'combines the strengths of both

quantitative and qualitative research traditions' (Dennis & Goldberg, 1996: 104) and in other respects provides a bridge between the two (Sell & Brown, 1984).

Of particular interest, however, is the fact that despite the development of Q Methodology by Stephenson in 1935, it was not until the 1980s that the use of Q Methodology became visible within the discipline of psychology. This was largely due to the work of Rex and Wendy Stainton Rogers who were inspired by constructivist and poststructuralist thinking. In this context, subjectivity became the central concern in the use of Q:

> What we were looking for as a method was the "opposite" of correlating "traits", something which correlated whole structures of readings (e.g. about people) in order to disclose how they "shake out" into sets of very similar accounts, i.e. shared stories (Curt, 1994: 119-20).

It is argued that Q methodology is a discursive, constructivist and essentially qualitative method (Stenner, Watts & Worrell, 2008). A Q methodological study very deliberately pursues constructions and representations of a social kind (Moscovici, 1981). It is this difference that allows Q methodology to offer a unique form of qualitative analysis. Indeed, this difference accentuates the group and their shared viewpoints and the form of analysis in Q provides an ideal complement to qualitative approaches which highlight the 'theme' and or 'the individual' (Watts & Stenner, 2005). It is for this reason that Q methodology is considered an appropriate 'strategy' and 'method' for this research.

Like any technique deployed in research, Q methodology can be defined in different ways depending upon the epistemological and ontological perspectives. For example, Goldman (1999: 589) refers to Q methodology as the 'science of

subjectivity' while McKeown and Thomas (1998: 12) determine it to be '…..
scientific study of human subjectivity'. Conversely, Billard (1999: 357) adds that
there has been a shift away from describing Q methodology as a 'scientific focus on
subjectivity' towards more of 'a discursive and critical approach'. As Q
methodology intends to study people's own perspectives (Previte *et al.*, 2007),
meanings and opinions, it therefore provides an opportunity for rigorous analysis of
subjectivity, given that subjectivity is not necessarily defined with reference to a
mental state or metaphysical construct, but simply as the communication of
viewpoints (Stephenson, 1953). But if, as is argued here, attitudes or opinions are
accepted as behavioural manifestations of subjectivity, they can be observed and
measured in ways as reliable as those typically used in studies of more "objective"
phenomena. However, Q methodology does not seek to measure the spread of views
across a population; instead it seeks to identify shared views or 'discourse',
particularly on topics over which there is much debate and contestation, such as
nationalism and tourism. It can establish individuals' affinity with those views, as
well as similarities and divergences amongst individuals. Therefore the value of Q
methodology lies in the fact that it generates and categorises a range of ideas about a
specific topic under investigation. The key principle is to generate ideas, not to
restrict them and it is the responsibility of the researcher to create an unrestricted
environment where ideas are born and can grow without artificial restraints. Thus, it
is not necessary to have a defined theoretical framework at the beginning as this may
limit the utilities of the research by limiting ideas and introducing the researcher's
view points in to the topics of interest (Brown, 1986).

As indicated earlier, the purpose underpinning the development of Q methodology was to inquire into the 'subjectivity of human mind' (Stephenson, 1953: 18). The literal meaning of subjectivity is individual point of view (Stephenson, 1953) and Q methodology is based on two premises of subjectivity: firstly; an individual's point of view – or subjectivity – is communicable to others, and secondly; the subjectivity always advances from the point of self reference. In other words, the research subject (re)produces a holistic representation of 'his or her own construction of a particular reality' (Dryzek, 1990: 176). This reality, however, is multiple and contextualised in the moment, rather than fixed, static or determined by the socio-demographics or other characteristics of the individual (Eden *et al.*, 2005). Put more simply, what is important in Q methodology is the individual tourist's or member of the host community's feelings or opinion as opposed to others' opinion (Amin, 2000).

This communicable individual point of view is the very essence of deploying a Q methodological approach for the present study. Q methodology can reveal and interpret forms of self-referent discourse which are vital for understanding the bonds between the individual and the nation (Brown, 1984; Goldman & Emke, 1991; Marshall, 1991; Pignone, 1992; Wong & Sun, 1998).

Subjectivity is always anchored in self-reference, that is, the person's 'internal' frame of reference; for example, 'In my opinion…' (McKeown & Thomas, 1988: 12). In this context, an individual is saying something meaningful about a personal experience. Q methodology provides a systematic means to examine and reach understandings about such personal experiences (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Goldman (1999: 592) argues that in this respect the

Self is not a categorical construct in Q, rather it is thoroughly contextual, discursive, and social. It is formative, emergent, and contingent, an empirical abstraction prone to elaboration and understanding rather than reduction.

In summarising the complexities of the philosophical debates, disciplinary boundaries, research approaches, and research methods associated with this research, Table 5.2 below summarises some of the key assumptions guiding this research and draws on the work of Guba and Lincoln (1989) and Denzin and Lincoln (2000, 2003) of the popular portrayal of research paradigms in order to position this research study.

Table 5.2: Key Assumptions Guiding Research into Nationalism and Tourist-Host Relationships

REASON FOR RESEACRH	To study the influence of nationalism on the lived tourist-host experience and understand how experiences are interpreted and understood
ONTOLOGY	**Relativist:** All understanding of experiences is perspectival and shaped by pre-understanding, historicity, culture, language. There are multiple 'realities' to the world and experiences.
EPISTEMOLOGY	**Hermeneutic:** the main focus is on the interpretation, context and language of experiences; what counts as 'truth' base on interpretation, co-construction and reflexive participation. Both researcher and participants are self-interpreting beings who live in the 'real' world and play an important role in the process of arriving at understanding through dialogue and interpretation. Language plays a key role.
METHODOLOGY	**Interpretive and dialogic:** The research seeks to interpret and understand the lived experience; searching for meaning, analyses, critiques, and negotiates between theory and data, and is guided by hermeneutic phenomenology. The focus is on the relationship between self and other, rather than 'subjective' or 'objective' stance.
RESEARCH APPROACH	**Case study**: empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real life context. A case study allows for the study of relationships and processes and can deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations, rather than restricting attention to the outcomes. A case study focuses on the particular rather than the general.
RESEARCH METHODS	**Q Methods**: Q sorts and interviews. Co-construction, reflexivity and historicity are guiding principles to this interpretive task.

Source: Adapted from Pernecky and Jamal (2010:13)

5.5 Q Method

In this study, Q method was used to systematically identify resident and tourist subjectivities in Bala, North Wales, related to nationalistic representations and tourism. As previously suggested, the merits of Q method lies in its drawing on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches for the systematic study of people's subjectivity in terms of opinions, beliefs and attitudes (Brown, 1993; Hunter, 2010). Furthermore, the use of Q Methods for this study was particularly favoured over more conventional methods, such as surveys or using interviews on their own, because it affords the matter of minimising bias on a rather subjective topic. That is, by focusing on the subjectivities of the respondents with respect to a particular concept or issue, Q method serves to eliminate as far as possible the researcher bias that may be injected into other qualitative methods of enquiry. Q method uses conventional factor analysis (Stephenson, 1953) to draw out shared or individual communicable subjectivities that may be generalised back to a specific phenomenon, in this case, Welsh and English nationalism representations within tourist-host social settings (Hutson and Montgomery, 2006). A study using Q method describes a population of viewpoints rather than a population of people (Ridson *et al*., 2003). It is an effective method for investigating social identities (Marshall, 1991), the effect of things or events on people's lives (Senn, 1991) or feelings towards nature places (Hutson & Montgomery, 2006). In essence, then, Q enables the researcher to establish how social 'actors' come to know and make meaning and sense of their worlds from their own perspectives and experiences. According to Kitzinger (1986: 153) Q method*ology* is not concerned with definitive truths, but with recognising 'the existence of numerous "truths" or multiple versions

of reality and then to exploring the meanings and implications of each' (emphasis in original).

The Q methods adopted for this study can be explained as encompassing five key stages (Figure 5.1). The first stage involved identifying the particular discourse pertaining to a set of shared beliefs, opinions, understandings or meanings held by a population, which was under investigation. The discourse under investigation for this study was the experiences of Welsh hosts and English tourists and the potential influences of nationalism upon the interpersonal relationships within these tourist-host social settings. The research question was developed for this study because Q methodology is a research technique that neither tests its participants nor imposes meaning *a priori* (Stainton Rogers, 1995). Rather, the meanings and significance of generated profiles in Q methodology are 'attributed *a posteriori* through interpretation' (Brown, 1980: 54).

The second stage in the Q process for this research was to move from the broader discourse to identify a 'concourse' for the study. This stage involved the redefining and clarification of the range of issues that exist on the particular topic of nationalism and tourist-host relationships into more meaningful statements. These statements broadly represent the sum of the opinion domain on the issue of nationalism and tourist-host settings (Watts & Stenner, 2005), including 'the cultural knowledges and social constructions that each of us can access both implicitly and explicitly' (Goldman, 1999: 591). The concourse is the flow of communicability surrounding nationalism and tourist-host relationships (Stephenson, 1978) and is developed by using a combination (Dell & Korotana, 2000) of naturalistic qualitative

interviews (Griffiths, 2005) and ready-made (Barry & Proops, 1999; McKeown & Thomas, 1988) literature based materials (Bauman, 1991; Bechhofer *et al.*, 1999; Brewer, 1978; Boissevian & Inglott, 1979; Cohen, 1985, 1994; De Beauvoir, 1978; Levinas, 1998; McCrone & Keily, 2000; McIntosh *et al.*, 2004; Miles, 1989; Pitchford, 1995; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Pizam & Jeong, 1996; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995; Sheldon & Var, 1984).
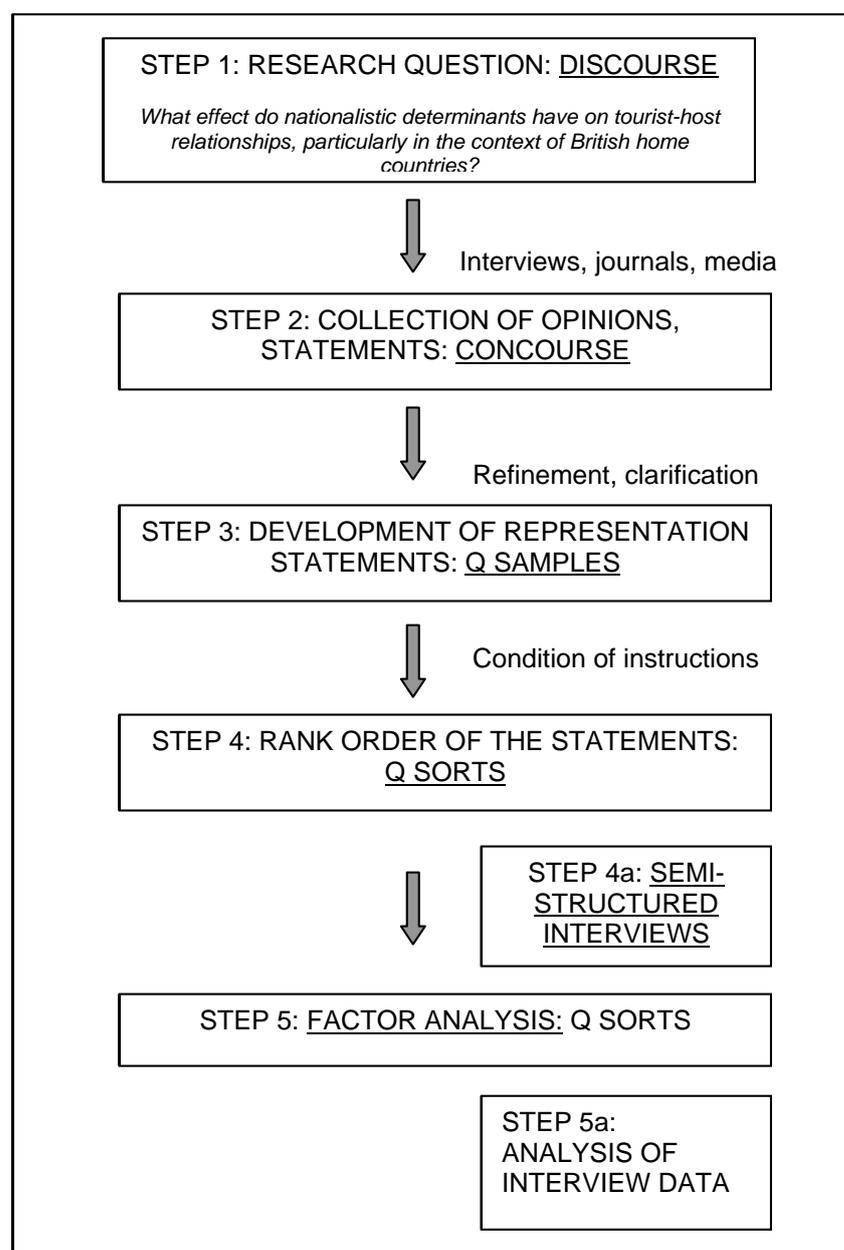
Figure. 5.1: An outline of the main 'Q method' steps used in this study

In other research, scholars have used either visual, aural or more unusual stimuli to generate a concourse. In early Q methodological work, Stephenson (1953) used a set of bottled fragrances to investigate the hedonic value of different odours, Fairweather and Swaffield (2000) utilised a set of landscape photographs to represent different aspects of concourse about forest sector development, whilst Grosswiler (1990) adopted music to elicit concourse development and more recently Trahair (2003) employed the use of cartoons in a study of political representations. More typically, however, researchers have employed a Q set of statements. For instance, Haesly (2001) utilised Q statements to explore the different types of European attachments in Scotland and Wales, whilst Cross (2005) employed the use of Q statements to explore attitudes held towards health education and promotion. During the concourse development, a statement set is built up which identifies different but recognisable assertions about the social phenomena being studied.

The third stage in the Q method process is to develop the Q Samples, or what is more often referred to in the literature as the Q sets of statements, from the concourse. For this research, it was necessary to develop two separate Q sets of statements: one set developed for English tourists' perspectives; and the other for the Welsh hosts' perspectives. Furthermore, the Q set developed for the Welsh perspective was also prepared using both English and Welsh mediums.

Developing both the Q Samples assisted in refining and setting the research question, which as Previte *et al*., (2007) point out, must be clearly defined before the data collection commences. However, according to Brown (1980), the selection of statements from the concourse for inclusion in the Q sets is of crucial importance,

but remains 'more of an art than a science'. As a starting point, Watts and Stenner, (2005) recommend developing straightforward questions containing a single proposition (Stainton Rogers *et al*., 1995). Previte *et al.*, (2007) observe that a clearly defined statement in the research question will also help structure the Q sets and acts as a 'condition for instruction' (2007: 137) for participants during the actual sorting process. The approach used by Eden *et al.*, (2005), conversely, was to allocate approximately equal numbers of statements to key areas of interest in the study. However, whatever the starting point, Van Exel and De Graaf (2005) argue that the aim is to arrive at a Q set that is a 'miniature' (Brown, 1993: 99) representative (Watts & Stenner, 2005) of the 'larger process being modelled' (ibid: 99), with Stergiou and Airey (2010: 4) adding 'the nature of the structure used is of little consequence', provided that the final Q-sample ensures a fair representation of all the major ideas, viewpoints, feelings and opinions that relate to the topic of study (McKeown & Thomas, 1988).

For the present study, Q statements were generated from the concourse until it was considered a 'saturation point' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) had been reached, that being, when the statements began to repeat what had already been collected rather than adding new elements. Initially, the concourse consisted of a larger number than was aimed for as a Q set. As highlighted previously, the Q sets were developed by using a combination of naturalistic qualitative interviews and ready-made literature based materials. This approach to the development of the Q sets is consistent with other approaches taken. For example, Raje´ (2007) used research participant statements to obtain a sense of the discourse about travel for different social groups,

but turned as well to academic papers, newspaper articles and policy documents as sources of statements.

It is recognised by the researcher that there may appear to be some ambiguity in the Q statements given the complexities of language. However, as Eden *et al* (2005: 417) point out, it is perhaps 'a merit of Q that, because it accepts viewpoints as complex and multiple, ambiguous or two-headed statements are still useable'. Furthermore, frequent users of Q argue that it is the holistic pattern of the participant's sort that matters, and not the statements themselves (Brown, 1993):

> There is little interest in the meanings which the investigator endows the statements, and consequently little interest in reliability. What is of interest, however, are the meanings and significance which participants attribute to the statements (Brown, 2002: 9).

It is considered that the Q sets used for this study do indeed reflect the complexity of the issue represented, as well as enabling each participant to respond based on their individual experience. The specific sample 'sets' were subsequently tested with a small number of known residents within North Wales, and a small number of English tourists visiting a specific white-water outdoor facility in the study area of Bala, North Wales. This was carried out during the month of August 2010 to verify important issues such as whether these statements really captured all important viewpoints about tourist-host relationships, the need for further clarification, and the ease of interpretation by the respondents. Once this piloting stage was complete, the Q sets were ready for inclusion in the study. The 'Q sets' used for this study are shown in Appendices 1, 2 and 3.

The fourth 'Q' stage in this research required respondents to rank order these statements according to the 'condition of instruction' (Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005: 6). To simplify the process of sorting, the respondents start by separating the statements into different groups. This separation within the Q sorting process depends on the research questions and the nature of the statements. For instance, for this research the issues of tourist-host relationships are the concern and, therefore, the statements have both positive and negative connotations. The respondents are instructed to separate the statements into two groups initially, with the first group containing the statements that represent respondents 'most agree', and the second group containing the statements that represents respondents 'most disagree'. The third group contains those statements which respondents are undecided or neutral.

After separation, the respondents are asked to rank order the statements in a specific way known as 'condition of instruction' (Amin, 2000). From the group of statements containing 'most agree', the respondent will choose only two statements that most represents his or her feeling about the tourist-host relationship. The respondent will place these two statements in the two 'cells' in the extreme right hand side of the continuum. From the remaining statements from the 'most agree' group, the respondent will again choose three statements that represent his or her feeling most about the tourist-host relationship and will place them immediately next to the extreme right hand 'cells'. This process is repeated each time choosing statements that represent his or her feeling most and placing them accordingly. Once the respondent completes placing all the statements from the 'most agree' group, he or she will repeat the same process with the 'most disagree' group. This time, the

respondent will choose statements that represent those most disagreed with the tourist-host relationship.

The resultant distribution assumes a quasi-normal format with the most agreeable or disagreeable statements placed in the two extreme polar regions of the continuum with neutral statements placed in the central region. Each respondent's distribution of these statements constitutes one Q sort and the individual Q sort is the unit of data in Q methodology. Analysis of the Q sort is based on the relative importance of one statement over the others. Thus, in deciding the respondent's view point about tourist-host relationships, the extreme polar statements weighted most are compared to the statements near the centre.

The fifth stage in 'Q' is the analysis of pattern of responses within the Q sorts. The patterns of responses are based on statistical similarities and dissimilarities among the respondents and known *factors*. Factor analysis is ideally done with the help of specialist computer programs. A more detailed account of the process of factor analysis is provided in the next section.

5.6   Data Collection

5.6.1   Primary data collection

Primary data was collected because, currently, little empirical data exists regarding experiences and meanings of nationalism within tourist-host relationships, and in particular their responses towards national identities, culture and tourism. The primary data was collected in the form of 'Q sorting' and interview data. The field work was carried out over a six-week period, between September and October 2010.

Respondents from the community and specific tourism-related 'actors' were asked for their opinion on their interpersonal relationship experiences between English tourists and Welsh hosts. Respondents were also asked for their thoughts on perspectives towards national identities, culture and tourism.

5.6.2   The Q Sort

This study is based on a total sample set of 40 respondents (20 community respondents, and 20 tourist respondents) recruited using both purposive sampling and snowballing techniques and all had voluntarily offered to assist in the research. Tourists were purposively sampled and discreetly approached in the case study location with informal discussion taking place to ascertain their 'eligibility' to take part in the research. In other words, they needed to have been English visitors to the area with having had contact with the local community. Tourist characteristics, such as gender and age, were borne in mind to help ensure there were some comprehensive charaterictics within the participant sample and to maintain diversity of 'subjectivities'. Host community members, on the other hand, were sampled using snowballing techniques due to the potentially controversial nature of the topic and also to access the local community whose members predominantly speak Welsh as a first language. This also helped ensure their eligibility to participate in the reseacrh. Again characterisitics of the participants were also borne in mind as to age and gender for reasons highlighted above. Sufficient information about the research was provided to arrive at a reasoned judgement about whether to participate or not, all respondents were provided with a brief description of the research aims and information about what was expected of them. Participants were also provided with a

form containing the researcher's name and contact details, along with the expressed commitment by the researcher to assure anonymity and confidentiality.

In Q terminology the sample respondents are known as a 'P set' (Stenner, Watts & Worrell, 2007) and are selected for comprehensiveness and diversity of subjectivities, rather than representativeness, quantity (Eden, *et al.,* 2005) or statistically generated sample (Balch, 1982; Patton, 1990). As Q-methodology does not seek to make claims to larger representative groups (Stergiou & Airey, 2010) it does not necessarily depend upon rigorous sampling methods (McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Most often, the selection of participants is a function of purposive and theoretical sampling (Sexton, Snyder, Wadsworth, Jardine, & Ernest, 1998). It is a structured sample of respondents who are theoretically relevant to the issue under investigation and thus, the researcher may select participants who are likely to express distinct and clear perspectives relevant to the problem under consideration and, in this instance, define a factor (Brown, 1980). For example, Welsh community members who come into or have previously had contact with English tourists, and similarly English tourists within the research location who have had contact with Welsh community members. Purposive sampling in Q method relies on a 'diverse non-random selection' (Fairweather & Swaffield, 2002: 288) of individuals and the sample's size and respondent characteristics can be pre-specified or emergent (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In this study, the total sample size of 40 respondents reached during the study's recruitment process was emergent, informed by the researcher's understandings of host community and tourist subjectivities (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996) and also

informed by precedent Q research. Stopping at a total sample size of 40 respondents
acknowledges previous research where sample sizes as small as 20 (Hutson &
Montgomery, 2006) and as large as 66 (Fairwhether & Swaffield, 2002) have been
used and in studies where samples of about 30 (Davis, 1999) have been
recommended (Brown, 1993; McKeown & Thomas, 1988). Therefore, 20
respondents each for the two distinct Q sets, providing a total sample size of 40 is
consistent with previous studies utilizing Q methods.

The two 'Q sets' (Van Exel & De Graaf, 2005) contained 42 statements each: one set
developed for English tourists perspectives; and the other for the Welsh host's
perspectives. Furthermore, the Q set developed for the Welsh perspective was also
prepared using both English and Welsh mediums. Where possible, core statements
were used in both of the Q sets to ensure consistency in data collection, but specific
statements related to the extrapolation of opinion towards the 'other' (the other
being, the English or the Welsh) were also included. The 42 statements within each
of the Q sets were printed on randomly numbered laminated cards, each card
containing one of the statements from the Q set. The set of statements were then
given to the participants (the P set) in the form of a pack of cards for sorting. Tourist
participants were asked to perform the Q Sort 'in situ' of the immediate vicinity of
the case site, either sheltered in a café, at the tourist information centre, or at the side
of the lake in Bala. Host community participants on the other hand performed the Q
sort either at the local library, community centre, or indeed a local café.

The 'Q sorting' process required each participant to arrange the cards according to
how the statement contained on the card reflected their own subjectivity regarding

the concourse (Van Excel & De Graaf, 2005). All participants were provided with a score sheet continuum ranging from '*most disagree*' on one end to '*most agree*' on the other (Brown, 1980) and in between a distribution that takes the form of a fixed quasi-normal distribution (Prasad, 2001). The kurtosis (Cross, 2005) of the distribution on the continuum was developed with the consideration that respondents were expected to have either strong or well articulated opinions on the issues of nationalism and tourist-host relationships. As such, the distribution for this research is relatively flattened with a range of -4 to +4 (Brown, 1980) in order to provide more room for strong (dis)agreement with statements, but was also set according to the number of statements within the Q set. According to Brown (1980), most Q sets contain 40 to 50 statements and employ a relatively flattened distribution with a range of -5 to +5.   The score sheet used for this study is provided in Appendix 4.

Respondents were asked to read through all of the statements carefully in the first instance in order to establish an impression of the type and range of opinions at issue. Respondents were then instructed to commence with an initial sorting by dividing the statements into three piles: statements they generally agree with, those statements with which they disagree, and finally those statements about which they felt neutral or undecided. The number of statements in each pile was recorded on the score sheet to check for agreement-disagreement balance in the Q set. Instructions then guided the respondents to rank order the statements according the condition of instruction: 'to what extent do you agree with the following statements'. The outline of instructions to participants is demonstrated in Appendix 5.

Once participants had completed the Q sort (some completed in 10 minutes while others took considerably longer), the Q sort was followed by an interview. During this interview, the participant was invited to elaborate on their points of view, particularly by elaborating on the most salient statements – those placed at both extreme ends of the continuum on the score sheet.

Each respondent was allocated a reference number as part of the Q sort stage, and this reference number was also followed through to the interview process. As such, these reference numbers support all quotes in the results chapters. This reference number was particularly useful in organising the analysis of the research, but has little significance to the reader.

5.6.3   The interviews

The aim of the interviews post the Q sort was to extrapolate further the respondents' point of view in relation to the experiences of Welsh hosts and English tourists and the potential influences of nationalism upon the interpersonal relationships within these tourist-host social settings. As indicated above, participants were invited to elaborate on their points of view, particularly by elaborating on the most salient statements – those placed at both extreme ends of the continuum on the score sheet, for instance *'most agree'* and *'most disagree'*. Additionally the framework offered by Kvale (1996), was also called upon during the interviews, whereby interviews included a specific combination of follow-up questions, probing questions, specifying questions, direct questions, indirect questions, and interpreting questions. Thus, the essential objective of the interviews, within the context of specific visitor

experiences, was to discover and reveal respondent values, beliefs, behaviour, insights, encounters and emotions of nationalism within tourist-host encounters.

All but two of the interviews were conducted 'in situ', immediately after the Q Sort process. The two interviews that were unable to be conducted 'in situ' were with English tourists to the area, and were contacted via telephone to conduct their interview, post their visit. As part of the consent process, anonymity was guaranteed to all respondents again whereby a respondent number and country of origin would identify published responses. To capture 'not just *what* people say but also in the *way* that they say it' (Bryman, 2004: 329, emphasis in original), the plan was to audio-record all interviews. However, it became apparent early on in the empirical process that not all respondents felt comfortable talking about nationalism and their experiences or to proceed once the notion of audio recording was suggested. Indeed, Bryman (2004:330) points out that 'the use of a recorder may disconcert respondents, who may become self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved'. Consequently, in order to overcome an obvious resistance barrier to the conduct of interviews, the decision was taken to deliberately keep interviews very brief and focused on the salient points related to the Q sort process. For those that did not wish for their interview to be recorded verbally, they were provided with a form in order to explain in note form why they *agreed* 'most' with the two statements and also why they *disagreed* 'most' with the two statements placed in the extreme ends of the continuum. For the two interviews conducted over the telephone, conversations were transcribed by hand, in note form, recording the essence of the point being made. Importantly, therefore in these two instances, interview quotes that appear in subsequent analyses are an interpretation of the

telephone interview exchange, and though accurate, are not a reproduction of the actual conversation.

5.7   Data analysis

5.7.1   Q sort analysis

Once the Q sort is completed by the P sets, then analysis of the responses can take place. Q data analysis essentially involves the sequential application of three statistical procedures: correlation, factor analysis, and the computation of factor scores (Brown, 2004). Utilising software analysis in Q enables the identification and description of the different perspectives that can be held about the issue of nationalism within tourist-host relationships. The analysis of the Q sorts is a purely technical, objective procedure and, as argued by Van Excel and De Graaf (2005), is sometimes referred to as the scientific base of Q. Firstly, the correlation matrix of all Q sorts is calculated. This represents the level of (dis)agreement between the individual sort or, in other words, the degree of (dis)similarity in points of view between the individual Q sorters. This correlation matrix is then subject to factor analysis, the second statistical procedure, with the objective of identifying the number of natural groupings of Q sorts by virtue of their being similar or dissimilar to one another. More simply stated, it examines how many basically different Q sorts are in evidence (Brown, 1980: 1983). In comparison to ordinary factor analysis, the Q-factor analysis technique is an inverse, in that it seeks to cluster respondents rather than variables (Kline, 1994). That is, in Q-mode the factors are clusters of people for a set of variables; people with similar views to the theme of nationalism who share the same factor.

A factor loading is determined for each Q sort, expressing the extent to which each Q sort is associated with each factor and the number of factors in the final set depends on the variability in each of the elicited Q sorts. Each factor, therefore, captures a different Q-sort which is shared by the participants loading on this factor (Watts & Stenner, 2005).

This set of factors is then rotated to be examined from different angles. Rotation may be either objective, and according to a statistical principle, or theoretical, driven by some prior knowledge or idea, or based on an idea that came to light during the study, for instance from a salient Q sort or during a follow up interview. Rotation does not affect the consistency in sentiment throughout the individual Q sorts or the relationships between Q sorts, (Van Excel & De Graaf, 2005) it only shifts the perspective from which they are observed.

The third statistical process is the calculation of the factor scores and difference scores. A statement's factor score is the normalised weighted average statement score of respondents' that define that factor. At a practical level, this analysis helps the researcher to identify those statements that can provide a basis for defining and differentiating factors (Sexton *et al*., 1998). These statements are used for the interpretation of the composite point of view represented by each factor. As Akhtar-Danesh *et al.* (2008: 768) suggest, 'the use of factor analysis in extracting the distinguishing statements and the use of domain experts in interpretation' guide the interpretive process in Q-methodology. The difference score is the magnitude of difference between a statement's score on any two factors that is required for it to be

statistically significant. This will be explained in more detail during the discussion of results.

5.7.2   Interview transcription

The interviews that took place utilizing a digital voice recorder were transferred and saved as files to a computer. Each interview was transcribed in full except for periods of speech that were irrelevant to the study, such as when respondents were interrupted or distracted. One interview was under taken in the medium of Welsh and was therefore transcribed in Welsh initially and then translated into English. During this interview, a translator fluent in Welsh was present to aid the discussion. Although English was spoken fluently by the remaining interviewees within the Welsh host community, they shared certain common phrases and particular intonations that emphasised meanings. These phrases, particular intonations and meanings were purposely left unchanged and highlighted in the researcher's field notes as they often demonstrated significant shared perceptions.

According to Ritchie and Spencer (1994) qualitative data analysis involves a framework approach that incorporates the processes of familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting and interpretation of that data. The familiarisation stage involves immersion in the data by the researcher listening to the interview recordings, reading the transcripts a number of times to re-examine responses (Heritage, 1984) and making note of any significant patterns of comparisons. Although it may be possible to interpret the data by making an intuitive attempt to identify the key categories and connections, it is not always reliable as important features of the data can be missed, with Denscombe (2003)

arguing a more systematic method of analysis is advisable. The next stage in the process of data analysis within Ritchie and Spencer's (1994) framework approach involves reviewing any notes made at the familiarisation stage and identifying the key issues, concepts and themes. More specifically, it identifies any emergent issues raised by the respondents themselves, and analytical themes arsing from the recurrence or patterning of particular views or experiences. Devising and refining a thematic framework from the qualitative data is not a mechanical process, but it does involve logical and intuitive thinking. It involves making judgements about meaning, about the relevance and importance of issues, and about implicit connections between ideas. Thus, it ensures that the original research question is being fully addressed.

The next part of the process is to apply an index to the theoretical framework and chart headings or sub-headings which may be drawn from the thematic framework. This involves working closely with the data and annotating it according to the issues and concepts identified in the thematic framework. This requires the researcher to make numerous judgements as to the meaning and significance of the data, both as it stands and in the context of the interview as a whole. This process of making judgements is subjective and open to differing interpretations (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) and it is therefore suitable for research analysis within a constructivist paradigm. Charting of the data, whereby data are 'lifted' out of their original context and rearranged according to the appropriate thematic reference, was carried out thematically, or rather influenced by 'factors' exposed by the Q sort analysis.

At the final stage (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) the interpretation of the qualitative data as a whole can be carried out with consideration being given to the original aims and conceptual frameworks of the study. The respondents' opinions, accounts and experiences can be compared and contrasted and triangulated with the statistical factor analysis to look for patterns and connections within the data. Each of these stages requires intuition and imagination (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994).

5.8 Reliability and validity

Both quantitative and qualitative research can be viewed as exhibiting a set of distinctive but contrasting preoccupations (Bryman, 2004). The preoccupations reflect epistemologically grounded beliefs of what is acceptable knowledge. For example, Blumer (1956) argued that quantitative studies aiming to bring out the relationships between variables within human inquiry fail to recognise 'the process of interpretation or definition that goes on in human groups' (1956: 685). In this sense, by not knowing the meaning of events to individuals creates a static social world that is separate from the individuals who make it up. In other words, quantitative research carries an objectivist ontology that reifies the social world.

Equally, qualitative research also has its criticisms in relation to an interpretativist epistemological orientation; in other words the problem of interpretation in this task lies solely with the researcher. This emphasis on meaning from the individual's view point raises salient questions: how feasible is it to perceive as others perceive; can researchers really construct accounts from the perspective of those whom they study? Regardless of perspective however, what quantitative and qualitative research also have in common are concerns regarding 'reliability' and 'validity'. The issue of

'reliability' in relation to the methods adopted for this study is that when repeated on the same persons Q methodology does not necessarily yield the same results, which has led to questions regarding reliability. However, where Q method has been utilized, predominantly in social psychology, it is argued that there is no expectation that an individual will express the same views on two separate occasions (Stainton Rogers, 1991). Nevertheless, there is some disagreement within the literature regarding the reliability in that Q sorts can be replicated with 85 percent accuracy (Brown, 1980) up to a year later. It is acknowledged that the use of Q does place an element of constraint on the participant in terms of the pre-determined statements and therefore it is argued that there are only limited accounts which can be expressed. Nevertheless, in order to more accurately represent the views of the subjects and not rely solely on the decision making of the researcher in choosing the final selection of statements, accounts were taken from previous empirical research and preliminary interviews were undertaken and the statements derived from these were used in the Q sort.

Q method raises certain challenges for tourism research 'because it falls outside of the conventional notions of what is quantitative or qualitative' (Hunter, 2010: 8). Q method is not based on Newtonian principles of certainty, so 'statements in the Q sort are entangled', 'factors are irreducibly paradoxical', and 'measurement and meaning inseparable' (Brown, 2009: 240-241). Although the number of uncertain responses (Oppenheim, 1992) is somewhat limited by the forced distribution of the statements in the Q sort, there is still the risk that the respondent will use the instrument to give an account that they think is acceptable to the researcher rather than how they truly feel about an issue, in particular the controversial subject at

issue. However, only including Q sorts with significant loadings and ensuring that clusters produced in the factor analysis are mutually exclusive and exhaustive (Fairweather & Swaffield, 2002) are checks that can enhance reliability.

Q method is suggested for research where the very existence of concepts has not yet been established (Tractinsky & Jarvenpaa, 1995). Increased reliability can be ensured when additional P sets are tested and compared with the same concourse (Valenta & Wigger, 1997). However, the results of Q method can stand alone or can be further developed with in-depth interview techniques (Ekinci & Riley, 2001).

Silverman (2000) suggests two responses to the question of validity, these being 'triangulation' and 'respondent validation'. Triangulation entails using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena. Denzin (1970) refers to the approach that triangulation uses 'multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data, and methodologies' (1970: 310). Triangulation was very much associated with quantitative research (Webb *et al*., 1966) whereby more than one method could be employed in the development of measures, thus resulting in greater confidence in findings (Bryman, 2001). Increasingly, however, triangulation is also being used to refer to a process of cross-checking findings derived from both quantitative and qualitative research (Deacon *et al.*, 1998). For instance, Hammersley (1996) proposes three approaches to multi-strategy research: triangulation; facilitation; and complementary. The first of Hammersley's approaches, triangulation, refers to the use of quantitative research to corroborate qualitative research findings or vice versa. Put more simply, the administration of a quantitative questionnaire approach to a larger sample population in order to

substantiate the generaliseability of findings from a qualitative small-scale focus group method.

The second proposed facilitation approach from Hammersley (1996) arises when one research strategy is employed in order to aid research using the other research strategy. For example, the administration of a structured quantitative method to elicit findings that may be further researched via unstructured qualitative in-depth interviews. The third approach suggested by Hammersley refers to a complementary approach. This approach occurs when the two research strategies are employed in order that different aspects of an investigation can be dovetailed. For instance quantitative research would be most suited to the 'macro' level of phenomena, such as 'nationalism' and qualitative research better suited to 'micro' phenomena, such as small scale tourist-host interaction.

Indeed, it could be argued that the utilization of Q methods for this study somewhat encompasses all of the above validity approaches to multi-strategy research. As previously highlighted, Q method itself combines the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research (Dennis & Goldberg, 1996). The reference to Hammersley's triangulation approach is considered to be incorporated within Q whereby it is the underlying theory that ensures the discovery of 'clusters' during factor analysis corresponds to respondents' attitudes. As Ekinci and Riley (2001:206) suggest, 'it is a 'dimensionless' task in which subjectivity and objectivity grope around to find each other'. Incidentally, both content and discriminate validity are checked through the Q sort procedure and correlation test.

Additionally, facilitation within Q is argued as being incorporated as although the results of Q sort can stand alone, they can be further developed with in-depth interviews. This then leads onto the complementary approach which, as discussed above, refers to the micro and macro levels of the research. Furthermore, this study incorporates 'interdisciplinary triangulation' and as such data and interpretations become richer and more comprehensive when investigators, methods, and theories from different disciplines are considered for a particular research problem (Decrop, 2004). This type of triangulation is especially relevant in tourism research, since in essence tourism is a multidisciplinary phenomenon. This study considers theories related to nationalism, sociology and to some degree geography in particular. By combining data sources, methods and theories, triangulation opens the way for more credible interpretations (Decrop, 2004).

Respondent validation suggests that researchers go back to the subjects with whom research has been conducted (Bryman, 2001) with tentative results and refine them in the light of their reactions. On the other hand, Silverman (1993) argues that if we accept as valid only those accounts which are plausible and credible, then researchers are unable to be surprised and are condemned to reproduce existing models of the social world. Furthermore, Bloor (1997) suggests that respondents may be reluctant to be critical, particularly if relationships with the researcher of 'fondness and mutual regard' (ibid: 45) have developed through the course of the research. The operation of Q sorting is inescapably subjective in the sense that the participant is sorting the cards from his or her own point of view, therefore the subject is applying their own 'meanings' and understanding to the items (Brown, 1977). Prasad (2001) argues that the use of a forced distribution of the Q sorting

means that the respondents have to consider their attitudes more carefully, which can bring out true feelings in response. Therefore, purposive sampling is very important to the generation of a P set of respondents who will offer subjectivities that are relevant or friendly to the research (Brown, 1980). For this Q methodological study, the subtleties of taking back the result of the sorting activity of participants themselves, lies within the post-Q sort interview whereby the participants were invited to elaborate on their points of view, particularly by elaborating on the most salient statements, those placed at both extreme ends of the continuum on the score sheet, for instance 'most agree' and 'most disagree'.

5.9 Chapter Five Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodological approach to this study. An overall constructivist approach has been adopted as it is considered suitable for studies such as this that involve human enquiry. A constructivist approach reflects a move away from conventional positivist explanations that assert there is only an objective reality, and instead begins with a relativist ontology which asserts that there are multiple realities constructed by actors as they make sense of their experiences. The aim of this study is to understand actors' constructions of interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts, and the potential influence nationalism has on these experiences. The constructivist approach influenced the research strategy adopted, and the merits of multi-strategy research methods have been discussed. Q methods were selected, and the justification for this choice has been provided. The methods and processes for data analysis have been described, in particular factor analysis (Stephenson, 1953) and the 'framework' approach (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994) for sorting and analysing data collected. Ethical considerations, issues of reliability and validity, limitations associated with the research methodology have been discussed throughout. The analysis of responses to experiences of tourism contact, in particular of the influence of nationalism within interpersonal relationships with English tourists and Welsh hosts in Bala are presented in the next chapter.

Chapter Six

Analysis of Findings & Discussion: English Tourists and Welsh Hosts Relationships

To Be or Not To Be……?
(William Shakespeare, Act III, Scene I)

Chapter Six

6.1   Introduction

The preceding chapters have argued that nationalistic determinants are potentially influential within the interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between English tourists and Welsh hosts. This is not to say, of course, that nationalistic determinants are the sole influencing factors within these relationships. Indeed, as was noted in Chapter Two's exploration of tourist-host interaction, there is a multitude of 'variables' that influence or produce different kinds of relationships between tourists and hosts. For example, and as previously discussed, the motivations, attitudes, behaviour and level of travel experience of the tourist may impact on the nature of their relationship with the host community. Conversely, variables impacting on relationships with tourists from a host's perspective may, as already highlighted, include the level of economic dependency of the area upon tourism, attitudes towards tourists of different nationalities, expectations from tourism and tourists and, more generally, whether indeed local residents are in fact willing 'hosts' to tourist 'guests'. Similarly, of course, not all tourists to Wales will possess the same specific behaviours, motivations or level of travel experience. That is, there are likely to be significant variations in patterns of behaviour, expectations and motivations according to the demographic profile of tourists, when they visit Wales and, indeed, where they visit in Wales.

It was suggested in Chapter Two that new theories and approaches are required in order to better examine, explain, and understand affective relationships between hosts and tourists, for not only are these two parties linked through interactions that

exist between them but also they are not as separate as past literature has implied. Furthermore, research has been called for that examines residents' feelings towards tourists through their interactions. This study, therefore, contributes to the body of knowledge not only in the capacity of accommodating new approaches towards tourist – host relationship research but also by *simultaneously* examining, within the same destinational context, both tourists' perceptions of residents and residents' perceptions of tourists through their interactions. Utilising Q methodology this study thereby examines the complexity of tourist-host interactions via another dimension, that being within a subjective dimension, in general but also with the potential to contribute significantly to knowledge and understanding of English (tourists) and Welsh (hosts) encounters in particular.

More specifically this case study research seeks to explore Welsh residents' and English tourists' subjectivities towards the theme of nationalism in order to establish what effect, if any, the influences of nationalistic determinants have on tourist-host relationships. In this chapter, the findings of the research are presented and the resulting implications arising from identified nationalism influences within tourist – host relationships are then considered.

6.2   English Tourists and Welsh Hosts Relationships

As discussed in Chapter Five, the two 'Q sets' contained 42 statements each: one set developed for English tourists' perspectives; and the other for the Welsh hosts' perspectives. Furthermore, the Q set developed for the Welsh hosts' perspective was also prepared using both English and Welsh mediums. Where possible, core statements were used in both of the Q sets to ensure consistency in data collection,

but specific statements related to the extrapolation of opinion towards the 'other' (the other being, the English or the Welsh) were also included. The 'Q sorting' process required each participant to arrange the cards according to how the statement contained on the card reflected their own subjectivity regarding the concourse. All participants were provided with a score sheet continuum ranging from '*most disagree*' at one end to '*most agree*' on the other and, in between, a distribution that takes the form of a fixed quasi-normal distribution.

To identify patterns of commonality and divergence of viewpoints, 20 English Q sorts and 20 Welsh Q sorts (40 Q sorts in total) were separately subjected to a by-person pattern analysis that allows any shared subjective viewpoints on nationalism within tourist-host settings to be detected. Patterns detected in the correlation matrix through this means are viewed as a direct effect of the participants' own sorting activity. Using PQ Method computer package, a principal components analysis was undertaken on the correlation matrix for each 'set of sorts'. Clearly interpretable factors emerged and were subjected to Varimax rotation. Varimax is appropriate for an exploratory study since it is an automatic routine for rotating a factor solution to a simple structure (Thurstone, 1947). For a factor to be interpretable, according to Stenner *et al.,* (2003) it must satisfy two conditions: firstly, its eigenvalue (the amount of variance between factors) (Bryman and Cramer, 2005) must be greater than 1.0; and secondly, it must have a minimum of one Q sort that loads significantly upon it alone. Q sorts loading at 0.5 or over are statistically significant at $p<0.01$ level, and are referred to as 'factor exemplars' and provide the single viewpoint captured for each factor. However, Webler *et al.,* (2009) argue that there is no one objectively *correct* number of factors to use as any number of factors will provide

some insight into how people think about the issues in question, in this case nationalism within social interaction between tourists and hosts. Nevertheless, Webler *et al.,* (2009) suggest a number of criteria in using different numbers of factors. These criteria include looking at: simplicity (fewer factors make it easier to understand viewpoints); clarity (within factors); distinctness (lower correlations between factors); and finally stability (clustering of respondents evident). For the analysis of Q sorts for this study, a combination of the two factor selection processes, statistical or criteria based, was used in deciding upon the number of factors to rotate.

During the initial stages of principal components analysis undertaken on the correlation matrix for each 'set of sorts', six interpretable factors for the English respondents were identified with an eigenvalue greater than 1.0. For Welsh respondents four interpretable factors were initially identified with an eigenvalue greater than 1.0. However, during examination of these initial factors a number of questions were borne in mind when analysing the data. Firstly, the correlations between each factor were taken into consideration for each set of sorts. Highly correlated factors are, in essence, providing the same viewpoints, or put more simply, saying similar things. Therefore lower correlations between factors were preferred when analysing the number of outputs side-by-side, in order to provide distinctive viewpoints. The correlations between the emergent factors for English tourists are illustrated in Table 6.1. At this point the outputs were also consulted to establish patterns of clustering between 'groups' of respondents, in order to provide a level of stability of viewpoints. Finally in order to provide clarity between factors, each factor solution was analysed in relation to Q sort loadings to minimise the

number of 'confounders' (respondents who load on multiple factors) and also 'non-loaders' (respondents who did not load on any factor). The best factor solution is one in which each sorter loads highly on one, and only one factor.

Table 6.1: Correlation Matrix between Factors for English Tourists

	1	2	3
1	1.0000	0.2686	0.3580
2	0.2686	1.0000	0.3408
3	0.3580	0.3408	1.0000

After such scrutiny, three factors emerge for interpretation for English tourists. This suggests that three types of viewpoints regarding nationalistic influences upon tourists' relationships with hosts emerge during social interaction. For Welsh hosts, two distinct influential types emerge. For English tourists, the three factors together explain 53 percent of the study variance and 100 percent of the English respondents load on at least one of the three factors ($p < 0.01$). For the Welsh hosts, the two factors explain 54 percent of the study variance and 80 percent of the Welsh respondents load onto at least one of the two factors ($p < 0.01$).

For ease of interpretation, the factor exemplars were merged to form a single 'ideal-typical' Q sort for each factor, referred to in Q methodology as a 'factor array'. The factor array is calculated according to a procedure of weighted averaging (Brown, 1980), for instance, the higher loading exemplars are given more weight in the averaging process since they better exemplify the factor. Thus, being a merged average, the factor array looks like a single complete Q sort. This Q sort is generated as a 'best estimate' (Stenner *et al.,* 2007), and is taken as an ideal representation of

that factor. It is these factor arrays that provide the bases for interpretation. The ideal factor arrays for the emergent three factors from English tourists are presented in Table 6.2 overleaf. The ideal factor arrays for the emergent two factors from Welsh hosts are presented in Table 6.9 later in this chapter.

Factor interpretation involves the production of summarizing accounts and holistic inspection of the patterning of items in each factor array. Through examining the relative ranking, that being relative to the other statements (also known as 'items' in Q methodology), of each item in a given array, the researcher is able to uncover the mode of understanding employed by the exemplars when completing the sort. Factor interpretation is a necessarily hermeneutic process, and to some extent, must remain open and subjective. However, validity of interpretation for this research is crucially supported by the comments collected from the post Q sort interviews. In other words, interpretation of a factor array can 'breathe subjective life' (Stenner *et al.,* 2007: 227) back into what is essentially a purely numerical representation of view points. The interpretation is based upon the ideal sort as an integrated whole and not upon individual (or indeed a minimum number of) ranking positions. It is only in the context of the whole ideal sort that the meaning of specific item ranking becomes apparent.

The arrays of factors for the English tourists 'Q set' are demonstrated in the following Table 6.2. This layout enables easy comparison of the item rankings across the factors for the 'Q set'. Rankings indicate the level of viewpoint being expressed with '*most agree*' ranked at +4 through to '*most disagree*' ranked at -4, with 0

indicating a (relatively) neutral viewpoint. A description of each factor and a

comparison between factors is presented below for English tourists.

Table 6.2: English Tourists Q Sorts Factor Arrays

		Factor		
No.	Statement	1	2	3
1	At points of contact with Welsh hosts I feel I belong to a particular nation	+1	+1	-1
2	There is a 'sense of place' here in Wales	+1	0	0
3	The Welsh tend to be more positive than the English about nationalism	0	+1	+2
4	The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe	-1	-1	-4
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	-1	+4	-4
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	+2	0	-2
7	I see Wales and Welsh people very separate to England and English people	-1	0	0
8	It is a basic civic right to speak your own language in your own country	+4	+4	+3
9	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales as a bilingual region	-2	+2	0
10	The English do not often discuss their culture or identity	+1	0	+2
11	Wales is attractive to English tourists	+4	0	+2
12	Welsh-ness is attractive to tourists	0	-1	-2
13	English people are drawn to Wales	+1	-1	+1
14	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity than English	+1	+2	+1
15	There is a 'cultural exchange' between local residents and English tourists	0	-1	-3
16	I don't care about 'nationalism' of any type	+1	-1	-2
17	Tourism preserves Wales as a nation and helps preserve Welsh culture	+2	+1	+2
18	I have positive feelings towards Welsh 'symbols' when I am in Wales	+2	+2	-1
19	I've heard stereotypical comments towards the Welsh	-2	+2	+1
20	My experience of Welsh people as hosts are positive	+3	+2	+1
21	English tourists are exploited by Welsh hosts	-2	-2	-2
22	English tourists are nice and considerate	0	-4	0
23	The locals don't want us here….the Irish/Scots can come but not English	-4	+1	0
24	I am proud to be English	+3	-3	+3
25	People have a positive attitude towards us being English	0	-2	-3
26	Our English blood does not make us an better than the Welsh	+3	+3	+3
27	The Welsh don't like the English	-3	+1	-1
28	I'd say the English have more of a feeling of their own nation than the Welsh	+2	-4	-3
29	I have definitely come across anti-English attitudes	+1	0	+4
30	Wales presents itself as a progressive country	-1	-2	-2
31	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh	0	+3	0
32	I consider myself to be more English than British	+2	-2	+1
33	Welsh speaking is an identity marker	0	+3	+4
34	Being a tourist in Wales defines my own English identity	-1	-3	-1
35	As English tourists we are continually reminded that we are not Welsh….	-2	0	+2
36	I think the few negative things about Welsh attitudes are defined by not being..	-1	0	-1
37	The images of Wales were not as I experienced	-1	-1	-1
38	I am very aware that they're aware that I'm English	-2	+1	+1
39	There isn't a warm Welsh welcome in Wales for English tourists	-3	-2	0
40	My image of Wales is a land of small traditional communities	0	+1	-1
41	The Welsh language is patronising to English tourists	-4	-3	0
42	People make a point of speaking Welsh when they know you're English	-3	-1	+1

* A number of the statements above have been abbreviated to fit. Full statements are
provided in Appendix 1.

6.2.1 English Tourists' Responses

Interpretation of the factors within this group of respondents began by paying particular attention to specific ranking of items. A logical starting point was with the most extreme rankings for the factor, that is, those placed at *most agree* (+4) and *most disagree* (-4) ends of the spectrum.

Factor 1: Empathy towards Nationalism

Factor 1 (with an eigenvalue of 5.75) on its own explains 21 percent of the variance in viewpoints. Of the Q sorts, 30 percent of respondents load significantly on only this factor. Within the statements, or items, that form the ideal factor array for Factor 1, thirteen statements are ranked significantly ($p<0.01$) differently between Factor 1 and the other remaining factors. These statistically significant statements are referred to as distinguishing statements or exemplars and are shown in Table 6.3.

Starting with Factor 1, the strong (+4) agreement with item 8 (Table 6.2) suggests a particular concern with an empathic understanding of differences within the realms of nationalism, particularly with regards to language, within tourist experiences of host interactions:

8. It is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language   +4
    in your own country, without fear or feeling ashamed

This prominent defence of language is towards the Welsh language. This defence is reflective in the negative pole of the sort with relative strong disagreement that the Welsh language is patronising, or that people deliberately speak in Welsh to directly oppose English tourists.

41. The Welsh Language is patronising to English tourists   -4

42. People make a point of speaking in Welsh once they know
    you're English   -3

Table 6.3: Distinguishing statements for *Factor 1* for English Tourists in Wales

Statement		1
20	My experience of Welsh people as hosts are positive	+3
32	I consider myself to be more English than British	+2
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	+2
28	I'd say the English have much more of a feeling of their own nation than the Welsh have	+2
16	I don't care about nationalism of any type	+1
25	People have a positive attitudes towards us being English	0
33	Welsh speaking is an identity marker	0
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	-1
35	As English tourists we are continually reminded we are not Welsh	-2
38	I am very aware that they are aware that I'm English	-2
27	The Welsh don't like the English	-3
42	People make a point of speaking Welsh once they know you're English	-3
23	The locals don't want us here…the Irish / Scots yes but not the English	-4

An underlying theme for this defence of the Welsh language is its related ownership
or belonging to Wales, in other words 'it is theirs'. As put by respondent E32: '*I
don't think the language is patronising, I think its good they still have a separate
language and speak their own language*'. This notion of ownership is further
supported by respondent E26: '*it is their language just as English is mine*'.

This empathy is also focused towards dismissing broad 'national stereotyping'
towards the other. This is representative in the negative pole of the distribution
(Table 6.2), since there is disagreement with a series of items which can be taken as
devaluing of disparaging difference:

23. The locals don't want us here…you know probably the   -4
    Irish could come here and the Scots, but preferably not the English

39. There isn't a warm Welsh welcome in Wales for English tourists   -3

27. The Welsh don't like the English   -3

These viewpoints are clearly concerned with *empathic understanding* of difference with a defensive stance taken against anticipated critical attacks, which are also thematic in Factor 1 exemplars (Table 6.3). This is further supported with the view that English tourists *are* wanted in Wales, and importantly made to feel 'welcome' into Wales: '*I have always felt welcome in Wales*' (Respondent E26). Adding to this theme respondent E27 disagrees strongly that there is a continual reminder that English people are not Welsh: '*I don't feel that I am made to feel separated by the Welsh or by Wales*'. Further, on this notion of a sense that there is not a 'deliberate' division from English tourists by Welsh residents, respondent E36 expresses the '*paranoia of English people that they are in Wales is on the part of some English tourists and is not typical*'. This then may be referred to as the 'politics' of tourism. The ranking of item 11 (+4) extends this theme by affirming the political 'attractiveness' of Wales.

As a tourism destination Wales offers an array of attraction '*pull*' factors (Cooper *et al,* 2008) for tourists. These range from the attraction of the geographical landscape '*scenery, coastline and wildlife*' (E36), to the range of tourist activities '*outdoor pursuits, cycling, surfing and walking…something for everyone*' that can be accommodated in a relatively compact area. The attraction is also believed to be on account of the relative '*accessibility*' (E36) of Wales as a tourist destination. This theme of defending the attractiveness of Wales is also expressed by respondent E40

that '*it* [Wales] *is a beautiful country and beautiful people…*' implying that 'Welsh people' are inextricably linked with an attraction to Wales.

National-political values such as 'English are no better than the Welsh' and positive experiences of 'Welsh people' and acknowledgement of identity 'proud to be English' also feature as key aspects underpinning the values of empathy towards difference or distinguishing features of nationalism. Exemplars within this factor agree a proud-ness of being English, although relatively factual rather than emotional: '*I live in England. It's where I have lived all my life and I enjoy living there*' (E27). This 'warm' rather than 'hot' sense of patriotism is further expressed '*I'm an Englishman because I was born in England, but being in Wales doesn't make me feel any more English, because I'm in Wales*' (E40).

This 'warmness' towards English patriotism may indeed be influenced by empathy of understanding of 'English self' in the presence of 'Welsh others'. Put more simply having an awareness of being English, but keen to be seen as not to impose on Welsh people. Indeed as respondent E26 points out '*Nationality can define people and they have the right to be proud of it but not at the expense or insult to others*'.

A more detailed observation of the Factor 1 array reveals that interestingly, the '*most agree*' statements (8 and 11) for this factor, do indeed favour empathy towards Wales and Welsh nationalism. The strength of this theme is such that viewpoints are put before the respondents' own identity with England and Englishness.

Factor 2: Embarrassment of Nationalism

Factor 2 (with an eigenvalue of 2.76) on its own explains 16 percent of the variance in viewpoints. Of all the Q sorts, 40 percent of respondents load significantly on only this factor. Within the items that form the ideal factor array for Factor 2 twelve statements are ranked significantly (p<0.01) differently between Factor 2 and the other factors, 1 and 3.

Table 6.4: Distinguishing statements for *Factor2* for English Tourists in Wales

	Statement	2
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	+4
31	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh	+3
9	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales a bilingual	+3
14	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity	+2
11	Wales is attractive to tourists	0
35	As English tourists we are continually reminded we are not Welsh	0
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	0
13	English people are drawn to Wales	-1
32	I consider myself to be more English than British	-2
24	I am proud to be English	-3
34	Being a tourist in Wales defines my own English identity	-3
22	English tourists are nice and considerate	-4

Similar to Factor 1, exemplars of Factor 2 demonstrate viewpoints characteristic of empathy towards nationalism, with strong agreement (+4) that it is a basic right to speak a language associated with a nationality: '*it is quite upsetting to think that people are or might be ashamed of speaking the language representing their nationality as it belongs to them so why can't they have the right to represent it*' (E39). This empathy is expressed much further by respondent E23 to the point of containing an 'apologetic' emphasis '*I feel fairly strongly about minority rights and languages. It is inexcusable that the Welsh language was suppressed*'. This notion of 'wrong doing' is also felt by respondent E25: '*Obviously I'm not a Welsh speaker,*

but stopping people speaking Welsh I think has been used as an instrument against the Welsh as such by the English….we were very wrong in doing this'. The use of the 'collective' in this statement suggests ownership of this 'wrong doing' by the English, to the point that again there is an underlying theme of needing to currently 'apologise' for the past behaviour of the English. It is clear that one kind of nationalistic influence within tourist – host relationships is an underlying theme of being embarrassed or shameful by English identification. It is the attitudes or behaviour of other English people, or things associated with England, that motivates this distancing of being English, as expressed by respondent E30: '*you know the English in Wales, just like abroad, are just such ridiculous idiots… you know…. they're not nice. I feel like apologising because I'm English*'. There is no explicit denial of being English, but 'admitting' being English is coupled with something that demotes this identity, such as strong disagreement that English people are nice and considerate as tourists (-4), or indeed a distancing of 'self' from the 'English other' by expressing disagreement to a sense of being 'proud to be English' (statement 22 ranked at -3). The extended quote from respondent E34 perhaps best summarises the strong viewpoint that English tourists are not considerate '*I don't think English people are nice and considerate as tourists, and I feel I can legitimately say that as I am an English person…..in my experience of observing other English people I don't think English people are as tolerant as perhaps as they could be…you know.. they…we…are visitors in another country so to speak…and there does seem to be very little acceptance of a Welsh identity, or certainly of the Welsh language anyway. I have observed English tourists in a shop recently…and there was quite an anti-Welsh speaking attitude…yeah…the woman serving spoke to them in Welsh…it was clear they didn't know what she had said…but they muttered something between*

them...clearly ignoring the woman...and I felt quite ashamed....they didn't apologise or anything...and just walked out...which I thought was very rude...yeah...like I said I felt very ashamed at that point being English....'

In the previous factor (Factor 1), although the exemplars expressed an agreement towards being proud to be English, it is argued an underlying theme extrapolated from the interviews identified that this was 'factual' at worst and 'warm' at best. However, the relative negative pole of the distribution from exemplars for this factor (Factor 2) presents an alternative perspective. There is, at best a 'disliking' towards being proud to be English, to at worst 'resentment' towards being English at points of contact with Welsh people. It is therefore argued that rather than tourists looking at residents as the 'other' (Wearing and Wearing, 2001), English tourists are indeed looking at English tourists as the 'other' within this particular context of viewpoint. More specifically, this viewpoint may be regarded in relation to either past (historical) behaviour of 'The English' towards the Welsh, or within a current context of English tourists' behaviour in Wales. This theme of identified behaviours is, in essence, characterised by stereo-typing behaviours of the exemplars towards the 'other – self' (in other words the other English), as expressed by participant E21: '*English people tend to think they are better than everyone else, in terms of their so called nationality*'.

The strong agreement (+4) with item 5 (Table 6.4) suggests a belief that there is a dominance within Britain by the English. Yet rather than in a 'nationalistic context' this belief is also delivered within an apologetic framework '*yeah...I do think we tend to think we own the place* [Britain]*. But I don't think this is just in Wales...I've*

had experiences as far away as New Zealand where a group of English lads were

acting as if they were the dominant people…yeah it makes me feel uncomfortable to

be English because of the perceptions of people around you' (E21). Additionally this

theme of a perceived dominance of Britain by the English is recurrent in the belief

that hostility by the English towards a bilingual region of Britain is because '*many*

English do not like the idea of a bit of Britain speaking a different language and

don't like the idea of their taxes being used to pay for it' (E33).

Factor 3: Nationalistic Cognisance

Factor 3 (with an eigenvalue of 2.76) on its own also explains 16 percent of the

variance in viewpoints. Thirty percent of respondents load significantly on only this

factor. Within the items that form the ideal factor array for Factor 3 eleven

statements are ranked significantly (p<0.01) differently between Factor 3 and the

other factors, 1 and 2.

Table 6.5: Distinguishing statements for *Factor3* for English Tourists in Wales

Statement		3
29	I have definitely come across anti English attitudes	+4
35	As English tourists we are continually reminded we are not Welsh	+2
32	I consider myself to be more English than British	+1
39	There isn't a warm Welsh welcome in Wales for English tourists	0
41	The Welsh language is patronising to English tourists	0
1	At points of contact with Welsh hosts I feel I belong to particular nation	-1
18	I have positive feelings towards Welsh symbols when I am in Wales	-1
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	-2
15	There is a cultural exchange between local residents and English tourists	-4
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	-4
4	The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe	-3

A clear emergent theme or 'viewpoint' from this 'group' of respondents is one of a

nationalistic cognisance of nationalistic differences. Put more simply, having a

conscious awareness of characteristics defining 'self' Englishness and 'other' Welshness identity and markers of identity. There is strong agreement (+4) that the Welsh language enables Welsh identification: '*the language is a clear identity marker for the Welsh*' (E35), but there is certainly 'vagueness' about English 'self' identification, evidenced with a relatively strong disagreement (-3) that the English have a feeling of their own nation. This is matched with agreement that culture or identity is lacking in discourse amongst English people, '*you hear of people talking about or saying they're Welsh or their Scottish...but not about being English...the English are being left out*' (E24). This awareness of a stronger Welsh identity or sense of nationhood within Wales than is felt within England is reinforced by respondent E37: '*you definitely know you are in Wales....well definitely no longer in England anyway...As a tourist you can't help but notice the road signs in both Welsh and English, it feels very much like you are abroad. So...yes I suppose there is a sense of place...a sense of Wales. Even the little villages you drive through have a sense of Welshness about them, you know...they look Welsh*'. This alien sense of 'being in Wales' is furthered by respondent E3: '*I definitely know I'm a "foreigner" in Wales. It doesn't make me more patriotic to being English, it just makes me aware, or self conscious mostly, that I'm English.....or more perhaps that I'm not Welsh*'.

It is unsurprising therefore, that despite a clear awareness of being 'the other' in Wales as an English tourist, there is strong disagreement (-4) that there is a cultural exchange between English tourists and Welsh hosts (statement 15). As expressed by respondent E37: '*As a tourist I don't think there is a cultural exchange...I mean I already know they're Welsh and speak a different language, but because I can't I*

don't think I get to see the "real" culture – well not experience it in a meaningful way'. When prompted further to expand on this with regards to the tourist experience respondent E37 continues *'it's a shame really...'cos...yeah... I suppose if they normally speak Welsh I suppose we expect them to speak our language because we can't* [speak Welsh]*, so we're not experiencing them as they are...are we...really...but I wouldn't know how to speak Welsh...I've tried pronouncing the place names and some seem easy and others...well...I've no idea... the more I think about it there is nowhere in England where you can learn Welsh...come to think of it... can you learn the language?.. I don't know'*.

In comparison to Factors 1 and 2 (Table 6.2), there is relatively more disagreement within Factor 3 in relation to positive receptions by Welsh people to English tourists. This awareness of nationalistic elements is likely to sensitise English tourists to responses from hosts during interactions. This is summarised by respondent E24: *'I can't really say there is a distinct positive-ness towards me as being English...I would guess if there is a positive-ness...it may well be because I'm a tourist regardless of my origin...but I have definitely experienced negativity during my years visiting Wales...so I kind of feel there is....yeah...a negativity'*. This view is more explicitly expressed by respondent E28: *'The Welsh don't like the English...if they say they do...then they are lying. If there has ever been an attitude it's been negative and if it's not been negative...it's...that particular person doesn't care that you're English, Welsh or whatever. So.....if...err...if there's an attitude of where you're from and you're English its more often than not negative than anything else that I've come across.'*

The above and following reports indicate the significance of personal experience of a kind related by several respondents – the sense of Englishness being reinforced by Welsh hostility '*Yeah English….well everyone has got things against the English, so I feel like sticking up for the English. The Welsh hate us…well…and the Scottish..*' (E37). As the research with these English tourists respondents was carried out in Wales some kind of contact with Welsh people was often personal and not just a matter of hearing 'nationalist' terms indirectly: '*When you are in Wales as an English person, you are looked down on. And it's like you are being insulted. The English… whilst in this country* [Wales] *anyway… have no sense of identity at all*'. Of all the responses which touch upon this theme, the following quote from respondent E31 expresses it most personally: '*It doesn't bother me to tell the Welsh I'm English….but…err...some people you do meet have anti-English attitudes, particularly if they find out you're from England or you're wearing something with an English logo on. ….I've had a personal experience …my son was wearing an England top and someone commented why he wasn't wearing a Welsh top and I said we're English and he supports England…and they said he should be wearing a Welsh top because we are in Wales…*'

6.2.2 Comparing the Tourist's Perspectives

The tourist–host encounter is influenced by a number of factors, as identified previously during the course of this thesis. Of concern to this research, however, is the influence 'nationalism' has on the relationships between tourists and hosts at their points of contact. In '*intra*-national' (this term was introduced in Chapter Two) settings where tourists and hosts are members of different cultural groups, or in this case, nationalities, differences in languages are evident, and where differences are

present then these factors tend to be the most influential within the setting (Sutton, 1967; Taft, 1977). Similarities in groups are positively related to social interaction but conversely dissimilarity can lead to distortion of meanings, communication difficulties and can ultimately inhibit social interaction (Pearce, 1982; Robinson & Nemetz, 1988; Triandis, 1977). Thus, if tourists' experiences within these social interactions are enjoyable then it is likely they will want to return; but if however their experiences are not positive, then repeat visits are more likely *not* to be undertaken (Harlark, 1994; Fagence, 1998; Reisinger & Turner, 2002).

This study has identified a limited variety of different ways in which nationalism influences English tourists' social interactions with Welsh hosts. The importance of taking a subjective dimension into account when addressing tourist-host relationship concerns is illustrated and demonstrates that 'nationalistic influences' for tourists are far from a unitary concept. Three distinct subjective viewpoints have been identified from English tourists and described in detail. It is not claimed here that the three factors are exhaustive of the viewpoints held on the notion of nationalism by all English tourists, but that a basis has now been provided upon which informed discussion can now be generated.

The content of this finite diversity between viewpoints clearly demonstrates that all factors centre upon a theme that in effect tourists do interpret the nationalistic environment and host communities they visit in personal ways. The first factor, '*Empathy towards Nationalism*' places acceptance of or the defence of nationalistic differences of the 'other' firmly at the centre of nationalism concerns. Exemplars of this factor explicitly expressed that language differences and broader characteristics

of Wales and Welshness are '*positively encountered*' nationalistic determinants and as such enhance relationships with hosts. This empathic standing towards nationalism also enhances other positive aspects of nationalistic influences, such as the perceived behaviours of Welsh hosts and the desirability of English people as tourists in Wales, of which there is a underlying sense of 'secure self identity'. As such, this positivity reduces the effects felt from other negative aspects of nationalism, for example, stereotyping or rejection, thus confirming experiences are 'consumed' and negotiated not only in terms of tourists' '*understanding*' of prior knowledge and expectations but also in terms of the 'implied' interpersonal rules of social interaction, that is, those rules that prevent conflict by being nice to one another (Argyle & Henderson, 1985; Kim, 1988; Pearce, 1988).

Factor three, '*Nationalistic Cognisance*', on the other hand essentially centres upon a theme of 'self' verses 'other' where exemplars agree a notion of 'us' and 'them' in relation to nationalistic differences. An underlying sense to the dichotomy of 'self' verses 'other' appears to emerge from an 'insecurity of self identity'. Whilst there is an awareness somewhat of Englishness and a sense of pride in *being* English, it is often grounded in the simple truth of being born in England, or articulated as a natural consequence of birthplace. This 'vagueness' related to Englishness is starkly compared to the relative clarity and rational underpinning in the ability to define Welshness, or put more simply, 'the other'. Exemplars of this factor explicitly expressed that points of reference towards differences and broader characteristics of Wales and Welshness are '*negatively encountered*' nationalistic determinants and as such resonante hostility towards relationships with hosts.

The exemplars amplifying elements of differences between tourist and host in Factor 3 are consistent with the literature (Pearce, 1982; Reid & Boyd, 1991; Triandis, 1972) that any level of dissimilarity in 'cultures' evidently creates difficulties in tourist-host interaction and further, does create friction in a nationalistic context. Yet it is argued that tourists intentionally seek out this difference to ultimately create the motivation or desire to travel from the outset (Dann, 1981; Hunter, 2001; Swarbrooke, 1996). Therefore, it would be logical to assume that these 'hot beds of misunderstandings' (Hunter, 2001) are not ordinarily desired social interactions within a touristic domain. Indeed, as exemplified in Factor 1, differences in 'culture' within the tourist-host relationship are in fact embraced and defended rather than a cause of conflict. The distinct constructions of nationalist influences within tourist-host relationships between Factors 1 and 3 are, as argued in Chapter Two and reiterated here, that exemplars of Factor 3 remain largely cognitively uncomfortable, that being a current conscious awareness, more specifically sensitised by an insecure sense of self 'national' identity. Conversely however, Factor 1 exemplars identify a 'post-conscious' state of nationalistic difference, reinforced by clear empathic understanding of difference, emphasised by a slightly stronger sense of self 'national' identity.

If then Factors 1 and 3 are polarised viewpoints from English tourists in relation to the influence of nationalism within tourist-host relationships, then Factor 2 is distinctively placed at a mid-point along that continuum. The 'emotive' exemplars in Factor 2, by contrast, felt that influences within tourist-host relationships were fundamentally driven by an '*embarrassment of nationalism*'. A significantly defining characteristic of the exemplars for this factor from Factors 1 and 3 is the

relative rejection, or 'dis-identification' (Steele & Aronson, 1995), of being English 'by association' of behaviours of 'other' English tourists. The relative negative pole of the distribution from exemplars for this factor present at best a 'disliking' towards being proud to be English, to at worst 'resentment' (Condor, 2000) towards being English at points of contact with Welsh people. Thus, nationalistic influences towards Wales and Welsh people are '*obsequiously encountered*' within such tourist-host relationships, in an attempt to compensate for the perceived ill behaviours of the 'other English'. Furthermore, if Factors 1 and 3 tend towards the cognitive, then Factor 2 is towards the affective influences of nationalism within tourist-host relationships.

6.2.3 Common features across the factors

Although it has been shown that each factor is unique and distinct from each other, some items have been treated in a largely homogenous way throughout the factors. Table 6.6 below lists those items and provides rankings from each factor array.

Table 6.6: Consensus statements for all 3 Factors for English Tourists in Wales

Statement		Factor Arrays		
		1	**2**	**3**
2	There is a sense of place here in Wales	+1	0	0
7	I see Wales and Welsh people being very separate to England	-1	0	0
8	It is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language	+4	+4	+4
21	English tourists are exploited by Welsh hosts	-2	-2	-2
26	Our English blood does not make us any better than the Welsh	+3	+3	+3
30	Wales presents itself as a progressive country	-1	-2	-2
36	I think the few negatives about Welsh attitudes are they not being….	-1	0	-1
37	The images portrayed of Wales were not as I experienced	-1	-1	-1
40	My image of Wales is a land of small traditional communities	0	1	-1

Non-significant at $p<0.01$ and also non-significant at $p<0.05$

Items 8 and 26 ask about basic civic or morale rights towards 'the other'. All the rankings are toward the 'most agree' end of the continuum. Throughout all of the

factors, these 'associated rights' items have tended to be ranked higher than the other non-politically focused items. Respondents frequently remarked that these were fairly obvious and it would have been difficult not to have placed them at the 'most agree' end of the spectrum. Thus, although there has been evidential clarity that a distinct language does cause some difficulty within '*intra*-national' tourist-host settings, there is clear support that language, more specifically a minority language such as Welsh, is a fundamental element of nationalism. Thus, there is an appreciation for the preservation of the culture and heritage of the Welsh destination (Hampton, 2005).

It is also notable that respondents also agreed throughout the factors that birth nationality does not make one nationality superior to another. Therefore there is no support for a national identity which 'trumps all others' (Fenton, 2007), arguments which are found in the theoretical and conventional literature on nationalism. For as respondent E39 states, '*it is not possible to say that their blood is completely different as they may have descended from there somewhere along the line*'.

All factors demonstrate that their tourist experiences of Wales were not at odds with a pre-determined 'image'. This, therefore, indicates a level of expectation on the touristic experience which arguably will sensitise tourists to pre-determined expectations, either cognitively, behaviourally or affectively. Similarly, exemplars of all factors relatively *disagree* with the notion to being 'ripped off' by Welsh hosts. Thus, this finding also does not fully support the numerous studies that argue residents or hosts are greedy and treat tourists as sources of income (Aramberri,

2001), as discussed in Chapter Two. The emergent factors for the Welsh hosts Q set are now discussed.

6.2.4   Welsh Hosts' Responses

As indicated earlier in this chapter, the reduction in factors is guided by the participants and not imposed by the researcher. This reduction also reduces complexity arising in the relationships between the Q sorts and the P-sets (Q sorters). Additionally, it was also highlighted earlier in this chapter that two distinct influential factors emerged from the Welsh host perspectives in relation to nationalism within a tourist-host context. These two factors explain 54 percent of the study variance for this group and 80 percent of the Welsh respondents load onto at least one of the two factors ($p < 0.01$). The correlations between the emergent factors are illustrated in Table 6.7 below.

Table 6.7: Correlation Matrix between Factors for Welsh Hosts

	1	2
1	1.0000	0.5538
2	0.5538	1.0000

As with the English tourists Q sorts, interpretation of the factors within the Welsh group of respondents also began by paying particular attention to the most extreme rankings for each factor, again those placed at *most agree* (+4) and *most disagree* (-4) ends of the spectrum. As outlined in Chapter Four, core statements were used in both of the Q sets to ensure consistency in data collection, but a limited number of specific statements related to the extrapolation of opinion from Welsh hosts towards the 'other' (the other being the English) were also included.

Table 6.8: Welsh Hosts Q Sort Factor Arrays

No.	Statement	Factor 1	Factor 2
1	At points of contact with English tourists I feel I belong to a particular nation	+2	+1
2	There is a 'sense of place' here in Wales	+1	+1
3	The Welsh tend to be more positive than the English about nationalism	+1	+2
4	The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe	-1	-2
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	+1	-3
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	+2	+4
7	I see Wales and Welsh people very separate to England and English people	-2	-1
8	It is a basic civic right to speak your own language in your own country	+4	+1
9	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales as a bilingual region	+2	-2
10	The English do not often discuss their culture or identity	-1	-1
11	Wales is attractive to English tourists	0	0
12	Welsh-ness is attractive to tourists	-2	-3
13	English people are drawn to Wales	-1	+1
14	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity than English	+1	0
15	There is a 'cultural exchange' between local residents and English tourists	-2	+1
16	I don't care about 'nationalism' of any type	-3	-1
17	Tourism preserves Wales as a nation and helps preserve Welsh culture	0	+1
18	I have positive feelings towards Welsh 'symbols' in Wales	+1	+3
19	I've heard stereotypical comments towards the English	0	0
20	My experience of English people as tourists are positive	-4	+2
21	Welsh hosts are exploited by English tourists	-3	-3
22	English tourists are nice and considerate	-2	-1
23	English tourists are the least nice and considerate	-1	-4
24	I am proud to be Welsh	+4	+4
25	People have a positive attitude towards us being Welsh	-3	0
26	Our Welsh blood does not make us an better than the English	+1	0
27	The English don't like the Welsh	-1	-2
28	I'd say the English have more of a feeling of their own nation than the Welsh	-4	-4
29	I have definitely come across anti-Welsh attitudes	+3	0
30	Wales presents itself as a progressive country	0	-1
31	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh	+2	+2
32	I consider myself to be more Welsh than British	+3	+3
33	Welsh speaking is an identity marker	+3	+2
34	Welsh history defines who I am	+2	+2
35	English tourists have a negative effect on Welsh culture	-1	-1
36	Tourists, in particular the English, are unaware of Welsh way of life	0	-2
37	Attitudes towards Welsh culture among English tourists are not uniformly +ve	+1	-2
38	I am proud to have English tourist to Wales	-2	0
39	I appreciate English tourists for the contribution to the local economy	0	+1
40	I understand English tourists	-1	-1
41	I feel close to some English visitors I have met	0	0
42	I treat all tourists I meet in Wales fairly	0	+3

* A number of the statements above have been abbreviated to fit. Full statements are provided in Appendix 2.

It became clear during the interpretation stage that the two emergent themes broadly resembled two of the factors from the English tourists. However, whilst there appeared to be similarity in emergent themes, the emphasis placed on viewpoints and interview responses is entirely unique to the factors for this group. The ideal factor

arrays for the emergent two factors from Welsh hosts are presented in Table 6.8 on the previous page. This layout enables easy comparison of the item rankings across the factors for the 'Q set'. Rankings indicate the level of viewpoint being expressed with '*most agree*' ranked at +4 through to '*most disagree*' ranked at -4, with 0 indicating a (relatively) neutral viewpoint.

Factor 1: Nationalistic Cognisance

Factor 1 (with an eigenvalue of 7.67) on its own explains 31 percent of the variance in viewpoints. Of the Q sorts, 40 percent of respondents load significantly on only this factor. Within the statements, or items, that form the ideal factor array for Factor 1, nineteen statements are ranked significantly ($p<0.01$) differently between Factor 1 and Factor 2.

Within this factor, respondent W9 undertook the post Q sort interview in the medium of Welsh, their 'first' language. In order to provide a true representation of the viewpoint, extracts taken from the interview, where used in the following interpretation, are firstly provided in Welsh, with a translation into English immediately following.

A clear emergent theme or 'viewpoint' from this 'group' of respondents is a nationalistic cognisance of national differences which, at first glance, is similar to an emergent factor for the English tourists. However, there are distinct dissimilarities and these will be compared later in this chapter. Exemplars for this factor demonstrate a strong agreement (+4) in their proud-ness to being Welsh with all but one of the exemplars ranking this item in the most agree spectrum (Table 6.8), with

the one exemplar still ranking this item towards the mostly agree spectrum (+3).

There is an emotive sense of proud-ness underpinning the theme to this strong agreement. A number of exemplars (W1, W3, W8, W9, W13) use the word '*obviously*' during their interview to substantiate the positioning of the statement, with the following being a typical response: '*Wrth reswm rydw i falch o fod yn Gymraeg*' ['*Obviously I'm really proud to be Welsh*'] (W9). Respondent W11 expresses this further in a rhetorical way '*I'm Welsh and born in Wales, so why wouldn't I be proud*'. This feeling of being proud is not only articulated as a natural consequence of birthplace, it is also strengthened by cognition towards Welsh history and heritage, the use of nationalism 'symbols' – in this context the use of the Welsh language, and also articulated in a sense of attachment towards Wales, '*I love where I live*' (W8), '*I feel quite sentimental about Wales...its beautiful*' (W11) and '*I feel I belong here....its who I am*' (W1).

This notion of attachment to the nation is evidenced in the negative pole with a relatively strong disagreement (-3) to the notion of a lack of caring towards nationalism, expressed by W11: '*I do care about my nationalism, as Welshness defines me...and I feel it is important to have our own identity...you know our own flag....our language...*'. Respondent W3 agrees: '*I do care about nationalism because Wales is my home and I feel quite protective about it actually*'. This is further acknowledged with a strong agreement, in parallel to proud-ness, to having a basic right to speak 'their' language (statement 8 ranked +4). A point expressed by respondent W8: '*I have three children and I'm proud that we all speak our own language*'. This is further supported by respondent W11: '*it's my right to be able to freely speak my language whether it's to tourists or other Welsh people...I'm proud I*

speak Welsh' with respondent W9 commenting also '*ac rydw i efo'r hawl fi siarad o'* ['*I have a right to speak my language'*]. The exemplars also agree that the Welsh language is a principal asset to Wales which, after all, is not necessarily surprising given the strength of agreement and affective tendency towards speaking Welsh.

On overarching theme emanating from the exemplars is a strong notion of agreement towards nationalistic cognisance of Welsh identity. This is not only reminiscent in the responses detailed above, but also evidential in the relatively strong agreement with the following items:

31	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh	+2
32	I consider myself to be more Welsh than British	+3
33	Welsh speaking is an identity marker	+3
34	Welsh history defines who I am	+2

There is a clear belief of 'self' national identity, coupled with a belief in a 'collective' national identity, as expressed by respondent W1: '*A country's history is part of everyone*', with W3 also aspiring to a 'collective' identity suggesting '*the Welsh history separates "our" country…*' – a sense of solidarity or, as argued here, an 'exclusivity' of a Welsh identity. This strong sense of 'self' and 'collective' national identity evidently exposes differences of the 'other', more specifically becoming sensitive towards 'the others'' English national identity. There is a strong disagreement from the factor exemplars that the English have a feeling of their own nation (-4), an expression reflected by W12: '*I think the English are unsure of their identity. The only time I see English people "fly their flag" so to speak is when they*

are wearing an English sports team top…or when the football World Cup is on'. This, in effect, re-affirms (or reassures) a collective sense of Welsh national identity.

In interpersonal settings, exemplars insist there is strong disagreement (-4) that experiences with English tourists are positive. A worthy observation from the factor arrays in Table 6.8 is that exemplars of Factor 1, in comparison to Factor 2, relatively agree *less* with the notion of treating all tourists fairly. Thus, it can be interpreted that there is little 'denial' from Factor 1 exemplars in discriminating between tourists, more specifically English tourists. This is further exemplified with the relative ranking (+3) of agreement that they have experienced anti-Welsh attitudes from English tourists, as expressed by W13: '*they* [English] *dislike me speaking Welsh, my own language*' with support of this view from W9: '*maen nhw feddwl fod o ddigywilydd i fi siarad fy iaith fy hun*' ['*they* [English people] *think it is rude for me to speak my own language*']. The view of there being a sense of an anti-Welsh attitude is more directed towards the use of the Welsh language, which is supported by exemplars agreeing (+2) that English people are hostile to Wales being bilingual, a symbolic representation of nationalism rather than an anti-Welsh attitude directed towards Welsh people. The distinguishing statements for Factor 1 are demonstrated in Table 6.9 overleaf.

Table 6.9: Distinguishing statements for *Factor 1* for Welsh hosts

	Statement	1
8	It is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language	+4
29	I have definitely come across anti Welsh attitudes	+3
6	The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets	+2
9	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales as bilingual	+2
5	To me Britain is dominated by the English	+1
14	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity than Eng.	+1
18	I have positive feelings towards Welsh symbols in Wales	+1
37	Attitudes to Welsh culture amongst English tourist are not uniformly +v	+1
36	Tourists in particular the English are unaware of Welsh way of life	0
42	I treat all tourists I meet in Wales fairly	0
17	Tourism preserves Wales as a nation and helps preserve Welsh culture	0
27	The English don't like the Welsh	-1
23	The English as tourists are the least nice and considerate	-1
13	English people are drawn to Wales	-1
38	I am proud to have English tourists to Wales	-2
15	There is a cultural exchange between local residents and English tourists	-2
25	People have a positive attitude towards us being Welsh	-3
16	I don't care about nationalism of any type	-3
20	My experience of English people as tourists are positive	-4

Factor 2: Welcoming Nationalism

Factor 2 (with an eigenvalue of 1.54) on its own explains 23 percent of the variance in viewpoints. Of the Q sorts, 40 percent of respondents load significantly on only this factor. The distinguishing statements identified for Factor 1 (Table 6.9 above) in effect provide the distinctiveness between the two factors. Thus, the discussion around the exemplars for this factor will also take into account the comparison of the distinguishing items from Factor 1 in addition to the 'extreme' rankings '*most agree*' and '*most disagree*' from the factor array spectrum.

Exemplars for this factor mirror the strong agreement (+4) of exemplars for Factor 1 in relation to having a strong sense of proud-ness towards being Welsh. However, whilst the expression of proud-ness from exemplars for Factor 1 was delivered in

perhaps a more overtly '*obvious*' manner, the expression of viewpoint is rather more subtle from exemplars for Factor 2: '*I believe everyone should be proud of where they are born*' (W15), with respondent W4 adding: '*I believe being Welsh is a part of who I am…I take great pride in where I'm from..I love the history and tradition of the area...*'. This articulation with regards to Welsh history and tradition is seemingly associated with pride and attachment to Wales and *being* Welsh. Respondent W5 illustrates this point: '*I'm proud of being Welsh as it gives me a sense of belonging',* whilst respondent W6 draws together quite tightly this notion of attachment and proud-ness by quite simply stating: '*I'm Welsh*'.

Exemplars identify that the Welsh language is valued as being an inextricably linked 'part' of Wales: '*The Welsh language is part of our heritage'* (W2). Yet, although there is stronger agreement (+4, Table 6.9) that the Welsh language is a fundamental part of Wales, there is certainly less strength of an agreement regarding this language being a basic civil right (+1), when compared to Factor 1. This is not to say that exemplars did not express any specific feelings on their 'right' to speak their language, as they indeed did so, but the 'forcefulness' of views was far more softer in approach: '*I believe I should be able to speak Welsh*' (W4), with respondent W10 mirroring this approach: '*Anywhere you go you should be able to speak your own nationality of where you're from*'. An underlying theme here is that, arguably, the inextricable association of the Welsh language seen as a part of Wales by exemplars is that the 'everyday-ness' of Welsh speaking becomes a 'taken-for-granted' part of nationalism. This argument is, in part, supported by less agreement to the 'visibility' of Welsh speaking as an identity marker (+2, Table 6.8). This cognitive theme regarding nationalism is, to some extent, reflected in the less 'pre-occupied' view of

nationalism from exemplars. Whilst there is demonstration of caring about nationalism (statement 16, ranked -2), there is relatively less focus placed upon nationalism from exemplars from Factor 2 compared to Factor 1 (statement 16, Table 6.8). Caring about nationalism is potentially expressed as a 'by-emotion' from being proud to be Welsh, as respondent W14 explains: '*I do care about nationalism, but not in any anti-way...whereby you're English, I'm Welsh...but because I'm just proud I'm Welsh but I don't shout about it, it's just who I am and where I'm from really*'.

In contrast to Factor 1, there is a significantly stronger agreement from exemplars within Factor 2 that, within interpersonal settings, experiences with English tourists are significantly more positive (+2, Table 6.8). This is also underpinned and confirmed with the relative less *dis*agreement (0), compared to Factor 1, that exemplars have experienced anti-Welsh attitudes. Additionally, as indicated from the factor arrays in Table 6.8, exemplars of Factor 2 (in comparison to Factor 1), quite strongly agree to treating all tourists fairly and not, as is potentially the case with Factor 1 exemplars, discriminating between tourists, more specifically that of English tourists. Keeping with this theme towards encounters with English tourists, exemplars identify more significantly an agreement that they do perceive there is a cultural exchange with English tourists during the interaction, as expressed by W14: '*I believe there is a cultural exchange with English tourists, they get to see our country and Welsh people. I think more so here whereby we speak Welsh...they hear it...they might not understand it...or want to for that matter... but I think hearing it they know they are in Wales... somewhere different*'. Respondent W17 takes more of a 'light-hearted' stance towards the cultural exchange with, or more accurately for,

tourists '*part of the tourist experience is trying to pronounce place names without showering all around with saliva*'. This notion towards tourists 'participating' in Welsh culture is seen as a positively embraced aspect of tourist contact. This theme is also reflected from respondent W6 who suggests that English tourists '*are drawn to Wales for a good culture…and friendliness*'. This welcoming of English tourists is also highlighted by respondent W19 by rejecting any negative reception towards tourists '*English tourists do not have a negative effect on Welsh culture because they are coming to Wales to experience our culture*'. An overarching, yet subtle, theme emerging from the interviews and corresponding statements is the 'welcoming' of difference by hosts, and more specifically the embracement of English tourists.

6.2.5   Comparing the Hosts' Perspectives

As identified earlier in this chapter, similarities and dissimilarity in groups within social interaction settings will lead to a number of different perspectives on the experiences encountered within those interpersonal encounters. Therefore, if hosts' experiences within these social interactions are favourable, then it is likely they will want tourists to return; but if, however, their experiences are not positive, then tourists may be seen by host communities as intruders, potentially resulting in hostility and social dissension (Reid & Boyd, 1991).

Clearly, this study has identified a number of, albeit limited, different ways in which nationalism influences Welsh hosts' social interactions with English tourists. As already identified, taking a subjective dimension into account when addressing, in this specific discussion, host-tourist relationship concerns has illustrated and demonstrated that 'nationalistic influences' for hosts are, again, far from a unitary

concept. Two distinct subjective viewpoints have been identified from Welsh hosts and described in detail. Again, it is not claimed here that the two factors are exhaustive of the viewpoints held on the notion of nationalism by all Welsh residents, but that a basis has now been provided upon which informed discussion can now be generated.

Similar to the findings for English tourists, this limited diversity between viewpoints clearly demonstrates that both factors centre upon a theme that in effect hosts do interpret the '*intra*-national' setting with tourists they encounter in personal ways. The first factor, '*Nationalistic Cognisance'*, essentially centres upon a core theme of a dichotomy of 'us' verses 'them', where exemplars agree a notion of 'collective' but also a notion of a 'self' national identity. The strength of viewpoint associated with national identity is articulated with a perceptually 'obvious' cognitive tendency towards Welshness, together with a relatively strong sense of attachment towards Wales. It is argued here that an underlying expression exists in the sense of 'protection' of a Welsh identity within the strength of agreements. Furthermore, this notion of taking a protective stance towards retaining an 'exclusivity' is also argued here to be founded on the recollection of Welsh history, as evidenced in the ranking of statements related to Welsh history, thus providing a potential fear of a dilution of 'their' identity - or fear of 'history repeating itself' in respect of English 'suppression' - thus threatening the status quo.

Exemplars of this factor explicitly expressed the Welsh language as a reference point towards Welsh identity but also towards difference from the 'other'. As such, this strong notion of protection towards Welshness and the 'right' to use their language

may resonate through perceptions of hostility towards tourists in relationships, thus facilitating '*negatively encountered*' social contact. Furthermore, exemplars of Factor 1 present little 'denial' in discriminating between tourists, more specifically that of English tourists, thus, arguably consciously, creating an environment of misunderstanding. Fundamentally this supports early research within the tourism literature that host communities *do* differentiate tourists by their nationality (Boissevian & Inglott; Brewer, 1978; Pi-Sunyer, 1977; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995).

The second factor, '*Welcoming Nationalism*' places acceptance of or the welcome-ness of nationalistic differences of the 'other' within nationalism concerns. Exemplars of this factor also expressed that language differences and broader characteristics of Wales and Welshness are '*positively encountered*' nationalistic determinants with tourists and, as such, enhance relationships. Similar to English tourists, there is an empathic standing towards nationalism which also enhances other positive aspects of nationalistic influences, such as the participatory behaviours of English tourists with Welsh culture. Whilst exemplars of Factor 2 express security with their Welsh identity, it is done so within a subtle and 'everyday-ness' manner towards English tourists. Factor 1 exemplars, on the other hand, demonstrate their secure Welsh identity in a 'protective' manner against English tourists. As such, Factor 2 exemplars' positivity towards tourists reduces the effects felt from other negative aspects of nationalism, for example, stereotyping or rejection, thus also confirming that experiences are 'consumed' and negotiated not only in terms of hosts' '*understanding*' of prior knowledge and expectations, but also in terms of the 'implied' interpersonal rules of social interaction, that is, those rules that prevent

conflict by being nice to one another (Argyle & Henderson, 1985; Kim, 1988; Pearce, 1988).

Similar to the emergent factors from English tourists, the emergent factors, '*Nationalistic Cognisance*' and '*Welcoming Nationalism*', from Welsh hosts could be viewed as polarised examples of viewpoints in relation to the influences of nationalism with host-tourist relationships. But, it is argued here that rather than being considered polarised viewpoints they should be viewed as 'parallel' viewpoints. Each factor contains distinct differences to ensure an 'arm's length' distance, these significant differences highlight, that, whilst Factor 1 exemplars express a protective or 'exclusive' emphasis towards nationalism, Factor 2 exemplars, on the other hand, indicate a willingness or 'welcoming' emphasis towards nationalism influences within tourist-host relationships. The 'parallel' characteristics of these factors relates to the degree of similarity, or common features across these factors, ensuring parity between them.

6.2.6 Common features across the factors

Although it has been shown that each factor is unique and distinct from the other, some items have been treated in a largely homogenous way throughout the factors. Table 6.11 below lists those items and provides rankings from each factor array.

Table 6.10: Consensus statements for Factors 1 and 2 for Welsh Hosts

Statement		Factor Arrays	
		1	**2**
1	At points of contact with tourists I feel I belong to a nation	+2	+1
2	There is a sense of place here is Wales	+1	+1
4	The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe	-1	-2
7	I see Wales and Welsh people as being very separate to England	-2	-1
10	The English do not often discuss their culture or identity	-1	-1
11	Wales is attractive to English tourists	0	0
19	I've heard stereotypical comments towards the English	0	0
21	The Welsh are exploited by the English	-3	-3
24	I am proud to be Welsh	+4	+4
26	Our Welsh blood does not make us any better than the English	1	0
28	I'd say the English have much more of a feeling of their national..	-4	-4
31	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh	+2	+2
32	I consider myself to be more Welsh than British	+3	+3
34	Welsh history defines who I am	+2	+2
41	I feel close to some English visitors I have met	0	0

Non-significant at $p<0.01$ and also non-significant at $p<0.05$

Both factors rank those items that relate to Welshness and Welsh identity identically and all rankings are toward the '*most agree*' end of the continuum. Similarly both Factor 1 and Factor 2 exemplars strongly disagree with item 28 indicating that English people do not have a stronger sense of feeling about their national identity than Welsh people. Given the strength of Welsh identity presented by respondents, this is not a surprising feature. However, in likeness to English tourist responses, Welsh respondents also agreed in both factors that birth nationality does not make one nationality superior than another, thus providing further evidence that there is no support for a national identity which 'trumps all others' (Fenton, 2007).

6.3   Discussion of English Tourist-Welsh Host Relationships

In this thesis, the theme of nationalism influences within tourist-host relationships was explored using a case study approach to the research. A relatively small, but significant community in Bala, North Wales was the focus for the study and the rationale for the selection of this specific destination was discussed in Chapter Five.

Q methods was used to elicit and then identify English tourists and Welsh hosts'
subjectivities concerning nationalism, and by association, uncovering subjectivities
towards national identities, culture and tourism. As outlined in Chapter Four,
purposive sampling was an instrumental component of the study's methods, ensuring
that a wide variety of subjectivities were included and that respondents were
'invested' in the study (Creswell, 2003).

In Chapter Three it was identified that the internal processes identified in the
conceptual framework model (Figure 3.1, page 106) assume that in 'everyday
reality' culture is at the heart or core of national identity. This internal culture of
shared beliefs and values about a common 'heritage' or culturally authentic past of a
group are disseminated through symbolisms, such as flags, festivals, signs, historic
sites, territory, people, and language. These symbols or identity markers of
'nationalism' continually and silently reinforce a concept of self, or collective,
national identity, which is unconsciously presented externally to 'others'.

In contrast, however, it is argued that the 'processes' are somewhat different in the
'realm' of tourism. More specifically the processes become externally driven within
a tourist domain. The culture of a group, be it sought from tourists or 'marketed'
from a host destination, is consciously and deliberately 'presented' to or 'imagined'
by external 'others'. This externally visible culture is reinforced via tangible
nationalism symbols such as language, flags, signs, festivals, people, historic sites,
territory, heroes and architecture. Furthermore, these nationalism symbols define the
parameters of the legitimacy and 'authenticity' of the 'nation'. These symbols in turn

reassure 'national identity' of self, or 'others', in other words, the visitors or hosts. Thus, national identity becomes the core or heart of tourism.

The parameter, or boundary, of 'nationalism' is, as argued here, where social interaction between tourists and host communities occurs. In other words, the points of contact between English tourists and Welsh hosts, either directly through people and communication, or indirectly through nationalistic representations, for instance flags, signs, territory, and historic sites.

Findings suggest tourists and hosts understand nationalistic representations within the tourist-host context, but subjectivities towards them vary. For instance, for some tourists nationalism influences seem to be based upon an empathic understanding of differences within social interactions with '*intra*-national' hosts. For other tourists, the tourist-host encounter raises affective tendencies towards nationalism or, more specifically, a dis-identification with national identity. Similarly, for some hosts, nationalistic determinants also appear to be based upon an acceptance of difference within social interactions with tourists whilst, for other hosts, the encounter stimulates a re-affirmation of national identification both towards the 'self' and 'collective' national identities.

Based on the findings of this study, the development towards a conceptual model of nationalism influences upon tourist-host relationships within '*intra*-national' settings is outlined in Figure 6.4, as discussed later in this chapter. The support for the model will be evidenced by synthesising the nature of the interactions between tourist and host 'factor groups' within contemporary tourism. Furthermore, social interaction

theory underpinning the discussion will identify potential areas of concerns for tourism policy. The implications arising from these social encounters will be analysed within theoretical frameworks to inform tourism policy within '*intra*-national settings, more specifically within Britain.

Social contact is personal, always occurs between a minimum of two people, and is often referred to as an interpersonal encounter with the other (Bochner, 1982). Accordingly, each social encounter has the potential to be positive, negative or superficial (Fridgen, 1991). Additionally, it was argued in Chapter Two that social contact can also be initiated, incidental, inevitable or invited. The effectiveness of social contact 'encounters' is largely reliant upon the skills of individuals to engage in social interaction and to determine the degree of difficulty the participant has in social interaction. Thus, those who are 'socially' skilled may in fact interact more smoothly, although Argyle *et al.* (1981) argue that other factors are also fundamental in influencing any social interaction. One such factor influencing any social interaction is the activity of *tourism*. Tourism is essentially about people who travel either within their 'own' country or across international and '*intra*-national' borders who interact with other peoples, cultures and places and through their contact and interaction with other people, share experiences.

Consequently, this interaction with different people and different cultures may ultimately include a difference in rules of interaction. Furthermore, the expectations and meanings of rules may also differ across cultures. These differences include the ability and the desire to speak English (March, 1997). Therefore, rules that are socially accepted in one culture may have quite different meanings in another and, as

a consequence, members of different cultures may misunderstand and misinterpret the rules of other cultures. This, in turn, may cause difficulty in interacting leading to confusion, a generation of tension, or even conflict. This is specifically relevant to tourist-host contact. As Pearce (1982) identifies, many tourists and hosts report interaction difficulties due to cultural differences in rules of social interaction. These difficulties also occur because rules are not written but held unconsciously and patterned by underlying cultural values (Barth, 1986; Noesjirwan, 1978; Noesjirwan & Freestone, 1979). Thus, 'without a knowledge of the rules, we cannot understand the intention and meaning of an act' (Noesjirwan & Freestone, 1979: 20) and, therefore, are unable to evaluate the behaviour of others. However, behaviour that conforms to socially accepted and shared rules is more predictable and, therefore, definable (Shimanoff, 1980). Nevertheless, rules are also conditional – that is they can be followed, broken modified or simply ignored (McLaughlin, 1984).

The tourist-host contact within 'intra-national' settings, such as English tourists in Welsh destinations, is considered to be a form of voluntary relationship (Reisinger & Turner, 2003) and, thus, implicit rules play an important role in this contact (Kim, 1988; Moghaddam et al., 1993). Since rules determine expectations of appropriate or inappropriate behaviours in a situation (Gudykunst et al., 1988), rules are, it is argued, future oriented and can provide predictions of the behaviours (Moghaddam et al., 1993) of both tourists and hosts of different nationalities. Consequently, predictions of behaviours or stereotypes will manifest in predisposed behaviours towards 'the other'.

Within the tourist-host social contact, two levels have been identified: co-presence and focused-interaction (Murphy, 2000). Co-presence contact refers to the minimum level of social interaction, which occurs 'when two or more individuals signal (though their bodily and facial movements, and the use of space) their awareness of one another's presence and their accessibility to one another'. Focused-interaction occurs 'when people gather together and cooperate to sustain a single focus of attention as in conversation and transaction in shops' (Murphy, 2000: 51). The extent to which nationalism influences impact upon the characteristics and the dynamics of such encounters is fundamentally the principal concern of this research. As noted in the findings, both tourists and hosts clearly demonstrate that they *do* interpret the nationalistic environment within which they interact in personal ways. The depth of interaction is subsequently dependent upon the responses towards nationalism by tourists and hosts. Furthermore, the effectiveness of such encounters inevitably will, as already mentioned, also be dependent upon the skilful application of social interaction rules. These responses towards nationalism influences have been identified as 'factor types'. The interpersonal encounters of these 'factor types', represented on the conceptual framework, are now considered individually below.

6.4   Explanation of the Typology Framework of Intra-national Tourist-Host Relationships

This section will assess the adequacy of the study's proposed conceptual typology framework for Tourist-Host Relationships within an 'intra-national' tourism context. Figure 6.1 presents the conceptual typology framework of Intra-national Tourist-

Host relationships. A detailed explanation will be provided, including how it has developed from the previous version in Chapter Three, Figure 3.1; the typology framework and corresponding theory will be assessed in terms of how they can provide a more accurate account of the 'subjective' reality of interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between Welsh hosts and English tourists.

To help explain the framework and emphasise the temporal dimension of the interaction, the finalised version has been divided into processes and each will be explained in turn: *The context; The Interaction; and The Encounter Outcomes*. Following this explanation of the framework the encounters of the 'Factor Types' emergent from the findings will be discussed in detail.

1. Context   2. Interaction   3. Encounter Outcomes   2. Interaction   1. Context

Tourists   Interpersonal Contact   Hosts

Empathy Towards Nationalism

Effective   Welcoming

Welcoming Nationalism

Embarrassment of Nationalism

Obsequious / Incongruent

Nationalistic Cognisance

Ineffective   Hostile

Nationalistic Cognisance
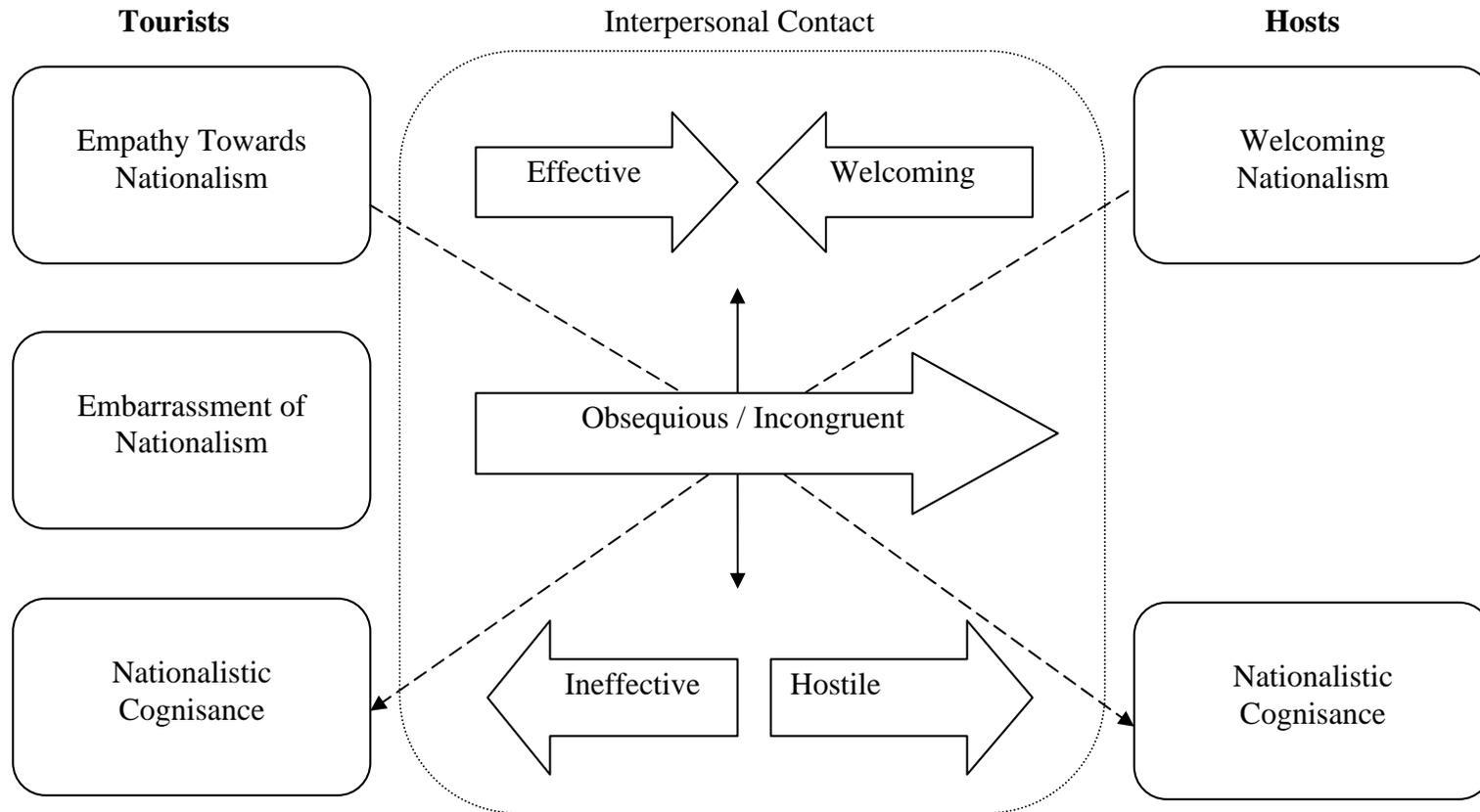
Figure 6.1: Typology Framework of Intra-National Tourist-Host Relationships

The context stage of the process within the typology framework indicates that the pre-existing national conditions of the tourism activity, created by human activity, influences the pre-determined expectations within the tourist-host encounter. More specifically this context incorporates the hosts' experiences of tourists, dependency upon tourism activity, perceptions of tourists and tourism activity, territory and ultimately if they are, indeed, willing hosts. The contextual setting for tourists includes the level of experience as a tourist, territory of interaction, motivations, needs and aspirations for travel. The understanding of this context is crucial to the understanding of the nature of interactions as the national culture of the tourist or host provides a framework of influence of nationalism upon the relationships. Other theories and models within tourist-host literature have simply perceived the influence of the interaction in terms of identifying perceptions held or attributes of 'the other'.

The 'interaction' stage of the process indicates that the national context of the tourist and host has an influence on the interaction between the tourist and host at points of contact. However the typology framework also recognises that, within that context, the tourist or host have human choice, which is also influenced by their own attributes, background and (pre) determined experiences. This stage of the framework enables a deeper analysis in order to uncover how this interaction between host and tourist enables (or not) effective interpersonal relationships. The theory behind the typology framework supports the notion, put forward in previous theories of social contact, that tourists and hosts need to attain key social skills and understanding of social interaction 'rules' to enhance their interpersonal experiences. If key social skills and interaction 'rules' are not attained or indeed lacking in application, in other words ignored, then it is unlikely that interpersonal experiences

will be enhanced or successful. As identified the context of the environments of both tourist and host creates a framework of influence to the interaction, in inexperienced hosts or tourists may not have an understanding of each other's needs. However, these factors are mediated by the choices and decisions made by the tourist and host.

The 'encounter outcomes' stage of the typology framework emphasises that tourist-host encounters are dynamic and will depend on the synthesis of the interaction of the nature of the tourist and host within the context of the setting. The framework indicates that interpersonal relationships are complex and involves not only the tourist and host in functioning 'their role', but also the analysis of 'the other' and perception of 'self national identity'. This more complex view of tourist-host relationships establishes the importance of understanding the needs of both hosts and tourists, more specifically of nationalism influences, in establishing effective interpersonal relationships. The study shows that where existing studies have concentrated on only one of the 'agencies' (tourists or hosts) within the tourist-host encounter they fail to explain the dynamic nature of the tourist-host relationship.

6.5   Encounter Outcomes from the Research

6.5.1   Empathic Tourists and Welcoming Hosts Relationships

The first factor regarding tourist responses towards nationalism influences within the social encounter is '*Empathy towards Nationalism*'. An underpinning theme of this empathic standing is one of a 'secure self (national) identity' of members of this factor 'type'. This secure attachment to national identity (Golding, 2006) enables the

tourist to explore nationalistic differences within interpersonal settings as a traveller, from a secure base, without fear of compromising knowledge of their own national identity. Within the interpersonal relationship, this factor type places acceptance of or the defence of nationalistic differences of the 'other' firmly at the centre of nationalism concerns. The differences that characterise Wales and Welshness are '*positively encountered*' nationalistic determinants and, as such, enhance relationships with hosts. This positivity reduces the effects felt from other negative aspects of nationalism, for example, stereotyping or rejection, thus confirming experiences are consumed and negotiated *as* English tourists. In other words, differences are an expected prior knowledge within the social encounter. For instance, the use of the Welsh language will not be an unexpected 'rule' within the social interaction and, as such, tourists become more socially skilled in preventing conflict by being nice to 'the other', in this case the other being the host (Argyle & Henderson, 1985; Kim, 1988; Pearce, 1988). In other words: 'attracting well-behaved…tourists who bring few problems' (Swarbrooke, 1996: 235).

Equally the factor, '*Welcoming Nationalism*', emergent from Welsh hosts' responses also places acceptance of or the welcome-ness of nationalistic differences of the 'other' within nationalism concerns. Similarly, there is also an empathic standing towards nationalism which also enhances other positive aspects of nationalistic influences, such as the participatory behaviours of English tourists with Welsh culture. Equally, an underpinning theme of this empathic standing is also one of a 'secure collective (national) identity' for members of this factor 'type'. Again this secure attachment to a national identity base enables the hosts to explore nationalistic

differences within interpersonal settings without fear of compromising knowledge of their own national identity, their secure base.

The host community may, indeed, hold preconceived ideas about the '*intra-national*' visitors which, though perhaps based on very limited information in terms of experience or full understanding of 'the other', may nevertheless influence their behaviour towards tourists. This altering of behaviour towards tourists may mean that tourists visiting a region for culture and heritage may never actually experience the real culture. But, rather than abandoning traditional ways of life for the sake of tourism, (as indicated by early tourism research) host members from this 'factor type' are more likely to 'modify' their culture in order to facilitate an interpersonal interaction. For instance, this modification might entail deferring the use of the Welsh language in order to facilitate a focussed social interaction with the non-Welsh speaking tourist. This in turn modifies the 'rules' of social interaction and also in overcoming difficulties in linguistic skills of 'the other' in order to be understood. In other words, this modification is an 'invited' or 'intended' nationalism influence on the interpersonal relationships at points of contact provided that both tourists and hosts are socially skilled (Argyle *et al*., 1981).

Therefore, empathy can be seen as an affective reaction that arises from the cognitive process of perspective taking, this being where an individual can imagine a situation or experience from the perspective of another person (Golding, 2006; Crisp and Abrams, 2008). This perspective taking is, as argued here, mediatory in the relationship between tourist and host social interaction. There is, evidently, a link between contact, empathy and attitudes towards minority Welsh language speakers within the host destination from tourists. But, arguably, here this also extends

towards the tourists, who in this particular context *become* the minority group within a host destination and, as a result, empathy is afforded towards English tourists from Welsh hosts. Thus, the influences of nationalism within empathic tourist-welcoming host interpersonal relationships can result in effective, positively reinforced encounters, described in Figure 6.2.

Interpersonal Contact
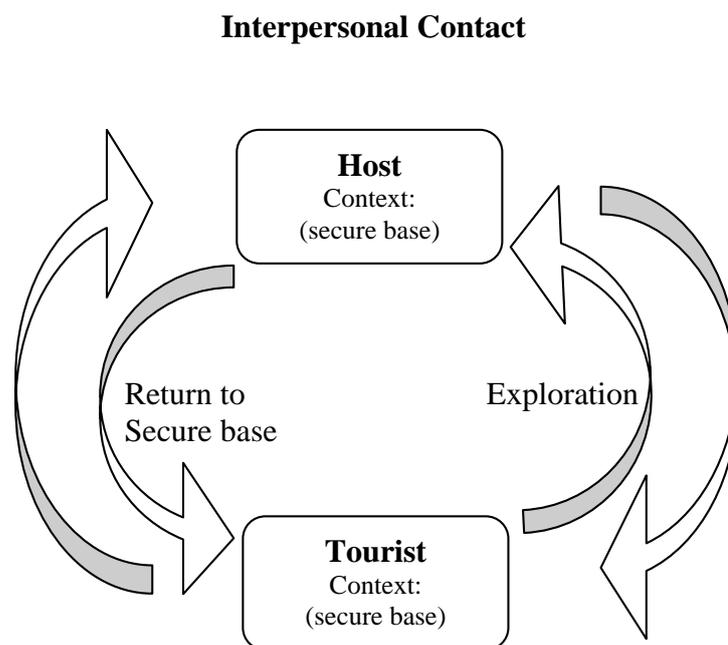
Figure 6.2: *Empathic* Tourists and *Welcoming Hosts* Relationships

6.5.2   Nationalistic Cognisance Tourist and Host Relationships

Reisinger & Turner, (2003) argue that few humans are consciously aware of their own culture and that only when they are exposed to a 'different' culture or nationality and become uncomfortable within that setting do they become aware of their home national culture and subsequent differences in cultures. Subsequently, '*intra*-national' touristic settings exemplify the exposure to and experiences of difference, both as a tourist and as a host to tourism.

Mirroring factor types in respect of the influences of nationalism within these settings from both tourists and hosts within this research are based upon *'Nationalism Cognisance'*, that is, an awareness of nationalism that centres upon a dichotomy of 'self' verses 'other', thus reaffirming national identity within the tourist-host setting. An underpinning theme prevalent within both of the factor types is a standing of self (national) identity. However, a significant underpinning *difference* between the tourist nationalism cognisance and host nationalism cognisance factors is the level of 'security' of self (national) identity. Evident from responses from English tourists is a notion of 'vagueness' towards English identity – in other words an insecure or 'disoriented attachment' to national identity. This then facilitates an insecure identity base (Golding, 2006) from which to explore nationalistic differences within interpersonal settings, (see Figure 6.3). This insecurity of self national identity will sensitise tourists towards the behaviours of 'the other' as being hostile or rejecting within encounters. Equally, however, this insecurity of self national identity may also project to 'the other' as being hostile and rejecting within these social encounters. Thus, 'nationalistic cognisance' tourist types will, quite possibly, demonstrate avoidant attachments with hosts within social interactions, thus breaking or ignoring 'rules' of social interaction. Welsh 'nationalistic cognisant' hosts, on the other hand, demonstrate a 'secure collective (national) identity' but to an extent that resembles an 'exclusivity' or protection of this identity within this factor type. Whilst this secure attachment to national identity provides a secure base from which the hosts can explore nationalistic differences within interpersonal settings, this strong notion of protection towards Welsh self identity, however, may resonate through perceptions of hostility towards

tourists in relationships, thus facilitating ineffective, negatively reinforced social contact.

Within a tourism domain, nations, nationalism and national identities are reproduced in public discourse (De Cillia *et al.,* 1999) and silently reinforced by visible identity symbols like the Welsh flag, for instance, and repetition of the national name, but they also resonate with identities of individuals or collective identities. To English outsiders the differences between flags may appear minimal. Therefore, what is important is the potency of the 'meanings' conveyed by such signs or symbols to the members of the nation, and also to the 'messages' received by such signs and symbols to members of the visiting nation. To '*Nationalistic Cognisant'* tourists and hosts then, the array of national symbols serves to express, represent and reinforce the boundary definition of the Welsh nation. This, in turn, unites the members 'inside' through a common imagery of shared memories and values (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983; Mosse, 1975; 1990), reaffirming a collective identity for Welsh hosts and 'the view of one's group' (Connor, 1994). Conversely, these Welsh national symbols also serve to express, represent and reinforce the boundary definition of the *visiting* nation, and to unite the members 'outside' towards a banal sense of English identity.

Thus, national identity claims are based on identity markers, and within this study, both tourists and hosts demonstrate that in Wales one of the key markers of Welsh national identity is the capacity to speak the Welsh language (Thompson & Day, 1999), and 'visible' representation of the Welsh language, on road signs for instance. As already discussed in Chapter Two, tourists and hosts will retain a residue of their

own culture when in contact (Reisinger & Turner, 2002; Pizam, 1999) and as such tourists and hosts within these encounters evidently draw distinctions between those within the group (us) and those outside (them). Thus, the 'presented' language identity symbol undoubtedly reaffirms national identity for English tourists as 'being the other', and for Welsh hosts reassures national identity. Within the social interaction process then, English tourists and Welsh hosts (as members from these particular 'factor types') may struggle as competing interests 'cognitively argue' for their own interpretation of national authenticity. This 'cognitive struggle' may indeed manifest within individuals from both groups, English tourists and Welsh hosts, developing a notion of anxiety and latent fears about the intentions of the 'outsiders', leading them to further embrace the collective national group, as a protector from perceived threats (Davis, 1999).

Thus, within the tourist- host encounter, members from this 'factor type' (from both tourists and hosts) are more likely *not* to 'modify' their culture or behaviour during an interpersonal interaction. Thus, the influences of nationalism within nationalistic cognisant tourist and host settings can result in ineffective negatively reinforced encounters, as identified earlier. In other words, this becomes an 'inevitable' cyclonic or conflicting nationalism influence upon the interpersonal relationships at points of contact (see Figure 6.3 overleaf).

Interpersonal Contact
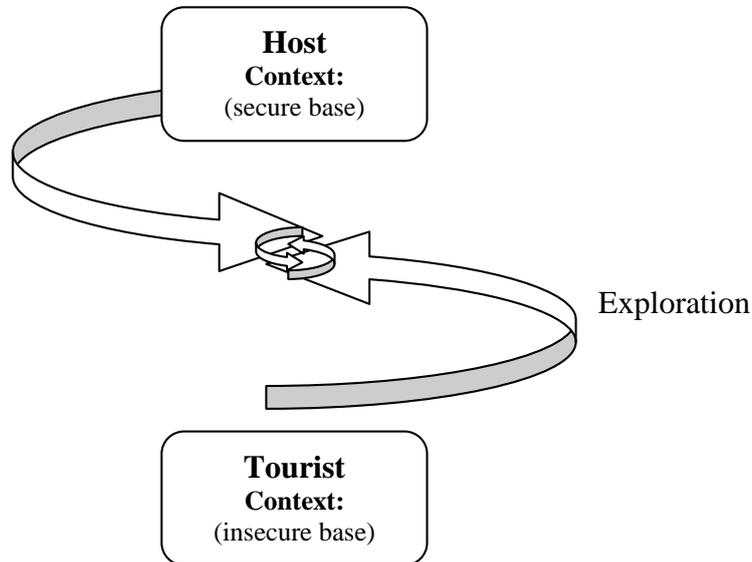
Figure 6.3: 'Cyclonic' *Nationalistic Cognisant* Tourist and Host Relationships

6.5.3   Empathic/Welcoming and Nationalistic Cognisance Relationships

It is logical to assume that within tourist-host settings, not all encounters will be between similar 'factor types'. Indicated in the Intra-National Tourist-Host Relationship Model (see Figure 6.1, page 251), are relationship linkages between *empathic tourists* and *nationalistic cognisant hosts*; and between *welcoming hosts* and *nationalistic cognisant tourists* factor types. It is argued here, that, the relationships between these factor types will fundamentally be one-dimensional, that is, facilitated from the *empathic* and *welcoming* types. For instance, this empathic and welcoming stance on part of the corresponding factor type will provide the member with an element of knowledge and understanding of what, indeed, 'the

other' will 'bring' to the encounter. In other words, this understanding will inform and shape pre-determined expectations of the social encounter.

The nature of the relationship between tourists and hosts within this context, will, largely be dependant upon the tolerance levels towards nationalistic difference of each other. Furthermore, there may be a variation in levels of social interaction experience of either English tourists or Welsh hosts, which in turn may influence the 'rules' of social interaction, either modifying, breaking or simply ignoring these rules. Each encounter has the potential to be positive, reflectively reinforced tourist-host relationships, Figure 6.4 below.

Interpersonal Contact   **Interpersonal Contact**

Nationalistic Cognisant Host   **Welcoming Host**

Exploration   Exploration

**Empathic Tourist**   **Nationalistic Cognisant Tourist**
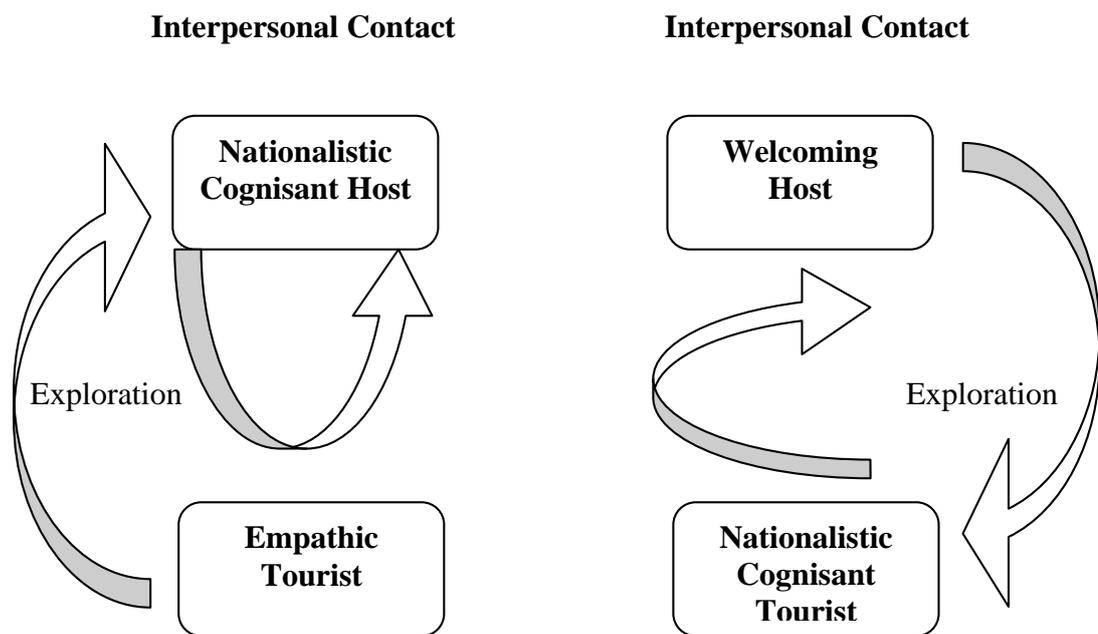
Figure 6.4: *Empathic/Welcoming* and *Nationalistic Cognisance* Relationships

6.5.4 Embarrassment of Nationalism

The theme of being 'embarrassed' by nationalism was an emergent factor during the findings of this research. This factor was associated with English tourists' responses within the tourism domain. It was revealed that this factor type demonstrated a disagreement towards being 'proud to be English', to, at worst, resentment of Englishness 'behaviours' within tourist-host relationships. Furthermore, attitudes towards the behaviours of (other) English tourists was characterised by stereotyping tendencies towards these 'other' English people, but at the same time maintaining a dis-identification of being associated with an English identity. This dis-identification is affected by contact and a perceived stereotype 'threat'. In other words, English tourists of this factor type are fearful of being perceived by Welsh hosts as the same as those 'other' English tourists considered ill behaved. This potential stereotype threat (Steele & Aronson, 1995) facilitates a response by the English tourist to either defensively distance themselves from the domain, and or, as evidenced in this research, distance themselves from their own group – English people (Pronin *et al.,* 2004; Schmader, 2002). In other words, this *embarrassment of nationalism* influence, as directed towards stereotypical behaviours of 'English others', may in turn mean that English tourists will either modify their own behaviour when in contact with Welsh hosts, or indeed avoid contact altogether. Furthermore, if contact does occur then the modified behaviour of the 'embarrassed' tourist is likely to be obsequiously characteristic in an attempt to distance themselves from the stereotypical 'threat'. In other words, trying too hard within the encounter which may be interpreted as incongruent and ultimately result in an inauthentic experience. Moreover, the nature of the relationship between the English tourist and Welsh host in this encounter will be influenced, in turn, by the 'factor type' of Welsh

host, (see Figure 6.5). For example, an encounter with a '*welcoming host'* may be more positive than an encounter with a '*nationalistic cognisant'* host. Consequently therefore, 'less positive' relationships with Welsh hosts will enhance the stereotype threat further and will, thus, manifest in lower or further distancing identification with '*being*' English during this interpersonal contact.

Interpersonal Contact   **Interpersonal Contact**

Embarrassed Tourist   **Embarrassed Tourist**

**Welcoming Host**   **Nationalistic Cognisant Host**
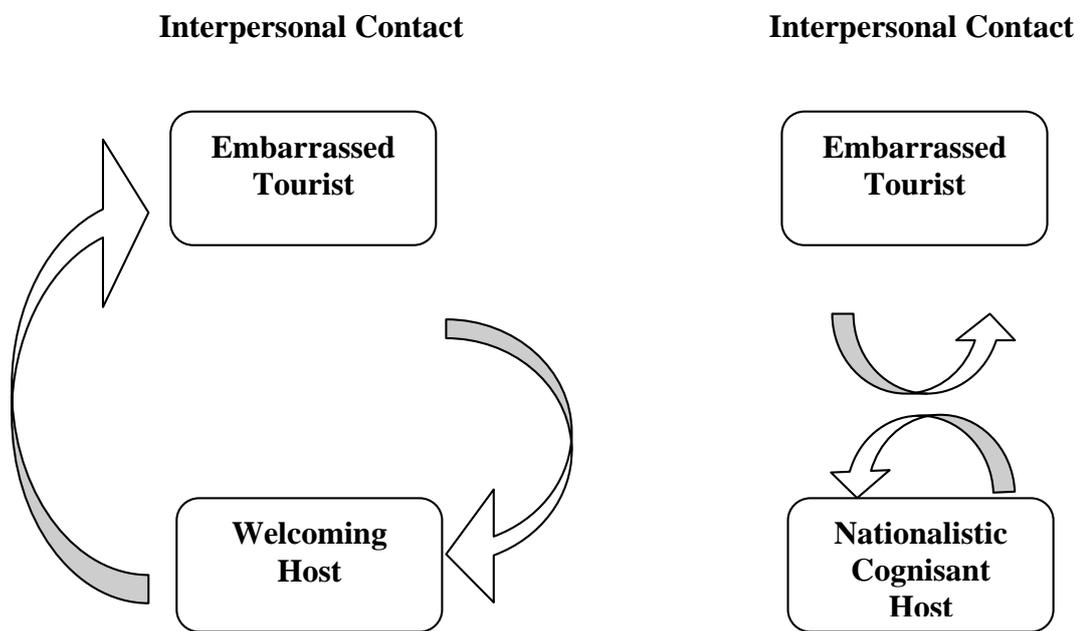
Figure 6.5: Embarrassment of Nationalism Tourists and 'Factor Type' Host Relationships

6.6   Chapter Six Summary

This study has offered primary research findings and subsequent analyses with regard to nationalism influences upon tourist-host relationships. Within a selected case study, the research has centred upon fundamental relationships between tourist and host experiences and the broader nationalistic condition of society. In other words, the research aimed to discover the nature and extent of fundamental interrelationships between English tourists and Welsh hosts, and the contemporary consumption of, essentially, 'intra-national' cultural tourism. In doing so, the study has revealed a number of significant original findings that reveal how individual tourists and local people relate to nationalism within contemporary tourism domains.

This section concludes by establishing how the new conceptual typology framework and associated theory advances understanding of tourist-host relationships, particularly the influences of nationalism within 'intra-national' settings. The implications arising from these social encounters will be discussed within the concluding chapter of this thesis. These discussions, along with concluding comments will provide a framework to inform tourism policy within, specifically, 'intra-national' settings.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

Chapter Seven

7.1 Conclusions of the theoretical perspectives of tourist-host relationships

The movement of people engaging in tourism activity within and to alternative locations and destinations will inevitably result in contact being made with local people (Sharpley, 2008) facilitating a social interaction. Within these social encounters different kinds of relationships will occur between tourists and local people. Early tourism research fundamentally suggests that the level of the relationship will largely be dependant upon personal motivations (Iso-Ahola, 1982; Ryan, 1991), attitudes (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Smith, 1957), and behaviours (Clawson, 1960; Williams, 1998) of both local people and tourists. Tourism, then, is a social phenomenon and interpersonal relationships play an important part of the tourist experience (Harlark, 1994; Reisinger & Turner, 2002). It is argued within the tourism literature the 'richness' of this encounter, as part of the tourist experience, influences the desirability of the particular destination for future tourism (Fagence, 1998). Furthermore, in addition to the attitudes, motivations and behaviours of both local people and tourists, the tourist-host encounter is influenced by a number of other factors, including a difference in 'culture' of both tourist and host. In a cross-cultural setting differences occur in language, values and perceptions of the world (Bochner, 1982; Sutton, 1967). However, it has been discussed within this thesis that tourists intentionally seek out this difference, influencing the desire to travel. In so doing, the cultural factors tend to be the most influential upon the tourist-host relationship.

In this temporary, often brief, encounter this difference or perception of 'other' is created because impersonal relationships easily occur when there are barriers to the development of a shared social and interpersonal meaning. Thus, in this instance the "*encounter with the other*" (Hunter, 2001:42) reinforces a self-identity against this difference, or imagined 'other'. This in turn shapes the social condition of a host destination. The host destination may then experience tourists, not as they actually are in their respective places or origin, but as they appear. Thus, the potential for future tourism to and tourism development within a particular destination can ultimately be influenced by the kind of interpersonal relationships that exist at the points of contact between host communities and tourists.

Limited research has been carried out in the area of social interaction within cross-cultural tourism settings. This is a particularly interesting point considering the recent growth of tourism and the subsequent study of tourism. More specifically, of the few early studies that focus on social interaction, national cultures were found to have an important effect on tourist behaviour (Pizam & Jeong, 1996; Pizam & Sussmann, 1995) and that rules of social behaviour determined the patterns and depth of social interaction (Triandis, 1977). The issue of nationality has also been identified as a factor that accounts for differences in tourist behaviour, and residents in destinations where the majority of tourists are foreigners tend to differentiate tourists by nationality and perceive tourists to be very different from themselves on characteristics such as general behaviour and attitudes. These differences in rules of behaviour, as differentiated by nationality, may undoubtedly cause tourist and host interaction difficulties, thus providing the principal question, and ultimately the

objective of this study, what effect does the influence of nationalism have on tourist-host relationships?

Hence, the research aim of this study was *to establish the influence nationalism has on interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between tourists and hosts. Establishing if nationalism plays a part within these relationships will determine what polices or practices may need refining or defining in order to facilitate effective tourist-host relationships.* The research is an original contribution to the social scientific study of tourism in general and, to tourist-host relationship studies in particular. In other words, as tourism may be defined simply as the *movement of people*, this movement generates both social consequences as well as business management implications. In short, the study has attempted to appraise the touristic movement of people and its social consequences within a context of tourist-host relationships.

Arguably, therefore, because of this research and its appraisal of the phenomenon of nationalism influences within tourist-host settings, a theoretical link between the principles of nationalism and the practice of '*intra*-national' touristic relationships has been forged. In doing so, a notable gap in the literature has been addressed, thereby providing a theoretical model as a focus for the analysis of nationalistic influences within tourist-host relationships within '*intra*-national' settings. The main research objectives were outlined in Chapter one and are presented again here in Figure 7.1.

Research Question	What effect do nationalistic determinants have on tourist-host relationships, particularly in the context of British home countries?
Research Objectives	1. To explore contemporary aspects of nationalism and *tourist – host* experiences and meanings.
	2. To explore residents' and tourists' *subjectivities* towards national identities, culture and tourism.
	3. To synthesise potential relationships between *English tourists and Welsh hosts* and the contemporary consumption of tourism.
	4. To apply the theme of *nationalism* to the analysis of tourist-host subjectivities in relation to social interactivities in order to generate theoretical frameworks for tourism policy and management within Britain.

Figure 7.1: Research Question and Objectives

In summary, the various chapters of this study have addressed specific research objectives. Chapter One set out the overall research aim, questions and objectives of the study, as well as briefly highlighting the research methodology. Chapter One also set out the research context and parameters and introduced the concept of nationalism and tourist-host settings within tourism. Chapter Two subsequently revealed current themes and issues within the broader tourism literature, more specifically on tourist-host relationships. In particular, discussions were centred upon the diversity, scope and associations of tourism, as well as offering definitions and theoretical perspectives. Specifically, both Chapter Two and Chapter Three addressed the research objective – 'to explore contemporary aspects of nationalism and *tourist-host* experiences and meanings'. Chapter Three, after disclosing current themes and concepts within the broader nationalism

literature, went on to construct a conceptual framework in which to place tourist-host social interactions. Specifically, the chapter revealed a conceptual framework of nationalsim influences within tourist- host relationships, in which various 'layers' of nationalistic determinants within tourism could be attributed. Chapter Four focused upon the case study site within Bala, North Wales in Britain. The chapter introduced the context and main features of the case study. Chapter Five outlined the methodology for the study. In doing so, a principal research orientation was set out with epistemological and ontological considerations. The research design, research methods and data collection techniques were critically appraised, as were mechanisms used to analyse and interpret the data. The chapter concluded by highlighting particular influences on the conduct of the research, as well as noting specific limitations. Chapters Five and Six addressed the research objectives: 'to explore hosts' and tourists' *subjectivities* towards national identities, culture and tourism', and 'to synthesise potential relationships between *English tourists and Welsh hosts* and the contemporary consumption of tourism'. Chapter Six continued the empirical analysis, which examined the nature and extent of nationalism influences within tourist-host relationships. The chapter also offered critical discussion and synthesis with broader conceptual ideas, which in turn, addressed the overall research aim. Essentially, Chapter Six demonstrated tourist-host experiences within '*intra*-national' sites offered individuals an opportunity to contemplate and to relate nationalism influences in personal ways, albeit to varying degrees. Finally, Chapter Seven concludes this study.

As indicated in Figure 7.1 the overall research question to this study was - *what effect do nationalistic determinants have on tourists-host relationship, particularly in the context of British home countries?* Thus, the fundamental influences of nationalism within tourist-host relationships to emerge from this research are, essentially, threefold. Firstly, both tourists and hosts can demonstrate an *empathic* understanding of nationalistic differences from each other, and further embracing this difference. This acknowledgement and acceptance of 'the other's' difference fundamentally facilitates effective interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, this understanding of difference also manifests into the skilful application of the 'rules' of social interaction, thus facilitating the 'roles' of either tourist or host. The second influence of nationalism within tourist-host encounters is that a cognisance of nationalist differences is made visible through non-silent and silent nationalism symbols. Dissimilarity in these nationalism symbols, such as the languages as identity markers, or any dissimilarity in empathic understanding of these nationalism symbols, will distort the meanings of people's behaviour, lead to communication problems and inhibit engagement with the interaction process. Finally, there may be an influence of 'embarrassment' of nationalism within the tourist-host encounter or setting. More specifically, this embarrassment is reflected towards associated stereotypical characteristics of other 'selves', thus instigating dis-identification behaviours of the 'self' within the collective. The dynamics of the interaction as a result of this characteristic influence of nationalism become more complex.

However, as this research has also demonstrated, it is not the simple consumption of tourism and interaction with visitors with nationalistic differentials that provides the contemporary context, but rather the broader 'nationalistic' condition of post-modern

societies. In other words, in an alleged post-modern world, the de-differentiation of local structures and institutions has encouraged a focus on re-affirming national cultures and identity. Furthermore, it is argued here that this 'seeking re-affirmation' of national cultures and identities within this alleged post-modern world will ultimately place a central emphasis of the 'nationalism influences' within tourist-host relationships. Tourists will, indeed, intentionally seek these differences not only perhaps in a touristic domain, but also to facilitate this re-affirmation of 'self'.

In short, the principal outcome of this research is to contribute an additional and valuable dimension to the knowledge and understanding of tourist-host relationships, specifically by critically exploring in depth an influential factor (nationalism) that to date has only been addressed at a surface, descriptive level. In so doing, it has provided a conceptual framework for examining inter- and intra-national tourist-host relationships in other contexts. At the same time, the research has, for the first time, demonstrated the importance of addressing the perceptions (and attitudes) of *both* tourists and hosts within a particular temporal / situational tourism context. In other words, to date, research into tourist-host encounters has been restricted to, typically, the hosts' perspective, thereby significantly limiting understanding of the factors that might influence social interaction between tourists and local people. Furthermore, the research has also demonstrated that Q method, a methodology still relatively underutilised in tourism studies, represents a powerful tool for revealing and analysing tourism as a socially interactive phenomenon.

7.2 Evaluation of the Intra-national Tourist-Host Relationship Typology Framework

The conceptual typology framework for explaining the Tourist-Host Relationship within an 'intra-national' tourism context was presented in the previous chapter, (see Figure 6.1). A detailed explanation was provided, including how the corresponding theory can provide a more accurate account of the 'subjective' reality, from a nationalism influential perspective, of interpersonal relationships at the points of contact between Welsh hosts and English tourists.

The typology framework has been derived from within a particular case study context and is therefore a more specific representation of tourist-host relationships in this instance. In a critical evaluation the framework presents fundamentally three types of nationalism influences for English tourists to Wales, and two types of nationalism influences from the Welsh hosts. However, it is important to say that whilst the model presents factor 'typing' of the influences of nationalism from members of the tourists or hosts groups, it certainly does not 'type cast' membership of these factors. In other words, there is a recognition that a certain amount of 'fluidity' between these factor types will occur. For instance, within this particular *intra*-national context, empathic English tourists demonstrated an understanding and embracement of Welshness and Welsh nationalistic differences. Conversely, in an alternative *inter*national environment, for example, those same English tourists may present viewpoints reflective of nationalistic cognisance towards the influences of nationalism within that particular international setting.

Similarly, English tourist members of the nationalistic cognisant influence of nationalism 'factor type' may, after developing further experience as a traveller within this particular setting, also develop an empathic standing towards Welsh differences. Furthermore, the nationalistic aware tourist towards these Welsh differences may indeed, within an alternative international setting, demonstrate viewpoints reflective of the other two emergent 'factor types'. A revised and final version of the Typology Framework of Intra-national Tourist-Host Relationships is provided in Figure 7.2 overleaf.

Consequently, this research has particular implications, not least for the management and governance of 'cultural tourism' settings, as well as further understanding consumer behaviour of *being* tourists and the 'willingness' of local people to *being* hosts to tourism.

1. Context   2. Interaction   3. Encounter Outcomes   2. Interaction   1. Context

Tourists   Interpersonal Contact   **Hosts**

Empathy Towards Nationalism

Effective   Welcoming

Welcoming Nationalism

Embarrassment of Nationalism

Obsequious / Incongruent

Nationalistic Cognisance

Ineffective   Hostile

Nationalistic Cognisance
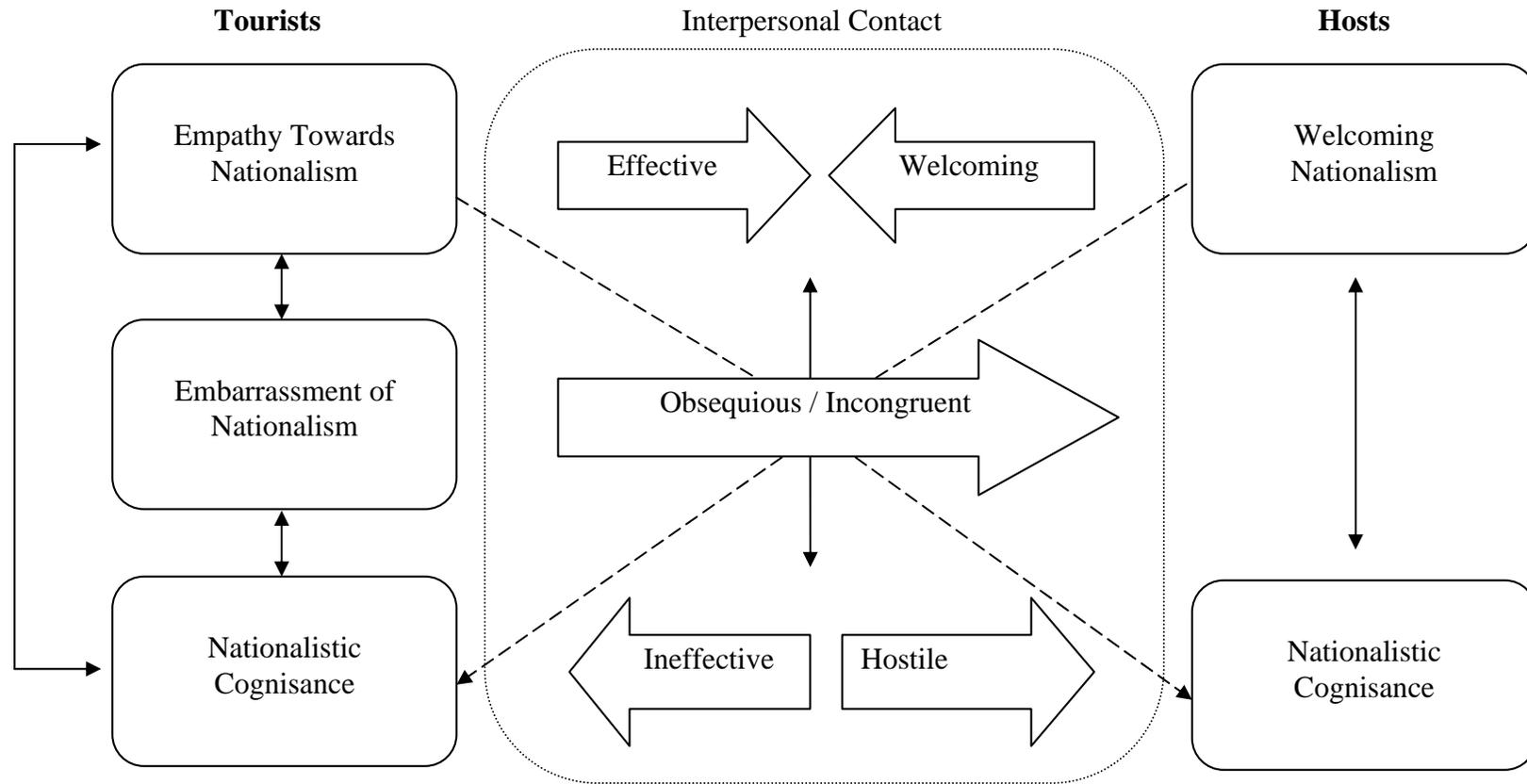
Figure 7.2: Finalised Typology Framework of Intra-National Tourist-Host Relationships

7.3 Research Implications for Tourism Policy

Crucially, those who are responsible for the management and (re)presentation of culture within tourism destinations need to recognise the role that 'nationalism' influences play between the connecting lives of visitors and their host local community. To that end, cross-cultural tourism is not so much about presenting a 'commodified' or an 'over' representation of national differences to appease tourists, but about representing everyday-ness of life and living for local people in the host community. In other words, it is important not to dilute or dilate nationalistic differences in pursuit of tourism as this research has evidenced that these nationalistic symbols, either silently or non-silently, provide an attractiveness for tourists, but that these symbols provide a fundamental indication of 'self national identity' and 'collective national identity', thus re-affirming the existence of a nation.

Of course, despite this research, tourist-host relationships remain a complex, emotive, multi-dimensional, and politically vulnerable phenomenon. There are no simple comprehensive definitions of nationalism, no simple answers to many of the questions that surround it, and no quick solutions to the many challenges or dilemmas inherent in the development, management or promotion of cultures for tourism. Nevertheless, as a particular theme in tourism studies, nationalism is not only an interesting subject in its own right but it also represents, as with the study of tourism more generally, an influential mechanism for exploring contemporary social life, practices and institutions. In other words, the principal benefit of this research lies in what it reveals about the relationships between tourism and nationalism and

the institutions or processes that mediate, at the individual or societal level, between tourist-host relationships.

7.4   Research Limitations

This study has been successful in meeting the objectives set, and more notably developing a conceptual model for the application of nationalism influences upon intra-national tourist-host relationships. Thus, conceptual and theoretical conclusions have contributed to knowledge of social, tourism and nationalism theories. However, this study has particular limitations. Firstly, the degree of subjective experience is recognised within the sampled individual responses. Indeed, the controversial nature of the research subject ensures respondent meanings and feelings of their tourism experience cannot be devoid of subjectivity. Therefore, respondent tourist and host experiences, as well as the researchers', have been grasped through the innate degree of subjectivity which is encased in the expression of the telling (i.e. the respondent's subjectivity), as well as the degree of subjectivity in the listening and observing (i.e. the researcher's subjectivity). Thus, it is within the context of subjectivity that this study has been conducted.

Secondly, therefore, because of the level of subjectivity inherent within the responses and observations, in addition to the overall sampling design, the limited degree of generalisation of the research findings is recognised. Indeed, the researcher was aware of the notion when generalisations take the form of 'truths' that are really specific to a limited experience, or are particular to a respondent's life-world. Hence, 'just as generalizations are problematic in the truth claims they purport, specificity

can be problematic in its oblivion to broader implications' (Madison, 2005: 34).

Consequently, this study does not generalise its findings to all tourist-host experiences, nor does it suggest that the 'nationalism' condition of society exists in all societies. Rather, the thesis suggests the emergent findings be used as a context to frame future hermeneutic phenomenological research, within a variety of cross-cultural environments, and to illustrate the level of support for tourist-host relationships as a contemporary mediating encounter of nationalistic difference.

Thirdly, and related to the self-imposed cultural boundaries of this study, issues of age, gender and tourism experience of sampled respondents is also recognised. In particular, this study did not (purposefully) address how the age and gender profile of respondents corresponded with attitudes towards nationalism. Confidentiality was an important issue for some respondents and agreement to be interviewed, and in some cases to be recorded, was often based on the promise of anonymity and that no further details of the respondent were obtained. This research did not specifically seek to address these issues, though notions of life stage, gender and cultural nuances within a nationalism framework remain an avenue of empirical inquiry in future tourist-host relationship studies.

7.5   Future Research Directions

The current research was undertaken in an area of Wales where Welsh speaking is an every-day characteristic of Welsh life, the area of Balsom's (1985) Y Fro Gymraeg of the Three-Wales Model. Therefore, future research agendas need to address the other two areas (British Wales and Welsh Wales) of Wales whereby the idea of a

Welsh identity and nationhood may be negotiated differently, thus potentially influencing the effects of nationalism upon tourist-host relationships within these 'areas'. Particular questions need asking: What are the cross-cultural or gender differences? What role does age play in the contemplative aspects of nationalism and encounters with difference? How intentional are tourists in their consumption of 'cultural' tourism? What is the role and extent of emotional stimuli within nationally different tourism destinations?

Additionally, future research may also want to explore other 'intra-national' tourist-host relationship dimensions, for intsance of Welsh tourists and English hosts, or English tourists and Scottish hosts and vice-a-versa.

Indeed, future case study research based upon hermeneutic phenomenological data derived from visitors to different national tourism experiences will augment this thesis and further strengthen what has been to date a relatively under researched area of tourism. This study has, arguably, begun that task.

7.6   Final Thoughts: A reflective account of the research

It is, perhaps, befitting to end this thesis on a personal reflective account of the research process – a long and often perplexing journey. Reflective in that it is, of course, important from a professional researcher perspective to locate the 'influences' of the researcher onto the research. But it is also important to reflect upon the research 'journey', from a personal point of view, in how the research has influenced the researcher.

I am, shall I say, English from 'birth' right. I was raised and remained living 'across the borders' in England until March 2002. I relocated to a small village near Llangollen in North Wales on 1st March 2002 along with my husband and young son. My experinces of Wales prior to moving had been many, both as a tourist and as a business traveller. My perceptions of Wales prior to moving were, perhaps, on the ambivalent side. In all my time spent in Wales I have only encountered one particular occasion where I, perhaps, felt slightly alien(glish). I had been working in the Brecon Beacons at an event, and my colleague and I decided to go for a drink in the village local pub, near our accommodation. It was, I am sorry to say, a stereotypical 'we walked into the pub and it went slightly quite and people started talking in Welsh'. However, it is important to note that there was no evidence of any hostility towards us, just a recollection that we both felt slightly uncomfortable. That 'experience' did not deter my attraction to Wales, in fact it probably made me more *curious* about Wales. I would say that I am a reasonably well travelled person, and I have also lived and worked in Scotland, and have never encountered anything similar since. Nevertheless, some eighteen years later during this research I have come to realise that it was not necessarily because I was (alien)glish, but more probably that I was not a 'local'.

In undertaking this research, I have had to 'place' myself within the research. In other words, make cognitively visible my own 'self' perceptions and any 'attachments' to my domiciled country – Wales or my country of origin - England. During the course of the research I have since had a daughter, and given her a 'very' Welsh name. At the time my rationale for her name was more to do with the fact that

I wanted a name that was different. However, upon reflection it may have ultimately been influenced because she is *Welsh*. My married name is, perhaps, one of the most prominent surnames in Wales, which may have helped in not only the relocation process but also during the research, possibly faciliting access to the Welsh community members of Bala.   In undertaking a reflective account of the research, I needed to 'lay out before me' those social and institutional influences which I believe have shaped my own 'national self identity' and my perspectives regarding nationalism, thus considering my ontological and epistemological orientations, and therefore the research design. Therefore it is against this personal background that I write this thesis. With the research written in the third person there is undoubtedly some level of detachment – but that detachment is for the purposes of professional research. Tourism and this research, has enabld me to gaze upon the nature of 'nationalism' and national identity – and for that reason I cannot become detatched.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

At points of contact with Welsh hosts I feel I belong to a particular nation 1	It is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language in your own country, without fear or feeling ashamed 8	There is a 'cultural exchange' between local residents and English tourists 15
There is a 'sense of place' here in Wales 2	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales as a bilingual region of Britain 9	I don't care about 'nationalism' of any type 16
The Welsh tend to be more positive than the English about the idea of Nationalism 3	The English do not often discuss their culture or identity 10	Tourism preserves Wales as a nation and helps preserve Welsh culture 17
The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe that does not exist in England 4	Wales is attractive to English tourists 11	I have positive feelings towards Welsh 'symbols' when I am in Wales 18
To me Britain is dominated by the English 5	Welsh-ness is attractive to tourists 12	I've heard stereotypical comments towards the Welsh 19
The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets 6	English people are drawn to Wales 13	My experience of Welsh people as hosts are positive 20
I see Wales and Welsh people as being very separate to England and English people 7	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity than the English 14	English tourists are exploited by Welsh hosts 21

English tourists are nice and considerate 22	I have definitely come across anti-English attitudes 29	I think the few negative things about Welsh attitudes are that they are defined by their not being English 36
The locals don't want us here…..you know the Irish could come here and the Scots, but preferably not the English 23	Wales presents itself as a progressive country 30	The images portrayed of Wales were not as I experienced 37
I am proud to be English 24	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh 31	I am very aware that they're aware that I'm English 38
People have a positive attitude towards us being English 25	I consider myself to be more English than British 32	There isn't a warm Welsh welcome in Wales for English tourists 39
Our English blood does not make us any better than the Welsh 26	Welsh speaking is an identity marker 33	My image of Wales is a land of small traditional communities 40
The Welsh don't like the English 27	Being a tourist in Wales defines my own English identity 34	The Welsh language is patronising to English tourists 41
I'd say the English have much more of a feeling of their own nation than the Welsh have 28	As English tourists we are continually reminded that we are not Welsh, nor are we related to a 'Welsh Nation' 35	People make a point of speaking in Welsh once they know you're English 42

Appendix 2

At points of contact with tourists I feel I belong to a particular nation 1	It is a basic civil right to be able to speak your own language in your own country, without fear or feeling ashamed 8	There is a 'cultural exchange' between local residents and English tourists 15
There is a 'sense of place' here in Wales 2	Many English visitors are hostile to the idea of Wales as a bilingual region of Britain 9	I don't care about 'nationalism' of any type 16
The Welsh tend to be more positive than the English about the idea of Nationalism 3	The English do not often discuss their culture or identity 10	Tourism preserves Wales as a nation and helps preserve Welsh culture 17
The Welsh language creates linkages between Wales and Europe that does not exist in England 4	Wales is attractive to English tourists 11	I have positive feelings towards Welsh 'symbols' in Wales 18
To me Britain is dominated by the English 5	Welsh-ness is attractive to tourists 12	I've heard stereotype comments towards the English 19
The Welsh language is one of Wales' principal assets 6	English people are drawn to Wales 13	My experience of English people as tourist are positive 20
I see Wales and Welsh people as being very separate to England and English people 7	I'd say the Welsh have much more national pride and intensity than the English 14	The Welsh are exploited by English tourists 21

English tourists are nice and considerate 22	I have definitely come across anti-Welsh attitudes 29	Tourists, in particular the English, are unaware of Welsh way of life 36
The English as tourists are the least nice and considerate 23	Wales presents itself as a progressive country 30	Attitudes towards Welsh culture among English tourist are not uniformly positive 37
I am proud to be Welsh 24	Residents seem to have a strong sense of being Welsh 31	I am proud to have English tourists to Wales 38
People have a positive attitude towards us being Welsh 25	I consider myself to be more Welsh than British 32	I appreciate English tourists for the contribution they make to the local economy 39
Our Welsh blood does not make us any better than the English 26	Welsh speaking is an identity marker 33	I understand English tourists 40
The English don't like the Welsh 27	Welsh history defines who I am 34	I feel close to some English visitors I have met 41
I'd say the English have much more of a feeling of their own nation than the Welsh have 28	English tourists have a negative effect on Welsh culture 35	I treat all tourists I meet in Wales fairly 42

Appendix 3

Wrth gyfarfod ay ymwelwyr rydw I'n teimlo fy mod yn perthyn i genedl neilltuol. 1	Maen hawl syfaenol sifil i fedru siarad eich iaith mewn gwlad eich hun, heb ofn neu deimlo cywilydd. 8	Mae 'na 'cyfnewidfa diwylliant' rhwng pobl leol ac ymwelwyr. 15
Mae 'na "synnwyr perthyn" yn Gymru. 2	Mae llawer o ymwelwyr o Loegr yn elyniaethus i'r syniad fod Cymru yn rhan ddwyieithog yn Prydain. 9	Dydw i ddim yn poeni am genedlaetholdeb. 16
Mae'r cymry yn tueddu I fod yn fwy positif at genedlaetholdeb na Saeson 3	Nid yw'r saeson yn aml yn trafod diwylliant neu hunaniaeth nhw. 10	Mae twristiaeth yn cadw Cymru fel cenedl ac yn helpu i gadw diwylliant Cymreig. 17
Mae'r iaith Gymraeig yn creu cysylltiadau rhwng Cymru a gweddill Ewrop sydd ddim yn bodoli efo Lloegr 4	Mae Cymru yn ddeniadol i ymwelwyr o Loegr. 11	Rydw i efo teimladau positif tuag at symbolau Cymreig yng Nghymru. 18
I mi mae Prydain yn cael ei ddominyddu gan y Saeson / Lloegr. 5	Mae Cymreictod yn ddeniadol i dwristiaeth. 12	Rydw i wedi clywed sylwadau stereoteip tuag at y Saeson fel snob, mewnwthiol, anghyfeillgar. 19
Yr iaith Gymraeg yw un o'r brif asedion Cymru. 6	Mae pobl Saeson yn cael eu denu i Gymru. 13	Mae profiad i Saeson fel teithwyr yn bositif. 20
Rydw I'n gweld Cymru a phobl Cymru yn gwbl yn ar wahan i Loegr a phobl Lloegr. 7	Mae'r cymry â mwy o falchder cenedlaethol a dwyster na Saeson. 14	Mae'r Gymraeg yn cael ei hecsbloetio gan ymwelwyr o Loegr. 21

Mae teithwyr o Loegr yn braf ac ystyriol 22	Rydw i wedi yn ddi-os dod ar draws agweddau gwrth Cymraeg. 29	Mae ymwelwyr, enwedig y Saeson, yn anymwybodol o fordd Cymreig o fyw. 36
Yw'r ymwelwyr o Lloegr llai ystyriol. 23	Mae Cymru yn cyflwyno ei hun fel gwlad sy'n datblygu. 30	Nid yw agwedd ymwelwyr Saeson tuag at ddiwylliant Cymru yn ffafriol. 37
Dwi'n falch o fod yn Gymro. 24	Mae trigolion cymru gyda ym deimlad o fod yn Gymry. 31	Rydw i falch o gael ymwelwyr Saesneg i Gymru. 38
Mae pobl efo agwedd bositif tua at fod yn Gymry. 25	Rydw i ystyried fy hun yn fwy Cymraeg na Phrydeinig. 32	Rydw I yn gwerthfawrogi cyfraniad y mae ymelwyr o Loegr yn ei wneud I economi leol. 39
Nid yw ei gwaed Cymreig yng wneud ni well na Saeson. 26	Mae siarad Cymraeg yn creu hunaniaeth unigryw. 33	Rwyf yn deall ymwelwyr o Loegr. 40
Dydy Saeson dim yn hoffi'r Gymraeg. 27	Mae hanes Cymreig yn diffinio pwy ydw i. 34	Rydw i deimlo yn agos at rhai o ymwelwyr o Loegr. 41
Rydw yn dweud fod y Season efo llawer mwy o deimladau am eu cenedl nhw na'r Cymry. 28	Mae ymwelwyr o Loegr yn cael effaith negyddol ar ddiwylliant Cymreig. 35	Rwyf yn trin pob ymwelwyr I gymru yn dêg. 42

MOST DISAGREE -4	-3	-2	-1	NEUTRAL 0	+1	+2	+3	MOST AGREE +4

DISAGREE
COUNT_____

NEUTRAL
COUNT_____

AGREE
COUNT_____

RESPONDENT
NUMBER:

_____

Appendix 4

Appendix 5

<p style="text-align:center">INSTRUCTIONS TO THE Q SORTING</p>

These instructions will guide you through the Q sorting survey step by step. Please read each step carefully to the end before you start carrying it out.

1. Take the deck of cards provided and the score sheet and go sit at a table. Lay down the score sheets in front of you. All 42 cards in the deck contain a statement about nationalism within tourism experiences. You are asked to rank-order these statements from your own point of view. My question to you is:

   "To what extent do you agree with the following statements?"

   The numbers on the cards (from 1 to 42) have been assigned to the cards randomly and are only relevant for the administration of your response.

2. This study is about tourism and host contact. I am interested in your **perception of nationalism and your experiences within the tourist and host contact**.

3. Read the 42 statements carefully and split then up into three piles: a pile for statements you tend to *disagree* with, a pile for cards you tend to *agree* with, and a pile of cards you neither agree or disagree with, or that are *not relevant* or applicable to you. Please use the three boxes "AGREE", "NEUTRAL, or NOT RELEVANT" and "DISAGREE" at the **bottom left** of the score sheet. Just to be clear I am interested in your point of view. Therefore there are no right or wrong answers. When you have finished laying down the cards in the three boxes on the score sheet, count the number of cards in each pile and rite down this number in the corresponding box. Please check whether the numbers you entered in the three boxes add up to 42.

4. Take the cards from the "AGREE" pile and read them again. Select two statements you ***most agree*** with that relate to your experiences and place them in the two last boxes on the right of the score sheet, below the "9" (it does not matter which one goes on top or below). Next from the remaining cards in the deck, select the three statements that you most agree with and place them in the three boxes below the "8". Follow this procedure for all cards from the "AGREE" pile.

5. Now take the cards from the "DISAGREE" pile and read them again. Just like before, select the two statements you ***most disagree*** with that relate to your experiences and place them in thee two last boxes on the left of the score sheet, below the "1". Follow this procedure for all cards from the "DISAGREE" pile.

6. Finally, take the remaining cards and read them again. Arrange the cards in the remaining open boxes of the score sheet.

7. When you have placed all cards on the score sheet, please go over your distribution once more and shift cards if you want to.

8. Once you are happy with the placing of the cards, on the smaller score sheet provided please record the numbers on the cards in the corresponding places to those on the larger sorting sheet.

THANK YOU

Appendix 5

Cyfarwyddiadau Sortio Q

Bydd y cyfarwyddiadau hyn yn eich tywys drwy holiadur sortio Q cam wrth gam.Darllenwch pob cam yn ofalus cyn i chwi ddechrau.

1. Cymrwch y cardiau a'r daflen sgorio a ddarparwyd, ac eisteddwch wrth fwrdd.
   Rhowch y daflen sgorio o'ch blaen.Mae 42 o gardiau ac meant yn cynnwys datganiadau am genedlaetholdeb yng nghyd-destun profiadau twristiaeth. Mae gofyn i chi roi rhain mewn trefn pwysigrwydd o'ch safbwynt chi. Fy nghwestiwn i chi yw:

   "I ba raddau rydych yn cytuno gydaa'r datganiadau canlynol?"

   Mae'r rhifau ar y cardiau (1 i 42) wedi eu clustnodi ar-hap ac yn berthnasol ar gyfer gweinyddu yr ymarfer a'ch ymateb.

2. Mae'r ymchwil yn edrych ar dwristiaeth ac cyswllt a thwristiaid. Rwyf a diddordeb yn eich canfyddiado genedlaetholdeb a'ch profiad o hyn mewn cyswllt a thwrisitiaid

3. Darllenwch y 42 datganiad ac yna eu rhannu yn 3 swp. Un swp gyda datganiadau y rydych yn tueddu i anghytuno, swp gyda datganiadau rydych yn tueddu i gytuno a hwy a swp ble nad ydych yn cytuno nag yn anghytuno neu nad ydynt yn berthnasol.
   Defnyddiwch y tri blwch "Cytuno", "Niwtral" neu "Amherthnasol" neu "Anghtuno"   sydd ar waelod y daflen sgorio ar yr ochr chwith. Er mwyn bod yn glir rwyf a diddordeb yn eich safbwynt, felly nid oes atebion cywir nag anghywir. Wedi I chi orffen gosod y caridau yn y blychau cyfrwch sawl cerdyn sydd ymhob swp ac ysgrifennwch y niferoedd yn y blychau perthnasol. Gwiriwch fod swm y 3 bocs yn cyrraedd 42.

4. Cymrwch y cardiau o'r swp 'CYTUNO' a'u darllen eto.Dewisiwch y ddau datganiad yr ydych yn cytuno a hwy fwyaf sydd yn berthnasol I'ch profiadau chi. Yna gosodwch hwy yn y ddau flwch olaf o dan "9" sydd ar yr ochr dde o'ch daflen sgorio. (Nid yw bwys pa un sydd ar y top/gwaelod).Gyda gweddill y cardiau dewisiwch 3 cerdyn yr ydych yn cytuno a hwy fwyaf a'u gosod yn y 3 blwch o dan rhif "8".Dilynwch y drefn yma ar gyfer yr holl gardiau y swp "cytuno"

5. Nawr cymrwch y cerdyn o'r swp "DISAGREE/ANGHYTUNO"a'u darllen eto. Fel y gwnaethoch yn flaenorol, dewisiwch ddau ddatganiad rydych yn *anghytuno fwyaf* a hwy mewn perthynas a'ch profiadau a'u gosod yn y dday flwch olaf ar ochr chwith eich taflen sgorio o dan "1". Dilynwch y broses ymaar gyfer yr holl garidau yn y swp "DISAGREE/ANGHYTUNO".

6. Yn olaf, cymrwch y cardiau sydd yn weddill a'u darllen eto. Trefnwch y cardiau yn y bocsys agored sydd yn weddill ar y daflen sgorio.

7. Pan rydych wedi gosod yr holl gardiau ar y daflen sgorio, ewch dros eich cardiau unwaith eto.Mae modd eu symud os ydych eisiau.

8. Pan rydych yn fodlon gyda gosodiad y cardiau, ar y daflen sgorio lleiaf ei maint,rhowch y rhifau a nodwyd ar y cardiau yn y man cyfatebol i'r hyn sydd ar y daflen sgorio fwyaf ei maint.

DIOLCH